The Making and Breaking of Affectional Bonds, by J. Bowlby

a. Quotes:
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b. General Notes:
   - Chapter 1 - Psychoanalysis and Child Care (pg. 7)
     - "Freud not only insisted on the obvious fact that **the roots of our emotional life lie in infancy and early childhood**, but also sought to explore in a systematic way **the connection between events of early years and the structure and function of later personality**" (pg. 8)
     - "Donald Winnicott, in his lecture on psychoanalysis and guilt, discussed the vital role in human development of the growth of a healthy capacity for feeling guilt. He made it plain that a capacity to experience guilt is a necessary attribute of the healthy person. Disagreeable though it is, like physical pain and anxiety, it is biologically indispensable and part of the price we pay for the privilege of being human beings. Further, he proceeded to describe how the capacity for feeling guilt 'implies the tolerance of ambivalence' and an acceptance of responsibility for both our love and our hate. These are themes which, largely due to the influence of Melanie Klein, have been of major interest to British analysts. It is my intention tonight to discuss further the role of ambivalence in psychic life - this inconvenient tendency we all have to get angry with and sometimes to hate the very person we most care for - and to consider those methods of child care which seem to make it easier or more difficult for a child to grow up capable of regulating this conflict in a mature and constructive way. For I believe that a principal criterion for judging the value of different methods of child care lies in the effects, beneficial or adverse, which they have on a child's developing capacity to regulate his conflict of love and hate and, through this, his capacity to experience in a healthy way his anxiety and guilt" (pg. 9-10)
     - "It will be clear then that **the steps by which an infant or child progresses towards the regulation of his ambivalence are of critical import for the development of his personality**. If he follows a favourable course, he will grow up not only aware of the existence within himself of contradictory impulses but able to direct and control them, and the anxiety and guilt which they engender will be bearable. If his progress is less favourable, he will be beset by impulses over which he feels he has inadequate or even no control; as a result, he will suffer acute anxiety regarding the safety of the persons he loves and be afraid, too, of the retribution which he believes will fall on his own head. This way lies danger - the danger of the personality resorting to one of a series of manoeuvres each of which creates more difficulties than it solves. For instance, fear of the punishment which is expected to result from hostile acts - and also of course from hostile intents, since it is never easy for a child to distinguish clearly one from the other - frequently leads to more aggression. Thus as often as not we find that an aggressive child is acting on the basis that attack is the best means of defence. Similarly guilt can lead to a compulsive demand for reassurance and demonstrations of love and, when these demands are not met, to further hatred and consequently further guilt. **These are the vicious circles which result when the capacity to regulate love and hate develops unfavourably.** Furthermore, when a young child lacks confidence in his ability to control his threatening impulses, there is a risk that unwittingly he will turn to one or more of a multitude of primitive and rather ineffective psychic devices designed to protect his loved ones from damage and himself from the pain of a conflict that seems insoluble by other means. **These psychic devices,** which include repression of one or both components of the conflict - sometimes hate, sometimes love and sometimes both together - displacement, projection, over-compensation, and many others, have one thing in common: **instead of the conflict being brought into the open and dealt with for what it is, all these defence mechanisms are evasions and denials that the conflict exists. Little wonder that they are so inefficient!**" (pg. 12-13)
       - "**[T]here is nothing unhealthy about conflict**. Quite the contrary: **conflict is the normal state of affairs in all of us**. Every day of our lives we discover afresh that if we follow one course of action we have to forgo others which are also desired; we discover, in fact, that we cannot eat our cake and have it too. Every day of our lives therefore we have the task of adjudicating between rival interests within ourselves and of regulating conflicts between irreconcilable impulses." (pg. 13-14)
         - **"What characterizes the psychologically ill is their inability satisfactorily to regulate their conflicts**" (pg. 14)
     - "One key to child care is therefore so to treat a child that neither of the two impulses which endanger the loved person - libidinal greed and hatred - will become too intense. Unlike some analysts who are rather pessimistic about the innate strength of a child's impulses, I believe this condition is in most children fairly easily met provided one thing - that a child has loving parents. If a baby and young child has the love and company of his mother and soon also that of his father, he will grow up without an undue pressure of libidinal craving and without an overstrong propensity for hatred. If he does not have these things there is a likelihood that his libidinal craving will be high, which means that he will be constantly seeking love and affection, and constantly prone to hate those who fail, or seem to him to fail, to give it him." (pg. 15)
       - "[T]he experience of a young child being separated from his mother provides us with a dramatic if tragic example of this central problem of psychopathology - the generation of conflict so great that the normal means of its regulation are shattered. It now seems fairly certain that it is because of the intensity both of libidinal demand and of hatred which are generated that a young child's separation from his mother after he has formed an emotional relationship with her can be so damaging to the development of his personality. For some years we have known of the intense yearning and fretting which so many small children manifest on admission to hospital or residential nursery, and the desperate way in which later, after their feelings have thawed on their return home, they cling to and follow their mothers. The raised intensity of their libidinal demands needs no emphasizing. Similarly, we have learnt of the way these children reject their mothers when they first see them again and make bitter accusations against their mothers for deserting them." (pg. 17)
