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JOHN BOWLBY'S ATTACHMENT THEORY AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO PSYCHOANALYTIC CONCEPTS OF THE EARLY SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF A CHILD

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In modern pedagogy, attachment is one of the key concepts that describes a child's attitude towards an adult. The phenomenon of attachment is a deep emotional bond that arises between a child and an adult as a result of communication and close interaction. Attachment is an individually directed stable emotional attitude, the basis of which is the experience of an affectively saturated relationship of a child with a close adult (usually a mother or a person who replaces her). As a result of interaction with parents, the child forms cognitive ideas about himself and others, an internal working model, patterns of interaction. It is shown that the primary working model, which is formed on the basis of primary attachment, is the basis of the personality development.

The article analyzes in detail the methodological aspects of J. Bowlby's theory of attachment, its relationship with psychoanalysis, ethology, systems theory and cybernetics. Special emphasis is placed on the psychoanalytic origins of psychoanalytic theory.

The staged sequence of attachment formation in J. Bowlby's concept is explained: 1) indecipherable reaction to people; 2) focusing attention on familiar people; 3) intense attachment and active search for closeness; 4) partnership behavior. Signs by which attachment disorders can be determined are identified. The significance of maternal deprivation and its negative impact on the child's early social-emotional development is revealed. The staged sequence of the child's experience of grief, which is a consequence of separation from the mother (or a person who replaces her), is presented.

The article reveals the main reasons for the violation of attachment formation in orphans and children deprived of parental care: 1) deprivation (sensory, cognitive, emotional, social); 2) the experience of being in an antisocial (disadvantaged) family; 3) experienced violence; 4) neglecting the needs of the child; 5) separation. The importance of J. Bowlby's attachment theory for social-behavioral sciences and pedagogy is shown.

Key words:

attachment theory; stages of attachment; figure of primary attachment; internal working model; deprivation; stages of grief; psychoanalytic pedagogy.

Анотація:

Вертель Антон. Теорія прив'язаності Джона Боулбі як альтернатива психоаналітичним уявленням про ранній соціально-емоційний розвиток дитини.

У сучасній педагогіці прив'язаність є одним із ключових понять, яке описує ставлення дитини до дорослого. Феномен прив'язаності є глибоким емоційним зв'язком, що виникає між дитиною і дорослим у результаті спілкування й тісної взаємодії. Прив'язаність – індивідуально спрямована стійка емоційна установка, основою якої є досвід афективно насичених відносин дитини із близьким дорослим (зазвичай матір'ю, або особою, яка її замінює). У результаті взаємодії з батьками дитина формує когнітивні уявлення про себе та оточуючих, внутрішню робочу модель, схеми взаємодії. Показано, що первинна робоча модель, яка формується на основі первинної прив'язаності, є підґрунтям розвитку особистості.

У статті детально проаналізовано методологічні аспекти теорії прив'язаності Дж. Боулбі, її взаємозв'язок із психоаналізом, етологією, теорією систем і кібернетикою. Особливий акцент зроблено на психоаналітичних витоках психоаналітичної теорії.

Експлікована стадіальна послідовність формування прив'язаності в концепції Дж. Боулбі: 1) нерозбірлива реакція на людей; 2) фокусування уваги на знайомих людях; 3) інтенсивна прив'язаність та активний пошук близькості; 4) партнерська поведінка. Виокремлено ознаки, за якими можна визначити порушення прив'язаності. Розкрито значення материнської депривації та її негативний вплив на ранній соціально-емоційний розвиток дитини. Представлено стадіальну послідовність переживання дитиною горя, яке є наслідком розлуки з матір'ю (або особою, яка її замінює).

У статті розкрито основні причини порушення формування прив'язаності в дітей-сиріт та дітей, позбавлених батьківського піклування: 1) депривація (сенсорна, когнітивна, емоційна, соціальна); 2) досвід перебування в асоціалній (неблагополучній) сім'ї; 3) пережите насильство; 4) нехтування потребами дитини; 5) розлука. Показано важливість теорії прив'язаності Дж. Боулбі для соціально-поведінкових наук і педагогіки.

