

**PICKING WILD FLOWERS AND ORCHIDS:
ATTACHMENT THEORY AND THE IMPLICATIONS
FOR ADULT EDUCATION**

DR. TED FLEMING

INTRODUCTION

In his *Memoirs* (2005) John McGahern tells of having survived a childhood of love and hatred in rural Ireland. He begins by talking about the “inch deep” soil of Leitrim where one can trace “the beaten path the otter takes between the lakes” and the “quiet places on the edge of the lakes...where the otter feeds and trains her young” (p. 1). On the final page he returns to the otter, but also talks about his mother who died when he was eight:

She never really left us. In the worst years, I believe we would have been broken but for the different life we had known with her and the love she gave that was there like hidden strength.

When I reflect on those rare moments when I stumble without warning into that extraordinary sense of security, that deep peace, I know that consciously and unconsciously she has been with me all my life.

If we could walk together through those summer lanes, with their banks of wild flowers that ‘cast a spell’, we probably would not be able to speak, though I would want to tell her all the local news.

We would leave the lanes and I would take her by the beaten path the otter takes under the thick hedges between the lakes. At the lake’s edge I would show her the green lawns speckled with fish bones and blue crayfish shells where the otter feeds and trains her young....

As we retraced our steps, I would pick for her the wild orchid and the windflower.
(McGahern, 2005, p. 271-272)

McGahern knew that his mother forged for him a secure childhood and he carried this security with him all his life. This paper will explore the nature of this security and the implications for adult learning.

Adult education has grown accustomed to a particular palate of debates involving lifelong learning and a more critical understanding of learning. However, neo-liberal and functionalist educators have

colonized the lifelong learning debate with a fixation on technique, the economy and vocationalism (Welton, 1995). There are exceptions (Murphy, 2001) but even when the debate turns to more critical perspectives, as in Brookfield's work on critical theory (2005), there is a missing dimension. Tennant's (2006) psychology textbook omits ideas that have a biological base. We do not have a predisposition in adult education to explore ideas that are introduced with the words: "Consider the performance of the long-tailed tit..." (Bowlby, 1979, p. 28). But a palate of ideas bounded by a resistance to critical theory on the one hand and on the other by a resistance to looking at a biological base for human actions is a very narrow palate indeed.

This paper aims to address this lacuna and illustrate how attachment theory is of profound and neglected importance for a comprehensive understanding of adult development and learning. The importance of these ideas for adult learning was first prompted by work my wife has been doing on attachment theory (Neville, 2000).

Bowlby's theory of attachment is based on a number of understandings. First, children in orphanages, who suffered from maternal deprivation, the absence of fathers, siblings and a family environment, were liable to cognitive and affective consequences. Second, the developmental importance for animals of the early contact between mother and infant is established (Bowlby, 1969, pp. 184-190). The image of Konrad Lorenz (Bowlby 1969, p. 210) being followed by a line of goslings comes to mind. Subsequent experiments on rhesus monkeys with wire framed models as parents showed that young monkeys developed abnormal social behaviours including being abusive towards their own offspring. It is these images that may have led to the neglect of these ideas.

JOHN BOWLBY

John Bowlby's (1907- 1991) work with children from poor backgrounds convinced him that family life was important for their emotional development. In 1944 at the London Child Guidance Clinic (where he worked with Melanie Klein) he found that there was a connection between the behaviour of thieving children and their experiences in chaotic families without a consistent caregiver (Bowlby, 1944). He found that separation of infant from mother was detrimental to the infant's development.

In post-war Britain, at the Tavistock Clinic, in collaboration with James and Joyce Robertson, he studied the effects of separation on children. Their short film (Robertson & Robertson, 1953) about a secure well-adjusted child placed temporarily in care and the suffering endured still leaves an impact

on the viewer. The film documents the distress and disintegration of the child who experiences maternal deprivation as a deeply traumatic event. The film changed the way hospitals involved parents in the care of children. From then;

early separations are recognised as inherently dangerous for children; the mourning process is accepted as necessary rather than self-indulgent. But his greatest influence is where we would wish it to be, on the social arrangements that are made for children...in hospitals, in nursery schools, in care and...at home.