         - "By putting up with these outbursts we show our children that we are not afraid of hatred and that we are confident it can be controlled; moreover, we provide for the child the tolerant atmosphere in which self-control can grow." (pg. 20)
           - "Some parents find it difficult to believe that such methods are wise or effective and feel that children should have it impressed on them that hatred and jealousy are not only bad but potentially dangerous. There are two common methods of doing this. One is by the forceful expression of disapproval by means of punishment; the other, more subtle and exploiting his guilt, is by impressing on the child his ingratitude and indicating the pain, physical and moral, which his behaviour causes his devoted par-ents. Although both methods are intended to control the child's evil passions, clinical experience suggests that neither are very successful and that both exact a heavy toll in unhappiness. Both methods tend to make a child afraid and guilty of his feelings, to drive them underground and so to make it more rather than less difficult for him to control them. Both tend to create difficult personalities, the first - punishment - promoting rebels and, if very severe, delinquents; the second - shame - guilty and anxiety-ridden neurotics. As in politics, so with children: in the long run tolerance of opposition pays handsome dividends." (pg. 20)
       - "It should be noted that this technique of friendly intervention not only avoids stimulating the anger and bitterness albeit unconscious which I believe to be inseparable from punishment, but provides a child with a model for the effective regulation of his conflicts. It shows him that violence, jealousy, and greed can be curbed by peaceful means and that there is no need to resort to those drastic methods of condemnation and punishment which, when copied by a child, are apt to become distorted by his own primitive imagination into pathological guilt and ruthless self-punishment. It is, of course, a technique which is founded on the view which, following Melanie Klein, Donald Winnicott put before us - the view that there is in human beings the germ of an innate morality which, if given the opportunity to grow, provides in the child's personality the

emotional foundations of moral behaviour. It is a notion which puts beside the concept of original sin, of which psychoanalysis discovers much evidence in the human heart, the concept of original concern for others or original goodness which, if given favourable circumstances, will gain the upper hand. It is a cautiously optimistic view of human nature, and one that I believe to be justified." (pg. 22-23)

- "Thanks to the emotional bond linking child to parent and parent to child, children always behave in a more babyish way with their parents than with other people." (pg. 23)
  - "Inevitably the presence of mother or father evokes primitive and turbulent feelings not evoked by other people." (pg. 24)
- **"[I]t is from a parent's sensitivity to her child's responses and from her ability to adapt intuitively to his needs that skilled child care is born."** (pg. 25)
  - "When we become parents to a child powerful emotions are evoked, emotions as strong as those which bind a young child to his mother or lovers to one another. In mothers especially there is the same desire for complete possession, the same devotion, and the same withdrawal of interest from others. But, unfortunately, coupled with these delicious and loving feelings there comes all too often an admixture - I hesitate to say it - an admixture of resentment and even of hatred. The intrusion of hostility into a mother's, or a father's, feelings for the baby seems so strange and often so horrifying that some of you may find it difficult to believe. Yet it is a reality, and sometimes a grim reality, both for the parent and the child." (pg. 26)
    - "Though it is still difficult to explain this hostility, it seems plain that the feelings which are evoked in us when we become parents have a very great deal in common with the feelings that were evoked in us as children by our parents and siblings. The parent who suffered deprivation may, if she has not become incapable of feeling affection, experience an intense need to possess her child's love, and may go to great lengths to ensure that she obtains it. The parent who was jealous of a younger sibling may come to experience unreasonable hostility to the new 'little stranger' in the family, a sentiment which is particularly common in fathers. The parent whose love for his mother was shot through with antagonism for her demanding ways may come to resent and hate the demanding ways of the infant. I believe that the trouble does not lie in the simple recurrence of old feelings - perhaps a measure of such feelings is present in every parent - but in the parent's inability to tolerate and to regulate these feelings. Those who in childhood have experienced intense ambivalence towards parents or siblings, and who have then unconsciously resorted to one of the many primitive and precarious means of resolving conflict of which I spoke earlier - repression, displacement, projection, and so on - are unprepared for the renewal of conflict when they come to be parents. Instead of recognizing the true nature of their feelings towards the child and adjusting their behaviour accordingly, they find themselves actuated by forces they know not of and are perplexed at being unable to be as loving and patient as they wish. Their difficulty is that the re-emergence of ambivalent feelings is being dealt with, without their knowledge, by the same primitive and precarious methods to which they resorted in their early childhood at a time of life when they had no better methods available. Thus the mother who is constantly apprehensive that her baby may die is unaware of the impulse in herself to kill it' and, adopting the same solution she adopted in childhood perhaps in regard to her death-wishes against her own mother, struggles