

Winfried Kurth

## Attachment Theory and Psychohistory<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

What circumstances might motivate us today to revive our interest in attachment theory and psychohistorical research? Many people in the industrialized countries experience feelings of disorientation in a world which has become increasingly complex and confusing.<sup>2</sup> Traditional role allocations are being called into question; curricula vitae are becoming more flexible, jobs more insecure. Future-oriented programmatic schemes, to which the intellectuals in particular attached high expectations for the creation of a "better world" (Enlightenment; socialism), are assumed to have been discredited by their failures; the post-modern philosophers proclaim the end of these "Grand Narratives".<sup>3</sup> *Insecurity* is thus a central problem for post-modern man.<sup>4</sup> Attachment theory, which places the term "secure attachment" in the center of its theoretical construct<sup>5</sup>, offers sort of a counter-model: Security is possible.<sup>6</sup> Psychohistory goes still further: By uncovering the motivations forming the basis of historical processes and political decisions and by searching for patterns and rules in these motivations, it aims at establishing a kind of order in the confusing complexity of history and to explain cruelties of wars and genocides. Drawing more or less obviously upon this, some authors envision the possibility that with such findings one day one might be able to "therapeutically intervene".<sup>7</sup> Especially Lloyd deMause with his "psychogenic theory of history"<sup>8</sup> has submitted an extremely far-reaching model; he explicitly postulates the creation of a new mankind on the condition that the treatment of children be fundamentally improved.<sup>9</sup> Naturally, in this sort of promise to cure all ills, dormant dangers lie. It would, however, hardly be rationally justifiable to reject a theoretical model only because it contradicts the spirit of the times or because others (Rousseau, Marx, Hitler...) failed with their visions of a "new mankind". May the psychogenic historical theory of psychohistory with its ascending progression of "childhood modes", which we will still describe further below, indeed be seen as the last "grand narrative"? Although

---

<sup>1</sup> This article was published in three parts in *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 41 (2013 / 2014), (1) 14-38, (2) 100-117, (3) 158-171.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Endres & Hauser (2000), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Lyotard (1990), p. 49 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Baumann, cited in Endres & Hauser, op. cit.

<sup>5</sup> cf. Bowlby (1988).

<sup>6</sup> Endres & Hauser (2000), p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Weinhold & Weinhold (1995); deMause et al. (1998).

<sup>8</sup> deMause (1982, 1989, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> "There is no question that if the world could treat children with helping mode parenting, wars and all the other self-destructive social conditions we still suffer from... will be cured, simply because the world will be filled with individuated personalities who are empathic toward others and who are not self-destructive." deMause (2002), p. 430.

often violently criticized<sup>10</sup>, deMause's theoretical model has not been disproved so far. The disputed future-oriented implications notwithstanding, it offers a variety of specific inspiring aspects which make it seem interesting to pedagogues, historians, political scientists and philosophers.<sup>11</sup>

For both disciplines of research, attachment theory and psychohistory, early childhood is of crucial importance. It could therefore be seen as a shortcoming that up to now they have hardly taken any notice of one another.<sup>12</sup> This can be most easily observed in respect to psychohistorical research, which even today often still finds itself in a marginalized academic niche and is forced to fight for recognition in both its foster disciplines – psychology and historical science. It is thus comprehensible (although perhaps sometimes counterproductive) if proponents of attachment theory, whose main concern is to secure their professional, socio-scientific reputation, would prefer rather not to get involved with such "odd fellows". On the contrary, however, attachment theory achieved large-scale scientific recognition and institutionalization during the last decades<sup>13</sup>, and psychohistory would, by building links to it, be in a better position to sure up and secure some of its own theoretical propositions and convey them to its neighboring disciplines, and with such an approach it might also reveal completely new insights.

The present article is an attempt to make visible some of the cross connections between both research disciplines. For this purpose, the foundations of attachment theory and psychohistory, for the latter with special emphasis on the psychogenic historical theory of deMause, will be briefly presented (sections 2 and 3). The presentation here must remain somewhat sketchy because of the limitations on space; for more detailed explanations the reader should refer to the literature mentioned in the respective sections. In section 4, an attempt is made to point out common roots of attachment theory and psychogenic historical theory. Ingredients (components, additions, characteristic traits...) of attachment theory of a psychohistorical nature will be delineated in section 5. In all these sections we will concentrate on theoretical considerations. In contrast, we will also refer to concrete sample studies in section 6 whenever applications of attachment theory to psychohistorical questions are concerned, particularly in respect to infant care under National Socialism, recent right-wing extremist orientations among youths and attitudes towards nuclear armament. In the conclusion (section 7), then, a (provisional) synthesis of attachment theory and psychogenic historical theory will be attempted regarding the classification of attachment representations and "modes of child rearing" (in the sense of deMause), and suggestions for follow-up studies provided.

---

<sup>10</sup> for further details see below, par. 3.1.

<sup>11</sup> cf. Boelderl (2001).

<sup>12</sup> An exception among the attachment researchers is Klaus E. Grossmann (1995), who would like to see earlier works by deMause integrated into the history of attachment theory. Further exceptions will be presented below, in chs. 5 and 6.

<sup>13</sup> cf. Bretherton (1997).

## 2. Attachment theory

*Attachment theory*, originating in the 1950's, was essentially developed by John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth.<sup>14</sup> This theory is founded on the premise that *attachment behavior* of humans is a behavioral system anchored in evolutionary history and therefore has a priority equal to the behavioral systems ingestion and reproduction: "Emotionally important attachments between individuals have a fundamental survival function and are thus of primary nature (in contrast to suppositions of secondary drive theories)"<sup>15</sup> – in this respect attachment theory sets itself apart from classical psychoanalysis which considered the attachment of the baby and the infant to the mother, including the appertaining behavior patterns (crying, clinging, searching...), to be derived from oral gratification needs.<sup>16</sup> Attachment behavior develops with each individual in the course of its aging process. With respect to the infant, it takes on a specific form, concentrated on parents or other attachment figures, but is, however, not limited to babyhood and infancy: "... the ability to establish attachments to other persons (either in the role of the person seeking for support and comfort, or of the person providing both of these), [is] regarded as a fundamental characteristic of an effectively functioning personality and of psychic health."<sup>17</sup> The term "attachment" is to be distinguished from "dependence": the latter designates a functional relationship of dependence, whereas "attachment" descriptively refers to a behavioral pattern from the perspective of attachment theory.<sup>18</sup> Parallel to attachment behavior, *exploration* behavior develops as a further life-serving behavioral system: "... the urge to explore the environment, to play and to take part in different activities with peers. This behavior is antithetical to attachment behavior. If a person feels secure..., it will very likely remove itself from its attachment figure in the process of exploration. If it becomes alarmed, frightened, tired or if it feels uneasy, it feels a strong need for proximity. It is in this form that a typical pattern of interactions between child and parents displays itself, namely, exploration from a secure base."<sup>19</sup> Attachment theory orients itself, as already suggested in the quotations above, toward *ethology* and takes an empirical-observational direction:

"Attachment research relies on observations in an ethological tradition, looking at the context and function of behaviors. ...The observations are designed to reveal the underlying adaptive strategies of infants, children, and adolescents, given their preprogrammed need for attachment and the caregiver's readiness to accept and respond to this need."<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 27 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Bowlby (1997b), p. 20.

<sup>16</sup> see, e.g., Klein (1948).

<sup>17</sup> Bowlby (1997b), p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Bowlby (1997a), p. 228.

<sup>19</sup> Bowlby (1997b), p. 21, italicization: W. K.

<sup>20</sup> Grossmann & Grossmann (1991), p. 93.

As a basic approach within the empirical social sciences, attachment research is however not limited to a purely quantitative enumeration of behavioral expressions but pursues an integrative approach: "attachment" serves as an organizational construct by means of which the interrelations among behavior strategies on the level of the individual can be seen and understood.<sup>21</sup> As an important standard experiment which is usually conducted with children at the end of their first year of life the so-called "Strange Situation" was developed, a structured laboratory observation method by which the interaction between the behavioral systems attachment and exploration is examined under conditions of stress:<sup>22</sup> The children are separated from their familiar attachment figures in an unfamiliar environment twice, once in presence and once in absence of a stranger, whereby at the same time toys are available.<sup>23</sup> Surprisingly<sup>24</sup>, not all children react in the same or a similar way in this situation, but rather different behavior patterns could distinctly be observed which can be classified into three (later increased to four) *attachment categories*.<sup>25</sup> In this respect, particularly the greeting behavior of the child during the reunion with the familiar person can be seen as the key differential criterion:

Category B: *securely attached*

The child cries during the separation and calls for the familiar person; as soon as this person reappears, it is joyfully welcomed. The stress of the child quickly subsides; it reverts back to exploration behavior (playing).  
("B" stands for "balanced".)

