

Lecture 7 Early Emotional Development

Institutionalized Children

Spitz French psychiatrist WWII

Bowlby British psychiatrist studied children separated during the blitz

Rutter Romanian orphans

John Bowlby's Theory of Attachment

Prior to Bowlby, attachment was thought to be a secondary drive
- He argued that it was a primary drive

Evolutionary mechanism primarily designed to maintain an optimal distance between infant and mother

Homeostatic mechanism: self-regulating for both mothers & infants

John Bowlby's Stages of Attachment

Stage I (0-2 mths): pre-attachment phase

Stage II (2-7mths): attachment formation (stranger situation)

Stage III (7mths- 2 yrs): clear-cut attachment (separation anxiety)

Stage IV (2yrs - on) decline in attachment

- Proximity seeking
- Secure base
- Separation protest
- Stranger Anxiety



Harry Harlow (1960s)

Raised rhesus monkeys in isolation and found that they formed attachment to the cloth 'mother' but fed from the wire 'mother.'

If isolated monkeys were reintroduced to other monkeys before 6 months, they were fully rehabilitated.

Assessing Attachment Style

- Ainsworth's Strange Situation
 - mother & infant play alone
 - enter female stranger who sits & talks with mother
 - mother leaves infant & stranger alone
 - first reunion: Mother returns & stranger leaves
 - mother leaves infant alone
 - stranger returns & tries to settle infant
 - second reunion: mother returns
- Assessed for
 - proximity seeking: seeks to be close to mother
 - contact maintenance: clings to mother
 - resistance: petulant
 - avoidance: indifferent

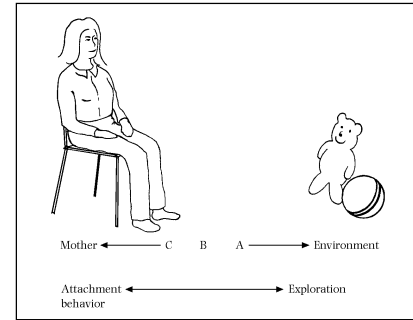


Figure 6.3 Attachment as a balance of behavior directed toward mother and the environment. Adapted from Meins (1997).

A= insecurely avoidant
B= securely attached
C=insecurely resistant

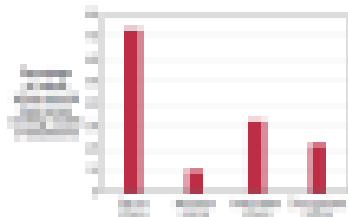
Strange Situation

- Different Attachment Styles
 - Secure (60%)
 - Avoidant (20%) {insecure}
 - Resistant (15%) {insecure}
 - Disorganized (5%) {insecure}
- Cultural variations in attachment
 - German mothers foster independence
 - Japanese mothers traditionally stay at home with child, so children tend to show less exploratory behaviour in the strange situation

These variations reflect differing parental styles

Working Models of Attachment

- Parents attachment styles affect those of children
- Internal working model
 - Child has expectations about how carer will respond when child feels insecure



Attachment

- Temperament
 - Reactivity to novelty as evidenced by physiological measures, affect & behaviour.
 - Behavioural inhibition: the tendency towards shyness & fear (Kagan1994)
 - 15% inhibited
 - 10% disinhibited
 - 75% in between
- Behavioural inhibition at 4 months predicts attachment at 21 months
- Behavioural inhibition correlations MZ twins 0.5-0.6

Shaping Attachment

- Goodness of fit
 - Extent to which environment matches up to child's temperament
 - Matching up of parent behaviour with child temperament
- Training
 - Mothers who are better at reading infant behaviour foster secure attachment
 - Mothers trained in parenting produce more securely attached infants.

Adult Attachment

Question: Which of the following best describes your feelings

Secure: I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me

Avoidant: I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often feel partners want to be more intimate than I am comfortable with.

Anxious/Ambivalent: I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to merge completely with another person, and this desire sometimes scares people away.

Epigenesis of Attachment

We must accept that individuals differ and societies are complex, and that mothers and babies will be programmed not simply to form one sort of relationship but a range of possible relationships according to circumstances.... Natural selection must surely have operated to produce conditional maternal strategies, not stereotypy.

(Robert Hinde 1982)

The orphan population: The Invisible People

(Source Niels Peter Rygaard – Danish expert)

- **Globally:** 143.000.000 children (= the entire population of Russia)
- **Europe:** 1.500.000 children
- Younger than three public care: 45-90.000
- The number is increasing.
- More than 80 % have live parents!
- (make programs to help parents to keep newborns after birth)

This population frequently has problems even *before* being placed in public care.

Orphanages in Romania



Conditions in Romanian orphanages were very poor and children were often neglected



Rutter et al. 2007

- Sample: Romanian orphans adopted in the UK before the age of 4. Many were severely malnourished.
- Control Group: UK-born adoptees who were placed with families before 6 months
- Independent Variable: age at adoption (<6mths, 6mths – 24mths, 2-4 years)
- Dependent Variable: inhibited/disinhibited attachment

Findings

- Disinhibited attachment:
 - Attention seeking behaviour towards all adults
 - Lack of fear of strangers
 - Inappropriate physical contact
 - Lack of checking back to the parent in stressful situations

(Results in percentage of group)	No disinhibition	Mild disinhibition	Marked disinhibition
UK adoptees	40.4	55.8	3.8
Rom <6mths	53.3	37.8	8.9
Rom 6-24mths	29.5	44.3	26.1

Long term consequences of low quality care and poor organization of daily care.

(From Rutter's study of adopted orphans)

- How many children adopted at age 1-2 still had this problem at age 4:**
 - ADHD-like behaviour: 92 %
 - "Institutional Autism" behaviour due to deprivation: 91 %
 - Stereotypes (repeats meaningless behavior) 71 %
 - Aggressive behaviour 69 %
 - Indiscriminate social contact 67 %
 - Self-mutilating 60 %
 - Extreme withdrawal 50 %
 - Sleeping problems 43 %
 - Eating problems 38 %
 - Apathic behaviour 21 %
- In general:** delays in physical growth, lack of brain development, unstable CNS function, impaired sensory and motor development, severe delays in emotional, social and cognitive function.

ECONOMIC POVERTY IS NOT THE MAIN ISSUE - SOCIAL POVERTY IS!

- To live in - and belong to - a social group is more important for child development than anything else - economic status, ethnicity, etc.
- To have continuous caregivers from birth to school age is important.

Summary

- Primates require social interaction as much as nutrition.
- Social interaction has critical period characteristics.
- Infants become increasingly attached to the mother.
- Evidence that different types of attachment reflect parenting.
- But also evidence that different types of attachment reflect temperament.
- Attachment declines between 2 & 3 yrs as children become more adventurous. This also marks an increasing awareness of other minds – see next lecture.
- Attachment styles predict adult behaviour in relationships