Ключові слова:

теорія прив'язаності; стадії прив'язаності; фігура первинної прив'язаності; внутрішня робоча модель; депривація; стадії переживання горя; психоаналітична педагогіка.

The set of the problem. The attachment theory of the English psychoanalyst John Bowlby influenced the understanding of the processes that take place in family interpersonal relationships. In the process of a detailed study of children with behavioral disorders and a tendency to antisocial behavior, J. Bowlby described the so-called «unemotional character» and established that, for various reasons, most of these children lost their mothers in early childhood and did not have any permanent attachment (Bowlby, 1944a).

An important stage in the methodological substantiation of the problem of maternal deprivation at an early age in the context of attachment theory was J. Bowlby's report «On the state of mental health of homeless children in European countries in the post-war period»,

prepared on behalf of the World Health Organization. After its publication in 1951, this report gained wide popularity and was translated into 14 languages (only one English-language circulation was more than 400 thousand copies). The report, based on extensive factual material, convincingly presented the consequences of the traumatic impact of the separation of a child from his mother at an early age. The main leitmotif of the report is that the main condition for preserving the child's mental health is a stable, long-lasting and emotionally warm relationship with the mother (or a person who replaces her), which brings joy and satisfaction to both. J. Bowlby emphasized that not only the family plays a big role in this issue, but also society as a whole, since it can create

macroeconomic conditions under which normal child-parent relations are possible (Bowlby, 1951 b).

Analysis of recent research and publications. The works of J. P. Allen, K. B. McElhaney, G. P. Kuperminc, K. M. Jodl (2004), L. Alsop-Shields, H. Mohay (2001), M. Del Giudice (2015), T. Ein-Dor, M. Mikulincer, G. Doron, P. Shaver, (2010), K. A. Kerns, (2007, 2008), P. Pietromonaco, L. Barrett, (2000), R. Thompson (2000), R. L. Tyson (1990), F. Van der Horst, R. Van der Veer, (2009, 2011), H. S. Waters, E. Waters (2006), N. S. Weinfield, L. A. Sroufe, B. Egeland (2000) are devoted to the general methodological, psychological, social and pedagogical issues of attachment theory.

The purpose of the article is to reveal the features of J. Bowlby's attachment theory, as an alternative to the psychoanalytic approach, to show the importance of this theory for understanding the early social-emotional development of a child.

Main material. J. Bowlby's attention was drawn to the phenomenon of imprinting discovered by K. Lorenz, and then to the ethological direction in general. J. Bowlby contrasted psychoanalytic concepts, which could not fully reveal the essence of attachment relationships, with an ethological approach, which proves that even young animals have many reactions that are not reduced only to the satisfaction of their physiological needs by adults, the function of these reactions consists in the implementation of social interaction with biological parents or other representatives of their species. In the framework of ethology, attachment is considered as an innate mechanism that is necessary for the survival and development of offspring in many species of mammals. According to J. Bowlby, attachment is formed according to the principle of imprinting – a process that is at the heart of learning stimuli that initiate social instincts in animals. With the help of imprinting, baby animals determine the moving object that they need to follow. At first there may be several such objects, but after the final completion of the imprinting period, they try to stick to and follow only their own mother. At this stage, new attachments are not formed due to the reaction of fear, which limits the ability to form new social bonds. When developing his theory, J. Bowlby also relied on the principles of systems theory and cybernetics (the concept of a working model), but the role of the mother, understood by him as central in the early development of the child, relates his theory to psychoanalysis (Van der Horst, 2011).