endlessly and fruitlessly to stave off dangers from elsewhere - accidents, illnesses, the carelessness of neighbours. The father who resents the baby's monopoly of his wife and insists that her attentions are bad for it is unaware that he is motivated by the same kind of jealousy that he experienced in childhood when a younger sibling was born. The same is true of the mother impelled to possess her child's love who, by her endless self-sacrifice, tries to ensure that her child is given no excuse for any feelings other than those of love and gratitude. This mother, who at first sight appears so loving, inevitably creates great resentment in her child by her demands for his love, and equally great guilt in him through her claims to be so good a mother that no sentiment but gratitude is justified. In behaving in this way she is of course not aware that she is worthy of love, which she never had when she was small. I want to repeat that in my view it is not simply that parents are motivated in these ways which creates the difficulties for the children; what makes for trouble is the parents' ignorance of their own motives and their unwitting resort to repression, rationalization, and projection to deal with their conflicts." (pg. 26-27)
      - "**There is probably nothing more damaging to a relationship than when one party attributes his own faults to the other, making him a scapegoat.** Unfortunately babies and young children make perfect scapegoats since they manifest so nakedly all the sins that flesh is heir to: they are selfish, jealous, sexy, dirty, and given to tempers, obstinacy, and greed. A parent who carries a load of guilt in regard to one or other of these failings is apt to become unreasoningly intolerant of its manifestations in his child. He torments the child by his vain attempts to eradicate the vice. I recall a father who, troubled all his life by masturbation, tried to stop it in his son by putting him under a cold tap every time he found him with his hand on his genital. By acting in ways such as this the parent intensifies the child's guilt and also his fear and hatred of authority. Some of the most poisoned of parent-child relationships which lead to grave problems in the children stem from parents seeing motes in their children's eyes to avoid seeing beams in their own." (pg. 28)
- "We know that an infant's earliest years when, unknown to him, the foundations of his personality are being laid are a critical period in his development. In the same way it seems that the early months and years after a baby is born are a critical period in the development of a mother and a father." (pg. 29)
  - "The recognition that a principal cause of parental mistakes lies in the feeling that they have for their children being distorted by unconscious conflicts stemming from their own childhood is one which perhaps has not yet been absorbed into contemporary thought." (pg. 29)
- "The point of view that I am advocating, it will be seen, is based on the belief that much mental ill-health and unhappiness is due to environmental influences which it is in our power to change." (pg. 30)
  - "What matters about the external environment is the extent to which the frustrations and other influences it imposes lead to the development of intra-psychic conflict of a form and intensity such that the immature psychic apparatus of the infant and young child cannot satisfactorily regulate it. It is by this criterion that we should assess the merits or demerits of child-care practices, and it is in approaching the problem in this way, I believe, that psychoanalysis has its principal contribution to make." (pg. 31)

- Chapter 2 - An Ethological Approach to Research in Child Development (pg. 34)
  - "Psychoanalysts have from the first conceived of social relations in man as being mediated by instincts which stem from biological roots and impel the individual to action. Much of psychoanalytic theory has been concerned with these instincts, their serial and piecemeal emergence in ontogeny, their gradual and not always successful organization into more complex wholes, the conflicts arising when two or more are active and incompatible, the anxiety and guilt to which they give rise, the defences called into play to deal with them. Preoccupied with these primitive human passions which, because of the crude devices available to govern them, are apt as we know to our cost to carry us away to acts we later regret, psychoanalysts have often been impatient with the approach of learning theorists. In their theorizing there seems so little place for human feeling or for motivation springing from unconscious and irrational depths. To the clinician the learning theorist seems always to be struggling to cram a gallon of obstreperous human nature into a pint pot of prim theory. Conversely learning theorists are critical of psychoanalysts. Definitions of instinct are notoriously unsatisfactory and are apt to degenerate into the allegorical. Though clinical reports are voluminous, records of systematic observation remain few. Experimental method is conspicuous by its absence. Worst of all, hypotheses are often so framed that they are not susceptible to test - a defect fatal to scientific progress. Learning theory, it is rightly contended, defines its terms, frames its hypotheses operationally, and proceeds to test them by properly designed experiments." (pg. 35)

- Chapter 3 - Childhood Mourning (pg. 56)
  - "The pathogenic agent with which we are concerned is loss of mother-figure during the period between about six months and six years of age. During the early months of life an infant is learning to discriminate a particular figure, usually his mother, and is developing a strong liking to be in her company. After about six months of age he shows his preferences in unmistakable fashion (Schaffer 1958). Throughout the latter half of his first year and during the whole of his second and third he is closely attached to his mother-figure, which means that he is content in her company and distressed in her absence. Even momentary separations often lead him to protest; and longer ones always do so. After the third birthday attachment behaviour is elicited a little less readily than earlier though the change is only one of degree. From about his first birthday onwards other figures also, for example father or grandmother, may become important to him so that his attachment is not confined