Category A: *insecure-avoidant*

The child does not show any outward reaction when left alone. However, a physiological stress reaction (rise of the cortisol level)<sup>26</sup> takes place. Upon reunion the child turns away from the familiar person. The exploration behavior is resumed. "The infant appears competent, but without feeling."<sup>27</sup>  
("A" stands for "avoidant".)

Category C: *insecure-ambivalent / preoccupied / resistant*

The child is anxious or angry already before the separation, it displays strong symptoms of stress in each separation episode and is extremely distressed upon return; An alternation between seeking proximity and aggression can occur. The uneasiness lasts for a long time even after the experiment.  
("C" stands for "crying".)

---

<sup>21</sup> Sroufe & Waters (1977), cf. Grossmann & Grossmann (1991), p. 93.

<sup>22</sup> Bretherton (1997), p. 41; Main (2001), p. 9; Bowlby (1997a), p. 336.

<sup>23</sup> for a more detailed description see Main (2001), p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Grossmann & Grossmann (1991), p. 93; Bretherton (1997), p. 42.

<sup>25</sup> Main (2001), p. 12 ff.; Endres & Hauser (2000), p. 11.

<sup>26</sup> Spangler & Schieche (1997), p. 306.

<sup>27</sup> Main (2001), p. 14.

Furthermore, subcategories to all three categories were introduced, but they cannot be dealt with here.<sup>28</sup> In the 1980's, a new category was introduced by Main and some colleagues of his which particularly occurs with children of parents with unresolved traumatizations<sup>29</sup>:

Category D: *disorganized / disoriented*

Contradictory behavioral patterns occur, non-directional, misdirected or interrupted movements and expressions, stereotypics, abnormal bearings, freezing and slowed movements, disorientation or fearful anxiety towards the familiar person.<sup>30</sup>

("D" stands for "disoriented".)

"D"-behavior consists in an interruption of organized behavior and is therefore placed in a category together with an alternative category (D/B, D/A, D/C). A residual category "CC" ("cannot classify") contains those (few) cases which cannot be assigned to any of the other categories.

In studies in which the laboratory experiment was repeated with the same persons after a longer period of time a remarkable stability of behavioral patterns in the "strange situation" could be observed. An exception to the rule were those families which were experiencing extreme stress due to external circumstances or a change of the family situation<sup>31</sup> – here changes occurred more frequently. Studies on the "strange situation" have in the meantime been carried out in numerous countries, especially in the US, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Israel, Japan, and China. On average in these studies 65 % of the cases involved the "securely attached" B-category, 21 % "insecure-avoidant" (A) and 14 % "insecure ambivalent" (C). (The category "disorganized" (D) had not yet been considered in these studies.) In the Western European countries, particularly in Germany, there was a significantly higher proportion of "insecure-avoidant" children than on the average, whereas in Israel and Japan a higher proportion of "insecure ambivalent" children could be found. However, the discrepancies between different samples in each of the countries are also considerable, so that one is warned not to jump to hasty conclusions considering cultural influences.<sup>32</sup>

How, then, do the differences in attachment behavior emerge, and what kind of effects do they have on the further life of the child? In this respect, the term "internal working model" is of importance in attachment theory. It is presumed that attachment patterns with respect to relevant attachment figures, developed in early childhood, become more and more internalized by the child in the course of its further development: The child forms "cognitive-affective constructs" in relation to the way its attachment figures behave, and these "working models" afterwards function as prototypes for relationships and will later on affect its later perceptions

---

<sup>28</sup> cf. Main (2001), p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Main (1997).

<sup>30</sup> Main (2001), p. 20 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Magai & McFadden (1995), p. 52; Main (2001), p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> Van IJzendoorn & Kroonenberg (1988); Magai & McFadden (1995), p. 51.

and its behavior.<sup>33</sup> "They [the internal working models] are schemata (organizational structures) of emotions, behavior and mental concepts, which stand in relation to different qualities of successful psychologically constructive adaptation."<sup>34</sup> John Bowlby was inspired in his development of this concept on the one hand by Sigmund Freud's conceptions of the inner life and its influence on the behavior of humans – on the other hand also by a mastermind of AI (artificial intelligence) research, Kenneth Craik, from whom he adopted the expression "internal working model".<sup>35</sup> Bowlby himself explicitly draws a parallel to an "electrical engineer" for whom it is nothing unusual to conduct experiments in small-scale models in order to predict behavior in reality.<sup>36</sup> Something similar takes place in the head in the case of "thought-experiments", which can proceed consciously, but also unconsciously. In this regard, several internal working models may co-exist:

"Psychoanalysts from Freud onwards have presented a great deal of evidence that can best be explained by supposing that it is not uncommon for an individual to operate, simultaneously, with two (or more) working models of his attachment figure(s) and two (or more) working models of himself. When multiple models of a single figure are operative they are likely to differ in regard to their origin, their dominance, and the extent to which the subject is aware of them. In a person suffering from emotional disturbance it is common to find that the model that has greatest influence on his perceptions and forecasts, and therefore on his feeling and behaviour, is one that developed during his early years and is constructed on fairly primitive lines, but that the person himself may be relatively, or completely, unaware of..."<sup>37</sup>

The internal working models develop on the basis of the experiences the child has with its attachment figures. Of special importance is the *degree of sensitivity* that these persons exhibit towards the child<sup>38</sup>, and their availability and reliability.<sup>39</sup> "The attachment model with regard to a certain person thus reflects... the representation of the history of responsiveness of the attachment figure concerning the actions and intentions of the child together with and related to this attachment figure."<sup>40</sup> Intensive studies in which the children were observed at home together with their attachment figures empirically substantiate the interrelation between sensitivity of the attachment figures and behavior in the "Strange Situation".<sup>41</sup> In particular with

---

<sup>33</sup> Hofmann (2001), p. 124.

<sup>34</sup> Grossmann (2000a), p. 50.

<sup>35</sup> Bretherton (2001), p. 54.

<sup>36</sup> Bowlby (1997a), p. 81.

<sup>37</sup> Bowlby (1998), p. 238.

<sup>38</sup> Magai (1997), p. 142.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> Fremmer-Bombik (1997), p. 111.

<sup>41</sup> Main (2001), p. 13 ff.

children attached insecurely-avoidant (to their mother) a *rejection* of attachment behavior of the infant by the mother was observed<sup>42</sup>, whereas in the case of insecure-ambivalent attachment frequently a nonsensitive, inapt or unpredictable behavior was shown – occasionally, however, also caregiving and cordiality in handling the child.<sup>43</sup> Disorganized attachment behavior occurs if the attachment figures are abusive and intimidating, but sometimes also if they show fearful, dissociative behavior or act as if in a trance (e.g. as a late effect of own experiences of abuse).<sup>44</sup> In sample studies with abused children the large majority (80 %) was assigned to the D-category.<sup>45</sup>

A new phase of attachment research<sup>46</sup> set in when it was realized that the attachment representation in the *adult* is accessible, too, to a quantitative survey by means of the analysis of *linguistic representations* of attachment experiences. For this purpose the "Adult Attachment Interview" (AAI) was developed, a semi-structured interview concerning the early experiences of attachment figures and the judgment of the significance of these experiences in the present-day view of the interviewed persons.<sup>47</sup> In this regard, not so much the content of the answers is crucial for the evaluation, but rather the linguistic coherence, e.g. the occurrence of contradictions, hesitation on certain questions etc., from which conclusions as to partially unconscious mental representations of attachment experiences can be drawn. Parallel to the classification pattern of the "Strange Situation" the evaluation of the AAI also leads to five categories<sup>48</sup>:

- Category F "*secure / autonomous*",
- Category Ds "*insecure-dismissing*", "attachment-rejecting", "defensive-trivializing" ("Ds" for "dismissing"),
- Category E "*enmeshed / preoccupied*", "entangled" ("E" for "enmeshed" or "entangled"),
- Category U "unresolved attachment status",
- Category CC "cannot classify" (residual category).

Those having been classified as "secure / autonomous" can speak freely and objectively about the history of their relationships – even if they look back on insecure attachment experiences. The "insecure-dismissing" reject attachment-related experiences and emotions, partly through idealization, partly through limited memory capacity or through depreciating or evasive statements about the attachment figures. Those classified as "enmeshed" have difficulties in seeing their own relationship problems soberly and reserved and in dealing with them in a reasonable manner; persistence in passivity or conflictprone, angry entanglement in the

---

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>44</sup> *ibid.*, p. 26; Main (1997), p. 129 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Main (1997), p. 129.