(Gomez, 1997, p. 53)

In trying to understand the causes of delinquency (Bowlby, 1944), the nature of the child's ties to mother (Bowlby, 1958), the meaning of separation anxiety (Bowlby, 1960a) and the significance of grief and mourning for young children (Bowlby, 1960b), he began to devise theories that were outlined in three books: *Attachment and Loss* (1969); *Separation: Anxiety and Anger* (1973) and *Loss: Sadness and Depression* (1980). A strong social concern runs through his work and he saw the emotional deprivation of children as a social ill, distorting and degrading the fabric of social life (Bowlby, 1953). He supported;

Training cadres of child-care workers and psychotherapists who are sensitive to the emotional needs of children and their parents; helping people to find security in their lives through the fostering of close emotional bonds;.... In these ways the vicious circles of deprivation can be broken, this generation's insecure young people no longer condemned to reproduce their own insecurities in the next.

These attitudes permeate almost every paragraph Bowlby wrote...

(Holmes, 1993 p. 201)

Bowlby reached the conclusion that aggression sprung from insecure attachments and in the absence of care the seeds of destruction and rage are sown (Holmes, 1993, p. 204). Disadvantage and poverty have psychological implications.

BOWLBY ON ATTACHMENT THEORY

It is unlikely that infants will survive without the care of an adult and there are inbuilt biological and evolutionary based predispositions in both adults and infants that contribute to the survival and development of the child (Bowlby, 1979, p. 37). Infants are 'programmed' to seek and precipitate appropriate adult reactions so that their survival and developmental needs are met. When left alone for even a short time or when cold, hungry or uncomfortable the child expresses distress in such a way as to make it both normal to want to respond and satisfying to attend to that distress. In this way infants are not passive recipients of care, but innately proactive in constructing caring relationships.

This attachment dance is the trigger for attachment behaviours in the parent. Attachment behaviour is;

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. (Bowlby 1979, p. 129)

The protective and comforting behaviour of the carer provides a secure base for the infant and interactions involving play, baby talk, making close eye contact, playing with objects and the excitement of the engagements are the initial ventures into the world for the child (Bowlby, 1969, p. 304). For Bowlby, parenting involves providing appropriate responses to the child's need for security (Bowlby 1979, p. 136). About one in three children grow up without this experience (Bowlby 1979, p. 136).

Attachment is the "process whereby infants and young children develop deep confidence in their parents' protection" and this enduring tie provides security (Goldberg, 2000, p. 8). The child's experience of attachment strongly influences subsequent reactions to stress, to relationships, self-esteem, sense of security and identity. If a parent is not available through neglect, illness or inattention this is likely to result in insecure attachment. Although the first attachment is almost always to the mother Bowlby's theory applies to and holds for any primary carer whether male or female, parent or carer. Bowlby observed that the child's attachment figure appeared to provide a secure base (a developmental platform) from which the infant could safely explore their environment and to which they could return if tired, stressed or in perceived danger or need (Bowlby 1988, p. 11). It is not until the child is about three that they can begin to tolerate separation and keep alive a sense that the caregiver, though absent, is still available.

Mary Ainsworth made significant contributions to the theory and studied the stress resulting from separation of child and mother (the strange situation) with an emphasis on the importance of a secure base provided by the mother (Ainsworth, *et al.*, 1978).

SECURE AND INSECURE ATTACHMENTS

Generally, when children have introjected their experiences of being cared for they will have a model of both themselves as valued and of key others as validating, responsive and predictable. As a result they will have a greater sense of 'felt security', more effective strategies for getting help when they need it and more optimistic views of social relationships. Such children are **securely attached** (Bowlby, 1969, p. 339). Infants who are securely attached are happy to explore their environment.

When the mother leaves they continue to explore but in a slightly diminished way. When mother returns, though they might or might not cry, they greet her positively and are easily comforted. Research continues (Howe, 1995a; 1995b) and;

...there is a strong case for believing that an unthinking confidence in the unfailing accessibility and support of attachment figures is the bedrock on which stable and self-reliant personality is built.

(Bowlby, 1973, p. 366)

The mother of a secure child has achieved this by being sensitive and appropriately responsive to the child's needs for security, and by being able to construct for the child an experience of being cared for. Such a mother may be characterised as psychologically available to the child, emotionally expressive and flexible in dealing with babies.