to a single figure. Nevertheless, there is usually a well-marked preference for some one person. In the light of phylogeny it is likely that the instinctual bonds that tie human young to a mother-figure are built on the same general pattern as they are in other mammalian species (Bowlby 1958; Rollman-Branch 1960; Harlow and Zimmermann 1959). The majority of children suffer little disruption of this primary attachment in their early years of life. They live with their mother-figure and, during the relatively brief periods when she is absent, are cared for by a familiar subordinate figure. On the other hand a minority do experience disruptions. Their mother may desert or die; they may be left in hospital or institution; they may be handed from one mother-figure to another. Disruptions may be long or short, single or repeated. The experiences that belong under the general heading of maternal deprivation are thus multifarious and no one investigation can study them all. If, therefore, effective research is to be done, the experience to be studied must be fairly narrowly defined for each project." (pg. 58-59)
  - "In the setting described a child of from fifteen to thirty months who has had a reasonably secure relationship to his mother and has not previously been parted from her will commonly show a predictable sequence of behaviour. This can be broken into three phases according to which attitude to his mother is dominant. We have described them as phases of protest, despair, and detachment. At first with tears and anger he demands his mother back and seems hopeful he will succeed in getting her. This is the phase of protest and may last several days. Later he becomes quieter, but to the discerning eye it is clear that as much as ever he remains preoccupied with his absent mother and still year[n]s for her return; but his hopes have faded and he is in the phase of despair. Often these two phases alternate: hope turns to despair and despair to renewed hope. Eventually, however, a greater change occurs. He seems to forget his mother so that when she comes for him he remains curiously uninterested in her, and may seem even not to recognize her. This is the third phase - that of detachment. In each of these phases the child is prone to tantrums and episodes of destructive behaviour, often of a disquietingly violent kind. The child's behaviour on return home depends on the phase reached during the period of separation. Usually for a while he is unresponsive and undemanding; to what degree and for how long turns on the length of the separation and the frequency of visits. For example, when he has been away unvisited for a few weeks or months, and so has reached the early stages of detachment, it is likely that unresponsiveness will persist from an hour to a day or more. When at length it breaks the intense ambivalence of his feelings for his mother is made manifest. There is a storm of feeling, intense clinging and, whenever his mother leaves him, even for a moment, acute anxiety and rage. Thence-forward, for weeks or months, his mother may be subjected to impatient demands for her presence and angry reproaches when she has been absent. When, however, he has been away for a period of more than six months or when separations have been repeated, so that he has reached an advanced stage of detachment, there is danger that he may remain permanently detached and never recover his affection for his parents. Now in interpreting these data and in relating them to psychopathology a key concept is that of mourning. There is, indeed, good reason to believe that the sequence of responses described - protest, despair, and detachment - is a sequence that, in one variant or another, is characteristic of all forms of mourning. Following unexpected loss there seems always to be a phase of protest during which the bereaved person is striving, either in actuality or in thought and feeling, to recover the lost person and is reproaching him for desertion. During this and the succeeding phase of despair, feelings are ambivalent whilst mood and action vary from an immediate expectancy expressed in an angry demand for the person's return to a despair expressed in subdued pining - or even not expressed at all. Though alternating hope and despair may continue for a long time, at length there develops some measure of emotional detachment from the person lost. After having undergone disorganization in the phase of despair, behaviour in this phase becomes reorganized on the basis of the person's permanent absence. Though this picture of healthy mourning is not altogether familiar to psychiatrists, evidence that it is a true one seems compelling (Bowlby 1961b). If this view is correct, the responses of young children on removal to hospital or institution must be regarded simply as variants of basic mourning processes. Irrespective of age, it seems, the same kind of responses occur and in the same sequence. Like adults, infants and young children who have lost a loved person experience grief and go through periods of mourning (Bowlby 1960b). There appear to be only two, interrelated, differences. One is that in the young the time-scale is abbreviated, though much less so than has sometimes been thought. The other, in which lies the significance for psychiatry, is that in childhood the processes leading to detachment are very apt to develop prematurely, inasmuch as they coincide with and mask strong residual yearning for, and anger with, the lost person, both of which persist, ready for expression, at an unconscious level. Because of this premature onset of detachment the mourning processes of childhood habitually take a course that in older children and adults is regarded as pathological. Once we recognize that the separation of a young child from his loved mother-figure commonly precipitates processes of mourning of a pathological sort, we are able to relate our findings to those of many other inquiries. On the one hand are the findings of workers who have taken the grief of adults as a starting-point for a study of psychopathology (Lindemann 1944; Jacobson 1957; Engel 1961). On the other are those of the more numerous investigators who have followed the traditional pattern of psychiatric research, that starts with a sick patient and tries to discern what have been the preceding events of causal significance, and who have advanced the hypothesis that loss of a Loved person is in some way pathogenic." (pg. 61-63)