<sup>46</sup> cf. Main (1997).

<sup>47</sup> George et al. (2001); Gloger-Tippelt (2001a).

<sup>48</sup> cf. Hofmann (2001); Gloger-Tippelt (2001a); Hopf & Hopf (1997), p. 56 f.

relationships with the attachment figures dominate.<sup>49</sup> Category E proved to be particularly heterogeneous and was further divided into

- passively preoccupied,
- angrily / conflictprone preoccupied
- fearfully preoccupied with traumatic events.<sup>50</sup>

Indications of an unresolved attachment status are, among other things, extreme reactions, cognitive disorientation, discourse errors, disorganization in behavior.<sup>51</sup> A meta-analysis of different samples revealed the following distributions for a total of 487 nonclinical mothers with whom the AAI had been conducted: 55 % secure/autonomous, 16 % insecure-dismissing, 9 % enmeshed/preoccupied, 19 % unresolved or CC.<sup>52</sup> Secure attachment models with mothers are therefore somewhat more seldom than secure attachment patterns with infants in the strange situation (65 %, see above).<sup>53</sup> The distributions of the AAI categories are to a large extent identical in the countries examined so far (which are all industrialized countries with Western orientation); there are, however, differences between clinical and nonclinical samples and deviations from the average with parents of low socio-economic status – in the case of the latter the secure/autonomous category is found more seldom and DS and U are more frequently represented.<sup>54</sup>

An important result of attachment research is thus that a strong interrelation exists between the internal working models of adults derived from the AAI and the attachment quality with respect to their children (Strange Situation): In several studies a cross-generational stability could be found among 75 % to 82 % of the mothers and among 60 % and 68 % of the fathers.<sup>55</sup> This result is all the more remarkable inasmuch as a connection is revealed here between data which were obtained in methodically completely different ways: By observation of behavior (Strange Situation) on the one hand and through evaluation of linguistic interview results (AAI) on the other.

In the meantime, there are also long-term studies which examined stability "in the other direction": from the attachment behavior of the child to the attachment representation of the youth or adult. Here the results are not as clear as is the case for the transmission of attachment patterns from adults to children, but they are nevertheless notable: In two studies which used the AAI with youths and young adults, who had been observed in their childhood in the strange situation, over 60 % were classified as belonging to the consistent main category. Changes in classification were often linked to critical life events such as illness or loss of the

---

<sup>49</sup> cf. Hopf & Hopf (1997), p. 56 f., for a short summary, for detailed descriptions of category F Ziegenhain (2001), for Ds Gloger-Tippelt (2001b), for E Gomille (2001), for U Hauser (2001).

<sup>50</sup> Gomille (2001), p. 201.

<sup>51</sup> Hauser (2001).

<sup>52</sup> van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg 1996, cited in Hofmann (2001), p. 146.

<sup>53</sup> *ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p. 146 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Fremmer-Bombik (1997), p. 117, as well as studies cited there; see also van IJzendoorn (1992).

parents, divorce of the parents or experience of abuse. In two other studies there were however no significant long-term stabilities.<sup>56</sup>

On the whole, in the transmission of attachment patterns along the line parents → child → parents a tendency to cross-generational stability would result:

"Experiences of sensitive, warm, loving care are recalled by these mothers or fathers who in turn are sensitive and loving to their own children and to others..., whilst authoritarian parenting and a stressful environment tends to be associated with aggressive and assertive children... Indeed, 'a reinforcing dynamic between problem behaviour and unstable ties in the family' ... was found across four generations of women in the Berkeley Guidance Study..."<sup>57</sup>

Regarding the transmission of violence-laden, abusive and exploitative behaviors in "problem families" it corresponds to the experience of female social workers and family therapists. A recently appearing report on a female delinquent who had her husband killed after had repeatedly and strongly abused her, underlines the fateful character of such cross-generational continuity:

"She who has lived through fear of her father throughout her childhood wishes to tear the fright from the life of her children and nevertheless drags them all into ruin... Family violence is more than the sum of the deeds of individual persons, it is a calamity which overshadows entire sibs, a programming which transforms men and women into puppets on the string of an evil spirit. In the case of Valerie and her family one can study in an exemplary manner how this curse is passed on from generation to generation... Like in the Greek tragedy every individual – perpetrator and victim alike – sees what is to be done, every individual – victim and perpetrator alike – knows what he should change – and must nevertheless, according to his destiny, hit or endure, kick or crawl. Perpetrator of violence and endurers of violence seek out each other, recognize one another among thousands, and come together as if steered by an invisible hand and begin their ugly game. And this yields perpetrator and victim once more..."<sup>58</sup>

However, attachment theory is not limited to this fatefulness, this determinism. It also recognizes the possibility of an *earned secure* attachment representation with adults who had a more unfortunate childhood.<sup>59</sup> Internal working models are neither rigid nor established once and for all; they can be altered – but this change does not seem simple to achieve. How this might be accomplished has not yet been

---

<sup>56</sup> Hofmann (2001), p. 149 f.

<sup>57</sup> Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde (1991), p. 57.

<sup>58</sup> Rueckert (2001), p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> Grossmann (2000a), p. 50.

thoroughly investigated.<sup>60</sup> For the construction of a secure-autonomous attachment model in spite of negative Attachment experiences with parents positive experiences with other intimate persons seem to be important: Grandparents or other relatives; in later age also friends, partners in love and therapist.<sup>61</sup>

Attachment theory envisages in any case a "lifelong significance" of earlier attachment experiences<sup>62</sup>; continuous negative experiences of the infant can later lead to personality disorders as an adult.<sup>63</sup> This connection to psychopathology was already a strong motivation for John Bowlby in the study of childly attachment behavior:

"...it seemed to us that when we observe children during and after periods away from mother and in a strange setting we are witnessing responses, and also effects of defensive processes, that are just those that enable us to bridge the gap between an experience of this sort and one or another of the disturbances in personality functioning that may follow."<sup>64</sup>

The social experiences in the family do not, however, shape the behavior of the later adults directly and abruptly, but rather via the cognitive and affective representation of these experiences in the (later possibly modified) "internal working model".<sup>65</sup> Thereby, social and cultural influences can intervene at two points: In dealing with children in a society (direct influence on the interactions between attachment figures and children) and in the further formation of the internal working models (presumably through further interactions between maturing persons with other persons and by affective and cognitive processes).

Attachment theory has hardly been applied so far to *historical* objects. One reason probably lies in the experimental and direct observational *methodology* which most of the attachment researchers prefer, but which is not generally applicable to historical source material due to its fragmentary nature. It is not possible to conduct the AAI with historical personalities, and sources about childhood history always lend themselves to interpretation – in any case to a much larger extent than standardized observations of the "strange situation" in the laboratory. It is therefore understandable that many attachment researchers do not dare to leave the methodically "secure base" of empirical social research for the thin ice of retrospective analyses. Bowlby was less "insecure-avoidant" in this regard: He cited a "follow-up study" of the historical "Schreber case".<sup>66</sup> Daniel Paul Schreber (born

---

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Ziegenhain (2001), p. 165 f.; see also Grossmann & Grossmann (2001), p. 90.

<sup>62</sup> Fremmer-Bombik & Grossmann (1993).

<sup>63</sup> Bowlby (1988); for family violence and fearful attachment, see also Grossmann (2000b).

<sup>64</sup> Bowlby (1997a), p. xiv.

<sup>65</sup> cf. Hopf & Hopf (1997), p. 57.

<sup>66</sup> Bowlby (1998), p. 206 ff.

1842) was an important patient of Sigmund Freud; he suffered from religious hallucinations which Bowlby traced back to the extremely rigid and traumatizing attachment-relevant education by the father, the pedagogue and author of a book on child-rearing Daniel Schreber.<sup>67</sup> In stressing the significance of actual attachment experiences Bowlby set himself apart from Freud, who had placed emphasis on the role of drives and fantasies. – We will return to the (scarce) newer examples of historical and contemporary applications of attachment-theoretical approaches in section 6. From the perspective of attachment theory the time may have come for such applications. Mary Main even goes so far as to talk about the dawn of a "new phase" of attachment research:

"What is missing at the moment is still an even more comprehensive point of view..., in particular, more understandings both for connections to sociopolitical and social aspects, which... had always interested Bowlby, and for mechanisms which lie at the base of the presently recognized individual differences in the attachment organization. It seems as if the study of these macro and micro levels... [is] getting underway."<sup>68</sup>

Can psychohistory come to meet attachment research here "from the other side"?