As a psychoanalyst and a follower of M. Klein's psychoanalytic theory of object relations, J. Bowlby gradually began to revise psychoanalytic theory. He criticized psychoanalysis due to the fact that in psychoanalytic theory, as he believed, priority is given to the infant's basic need for food, and

attachment to the mother is perceived only as a secondary need. In his opinion, the most important thing for a baby is a reliable attachment to the mother. He believed that the tendency to attachment is a biologically determined, innate instinctive system of reactions. It is as important a motivator of infant behavior as, if not more important than, the need for oral gratification. J. Bowlby's fundamental statement is that the infant enters life with five highly organized behavioral systems: it is capable of sucking, crying, smiling, clinging, and following or orienting. Some of these systems are active from birth, others mature later. They activate the maternal behavior system in the mother or a person who substitutes her through which the infant receives feedback. This feedback initiates certain behaviors that define attachment. If the infant's instinctual responses are awakened and the mother figure is unavailable, the result is separation anxiety, protest behavior, sadness, and distress.

Most psychoanalysts agreed with the results of J. Bowlby's observations about the capacity of infants for attachment, however, his conceptualization of the bond with the mother and the statement that the infant experiences grief and suffering in the same way as an adult person has attracted criticism. Psychoanalysts have also criticized J. Bowlby's ideas about children's experiences of grief, because the experience of grief and loss requires a certain degree of perceptual and emotional maturity, as well as the differentiation of self and object, which are necessary to maintain object relations. The debate between proponents of the psychoanalytic concept of object relations and attachment theory continues. J. Bowlby refined his theory along the lines of information theory. He viewed attachment as mediated by structured behavioral systems activated by certain signals of internal or external origin. He argued that attachment cannot be explained by the accumulation of psychic energy, which eventually undergoes discharge. He considered his theory an alternative to the psychoanalytic concept of libido. This means that for J. Bowlby, psychoanalysis stopped at the model of the discharge of instincts (Tyson, 1990).

According to J. Bowlby, attachment relationships are built on the basis of the child's need for security, which is actualized at the beginning of his active exploration of the world. The baby's search for protective closeness and contact with an adult is intensified in situations of uncertainty, anxiety, danger, or discomfort (pain, cold, fatigue). An adult gives a child the opportunity to feel protected, and this has a positive effect on the active learning of the complete novelty and diversity of the surrounding reality. In terms of the child's development opportunities, attachment to «his adult» creates conditions in which the child trusts him, «obeys»

him, learns from him. For an adult who cares for a child, attachment creates conditions in which he «wants» to carry out this care, and parental responsibility, despite the associated burden, brings a sense of satisfaction and happiness.

J. Bowlby noted that the child's interaction with a close person to whom he feels attached, during the experience of a threat, supports in him a sense of reliability, secure attachment. This feeling (in the case of a favorable version of the child's development) persists throughout life. The feeling of reliability of attachment includes a person's unconscious belief: 1) that he will not be left alone at the moment of danger (that is, belief in the «availability» of the object of attachment); 2) that he is loved; 3) belief in one's own competence and significance; 4) confidence that the support and participation of a close person will allow him to cope with difficulties (Bowlby, 1988 j).

Attachment in its essence, is an attachment behavior. By attachment behavior, J. Bowlby meant any behavior that results in a person trying to maintain closeness with a person important to them, who is usually considered stronger and/or more experienced. In a methodological context, an important point is that attachment (attachment behavior) is often equated or confused with dependence (dependent behavior). From the standpoint of J. Bowlby's attachment theory, similar generalizations are possible, with an amendment to the division of attachment into constructive (productive) and destructive. In the psychoanalytic tradition, the term «dependence» is used, and the term «attachment» is used in most cases in psychoanalysis as a synonym for dependence.

Based on the psychoanalytical approach, J. Bowlby deliberately refused to use the term «dependence». The concept of «dependence» in psychoanalysis is based on the fact that the child is attached to the mother because he depends on her as a source of satisfaction of biological needs. According to J. Bowlby, feeling attached to the mother and being dependent on the mother are completely different things. In the first months of life, the child depends on maternal care, but he does not yet feel attached to her. At the age of two or three years, the same child, who is cared for by strangers, can show quite clear signs of a strong attachment to the mother, although at this time he is objectively not dependent on her in any way.