  - "Anger, it is not always realized, is an immediate, common, and perhaps invariable response to loss. Instead of anger indicating that mourning is running a pathological course - a view suggested by Freud and rather commonly held - evidence makes it clear that anger, including anger with the person lost, is an integral part of the grief reaction. The function of this anger appears to be to add punch to the strenuous efforts both to recover the lost person and to dissuade him or her from deserting again that are the hallmarks of the first phase of mourning. Since this phase has not only been given little attention hitherto but appears crucial for an understanding of psychopathology, it is necessary to explore it more fully. Because in cases of death an angry effort to recover the lost person is so obviously futile there has been a tendency to regard it as itself pathological. I believe this to be mistaken. So far from being pathological, the evidence suggests that the overt expression of this powerful urge, unrealistic and hopeless though it may be, is a necessary condition for mourning to run a healthy course. Only after every effort has been made to recover the person lost, it seems, is the individual in a mood to admit defeat and to orient himself afresh to a world from which the loved person is accepted as irretrievably missing. Protest, including an angry demand for the person's return and reproach against him or her for deserting, is as much a part of an adult's response to Loss, especially a sudden loss, as of a young child's." (pg. 65)
    - "[T]he data show that during the phase of detachment the responses that bind the child to his mother and lead him to strive to recover her are subject to a defensive process. In some way they are removed from consciousness, but remain latent and ready to become active again, at high intensity, when circumstances change. This means that in infants and young children the experience of separation habitually initiates defensive processes which lead to yearning for the lost person and reproach for desertion both becoming unconscious. Another way of stating it is that, in early childhood, **loss is responded to by processes of mourning** that habitually take a course that in adults is deemed pathological." (pg. 69)
    - "What appears to happen in childhood (and in the pathological mourning of later years), on the other hand, is that the development of defensive processes is accelerated. As a result, the urges to recover and to reproach the lost person have no chance to be extinguished and instead persist, with consequences that are serious. Let us return briefly to apply these ideas to Helene Deutsch's patient. Following his mother's

death when he was five, it seems, both longing and anger had disappeared from his conscious self. The fantasy of the visit from the dog shows, however, that they persisted none the less at an unconscious level. This and evidence from other cases suggests that, although immobilized, both his love and his anger had remained directed towards the recovery of his dead mother. Thus, locked in the service of a hopeless cause, they had been lost to the developing personality. **With loss of mother had gone loss also of his feeling life**. Two common technical terms are in use to denote the processes at work: **fixation and repression.** Unconsciously the child remains fixated on his lost mother: his urges to recover and to reproach her, and the ambivalent emotions connected with them, have undergone repression. Another defensive process, closely related to and alternative to repression, can also occur following loss. This is **splitting of the ego** (Freud 1938). In such cases one part of the personality, secret but conscious, denies that the person is really lost and maintains, instead, either that there is still communication with him or her or that he or she will soon be recovered; whilst simultaneously another part of the personality shares with friends and relatives the knowledge that the person is irretrievably lost. Incompatible though they be, the two parts may coexist over many years. As in the case of repression, ego-splits lead also to psychiatric illness. Why in some cases the part still yearning to recover the lost person should be conscious and in others it should be unconscious is not clear. Neither are the conditions which lead some bereaved children to develop satisfactorily whilst others do not. This is a problem being studied by Hilgard (Hilgard, Newman, and Fisk 1960). What seems certain, however, is that **the precipitate onset of the defensive processes, repression or splitting, with the resulting fixation, is initiated much more readily in childhood than in more mature years**. In this fact lies a main explanation, I suggest, of why and how it is that **experiences of loss in early childhood lead to faulty personality development and proneness to psychiatric illness. The hypothesis I am advancing, therefore, is that in the young child the experience of separation from the mother-figure is especially apt to evoke psychological processes of a kind that are as crucial for psychopathology as are inflammation and its resulting scar tissue to physiopathology.** This does not mean that a crippling of personality is the inevitable result; but it does mean that, as in the case, say, of rheumatic fever, scar tissue is all too often formed which in later life leads to more or less severe dysfunction. The processes in question, it seems, are pathological variants of those that characterize healthy mourning." (pg. 70-71)

- "Clinical experience and a reading of the evidence leaves little doubt of **the truth of the main proposition - that much psychiatric illness is an expression of pathological mourning** - or that such illness includes many cases of anxiety state, depressive illness, and hysteria, and also more than one kind of character disorder." (pg. 72)
  - "There are, indeed, two other sorts of process which almost certainly give rise to pathology in some cases. One is the process of identification with parents, which is an integral part of healthy development but which often leads to difficulties after one of them has died. The other sort are evoked by the surviving parent, widow or widower, whose attitude towards the child may change and become pathogenic." (pg. 78-79)

- Chapter 4 - Effects on Behaviour of Disruption of an Affectional Bond (pg. 83)