### 3. Psychohistorical theories

Psychohistory as a field of study is substantially more inhomogeneous and unstructured than attachment theory. We will first of all examine the branch which is theoretically most effectively structured and which offers the most comprehensive attempts at explanation – the psychogenic theory of history of Lloyd deMause. Subsequently, other theoretical approaches will be briefly touched upon. Again, the presentation in this section can only be of a very cursory nature.

#### 3.1. *The psychogenic theory of history of Lloyd deMause*

The psychogenic theory of history confronts itself with the task of producing descriptions and causal explanations for processes of historical change on the basis of motivational structures of the participants.

"The... 'psychogenic theory of history'... began with a comprehensive theory of historical change. It posited that the central force for change in history is neither technology nor economics, but the 'psychogenic' changes in personality occurring because of successive generations of parent-child interactions."<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> cf. Miller (1983).

<sup>68</sup> Main (1997), p. 137.

<sup>69</sup> deMause (1982), p. 3.

Lloyd deMause published his first elaboration of this theoretical approach in an article in 1974<sup>70</sup>, which was followed later on by several books<sup>71</sup> and numerous other articles, in particular in the *Journal of Psychohistory* edited by himself. The most recent elaboration of this theory is documented in a book with the title "The Emotional Life of Nations"<sup>72</sup> and in an online book with the title "The Origins of War in Child Abuse".<sup>73</sup> The term "psychogenic" in this connection refers to the postulated origin of historical change:

"I call this theory 'psychogenic' rather than 'economic' or 'political' because it views man more as *homo relatens* than *homo oeconomicus* or *homo politicus* – that is, searching for *relation*, for *love*, more than for money or power. The theory states that it is not 'economic class' nor 'social class' but '*psychoclass*' – shared childrearing modes – that is the real basis for understanding motivation in history."<sup>74</sup>

The shocking recognition that the history of childhood is almost predominantly shaped by extremely traumatizing, abusive, exploitative, neglecting and sexualized forms of dealing with children is substantiated by various source materials<sup>75</sup> ("The history of childhood is a nightmare, from which we have only shortly begun to awaken."<sup>76</sup>), the negative forms outweigh the others all the more the farther one goes back in history. Crucial for the change postulated by deMause are the forms of psychic behavior of parents in regard to their children:

"The adult has... three major reactions available: (1) He can use the child as a vehicle for projection of the contents of his own unconscious (projective reaction); (2) he can use the child as a substitute for an adult figure important in his own childhood (reversal reaction); or (3) he can empathize with the child's needs and act to satisfy them (empathic reaction)."<sup>77</sup>

For an illustration of the terms "projection" and "reversion" taken from the environs of psychoanalysis<sup>78</sup> deMause refers to examples from therapeutic practice where these motivational structures were frequently identified with today's clientele, e.g. with physically abusive parents. With reference to empathy he gives the following explication:

---

<sup>70</sup> deMause (1974), German translation in deMause (ed.) (1989) and deMause (2000).

<sup>71</sup> deMause (1982, 1987, 1989, 2000).

<sup>72</sup> deMause (2002).

<sup>73</sup> <http://www.psychohistory.com>.

<sup>74</sup> deMause (1982), p. ii; original italicization retained.

<sup>75</sup> cf. deMause (ed.) (1989).

<sup>76</sup> sentence introducing the article "The evolution of childhood", deMause (2000), p. 16.

<sup>77</sup> deMause (1982), p. 6.

<sup>78</sup> cf. Klein (1948); Kernberg (1983).

"The third term, empathic reaction, is used here in a more limited sense than the dictionary definition. It is the adult's ability to regress to the level of a child's need and correctly identify it without an admixture of the adult's own projections. The adult must then be able to maintain enough distance from the need to be able to satisfy it. It is an ability identical to the use of the psychoanalyst's unconscious called 'free-floating attention,' or, as Theodor Reik terms it, 'listening with the third ear.'" <sup>79</sup>

In the increasing ability to perform this empathic accomplishment deMause sees the main source of the historical change in childhood:

"...Psychogenesis depends upon the ability of parents and surrogates to regress to the psychic age of their children and work through the anxieties of that age better the second time than in their own childhood. ... The regression-progression process stems from the innate biological desire of both parts of a previous dual-unity to relate to each other, and thus is the only historical theory to posit *love* as its central mechanism for change."<sup>80</sup>

DeMause has frequently been accused of monocausality in this context, of omitting other factors of influence in historical change.<sup>81</sup> Yet, as the following quotation proves, "intervening variables" are, indeed, taken into consideration:

"...Individual level variations in rates of psychogenic evolution occur because of (a) biological differences (both genetic and uterine events), (b) birth order differences (...), and (c) chance (early loss of parent, injury, other personal life variations). ...Population level variations in psychogenic evolution occur because of (a) selection and isolation (emigration of a narrow range of parenting modes), (b) immigration (the infusion of new parenting modes into a larger population), (c) non-reproduction (psychotic, unfit, or other lower psychogenic modes not as often raising children), (d) culture contact (reinforcing emergent parenting types, providing surrogate parents), (e) material conditions (only as they affect child rearing), and (f) group-fantasy factors (wars and revolutions as they affect children, share of work by mothers, father's share in child rearing, etc.)." <sup>82</sup>

In more recent works<sup>83</sup> deMause particularly emphasized the relevance of the *mother-daughter relationship* for the psychogenic progression ("...the course of evolution of the psyche has overwhelmingly been dependent upon the way mothers

---

<sup>79</sup> deMause (1982), p. 7.

<sup>80</sup> deMause (1982), p. 135.

<sup>81</sup> cf., e.g., Nyssen (2001).

<sup>82</sup> deMause (1982), p. 135.

<sup>83</sup> deMause (1999, 2002, 2011).

have treated their *daughters*, who become the next generation of mothers. ...all cultural traits do not equally affect the evolution of the psyche – *those that affect the daughter's psyche represent the main narrow bottleneck through which all other cultural traits must pass.*"<sup>84</sup>). In cases where this is emotionally crippled he also sees the possibility of a long-lasting psychogenic "standstill" or even of a "devolution" (retrogression) of a society.<sup>85</sup> In the positive case "hopeful daughters" are the ones who cause advances in progress:

"...historical progress depends less on political changes or military conquests and more on the daily living conditions and achievements of innovative mothers and their hopeful daughters."<sup>86</sup>

The nature of the treatment of children by adults can be classified in seven psychogenic modes<sup>87</sup>, "childrearing modes"<sup>88</sup> or "forms of parent-child relations"<sup>89</sup>, to which seven different "psychoclasses" and the pertaining personality types<sup>90</sup> correspond. Historically these modes occur at different points in time and take on an ascending order with an increase of the proportion of empathic reactions.<sup>91</sup> However, the specific modes do not follow sequentially one upon the other, but older forms of childrearing remain existent alongside of more progressive ones, so that in today's society all seven modes co-exist (fig. 1). It is important to stress this point inasmuch as deMause has occasionally been misunderstood by critics as assuming that today all parents are in the most advanced mode and offer their children "optimal care".<sup>92</sup>

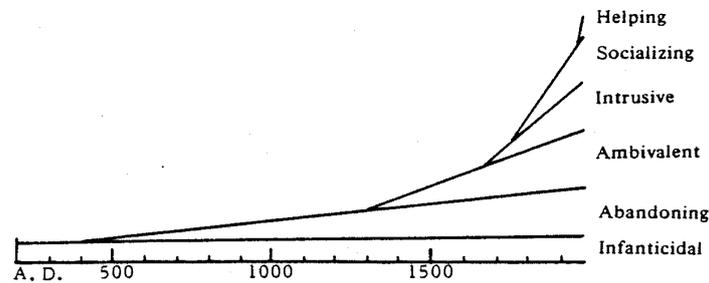


Fig. 1: The historical stratification of psychogenic modes.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>84</sup> deMause (1999), p. 651, original italicization retained.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> deMause (2002), p. viii.

<sup>87</sup> cf. Frenken (1999), p. 42 ff.

<sup>88</sup> deMause (2002).

<sup>89</sup> deMause (2000), p. 113 ff., p. 186 ff.

<sup>90</sup> deMause (2000), p. 192 ff.; deMause (2002).

<sup>91</sup> deMause (2000), p. 186.

<sup>92</sup> K. Arnold, e.g.; see Frenken (1999), p. 125.

<sup>93</sup> from deMause (2000), p. 113.