J. Bowlby notes that such concepts as «trust in someone», «reliance on someone» and «confidence in one's own abilities» are closest to the concept of «attachment». According to J. Bowlby, attachment implies freedom and confidence, as opposed to dependence (an age-inappropriate need for another person's care and love).

The central theoretical concept of attachment theory is the concept of a working model – a mental constellation that reflects the main qualities of oneself, the «significant Other» and the relationship between them, which includes three components (emotional, behavioral, cognitive) and is formed in the psyche of a child under the age of three in the process of developing primary attachment to the mother or a person who replaces her. All subsequent complex behavior control systems (cognitive, parental, food) will be based on these initial cognitive maps (working models) that reflect the surrounding reality and the individual's own actions (Waters & Waters, 2006). A working model defines the type of attachment inherent in an individual. The term «reliability» in attachment theory defines the confidence of an individual of any age – infant, child, adult – that the primary attachment figure will be available and attainable (Pietromonaco & Barrett, 2000).

J. Bowlby identified four stages of attachment in children:

1. The first stage (from birth to 3 months) is characterized by a vague, undifferentiated reaction to others. In the first stages of life (from 2 to 3 months), babies react to others in standard ways. Babies try to fix the look on an adult's face while listening to his voice. This is explained by an innate tendency to visualize, which is the basis of one of the most effective actions that characterize attachment – the social smile. At 5-6 weeks of life, pronounced emotional reactions appear, which are characterized by the sincerity and openness of the child's smile upon visual contact with the face of the parents or persons who replace them. A social smile helps to establish contact in the «parent-child» dyad, helps to establish and maintain a caring attitude of parents to the child, which in turn increases the likelihood that the child will grow up mentally and physically healthy.

Simultaneously with the appearance of a social smile, a new type of reaction appears in children, they begin to babble. Usually, children babble at the sound of a person's voice nearby, and especially when they see an adult's face. An important reaction of the child is crying, which is a kind of the child's signal, by which he informs the adult about discomfort and asks for help. Closeness between a child and an adult is also supported by clinging. The baby also maintains closeness by clinging. A newborn baby is endowed with two retention reactions. The first is a grasping reflex (automatic hand clenching when the child's open palm is touched). The second is the «Moreau reflex», a startle reaction to loud sounds and touches (children spread or extend their arms, and after a touch or sound, they pull them back and cover the chest. This reaction is similar to the child hugging something (Bowlby, 1953c).

2. *The second stage (from 3 to 6 months) is characterized by fixation and concentration of attention on already familiar adults.* Already at the 3rd place of life, the child's reactions begin to change, a number of reflexes disappear. J. Bowlby considered the main feature of this phase to be that at this age the child's social reactions become selective. At this age, children mostly smile at people they know, babies react warily to strangers, carefully observing their reactions. Between the 4th and 5th month of life, selectivity is also observed in verbal manifestations, children babble only in the presence of parents or persons who substitute them. A familiar adult can soothe and calm the child. At 5 months of life, children begin to reach, grab and hold body parts of an adult (hair, ears, fingers, etc.), but children do these actions only if they know the person. Children usually bond with two or three people – one in particular (Bowlby, 1953 c).

3. *The third stage (from 6 months to 2 years) is characterized by the formation of stable attachment and an active search for closeness.* In the second half of the first year of life, the child's attachment to a specific person becomes more expressive and selective. Most notably, infants show anxiety when separated from their mother (even for a short time). Until the age of 6 months, the child worries when any people leave him, now his worry will be associated with the absence of only one person. What is important is how and with what intensity the child reacts to the mother or to another figure of primary attachment after separation. When a person important to the child returns, the child usually joyfully vocalizes, reaches for the mother, tries to hug the mother. The intensity of the child's expression of joy directly depends on how the mother reacts to the reunion (joyfully or restrained). The specificity of the exclusive attachment of a child to parents or persons who replace them manifests itself at 6-7 months of life. During this period, the fear of strangers arises, the reaction to strangers can vary from barely noticeable alertness to hysterical manifestations, the dynamics of the emotional reaction to strangers is influenced by a number of factors, namely: well-being, mood, activity of the child, unfamiliar environment (Bowlby, 1958 d).