  - "Family doctors, priests, and perceptive laymen have long been aware that there are few blows to the human spirit so great as the loss of someone near and dear. Traditional wisdom knows that we can be crushed by grief and die of a broken heart, and also that a jilted lover is apt to do things that are foolish or dangerous to himself and others. It knows too that neither love nor grief is felt for just any other human being, but only for one, or a few, particular and individual human beings. **The core of what I term an 'affectional bond' is the attraction that one individual has for another individual**." (pg. 83-84)
    - "Affectional bonding is a result of the social behaviour of each individual of a species, differing according to which other individual of his species he is dealing with; which entails of course an ability to recognize individuals. Whilst each member of a bonded pair tends both to remain in proximity to the other and to elicit proximity-keeping behaviour in the other, individuals who are not bonded show no such tendencies; indeed, when two individuals are not bonded, one often strongly resists any approach the other may attempt. Examples are the attitudes of a parent towards the approach of young not its own, and of a male towards the approach of another male. The essential feature of affectional bonding is that the two partners tend to remain in proximity to one another. Should they for any reason be apart, each will sooner or later seek out the other and so renew proximity. Any attempt by a third party to separate a bonded pair is strenuously resisted: not infrequently the stronger of the partners attacks the intruder whilst the weaker flees, or perhaps clings to the stronger partner. Obvious examples are situations in which an intruder is attempting to remove young from a mother, e.g., calf from cow, or to detach the female from a bonded heterosexual pair, e.g., goose from gander." (pg. 85)
  - "**Affectional bonds and subjective states of strong emotion tend to go together,** as every novelist and playwright knows. Thus, many of the most intense of all human emotions arise during the formation, the maintenance, the disruption, and the renewal of affectional bonds - which, for that reason, are sometimes called emotional bonds. In terms of subjective experience, the formation of a bond is described as falling in love, maintaining a bond as loving someone, and losing a partner as grieving over someone. Similarly, threat of loss arouses anxiety and actual loss causes sorrow; whilst both situations are likely to arouse anger. Finally, the unchallenged maintenance of a bond is experienced as a source of security, and the renewal of a bond as a source of joy. Thus, anyone concerned with the psychology and psychopathology of emotion, whether in animals or man, is soon confronted by problems of affectional bonding: what causes bonds to develop and what they are there for, and especially the conditions that affect the form their development takes." (pg. 86)
  - "The psychopath (or sociopath) is a person who, whilst not being psychotic or mentally subnormal, persistently engages in: (i) acts against society, e.g., crime; (ii) acts against the family, e.g., neglect, cruelty, sexual promiscuity, or perversion; (iii) acts against himself, e.g., addiction, suicide, or attempted suicide, repeatedly abandoning his job. In such people the capacity to make and maintain affectional bonds is always disordered and not infrequently conspicuous by its absence. More often than not the childhoods of such individuals are found to have been grossly disturbed by the death, divorce, or separation of the parents, or by other events resulting in disruption of bonds, with an incidence of such disturbance far higher than is met with in any other comparable group, whether drawn from the general population or from psychiatric casualties of other sorts." (pg. 88-89)
  - "One form is that of emotional detachment; the other its apparent opposite, namely an unrelenting demand to be close to mother. (1) On first meeting his mother after he has been away from home with strangers for two or three weeks a two-year-old child typically remains distant and detached. Whereas during his early days away a child commonly cries pathetically for his mother, when at last she returns he seems not to recognize her or avoids her. Instead of rushing to her and clinging as he probably would if he had been lost in a shop for half an hour, he often looks right through her and refuses her hand. All the proximity-seeking behaviour typical of an affectional bond is missing, usually to the mother's intense distress; and it remains missing - sometimes only for minutes or hours but sometimes for days. Resumption of attachment may be sudden, but is often slow and piecemeal. The length of time detachment persists is positively correlated with the length of the separation (Table 2). (2) When - as is usual - attachment behaviour is resumed, a child is commonly much more clinging than he was before the separation. He dislikes his mother leaving him and tends either to cry or to follow her round the house. How this phase evolves turns largely on how his mother responds. Not infrequently conflict ensues, a child demanding his mother's constant company and she refusing it. Such refusal readily evokes hostile and negative behaviour from the child, which is apt to try his mother's patience still further. Of the ten separated children observed by Heinicke and Westheimer six showed strong and persistent hostile behaviour to mother and negativism after their return home: no such behaviour was seen in the non-separated children (Table 3). Clearly it is still a far cry between showing that a child's bonds to his mother, and often to his father also, are thrown into disequilibrium by a brief separation, and demonstrating unequivocally that long or repeated separations are causally related to subsequent personality disorders. Yet the detached behaviour so typical of young children after a separation bears more than a passing resemblance to the detached behaviour of some psycho-paths, whilst it would be difficult to distinguish the aggressively demanding behaviour of many a young child recently reunited with his mother from

the aggressively demanding behaviour of many hysterical personalities." (pg. 94-96)

- Chapter 5 - Separation and Loss Within the Family (pg. 99)