The description of the psychogenic modes and the personality types which yield them, and also in particular the chronology of their respective historical occurrence, have been somewhat modified in the meantime by deMause as against his original approach<sup>94</sup>; the following reference table (tab. 1) will be based on the newest version.<sup>95</sup>

Table 1: Forms of parent-child relations after deMause and their historical occurrence

<i>Psychogenic mode</i>	<i>Earliest occurrence</i>	<i>Thereby shaped period of Western civilization</i>	<i>Characteristic features in the treatment of children</i>
early-infanticidal	Prehistoric period	Tribal societies	Frequent infanticide, survivors have knowledge of the killing of their siblings; sexualized treatment of children; intensified ritual embedding of killings in the later mode
late-infanticidal	Early advanced civilizations	Antiquity	
abandoning / giving away	Begin of the Christian Era	Early Christianity	Abandonment to wetnurses, to cloisters, to other households; long swaddling phase
ambivalent	12th century	Middle Ages	Child is alternately seen as malevolent or benevolent figure; physical control of the child (swaddling, enemas), early beating
intrusive	16th century	Renaissance	Psychological control of the child, demand for absolute obedience, early toilet training
socializing	18th century	Modernity	Delegation of conscious and unconscious parental wishes to the child, compulsory schooling, mental discipline
helping / supporting	Mid-20th century	Postmodernity	Children's rights, child therapy, violence-free birth

<sup>94</sup> deMause (1982).

<sup>95</sup> deMause (2002, 1999, 1990); cf. also Frenken (1999), p. 42 ff.

These psychogenic modes thus obtain their meaning for politics and for historical processes due to the fact that adults in one and the same psychoclass show the tendency to develop collectively shared fantasies – "group-fantasies" – which reflect the collectively suffered childhood traumatizations typical of the respective psychoclass, and that they act out these fantasies on a cultural and political stage. DeMause and other psychohistorians have developed methods of an interpretive "group-fantasy analysis" on the basis of texts and pictorial material, with which the hidden messages in such materials can be revealed.<sup>96</sup> Regarding the analysis of the acting-out of group-fantasies common concepts from psychopathology and psychotherapy of individuals are made use of – the delegation of unconscious desires to political leaders and parties<sup>97</sup>, splitting, projection, compulsion to repetition, identification with the aggressor.<sup>98</sup> Of particular importance is the concept of "social alter" – an alternate personality of every single individual, which contains the suppressed and split-off traumatized childhood identity and which can take control of our actions in the state of a group trance (political crises, mobilization, preying on minorities, etc.).<sup>99</sup>

These concepts were applied to numerous examples of previous and contemporary history, from the cults of Antiquity<sup>100</sup> up to the Gulf War<sup>101</sup> and the war in Yugoslavia<sup>102</sup>. The political turnaround of 1990 in Russia and Eastern Europe was analyzed as a consequence of the emergence of a new psychoclass.<sup>103</sup>

The *criticism* of the theory of deMause was manifold and to some extent vehement.<sup>104</sup> Here only a few points will be mentioned. It was reproached for a US-centric point of view<sup>105</sup> and an for an inadmissible mixing of the analysis with today's, western sociocultural ideals, which were said to be of an ideological nature.<sup>106</sup> DeMause replied to such a "culture-relativistic" criticism as follows:

"This kind of relativism used to be popular with anthropologists in the 1930s – 'every culture can only be judged by its own value system' – until World War II came along and it seemed bizarre to say that 'Nazis are just reflecting a culture which values burning babies in ovens'. There simply is no possibility of eliminating values from

---

<sup>96</sup> for further details, see deMause (1987, 2000); for applications to recent materials from Germany, cf. Kurth (1999, 2000, 2001a, 2002b).

<sup>97</sup> cf., e.g., Galler (2000a, 2001).

<sup>98</sup> cf., e.g., Kurth (1999, 2000).

<sup>99</sup> deMause (1997), p. 141 ff.

<sup>100</sup> deMause (2002).

<sup>101</sup> deMause (2000), p. 465 ff.

<sup>102</sup> Kurth (1999).

<sup>103</sup> deMause (2000), p. 453 ff.

<sup>104</sup> A detailed reception of the criticism of deMause can be found in Frenken (1999), p. 112 ff., and in Kurth (2009).

<sup>105</sup> Nyssen (2001).

<sup>106</sup> Spiecker and Groenendijk, cited after Frenken (1999), p. 121.

psychohistory – loving children is better than beating them in *any* culture – even though with empathy the psychohistorian *can* try to eliminate ethnocentrism. ...every page of what you are about to read is necessarily infused with my value system, and you should be prepared to question my values along with my facts. So, too, of course, with every other historical theory."<sup>107</sup>

We have already dealt above with the accusation against deMause that he had neglected economic factors of influence. Other points of criticism concern the choice of his source material and his partially essayistic and pointed, provoking style of presentation.<sup>108</sup> In particular the main thesis that in the course of history more and more advanced childrearing modes have occurred (see table 1) is still disputed. A very detailed examination of German-language autobiographies from the 14th to the 17th century<sup>109</sup> has nevertheless produced results which seem to be compatible with this thesis. – Attachment theory was not given much place in deMause's earlier writings. However, in his last book the notion of secure attachment was given emphasis several times.<sup>110</sup> We will come back to the interrelations between deMause's theory and attachment concepts in part II.

### 3.2. Other psychohistorical theories

*Erik H. Erikson*<sup>111</sup> and *Alice Miller*<sup>112</sup>, both in their own singular way, have strongly concentrated on the psychological development of the individual, thereby, however, taking social and historical contexts into consideration, so that is possible to characterize both approaches as psychohistorical. A similar assessment can be made of *Klaus Theweleit's* analysis of the psychogenesis of the fascist man<sup>113</sup>, which in some points is linked to *Wilhelm Reich*<sup>114</sup>. The degree of abstraction and generalization which characterizes the theory of deMause (and at the same time renders it particularly open to attack) is, however, not attained. On the other hand Norbert Elias (as a sociologist however) with his "civilizing process"<sup>115</sup> had already some time before deMause submitted an equally comprehensive outline for which he himself chose the sub-title "sociogenetic and psychogenetic examinations". In some points Elias comes to statements contrary to those of deMause; in particular he postulates an increase of self-constraint in European history (thus a strengthening of the Superego), while for deMause history involves "a victory of desire and reason,

---

<sup>107</sup> deMause (1982), p. iii, original italicization retained.

<sup>108</sup> cf. Frenken (1999), p. 53 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Frenken (1999, 2000).

<sup>110</sup> deMause (2007a), p. 25; deMause (2007b), p. 117 ff.

<sup>111</sup> Erikson (1995).

<sup>112</sup> Miller (1983, 1991).

<sup>113</sup> Theweleit (1995a,b)

<sup>114</sup> Reich (1986).

<sup>115</sup> Elias (1994).

one of Id and Ego *over* the Superego".<sup>116</sup> Ralph Frenken however has already pointed out that the theories of Elias and deMause nevertheless exhibit a wide-ranging structural similarity.<sup>117</sup> In particular both postulate a long-term "upward trend" in the treatment of children.

Of another kind are cyclical theories of history – for instance the generational theory proposed by *William Strauss* and *Neil Howe* for US-American history.<sup>118</sup> The works of *Oswald Spengler*<sup>119</sup> and *Arnold Toynbee*<sup>120</sup> are among their classical precursors. According to the concept of Strauss and Howe four *archetypical generations* repeatedly succeed each other in history: the generations of prophets, nomads, heroes and artists.<sup>121</sup> Each of the four ca. twenty-year phases of a full cycle (*saeculum*) – *high, awakening, unraveling, crisis* – is determined by a certain constellation of these generational types, which govern mood, culture and political behavior<sup>122</sup>: For example, in the fourth phase (*crisis; fourth turning*) the "artists" are children, the "heroes" youths, the "nomads" adults of middle age, and the "prophets" occupy the responsible senior positions.<sup>123</sup> In each phase this stratification shifts, and after four phases the cycle begins anew. For the characters of the respective child-generation the generational types which respectively occur in the higher age groups are considered formative, in the same way as the historical events they are exposed to in their childhood and youth and which likewise follow the regular, cyclical patterns. Also the different educational patterns in the four phases are dealt with; these represent, however, only one factor among many which contribute to the perpetuation of the cyclicity and are only vaguely characterized as "under-protective", or "overprotective".<sup>124</sup> According to this model there is no linear upward trend, but a "return of the ever same" after ca. 80-90 years.<sup>125</sup> – *Robert R. Prechter, Jr.*<sup>126</sup> is a representative of a mixed form combining the cyclical model with the progressional model: According to his "socioeconomic" model the public mood follows a fractal wave pattern which rises on the whole, but is interrupted again and again by downturns. He traces the regularity back to unconscious pattern-producing processes in the neural area; for him child-rearing plays no role. – For the sake of completeness we should add here that also deMause integrated cyclical concepts into his works, albeit on a rather subordinate position (succession of group-fantasies).<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> deMause (2000), p. 15; for a comparison Elias – deMause, cf. also Frenken (1999), p. 113 f.