The family experience of those who grow up to become relatively stable and self-reliant is characterized not only by unfailing parental support when called upon but also by a steady yet timely encouragement towards increasing autonomy, and by the frank communication by parents of working models – of themselves, of child, and of others – that are not only tolerably valid but open to be questioned and revised.

(Bowlby 1973, p. 367)

More recent research has developed the concept of 'mind-mindedness' to describe the ability of a parent to understand and respond not only to the infant's feelings but also to their thinking (Meins, et al., 2002). The secure individual is inclined to be optimistic about coping, more likely to relate better to others, have greater capacity for concentration and cooperation and be more confident and resilient. They can express emotions openly and appropriately, acknowledge the physiological signs of anger, can control anger and have better mental health and relationships (Belsky 2002).

In addition to secure attachments there are insecure attachments that have been categorised as avoidant, anxious and disorganised. These attachments are defensive strategies that attempt to maintain contact with rejecting or inconsistent parents.

The **avoidant attached** child is usually unconcerned with either the presence or the absence of the mother and does not express attachment needs so as to avoid the risk of rejection. They can be more friendly with strangers than with the carer. The primary carer may not reject the child but may exhibit low levels of response to the distress of the child who is encouraged to get on with life and not make too many demands. The mother may be uncomfortable with close contact or have feelings

of resentment or may be slow responding to distress or minimally expressive or relatively rigid in dealing with infants.

The **anxious/ambivalent attached** child (Bowlby, 1969, p. 338; 1973, p. 245; 1979, p. 137; Ainsworth, et al 1978) is usually preoccupied with getting attention. The mother in this case is more likely to be inconsistent, insensitive to signals from the child or inept at engaging in physical contact and show little spontaneous affection. The child is preoccupied with the mother and is reluctant to explore even in her presence. The departure of the mother increases distress significantly. Comforting responses are resisted, rejected or ignored. This child has a picture of themselves as not lovable, not worthy of care, and of their parents as having to be manipulated into caring (Gomez, 1997, p. 161).

Finally, the **disorganised** attachment style was discovered by Main and Solomon (1986) and is associated with consistently inadequate care, maltreatment or depressed carer. The cause may be unresolved attachment loss or trauma in the early experience of the parent (Main & Hess, 1990).

Strange situation

Mary Ainsworth studied what happens to a child when their parent leaves the room or a stranger approaches. In this **strange situation** the child may experience separation anxiety. This situation is used as an analytical tool to assess attachment style, to assess the quality of early attachments and the nature of the mother-baby relationship.

Internal working models

Attachment operates by each child developing an internal representation of their experiences of the world of relationships that develops into what Bowlby called an internal working model of social relating (Bowlby, 1969, p. 80; 1973, p. 237). Infants, children and adults, base their understanding of social behaviour on these models. The internal working model implies that it is just that, a model like an architect's model, of how the individual perceives the world of relationships to be. Models guide social interactions and inform understandings of other people.

A securely attached child (or adult) will have internal working models that make meaning of the world as a safe place and of themselves as responsive, caring, reliable and a self that is worthy of love and attention. They will bring this way of making sense of relationships to all their relationships. On the other hand, an insecurely attached child (or adult) may view the world as a

dangerous place in which other people are to be treated with caution and will see themselves as not worthy of attention and love (Holmes, 1993, p. 79).

Biological base of attachments

While the bonds between parents and infants are shaped by personal experience the basic impetus for the formation of internal working models is biological. A number of researchers have built on the work of Bowlby and have been able to demonstrate that infants and children deprived of affective bonding and human contact (Romanian orphanages) have gaps in the part of their brains that deals with relationships (Schore, 1994; 2001). Going further, they demonstrate that parts of the brain that deal with relationships are constructed in the early years of life in response to the actions of parents. Their actions through play, talking and communicating triggers the physical development of the brain and the way it is 'wired'. Our brain is constructed as it grows in response to interpersonal stimulation. If attachment stimulation is absent, that part of the brain is not developed.

ADULT ATTACHMENT

Attachment behaviour characterises humans from the cradle to the grave and becomes evident when adults are under stress, become ill, afraid or in emergencies (Bowlby, 1979, p. 129; 1988 p. 27). Patterns established in childhood endure into adulthood and tend to structure the way we interact and relate. Attachment style and behaviours persist through life (Bowlby 1988 p. 126) and undergo developmental transformation. Adult attachments are linked to one's own childhood during which internal working models were constructed and in turn influence one's own parenting behaviour and ability to create secure attachments. This intergenerational dimension is important.