  - "In an earlier paper (Bowlby 1961b), it was suggested that the course of mourning could be divided into three main phases, but we realize now that this numbering omitted an important first phase, which is usually fairly brief. What were formerly numbered phases 1, 2, and 3 have therefore been renumbered phases 2, 3, and 4. The four phases now recognized are: (1) Phase of numbness that usually lasts from a few hours to a week and may be interrupted by outbursts of extremely intense distress and/or anger. (2) Phase of yearning and searching for the lost figure, lasting some months and often for years. (3) Phase of disorganization and despair. (4) Phase of greater or less degree of reorganization." (pg. 101)
  - "Yearning for the impossible, intemperate anger, impotent weeping, horror at the prospect of loneliness, pitiful pleading for sympathy and support - these are the feelings that a bereaved person needs to express, and sometimes first to discover, if he is to make progress. Yet, these are all feelings that are apt to be regarded as unworthy and unmanly. At best to express them may seem humiliating; at worst it may be to court criticism and contempt. No wonder such feelings so often go unexpressed, and may later go underground. This leads us to the question why some people find it harder - often much harder - to express their feelings of grief than do others. Our own belief is that a main reason why some find expressing grief extremely difficult is that the family in which they have been brought up, and with which they still mix, is one in which the attachment behaviour of a child is regarded unsympathetically as something to be grown out of as quickly as possible. In such families crying and other protests over separation are apt to be dubbed babyish, and anger or jealousy as reprehensible. In such families, moreover, the more a child demands to be with his mother or his father the more he is told that such demands are silly and unjustified; the more he cries or throws a tantrum the more he is told he is babyish and bad. As a result of being subjected to such pressures he is likely to come to accept these standards for himself; to cry, to make demands, to feel angry because they are not met, to blame others, will all be judged by him as unjustified, babyish, and bad. So, when he suffers serious loss, instead of expressing the kinds of feelings that every bereaved person is filled with, he is inclined to stifle them. Furthermore, his relatives, products of the same family culture, are likely to share the same critical outlook towards emotion and its expression. And so the very person who most needs understanding and encouragement is the one least likely to receive it." (pg. 117-118)
- Chapter 6 - Self-Reliance and Some Conditions that Promote It (pg. 124)
  - "**Evidence is accumulating that human beings of all ages are happiest and able to deploy their talents to best advantage when they are confident that, standing behind them, there are one or more trusted persons who will come to their aid should difficulties arise. The person trusted, also known as an attachment figure (Bowlby 1969), can be considered as providing his (or her) companion with a secure base from which to operate. The requirement of an attachment figure, a secure personal base, is by no means confined to children** though, because of its urgency during the early years, it is during those years that it is most evident and has been most studied. There are good reasons for believing, however, that the requirement applies also to adolescents and to mature adults as well. In the latter, admittedly, the requirement is commonly less evident, and it probably differs both between the sexes and at different phases of life. For those reasons and also for reasons stemming from the values of western culture, the requirement of adults for a secure base tends often to be overlooked, or even denigrated. In the picture of personality functioning that emerges there are two main sets of influences. The first concerns the presence or absence, partial or total, of a trustworthy figure willing and able to provide the kind of secure base required at each phase of the life-cycle. These constitute the external, or environmental, influences. The second set concerns the relative ability or inability of an individual, first, to recognize when another person is both trustworthy and willing to provide a base and, second, when recognized, to collaborate with that person in such a way that a mutually rewarding relationship is initiated and maintained. These constitute the internal, or organismic, influences. Throughout life the two sets of influences interact in complex and circular ways. In one direction the kinds of experience a person has, especially during childhood, greatly affect both whether he expects later to find a secure personal base, or not, and also the degree of competence he has to initiate and maintain a mutually rewarding relationship when opportunity offers. In the reverse direction the nature of the expectations a person has, and the degree of competence he brings, play a large part in determining both the kinds of person with whom he associates and how they then treat him. Because of these interactions, whatever pattern is first established tends to persist. This is a main reason why the pattern of family relationships a person experiences during childhood is of such crucial importance for the development of his personality. Looked at in this light healthy personality functioning at every age reflects, first, an individual's ability to recognize suitable figures willing and able to provide him with a secure base and, second, his ability to collaborate with such figures in mutually rewarding relationships. By contrast, many forms of disturbed personality functioning reflect an individual's impaired ability to recognize suitable and willing figures and/or an impaired ability to collaborate in rewarding relationships with any such figure when found. Such impairment can be of every degree and take many forms: they include anxious clinging, demands excessive or over-intense for age and situation, aloof non-committal, and defiant independence. Paradoxically, the healthy personality when viewed in this light proves by no means as independent as cultural stereotypes suppose. Essential ingredients are a capacity to rely trustingly on others when occasion demands and to know on whom it is appropriate to rely. A healthily functioning person is thus capable of exchanging roles when the situation changes. At one time he is providing a secure base from which his companion or companions can operate; at another he is glad to rely on one or another of his companions to provide him with just such a base in return." (pg. 124-126)