<sup>117</sup> Frenken, *ibid.*; Frenken (2001).

<sup>118</sup> Strauss & Howe (1998); cf. also Jonas (2001).

<sup>119</sup> Spengler (1998).

<sup>120</sup> Toynbee (1954).

<sup>121</sup> Strauss & Howe (1998), p. 19.

<sup>122</sup> "...mood shift is a natural consequence of the life-cycle transitions taking place among ...[the] generations.", *ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>126</sup> Prechter (1999).

<sup>127</sup> deMause (2000), p. 310 f.

*Julian Jaynes* is a representative of a psychohistorical approach which draws even more heavily upon the neurobiology of the brain than that of Prechter<sup>128</sup>: According to him, there was still no human consciousness in today's sense in tribal and early advanced cultures up to ca. 1500 b.c.; the human brain was organized differently and yielded a "bicameral psyche" in which one of the hemispheres constantly produced "voices of gods" similar to the acoustic hallucinations of some of today's mentally disturbed. On the basis of this personality-split Jaynes explains peculiarities of the religions, the political order and the art in early Mesopotamia, Egypt and Homeric Greece. The increasing use of writing, intensified trade as well as exogenic influences (stress through natural catastrophes) would finally have caused this relatively inflexible mental structure to collapse.<sup>129</sup> – The thesis of Jaynes is insofar compatible with the psychogenic theory of deMause as in the latter, too, a schizoid personality structure is assigned to the most primitive psychoclass.<sup>130</sup> However, for deMause their origins lie in the extremely traumatizing parent-child relations and not primarily in the neurobiological domain. Pathological neural and hormonal conditions in the brain can indeed occur as a result of unresolved traumatic stress in childhood.<sup>131</sup>

Clearly to be differentiated from all the theories presented heretofore are *post-modern* or *constructivist* theories of history, next to which in certain aspects also "Centuries of childhood" by *Philippe Ariès*<sup>132</sup> can be placed. The latter pursue discourse-analytic approaches and view terms like "childhood", "attachment", "gender" etc. in their cores as *cultural constructs*. On the basis of text and picture analyses Ariès comes to the conclusion that medieval society had no "relationship to childhood"; immediately after early infancy the child belonged to the society of adults.<sup>133</sup> "We proceed from a conceptional world which knows no childhood... This means without a doubt that people of the 10th to 11th century did not give any thought to a concept of childhood that they did not have any interest in and that for them did not even exist."<sup>134</sup> To some extent these results are being called into question again today.<sup>135</sup> It was Ariès achievement, however, to have directed the interest of historians to the history of childhood. – Attachment theory, psychogenic theory of history as well as the other psychohistorical approaches mentioned above proceed from the point that there are *primary biological constants* in the development of the human individual which are not cultural constructs, in contrast to post-modern constructivism. From an epistemological point of view they are closely related to a "critical realism" for instance in the sense of *Tholey*<sup>136</sup>: A conceptual distinction is being made between a physical world and different

---

<sup>128</sup> Jaynes (1993).

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*, p. 256 ff.

<sup>130</sup> deMause (2002).

<sup>131</sup> cf. deMause (1997), p. 125 ff.

<sup>132</sup> Ariès (1962, 1990).

<sup>133</sup> Ariès (1990), p. 209.

<sup>134</sup> *ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>135</sup> cf. Frenken (1999), p. 8 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Tholey (1992); cf. Frenken (1999), p. 19 ff.

perceptual worlds linked to individuals. The physical world exists independently from descriptions thereof and also independently from concepts human cultures hold of it; it does not have to be as it seems to the perceiving subject (differentiation of "critical" from "naive" realism).

#### 4. Common roots of attachment theory and the psychogenic theory of history

Both attachment theory and psychogenic theory of history find origins in psychoanalysis. John Bowlby was a member of the "British Psychoanalytic Society", where in the 1950's he presented his most important findings in lectures for the first time. Among the analysts, however, this caused great dismay ("Bowlby? Give me Barrabas!"<sup>137</sup>), since Bowlby attacked a core area of psychoanalysis at that time, drive theory, and replaced it with ethological, cybernetic and cognitive-psychological concepts. (Today the relationship between attachment theory and psychoanalysis is again more relaxed.<sup>138</sup>) However, Lloyd deMause kept stronger bonds to some classical psychoanalytical concepts than Bowlby (e.g. transmission, regression, internalized feelings of guilt, "restaging" of earlier traumata), without first embedding them into a new theoretical environment as Bowlby had attempted to do. Only later were results of brain and trauma research incorporated into the psychogenic theory, which placed some patterns of reaction previously based only on psychoanalytical assumptions on a new foundation.<sup>139</sup> In one aspect, however, Bowlby and deMause removed themselves at an equally early stage from Freudian conceptions: In the weighting of the meaning of real experiences of the child over against assumed drives and fantasies.<sup>140</sup> Bowlby: "I am interested in the internal world just like anybody else, but I view it as a rather precise reflection of that which a person has experienced in external reality."<sup>141</sup> This sentence could just as well have stemmed from deMause. As a result of this in both theories early socialization is assigned a lifelong relevance and internal "parent-representations" ("internal working models" in attachment theory, "Terrifying Mommy" as separated personality segment for deMause<sup>142</sup>) play an important role in later life. – Both theories also recognize the transgenerational transmission of internalized interaction patterns. The meaning of child-rearing practices in a culture, as deMause thus stresses, is also seen by representatives of attachment theory:

"...our childhood experience of attachment... will be influenced in turn by the child-rearing practices of a culture. This is the first crucial link between sociological and psychological understanding: the experience of attachment, which so profoundly influences the growth of persona-

---

<sup>137</sup> cited in Bretherton (1997), p. 37.

<sup>138</sup> cf. Koehler (1997).

<sup>139</sup> cf. deMause (1997).

<sup>140</sup> for this, cf. the criticism of Freud in deMause (1997), p. 117 f.

<sup>141</sup> cited after Dornes (2000), p. 23.

<sup>142</sup> deMause (2002).

lity, is itself both the product of a culture, and a determinant of how a culture will be reproduced in the next generation – not only the culture of attachment itself, but all our ideas of order, authority, security, and control." <sup>143</sup>

Both theories particularly stress the meaning of sensitivity or empathy<sup>144</sup> of the parents in the course of these intergenerational processes. In contrast to the retrospective orientation of psychoanalysis both attachment research and the psychogenic theory of history claim for themselves a forward-directed, extrapolative working approach: "Using as primary data observations of how very young children behave..., an attempt is made to describe certain early phases of personality functioning and, from them, to extrapolate forwards. ... The change in perspective is radical." <sup>145</sup> "Psychohistory ... concerns itself with ... establishing precise laws and discovering causes." <sup>146</sup> Both theories thus attempt to overcome the hermeneutic self-restriction<sup>147</sup> of psychoanalysis and historical science. In methodology they have therefore to some extent analogously developed similar instruments: In particular the uncovering of the latent contents of verbal expressions<sup>148</sup> in the AAI shows similarities with the method of group-fantasy analysis<sup>149</sup>, even if the method is standardized to a higher degree in attachment research.

Both theories draw in their roots upon the paradigm of Darwinian evolution.<sup>150</sup> For both the appeal to biological adaptation nevertheless also conceals problems. In this regard it came unexpected for attachment research, which assumed a survival function and a biological determinism of attachment behavior, that in the Strange Situation such varying, also dismissive behavior patterns occurred, the latter of which, however, could not easily be brought into harmony with assumptions of biological adaptation.<sup>151</sup> Analogously, the postulate that the earliest human societies are characterized by extremely traumatizing parent-child interactions which produce a potentially mal-adaptive behavior, schizoid in nature, represents a certain discrepancy for the psychogenic theory of history.<sup>152</sup> Ethnologists reject the *general* existence of such heavily traumatizing forms of socialization in tribal cultures. *Jean Liedloff*, for example, particularly emphasizes with regard to the Venezuelan Indian tribe she visited the positive, non-alienated treatment of children – in particular the frequent carrying of babies and infants –, which is in accord with natural attachment

---

<sup>143</sup> Marris (1991), p. 79 f.