Attachment is not limited to the display of emotions. By the age of 8 months, the child begins to crawl, he tries to follow the mother, who moves away from him. The child makes every effort to coordinate actions to maintain contact with the mother. This is especially evident in the situation when the mother suddenly leaves the child or in unfamiliar conditions and situations of uncertainty. After the child acquires the ability to walk, children closely monitor the location of their mother and father and try to follow them. At the age of one

year, the child completes the formation of a general working model of attachment (a system of ideas about the emotional sensitivity and availability of parents or persons who replace them).

4. *The fourth stage (from 2 to 3 years) is characterized by the formation of partner behavior.* By the age of 2, the child focuses on the fact that the mother and father are in close proximity. At the age of 3, the child can take into account the plans of the parents and mentally model their behavior. Thus, the child rationalizes (explains) the absence of parents to himself. The main feature of this stage is the emergence of partnership interaction with parents. The behavior of parents and the peculiarities of their interaction with the child influence the formation of a certain type of attachment to parents.

Manifestations of attachment disorder can be determined by a number of signs:

1. The child's reluctance to contact the adults around him. The child does not come into contact with adults, ignores them; when trying to touch or stroke, the hand pushes away; does not make eye contact, avoids eye contact; is not included in the proposed game, nevertheless, the child pays attention to the adult, as if imperceptibly glancing at him.

2. The child is crying, timid, wary. The mood is characterized by apathy, the general emotional background is reduced.

3. At the age of 3 to 5 years, autoaggression can be manifested (children can «beat» their head against the wall or floor, the sides of the bed, scratch themselves, etc.). At the same time, aggression and autoaggression can be a consequence of violence against a child, as well as the lack of positive experience of relationships with other people (Bowlby, 1973 h).

4. Diffuse sociability – lack of a sense of distance with adults (the child tries to draw attention to himself in all available ways). Such behavior is observed in the majority of children of preschool and primary school age – pupils of boarding institutions. They rush to any new adult, climb into their arms, hug, call mom (or dad). Manifestations of attachment disorders are reversible and are not accompanied by significant intellectual impairment.

J. Bowlby studied the processes of separation of the child from the mother, conducting systematic observations of the behavior of deprived children (in hospitals and residential institutions). During the observations, children's reactions to their parents' leaving and returning home (situation of the child's placement in the hospital) were recorded; as well as general reactions of orphans and children deprived of parental care. The result of the longitudinal study was creation in 1952, together with J. Robertson, of the documentary film «Two-year-old child in the

hospital», which clearly demonstrated the depth of the child's suffering in the situation of forced separation from the mother. The facts presented in the film caused a wide public outcry that went far beyond professional medicine. In general, the film (and the scientific works of J. Bowlby and J. Robertson) contributed to the awareness of the degree of seriousness of the problem of separation in early childhood and the need to take into account its negative psychological impact on working with children (Van der Horst & Van der Veer, 2009).

In the context of research on attachment and its importance for child development, the phenomenon of maternal deprivation, which has dramatic consequences precisely during the formation of these relationships (up to three years), was also studied. J. Bowlby and J. Robertson described three stages of grief experienced by a child who has been separated from his mother for a long time (Alsop-Shields & Mohay, 2001).

1. The first stage is a protest: shouting, disgruntled crying, searching for the missing mother. The stage is characterized by the child's activity. Reuniting with the mother during this period, the child usually becomes simply unbearable for a while, expressing his anger to her, as if punishing her. When a child disappears, the mother also punishes him at first for the fear she experienced.

2. The second stage is despair. The child becomes quiet and lethargic, stops playing, loses interest in the world around him. Medical workers and teachers under whose supervision the child is at this time qualify the child's behavior as calm (as if the child has stopped worrying). But in fact, at this stage, the child almost accepts the loss of the mother, experiencing unbearable suffering.