  - "What in traditional theory is termed a 'good object' can be reformulated within this framework as a working model of an attachment figure who is conceived as accessible, trustworthy, and ready to help when called upon. Similarly, what in traditional theory is termed a "bad object' can be reformulated as a working model of an attachment figure to whom are attributed such characteristics as uncertain accessibility, unwillingness to respond helpfully, or perhaps the likelihood of responding hostilely. In an analogous way an individual is thought to construct a working model of himself towards whom others will respond in certain predictable ways. The concept of a working model of the self comprehends data at present conceived in terms of self-image, self-esteem, etc." (pg. 140)
  - "[S]trong and consistent support from parents, combined with encouragement and respect for a child's autonomy, so far from sapping self-reliance, provide the conditions in which it can best grow. It helps to explain, too, why, conversely, an experience of separation or loss, or threats of separation or loss, especially when used by parents as sanctions for good behaviour, can undermine a child's trust both in others and in himself, and so lead to one or another deviation from optimum development - to lack of self-confidence, to chronic anxiety or depression, to aloof non-committal, or to defiant independence that has a hollow ring. A well-based self-reliance, we may conclude, is usually the product of slow and unchecked growth from infancy into maturity during which, through interaction with trustworthy and encouraging others, a person learns how to combine trust in others with trust in himself." (pg. 148-149)
- Chapter 7 - The Making and Breaking of Affectional Bonds (pg. 150)
  - "What for convenience I am terming **attachment theory is a way of conceptualizing the propensity of human beings to make strong affectional bonds to particular others and of explaining the many forms of emotional distress and personality disturbance, including anxiety, anger, depression, and emotional detachment, to which unwilling separation and loss give rise.**" (pg. 151)
    - "Briefly put, attachment behaviour is conceived as any form of behaviour that results in a person attaining or retaining proximity to some other differentiated and preferred individual, who is usually conceived as stronger and/or wiser. Whilst especially evident during early childhood, attachment behaviour is held to characterize human beings from the cradle to the grave. It includes crying and calling, which elicit care, following and clinging, and also strong protest should a child be left alone or with strangers. With age the frequency and the intensity with which such behaviour is exhibited diminish steadily. Nevertheless, all these forms of behaviour persist as an important part of man's behavioural equipment. In adults they are especially evident when a person is distressed, ill, or afraid. The particular patterns of attachment behaviour

shown by an individual turn partly on his present age, sex, and circumstances and partly on the experiences he has had with attachment figures earlier in his life" (pg. 154)

- "[W]hen [a] mother is present or her whereabouts well-known and is willing to take part in friendly interchange, a child usually ceases to show attachment behaviour and, instead, explores his environment. In such a situation mother can be regarded as providing her child with a secure base from which to explore and to which he can return, especially should he become tired or frightened. Throughout the rest of a person's life he is likely to show the same pattern of behaviour, moving away from those he loves for ever-increasing distances and lengths of time yet always maintaining contact and sooner or later returning. The base from which an adult operates is likely to be either his family of origin or else a new base which he has created for himself. Anyone who has no such base is rootless and intensely lonely." (pg. 157)
- "When approached empirically separation from an attachment figure is found to be one of a class of situations each of which is likely to elicit fear but none of which can be regarded as intrinsically dangerous. These situations comprise, amongst others, darkness, sudden large changes of stimulus level including loud noises, sudden movement, strange people, and strange things." (pg. 159)
- "The key point of my thesis is that **there is a strong causal relationship between an individual's experiences with his parents and his later capacity to make affectional bonds**, and that certain common variations in that capacity, manifesting themselves in marital problems and trouble with children as well as in neurotic symptoms and personality disorders, can be attributed to certain common variations in the ways that parents perform their roles. Much of the evidence on which the thesis rests is reviewed in the second volume of Attachment and Loss (Chapter 15 onwards). The main variable to which I draw attention is the extent to which a child's parents (a) provide him with a secure base and (b) encourage him to explore from it. In these roles the performance of parents varies along several parameters of which perhaps the most important, because it pervades all relations, is the extent to which parents recognize and respect a child's desire for a secure base and his need of it, and shape their behaviour accordingly. This entails, first, an intuitive and sympathetic understanding of a child's attachment behaviour and a willingness to meet it and thereby terminate it, and, second, recognition that one of the commonest sources of a child's anger is the frustration of his desire for love and care, and that his anxiety commonly reflects uncertainty whether parents will continue to be available. Complementary in importance to a parent's respect for a child's attachment desires is respect for his desire to explore and gradually to extend his relationships both with peers and with other adults." (pg. 160-161)

c. Further Readings:
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