<sup>144</sup> for an explication of the term, see Koehler (1997), p. 76 f.

<sup>145</sup> Bowlby (1997a), p. 4.

<sup>146</sup> deMause (2000), p. 119.

<sup>147</sup> Grossmann (2000a), p. 38.

<sup>148</sup> Ainsworth (1991), p. 48 f.

<sup>149</sup> deMause (2000), p. 203 ff.

<sup>150</sup> Bowlby (1998), p. 449 ff.; deMause (2000), p. 147.

<sup>151</sup> Main & Weston (1982), p. 31 ff.

<sup>152</sup> cf. deMause (1999), p. 696 f., on parent-child interactions of primates, which are likewise described as partially dysfunctional.

and exploration needs<sup>153</sup> and which, according to her experience, yields a more balanced and healthy personality structure than in the case of Europeans or North Americans.<sup>154</sup> Here we see the need for further research to resolve these contradictions.

By way of summary, one can assume that attachment theory and the psychogenic theory of history went out from similar positions epistemologically and from the point of view of the history of science and, each in its own field, developed concepts and methods which were to a certain extent parallel. In this sense, attachment theory was much more successful as far as the standardization of methods and the statistic reliability of its results are concerned. The psychogenic theory of history to some extent made very far-reaching assumptions which were not in coherence with the currently dominating paradigms, thus it did not (yet) find general scientific acceptance; it generates, however, many relevant leads for inquiry. The next section will show that the interconnections between attachment research and psychohistory are even closer than so far revealed.

## **5. Psychohistorical ingredients of attachment theory**

Upon closer view some consequences and research impulses of a psychohistorical nature can be derived from the fundamental elements of attachment theory and from the present form of attachment research. These concern the change in attachment behavior in history, the cultural and social implications of attachment patterns and – vice versa – the influence which historical circumstances can bring to bear upon the transgenerational transmission of attachment behavior, finally also the possible extension of the attachment-theoretical approach to the attachments to groups, institutions and territories.

### *5.1. Historical changes of attachment behavior and attachment representations*

In the original concept of Bowlby the system of attachment behavior, as has already been suggested above, was a survival-ensuring, inherited behavioral program which emerged evolutionarily and which is common to all human beings; it ensures proximity between children and adults in case of danger and served primarily to protect the offspring from animals of prey.<sup>155</sup> According to this view attachment behavior would have only a generic history, but would, however, in the context of actual "history" be regarded as an anthropological constant. Recent studies on

---

<sup>153</sup> for an attachment theoretical view of the carrying about of infants, cf. Bowlby (1997a), p. 292 ff.

<sup>154</sup> Liedloff (2001).

<sup>155</sup> Bowlby (1997a), p. 224 ff. Bowlby also explained with this evolutionary biological hypothesis the seemingly paradox behavior of children who seek proximity to abusive parents: *ibid.*, p. 226 f. Bowlby (1998), p. 172 ff., points out that being left alone even today means an existential danger situation for children; the evolutionary biological benefit of attachment behavior would therefore not at all be obsolete. – For psychohistorical implications of the threat to early man from animals of prey, cf. Ehrenreich (1997).

attachment have to some extent followed this (socio-)biological point of view and have applied it to other aspects of parent-child interaction.<sup>156</sup> Yet the same authors were forced to concede that extensive changes in attachment-relevant behavior of parents have occurred in history, even in most recent times:

"...it is only a few decades since cultural forces in the UK decreed that babies should be fed on a rigid Truby King schedule, and parents were restricted from visiting their children in hospital; now, thanks largely to Bowlby, all that has changed."<sup>157</sup>

Here we thus have the rare case of where a direction of research can claim that it historically (co-)modified the subject of its research itself! It has not yet been possible to measure exactly in which way the observable change in the treatment of children has affected the distribution of behavior patterns and types of attachment representations in the population. There is nevertheless the finding that during an AAI study of older people in Regensburg (Germany) a very high ratio (58 %) of the test persons in relation to the average of all past non-clinical samples exhibited an insecure attachment representation.<sup>158</sup> In general, this supports the assumption of a psychohistorical evolution; in the interpretation of this result, however, in the case of Germany, one particularly has to take into account the (negative) attachment-relevant effect of the NS guidelines for education<sup>159</sup>, to which we will return in section 6. Further interview studies of different age cohorts will be necessary in order to validate the assumed change of attachment representations.

## 5.2. *Social implications of attachment representations*

According to attachment theory the internal working models affect the individual in the course of his whole life-span: "...attachment behaviour is held to characterise human beings from the cradle to the grave"<sup>160</sup>, "...on those [internal working] models are based all his [the child's] expectations, and therefore all his plans, for the rest of his life."<sup>161</sup> More recent attachment research has been able to gather impressive evidence, thus verifying indeed the connection between attachment representations and different other behavior and personality characteristics: Consequently, playing and social behavior in pre-school and early school age proved to be more advantageous with securely attached children<sup>162</sup>, for those in the ages of youth positive effects of a secure attachment representation on the handling of stress

---

<sup>156</sup> Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde (1991), especially p. 58.

<sup>157</sup> *ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>158</sup> Wensauer (1997), p. 238.

<sup>159</sup> cf. Chamberlain (2000).

<sup>160</sup> J. Bowlby, cited in Ainsworth (1991), p. 33.

<sup>161</sup> J. Bowlby, cited in Marris (1991), p. 79.

<sup>162</sup> Grossmann (1997), p. 197; Zimmermann (1997), p. 227; Fremmer-Bombik & Grossmann (1993), p. 98 f.; cf. also already Bowlby (1997a), p. 297.

situations, on self-esteem and on relations with peers were found.<sup>163</sup> With respect to "bullying relationships" (stable perpetrator-victim relationships with repeated chicanery / terrorization) between pre-school children one found that children of insecure-avoidant attachment were more often the perpetrators and the insecure-ambivalent attached children more often the victims in such relationships, while securely attached children usually would not allow themselves to become entangled in such perpetrator-victim relationships.<sup>164</sup> Can we draw conclusions from this about perpetrator-victim relationships in later age groups or even in historical contexts? – Insecure-avoidant children have weaker empathic abilities and act rather aggressively and dominant against weaker ones; one can speak of a precursor of the "authoritarian character".<sup>165</sup> Different studies have examined the development of *anti-social* (delinquent, criminal) *behavior*. Here it was revealed that an insecure-avoidant attachment representation is an enhancing factor for "mildly anti-social behavior", while a disorganized attachment representation is often coupled with a "strongly anti-social behavior".<sup>166</sup> We will see later (in section 6) that among youths even interrelations between attachment representation and extreme right-wing political orientations could be ascertained.<sup>167</sup>

*Exploration behavior* of securely attached children in kindergarten is more intensive and persistent in comparison to insecurely attached children.<sup>168</sup> Attachment representations thus also have something to do with cognitive development. Since the "mental exploration" of the adult is grounded in the actual exploration of the child<sup>169</sup>, one can assume a connection to creativity and a disposition to innovation of the later adult. This is in harmony with the view of deMause: "...science, technology and economic development depend more on *investments in parenting* than investments in equipment, since they crucially require an 'exploring self' constructed from childhood."<sup>170</sup>

A strongly restricted and disturbed exploration behavior results when the infant is separated at an early stage from his attachment figures without the possibility of establishing new attachments. This was among the earliest findings of attachment research and has also been confirmed in the case of non-human primates.<sup>171</sup> Then one of the results is extreme fear of everything new. Could it be that also within the social domain fear of strangers, conservative and reactionary movements, growth panic<sup>172</sup> and anti-progressive fundamentalism (consider e.g. the

<sup>163</sup> Zimmermann & Becker-Stoll (2001), p. 259 ff.; Zimmermann (1997), p. 228; Zimmermann et al. (1996).

<sup>164</sup> Sroufe & Fleeson (1990).

<sup>165</sup> Hopf & Hopf (1997), p. 53 f., and studies cited therein.

<sup>166</sup> meta-analysis in van IJzendoorn (1997).

<sup>167</sup> Hopf et al. (1995); Hopf & Hopf (1997).

<sup>168</sup> Grossmann (1997), loc. cit.

<sup>169</sup> Grossmann (2000a), p. 42.

<sup>170</sup> deMause (2002), p. 425; italicization W. K.

<sup>171</sup> cf. Bowlby (1997a), p. 221 f.

<sup>172</sup> cf. Galler (2000b).

opponents of the theory of evolution in the USA) all have a principal source in collective separation experiences in childhood?