3. The third stage is alienation. The child is becoming more active, looks no longer so lethargic and apathetic, begins to play again and reacts to others. First of all, the adults surrounding the child believe that he has returned to normal. However, at this stage, the loss of interest and emotional attachment to parents is explained by the actual disconnection with them. If the mother appears (or a person who replaces her), the child may not even recognize her, or prefer to engage with her in some other activity, or simply show no emotional response (Robertson & Bowlby, 1952).

The internal mechanism of the described emotional dynamics, according to J. Bowlby, is an intensification of the conflict between the desire to be with the mother and anger and aggression towards her. The child's condition worsens, both due to the absence of the mother, and due to the destruction or radical change of the usual developmental situation, the center of which for the child is the mother.

Destructive, traumatic processes caused by deprivation in residential institutions were described by J. Bowlby using the example of imprinting. He drew attention to the fact that most children brought up in residential institutions are unable to establish attachment relationships. In adult life, this manifests itself in the inability to have long-term, constructive, partner relationships, which for them usually have a superficial character.

J. Bowlby emphasized that there is a certain period during which imprinting must be established, otherwise deprivation processes lead to a slowdown in social-emotional development. Critical in this context are 8-9 months of life, during this period children show fear of strangers and fear of separation from the mother or a person who replaces her. From 1.5 months to 2 years of age, psychological and pedagogical help for the child can correct the situation. After 2 years of age, orphaned children raised in residential institutions with unformed attachments will not develop normally (Bowlby, 1960f).

Violations of attachment formation in pupils of residential institutions.

1. Deprivation. The main reason for the violation of attachment at an early age is deprivation – this is a specific condition that is the result of a long-term limitation of the main mental needs, this condition is characterized by the deformation of social contacts, deviations in intellectual and physical development.

We can distinguish 4 types of deprivation in children, which occur in the absence of the necessary conditions for normal development: a) *sensory deprivation* occurs in the absence of complete information about the surrounding reality, which is obtained through hearing, sight, smell, and touch. This type of deprivation is observed in orphans who are brought up in residential institutions from birth; b) *cognitive deprivation* – the lack of proper conditions for acquiring the necessary skills and training, which prevents understanding, regulating and predicting the situation and development of events; c) *emotional deprivation* – violation of emotional ties and contacts with adults that ensure the formation of the child's personality, primarily with the mother or a person who replaces her; d) *social deprivation* – limiting the ability to learn social rules, norms and social roles (Bowlby, 1969 g).

2. Destructive relationships in the family (if the child was brought up in a family before entering a residential institution). Important criteria are: a) the child was wanted/unwanted in the family; b) acceptance/non-acceptance of the child in the family by the parents; c) whether there was emotional attachment in the family.

3. Experience of violence. Children who have experienced sexual, psychological or physical abuse

in their own family can have a strong attachment to abusive parents, because children do not know other patterns of behavior and consider violence as the norm.

4. Neglect of the child's needs (including emotional ones) by parents or persons who replace them. Episodic, inconsistent or improper care.

5. Unexpected separation of the child from the parents (due to sudden hospitalization, deprivation of liberty, etc.). The most traumatic for a child is the death of parents (Bowlby, 1960e).

6. Moving (from the family to a residential institution, from one residential institution to another). After 5-6 years of age, it is more difficult for a child to adapt and form attachments.

In early childhood, the «close adult» for a child is usually the mother or a person who substitutes her. In the process of growing up, the child develops new attachments, the sphere of «close adults» expands, primarily at the expense of the father, as well as other family members who have constant emotional contact with the child. The importance of primary attachment is that the primary working model formed on its basis is the foundation of all further development of the individual, the basis of his emotional and motivational identity (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Thompson, 2000). This is manifested in the following patterns:

1. The experience of interaction with «close adults», with whom the child has formed an attachment in preschool age, lays the foundations of the basic model (matrix) for building all subsequent relationships and interactions. The more reliable the primary attachment, the higher the probability of the well-being of subsequent interpersonal relationships, that is, the better the ability to integrate, converge, identify (Kerns, 2008; Del Giudice, 2015; Allen et al., 2004).