Internal working models can be revised in the light of experience, but they are not always or indeed easily assessable to conscious examination and change, because they were laid down early in the child's development (Bowlby, 1973, p. 367). The attachment orientations of care givers (adults) influence their attachments with their infants and children and the parent's attachment style is in this way transmitted across the generations (Bowlby, 1969, p. 348).

Bowlby saw that;

Whatever representational models of attachment figures and of self an individual builds up during childhood and adolescence, tend to persist relatively unchanged into and throughout life. As a result he tends to assimilate any new person with whom he may form a bond, such as a spouse or child, or employer or therapist, to an existing model...and may continue to do so despite repeated evidence that the model is inappropriate.

Such biased perceptions and expectations lead to various misconceived beliefs about the other people, to false expectations about the way they will behave and to inappropriate actions, intended to forestall their expected behaviour.

(Bowlby 1979, p. 142)

Attachment not only influences our ability to love but also to work. Hazan and Shaver (1990) assert that adult attachment supports work in the same way that infant attachment supports exploration and that the healthy balance between attachment and exploration in the infant is similar to the love/work balance in adulthood.

ATTACHMENT AND ADULT LEARNING

Attachment theory has a number of implications for adult education. These include the importance of attachment styles and internal working models;

- the strange situation;
- attachment theory for transformative learning.

Attachment styles and internal working models

Bowlby envisages the role of the therapist as providing the conditions in which a patient can explore their representational models of themselves and their attachment figures with a view to reappraising and restructuring them in the light of the new understandings acquired and the new experiences one has in the therapeutic relationship (Bowlby 1988, p. 138). He goes on to describe the role of the therapist as providing the patient with a secure base from which the past may be explored. Therapy involves assisting the patient to explore the ways he/she now engages in relations with significant others and what unconscious biases there may be in one's close or intimate relationships. The therapist encourages the patient to explore how the current situation is an expression of how one's own experiences in childhood may continue to impact on current relationships and helps in recognising that the models the patient has of themselves and their relationships may or may not be appropriate to the present or future, or indeed may not have been justified at all (Bowlby 1988 p. 138). In this way "one may cease to be a slave to old and unconscious stereotypes and to feel, think and to act in new ways" (Bowlby 1988 p. 139). This is an appropriate agenda for many adult education courses and programmes in personal development.

In working with students the teacher too will think, feel, act and have expectations based on their own internal working models that act as basic assumptions. These working models will influence the educator's reactions to learners who in turn are secure or otherwise. I am suggesting that in the training of adult educators it is worth increasing awareness of the ways one's own internal working

models and attachment styles lead one to understand or misunderstand the interpersonal communications of others, particularly students.

Thus the adult educator could see themselves as both aware of how they as tutor may be construing the world out of their attachment styles and internal working models as well as providing opportunities for learners to reconstruct and develop their own attachment styles and models.

Internal working models in adults affect our cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses to others in family, work and in all communications. They affect how data is evaluated and experienced, accepted, rejected or ignored, how communications are interpreted and responded to, how we evaluate others. Cognitive responses may lead to giving selective attention to others; to biases in memory; and impact on our inferences and explanations. Emotional response patterns and behaviour are also influenced by internal working models. In any activity that involves thinking, the question arises as to how one's internal working models influence that thinking? The thoughts we have, what we remember, what we consider important, how we interpret and make sense of events, is influenced by these models. Secure adults are more likely to integrate the cognitive and emotional and are less likely to be dominated by one or the other. But those with anxious attachments will focus on the emotional rather than the cognitive and those with avoidant style will overly rely on the cognitive factors and ignore or deny emotional reactions such as anxiety or fear (Feeney & Noller, 1996, p. 105). Attachment theory in this way helps us elaborate on what is more traditionally known as learning styles (Tennant, 2006, p. 86).