2. Within the limits of attachment to a close adult, the image of a «significant Other» is formed in the child, which is associated with a certain system of ideas, feelings and expectations. This image plays a guiding role in the sphere of communication and social contacts.

3. On the basis of the experience of interaction with a «close adult» with whom the child has formed an attachment, an emotionally colored image of the «Ego»/«Self» is formed and a primary sense of self and self-attitude emerges.

4. Contact with a «close adult» provides the child with a sense of security, relieves feelings of anxiety and helplessness, and thereby creates primary mechanisms of emotional regulation.

5. The feeling of security, which ensures attachment to the mother, is a necessary prerequisite for the system of orientation in the surrounding world and the development of cognitive processes. Cognitive activity (curiosity) and general mental

development as a manifestation of the tendency to self-exploration of the world, autonomy, are closely related to the nature of primary attachment. Children with «hospitalism» syndrome lag behind significantly in development and cognitive activity.

6. Features and nature of the emotional attitude of the mother to the child determine the formation of the type of attachment. These are stable characteristics that create a tendency to stability, consolidation of the original model at the next stages of age development (Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

7. The lack of a safe, reliable connection to establish the constancy of the object, when the foundations of the entire emotional sphere are laid, is recognized as a critical factor in the emergence of personal and emotional disorders: a) disorders of the autistic spectrum; b) development of addictions and codependency; c) tendency to psychosomatic disorders; d) tendency to depressive and anxiety disorders; tendency to antisocial and deviant behavior (Bowlby, 1982 i).

8. Most of the structures of the child's personality arise (are «laid down») and then are formed in the conditions of one or another type of attachment, therefore, the nature of the primary attachment affects them. The formed type of attachment becomes a basic personal neoplasm, which mediates both the formation of other later neoplasms, and the actual process of accumulation of internal experience in the child, which determines a powerful and time-remote effect (Weinfeld et al., 2000).

Conclusions.

1. J. Bowlby's theory of attachment was formed on the basis of ethology, systems theory, cybernetics and psychoanalysis. As a practicing psychoanalyst and supporter of M. Klein's theory of object relations, J. Bowlby proposed an alternative theory of early social-emotional development of a child, which has its roots in the psychoanalytic tradition.

2. J. Bowlby proved that formation of attachment at an early age occurs during direct close emotional contact with a «significant Other» (usually the mother), in relation to which the child uses behavioral models that form attachment: crying, clinging, smile, follow.

3. Formation of attachment goes through four stages: the initial unintelligible reactions of infants to people, followed by a focus on familiar people, then the emphasis shifts to the search for closeness and intense attachment, which ultimately leads to the formation of partnership behavior.

4. J. Bowlby, one of the first, drew attention to the potentially dangerous effects of separation from parents. Getting a small child to the hospital with minimal contact with the parents causes the child great suffering. Thanks to J. Bowlby's research, hospitals in Great Britain, and then around the world, began to allow mothers and fathers to be in

the same room with their little children (this also applies to new mothers after childbirth).

5. J. Bowlby was one of the first to draw attention to the potentially harmful consequences of upbringing in residential institutions. The lack of attention from educators in institutions of institutional care provokes a decrease in emotional responsiveness and, as a result, an unwillingness to form relationships of psychological closeness with others, fear of intimacy, which takes the form of «emotional coldness syndrome». The research work of J. Bowlby had a positive impact on this field as well.

6. J. Bowlby's theory of attachment is important for the selection of foster parents and foster carers. J. Bowlby showed that when moving a child from an orphanage to a foster family, from one family to another, the child's attachment stage should be taken into account. As research by J. Bowlby showed, separation is more painful for a child between 6 months and 3 years of age. At this time, the child's attachments are intensively formed, but the independence and cognitive abilities that allow qualitative adaptation to separation are not yet formed.

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