The recently developed concept of 'mind-mindedness' encourages and gives a developmental rationale for parents to focus on the feelings and thinking process of the child. There is a predictive link between maternal mind-mindedness and secure attachments (Mein, et al. 2002, p. 1717). Though this idea is not yet sufficiently researched, there is the tantalising possibility that the tutor who is capable of understanding both the feelings and thinking process of the learner will have the developmental dividend of a secure environment for learning and development.

Strange situation

The strange situation is a technique for identifying one's attachment style. Adult education provides strange situations for students. For example, when a student joins a course for the first time, or when confronted with new ideas, these are strange situations. In adult education we come across and precipitate such strange situations or experiences that perplex, disorient, or make the learner curious.

What happens, if we accept the insights of Bowlby, is most interesting. These situations induce a sense of loss. Meanings that were taken for granted as true become open for discussion, debate, examination, scrutiny and change. Students make meaning of the strange situations in ways that are consistent with their internal working models. Whether they are secure or insecure, this will impact on their feelings and attitudes, and how they interpret and act in these situations. The adult educator who produces a strange situation has the ethical responsibility to provide a safe space for exploring new ideas and situations. Of course, one's ability to do this is provocatively in proportion to the tutor's secure or insecure attachment styles and internal working models. The logic of the strange situation is what I imagine Maxine Greene means when she talks about the 'teacher as stranger' (Greene, 1973).

Transformation Theory

Transformation theory is the understanding of adult learning developed by Mezirow (1996). Internal working models are epistemic meaning schemes and in transformation theory it is such meaning schemes, these frames of reference that get transformed (Mezirow, 1996, p. 7). One dimension of transformative learning involves the process of developing new internal working models. It is also consistent with attachment theory to see the creation of perplexity as a way of prompting transformative learning, that in turn calls this a disorienting dilemma. In addition, we can come to understand how a new working model may be an improvement on a previous one by applying the criteria (from transformation theory) of being more inclusive, more discriminating and more open to future change as the criteria for judging an improved internal working model .

As one's attachment style informs ways of relating to others it is suggested here that a significant kind of adult learning involves the transformative and developmental task of moving toward more secure attachments and the new identity implied by this. This adds an important aim for adult development that ranks with the pathways outlined by Erikson, Kohlberg and Gilligan.

In transformative learning theory a key role is given to meaning as the organisation of experience. We order experiences, relate them to previous experiences and use them to make decisions about how to act in the future. This organisation of experience allows us order and classify events and recognise feelings associated with events. By perceiving experience as having a pattern that is recognisable we can learn (Marris, 1991, p. 78). The process of growing up is at least partly the process of developing these organisations of meaning. The activity of adult learning involves the process of changing these organisations of meaning. But transformative learning theory adds a

critical dimension by emphasising how these organisations of meaning are transformed by critical reflection on assumptions.

Both attachment theory and transformation theory are equally interested in the loss of meaning resulting from change in one's environment. In both theories it is acknowledged that loss, such as the death of a partner, child or friend may raise unnerving questions for our central meaning making system. In attachment theory there is an interest in the way one's attachment style and internal working models will impact on the experience of grief while in transformation theory there is an emphasis on the way meaning schemes produce understanding that are adequate or not for interpreting the current situation. Meanings break down not only because new events may not be capable of being explained by the current meanings but also because the purposes that informed the current ordering may get disrupted. Contradictions, incompatibilities, inconsistencies, anomalies, become clear, emerge and are heightened by changing circumstances. This tendency is an uncertainty that parallels Mezirow's disorienting dilemma. Our meanings are not secure or fixed and in many situations uncertainty flings itself on us.

In adult education that so often engages in sharing experiences, telling stories and learning from each other, these ideas are particularly important. What we perceive, the stories we tell and the coherence with which we tell them and our reactions to our own and other's stories is based on our own internal working models.

Human development is being redefined here as the transformation of attachment styles and internal working models and as previously suggested involves the transformation of attachment narratives (Fleming, 2003).

CRITIQUE

Neither the work of Bowlby nor Ainsworth was readily accepted by developmental psychologists. Rutter (1997) provided a series of structured critical reviews of attachment theory.

One of the main criticisms of attachment theory concerns the idea that infant experiences determine adult behaviour. Research confirms that there is considerable scope for later change in attachment style but also points to a strong link between child and adult attachment. The word 'determine' is not

optimal but early experiences make a unique contribution to adulthood. Change is always possible but is constrained by previous adaptations (Goldberger, 2000, p. 247).

Attachment theory is seen as unfairly blaming the mother who is in many cases the primary care-giver. No amount of political correctness will disguise the reality that it is most often the mother who is the main attachment figure and what she does and how she reproduces attachment styles is a crucial factor in how a child develops. But so often the resources that some mothers bring to parenting compromise the attachments they would like to forge. Even the idea that a child may spend considerable hours in childcare or crèche facilities compounds the guilt of parents and especially mothers. The dilemma for parents is how to balance the needs of the child for secure attachments with increasing social and economic demands for women to work. The challenge is to navigate the complex and difficult issues without increasing guilt or perceiving blame.

Bowlby raises the human trauma of maternal deprivation above all other trauma. Fathers are rarely looked at and have no intrinsic value at all. All possible shades of experience are reduced to one or other variety of attachment pattern. Little is known about how internal working models are constructed or how later in childhood or adulthood, they are reconstructed, transformed. We cannot look at internal working models directly, and so must make inferences from their output, e.g. drawings, narratives and behaviour, etc. More work needs to be done on these constructs.

The work of Bowlby was undertaken in the shadow of the WW2 where huge amounts of separation were experienced by men and women. However, he rarely explores these experiences where, in particular, women were left to rear children and earn a living in the absence of a husband and father for the children. The resulting distress caused to men and women is not explored at all.

One could also make the argument that the emphasis in Bowlby on maternal deprivation is a reflection of post-war England where many children were shocked by the separations of war. Bowlby was a welcome reemphasis of the values of mothering. In addition, it could be argued that in emphasising the role of mothers providing individual care for children he let the state or government off the hook – they should have been doing more to provide child care.

Feminists object that Bowlby is using biology to justify what is essentially a cultural product of our own 'patriarchal but father-absent' society (Holmes, 1993, p. 47). This division of labour fits modern society, leaving men free and women fettered. It can also be argued that in Bowlby the nature and

nurture debate is given an interpretation that emphasises the interaction between them – nature and nurture.

These critiques lead us to see that attachment theory, like all theory is contested, partial and always in need or development.

CONCLUSION

We are coming to terms slowly and painfully with the way we have reared children in Ireland. Tribunal and inquires investigate child abuse, and violence towards children in both the church and in state run child care institutions. The record on taking care of children, particularly when they were born outside marriage, is not good and too many children are in search of parents they never knew and parents in search of children they gave up for adoption.

There is a high correlation between the attachment behaviour of the carer and the resulting attachment characteristics of the child.

The experience of attachment is the first crucial link between sociological and psychological understanding: the experience of attachment, which so profoundly influences the growth of personality, is itself the product of a culture, and a determinant of how that culture will be reproduced in the next generation – not only the culture of attachment itself but all our ideas of order, authority, and control.

(Marris, 1991, pp. 79-80).

It is for these reasons that I am drawn to McGahern and his Memoirs. There the drama is narrated in cruel detail about his father but also the stories of a life sustaining attachment with his mother. I think he must have known, or come to some understanding about, the ability of good parenting to carry a person through life.

I am also reminded of Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* where Claudia is explaining how she hates Shirley Temple dolls that are a representation of the world of things to be possessed and a reminder of how white dolls are given as presents to black children. She destroyed these dolls:

...nobody ever asked me what I wanted for Christmas. Had any adult with the power to fulfil my desires taken me seriously and asked me what I wanted, they would have known that I did not want to have anything to own, or to possess any object. I wanted to feel something on Christmas day. The real question would have been 'Dear Claudia, what experience would you like on Christmas?' I could have spoken up, 'I wanted to sit on a low stool in Big Mama's kitchen with my lap full of lilacs and listen to Big Papa play his violin

for me alone.' The lowness of the stool made for my body, the security and warmth of Big Mama's kitchen, the smell of the lilacs, the sound of music, and, since it would be good to have all of my senses engaged, the taste of peach, perhaps, afterwards.

(Morrison, 1990, p. 15)

In these ways we develop secure attachments, and as a consequence are able to construct such attachments for our children, and to facilitate growth in our own adult attachment styles.

REFERENCES

- Ainsworth, M.D.S., Blehar, M.C., Waters, E. & Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of attachment*. Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Belsky, J. (2002). Developmental origins of attachment styles. *Attachment and Human Development* 4(2), 166-170.
- Bowlby, J. (1944). Forty-four juvenile thieves: Their characters and home lives. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 25, 19-52.
- Bowlby, J. (1953). *Childcare and the growth of maternal love*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Bowlby, J. (1958). The nature of the child's tie to his mother. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 39, 350-373.
- Bowlby, J. (1960a) Separation anxiety. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 41, 89-113.
- Bowlby, J. (1960b) Grief and mourning in infancy and early childhood. *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 15, 9-52.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and Loss Vol 1: Attachment*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and Loss Vol 2: Separation, anxiety and anger*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bowlby, J. (1979). *The making and breaking of affectional bonds*. (London: Tavistock).
- Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and Loss Vol 3: Loss, sadness and depression*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base: Clinical applications of attachment theory*. London: Routledge.
- Brookfield, S. (2005). *The power of critical theory: Liberating adult learning and teaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Feeney, J. & Noller, P. (1996). *Adult attachment*. London: Sage.
- Fleming, T (2003). Narrative means to transformative ends: Towards a narrative language for Transformation. In C.A. Wiessner, S.R. Meyer, N.L. Pfhall, & P.G. Neaman (Eds.), *Transformative learning in action: Building bridges across contexts and disciplines*, (pp. 179-184). New York: Columbia University.

- Goldberg, S. (2000). *Attachment and development*. London: Arnold.
- Gomez, L. (1997). *An introduction to object relations*. London: Free Association Press.
- Greene, M. (1973), *Teacher as stranger: Educational philosophy for the modern age*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Hazan, C. & Shaver, P.R. (1990). Love and work: An attachment-theoretical perspective. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59(2), 270-280.
- Holmes, J. (1993). *John Bowlby and attachment theory*. London: Routledge.
- Howe, D. (1995a) Adoption and attachment. *Adoption and fostering* 19(4), 7-15.
- Howe, D. (1995b) *Attachment Theory for social work practice*. London: Macmillan Press.
- McGahern, J. (2005). *Memoirs*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Main, M. & Hess, E. (1990). Parents' unresolved traumatic experiences are related to infant disorganised attachment status: is frightened and /or frightening behaviour the linking mechanism? In M.T. Greenberg, D. Cicchetti, & E.M. Cummins (Eds.), *Attachment in the preschool years*, pp. 161-184. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Main, M. & Solomon, J. (1986). Discovery of a new, insecure-disorganised/disoriented attachment pattern. In T. Brazelton & M. Youngman, (Eds.) *Affective development in infancy* (pp. 95-124). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Marris, P. (1991). The social construction of uncertainty. In Parkes, et al. *Attachment across the lifecycle*. London: Routledge.
- Meins, E., Fernyhough, Wainwright, R., Gupta, M.D., Fradley, E. & Tuckey, M. (2002). Mind-mindedness and attachment security as predictors of theory of mind understanding. *Child Development*, 73(6), 1715-1726.
- Mezirow, J. (1996). Adult education and empowerment for individual and community development. In B. Connolly, T. Fleming, A. Ryan & D. McCormack (Eds.), *Radical learning for liberation* (pp. 5-13). Maynooth: MACE.
- Morrison, T. (1990). *The bluest eye*. London: Picador.
- Murphy, M. (2001). Adult education, lifelong learning and the end of political economy. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 32(2), 166 – 181.
- Neville, P. (2000). Assessments for inter-country adoption in the North-Eastern Health Board: A search for a new model. Unpublished M A Thesis, National University of Ireland, Dublin.
- Roberston, J. & Robertson, J. (1953). *John* [Film]. University Park. PA: Pennsylvania State Audio Visual Services.
- Rutter, M. (1997). Clinical implications of attachment concepts: Retrospect and prospect. In Schore, A. (1994). *Affect regulation and the origin of self*. Hove: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Schore, A. (2001). Effects of a secure attachment, relationship of right brain development, affect regulation and infant mental health. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 22(1–2), 7–66.
- Tennant, M. (2006). *Psychology and adult learning* 3rd. ed. London: Routledge.
- Welton, M. (ed) (1995). *In defense of the lifeworld: Critical perspectives on adult learning*. New York: SUNY.