Precise proof (in the sense of empirical social science) is very difficult to provide, but all of the results cited make it seem very likely that the attachment representations prevalent in the members of a society have a profound influence on their culture, their aggressiveness, disposition to innovation and even on political structures and goals. The attachment theorist Peter Marris describes this connection in somewhat more general terms:

"Society, as I conceive it, is a structure of meanings embodied in patterns of relationship, and the attachment relationship is both a microcosm of those meanings – an expression of a culture as its child-rearing practices embody them – and the experience out of which each generation recreates a meaningful order."<sup>173</sup>

Such concepts of order naturally "color" society in every respect; therefore one must assume a high psychohistorical explanatory potential of attachment theory.

### *5.3. Influences on the transgenerational transmission of attachment experiences*

"Because... children tend unwittingly to identify with parents and therefore to adopt, when they become parents, the same patterns of behaviour towards children that they themselves have experienced during their own childhood, patterns of interaction are transmitted, more or less faithfully, from one generation to another. Thus the inheritance of mental health and of mental ill health through the medium of family microculture is certainly no less important, and may well be far more important, than is their inheritance through the medium of genes."<sup>174</sup> This statement of Bowlby is summarized more tersely by deMause: "While the gene is the locality where the biological structure is transmitted, the 'psychogenic' interaction between parents and child is the locality for the transmission of the psychological structure."<sup>175</sup> The implicit transgenerational transmission of attachment qualities has been successfully proven empirically in various studies<sup>176</sup> (see section 2). On the other hand we are confronted with changes in the attachment patterns (see above, 5.1), and evolutionary psychologists are observing great flexibility in the behavior of children, which does not fit deterministic conceptions. Thus that which Emde calls "the central evolutionary paradox"<sup>177</sup> comes into play. How can continuity and change be theoretically reconciled with each other?

A number of "intervening variables" in the transgenerational transmission of attachment experiences has already been listed in the quotation of deMause above (see section 3). Counted among these are especially collective-traumatizing

---

<sup>173</sup> Marris (1991), p. 88.

<sup>174</sup> Bowlby (1998), p. 367.

<sup>175</sup> deMause (2000), p. 147.

<sup>176</sup> Meta-analysis in van IJzendoorn (1992).

<sup>177</sup> Emde (1993), p. 280 ff.

historical events such as wars and civil wars. The rise of attachment theory itself is linked to World War II, from which many war orphans throughout Europe resulted. Also in the cases where parents survived the war frequent separations occurred in the course of evacuations or displacements. Thus at the time when Bowlby began to be interested in separations, separation was a social reality of the highest degree.<sup>178</sup> In addition there were numerous soldiers traumatized by the war, who after their return from the front or from imprisonment came back to their families with psychological disorders which exerted stress upon them. The British and the Americans were already acquainted with the symptoms of the "PTSD" (post traumatic stress disorder) and were to some extent applying group-therapeutic methods in treating the soldiers affected.<sup>179</sup> In Germany, on the other hand, this topic was largely ignored.<sup>180</sup> In the meantime trauma research has been able to study the PTSD syndrome and its effects in the US more precisely, especially in the case of veterans of the Vietnam War. The following reports given by soldier returnees show the relevance of this disturbance for the attachment system in the families. One of them had shot a boy in Vietnam who had threatened him with a grenade:

"...But I blew him away, and in that moment the grenade exploded in his hands and tore him to bits. Since then I see the face of the dying child every night. It was eight years old... and now, in my nightmares, the face of the little Vietnamese takes on the contours of my own sons."<sup>181</sup>

While in this case the effect still seems to be limited to the level of mental representation, in other reports also strongly alarming behavioral changes become apparent. One Vietnam veteran describes his hypersensitivity as a consequence of PTSD:

"When my daughter was still small... she once approached me from behind, and before I knew what was happening I had already grabbed her by the throat and pushed her up against the wall. I can still see her eyes."<sup>182</sup>

Also counted as PTSD is the recurrent reliving of combat situations (*flashbacks*):

"Once I threw her [= his wife] so violently out of the bed that she broke her shoulder. I thought a potato masher [= grenade] of the North Vietnamese army was coming at us. Another time I mistook her for a

---

<sup>178</sup> Dornes (2000), p. 18. In addition, Bowlby was separated from his parents during World War I at the age of 8 and brought to a boarding school outside London – for protection against bomb attacks –, which, according to his own account, caused him great distress; *ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>179</sup> Smidoda (2001), p. 7.

<sup>180</sup> cf. Reemtsma (1996).

<sup>181</sup> Smidoda (2001), p. 6.

<sup>182</sup> *ibid.*

gook [derogatory term for Asiatic people, here = North Vietnamese] and strangled her until I woke up."<sup>183</sup>

The empathic competences and the emotionality of many of the affected persons are seriously disturbed. A former major in the Croatian army told a journalist about his marital life after the war:

" I hardly spoke to my wife at all... Once she went with me to the doctor. When I told him I did not feel anything for anybody, she was shocked."<sup>184</sup>

The victims of camp imprisonment, torture, rape and bomb attacks imposed similar posttraumatic disturbances upon their families. The generation-spanning psychological symptoms of Holocaust survivors and their descendants have in the meantime been thoroughly documented.<sup>185</sup>

In all these cases it becomes clear that the traumatic experience – also the experience passed on to family members – affects not only the infant but can also have attachment-relevant effects *on every age level*. Bowlby has repeatedly pointed the lifelong relevance of attachment behavior.<sup>186</sup> In psychohistory this aspect is more strongly emphasized up to now in the theory of Erikson or in the cyclical model of Strauss and Howe (see 3.2) than in the psychogenic theory of deMause.

Reflections on the effect of wars were incorporated into attachment research by *Klaus Grossmann*. In the interpretation of the different distribution of attachment patterns in longitudinal studies in the two German cities Bielefeld and Regensburg (with a significantly larger proportion of avoidant attachments in Bielefeld) he mentioned the complete destruction of Bielefeld in World War II (from which Regensburg was spared) as a possible reason for these discrepancies.<sup>187</sup> Up to now, however, there have been no systematic studies on this topic. With respect to an earlier epoch in German history *Uta Ottmueller* has likewise reflected upon the causes of regional differences: For her, the objects of consideration were the dysfunctional practices in feeding and caring for babies, which were prevalent especially in Southern Germany from the 17th to the 19th century and which led to extremely high rates of child mortality.<sup>188</sup> A possible reason for the regional differences in the body-related treatment of children might be, according to her, the Thirty Years' War with its traumata, including rapes, which raged more excessively in the south of Germany than in certain areas of the north.<sup>189</sup> Here again a vast field for future psychohistorical studies is unfolding.

---

<sup>183</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>184</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> see Hauser (2001), p. 248 ff.; cf. also Rosenthal (ed.) (1997).

<sup>186</sup> cf. Bowlby (1997b), p. 21.

<sup>187</sup> Main (1997), p. 137 f.

<sup>188</sup> Ottmueller (1991); cf. also Medick (1996).

<sup>189</sup> Ottmueller (1991), p. 110 ff., picking up on Arthur Imhof.

In the industrial society and under peacetime conditions children are seldom separated today from their parents for longer periods of time and are usually adequately provided with food, clothing and external security. On the other hand it can be observed that parents are not infrequently *emotionally not available for their children*. Thus in cases of insecure-dismissing, idealizing parental representation in the AAI it is often maintained that the parents were "principally always there"; when asked again it became apparent, however, that parents in reality were either involved in a business, an agricultural enterprise or often in the construction of a house and thus for many years not emotionally available for their children and exhibited only a limited sensitivity to their needs.<sup>190</sup> The intervening variables, which interfere here from the outside, are not of such a drastic nature as traumatizations of war, but they likewise can have lasting effects on the attachment quality: Culture- and stratum-specific values, which govern the work ethic, the striving for status symbols, economic independence or simply the priorities in everyday life. Naturally, in materially worse-dispositioned families also straightly economic pressures come into play. In marginalized groups of society and in families with risk constellations attachment researchers find still longer phases of separation and extreme deprivation experiences, as Bowlby reported in his times.<sup>191</sup> – In the further course of the stabilization of attachment representations also pre-school childcare facilities, the school system, possibilities of contacts with peers and eventual religious, military and other institutions to which youths are exposed are of importance.

On the other hand a child can also be exposed to massive damaging influences already before or during birth, which will influence its later development and probably also its attachment behavior<sup>192</sup> – survivors of abortion attempts present an extreme case.<sup>193</sup> In this respect conventions and customs involved in the way a society deals with pregnancy and birth are of great importance for the psychohistorical processes touched upon here.<sup>194</sup>

A further important complex of factors influencing the forming and transmission of attachment experiences consists in partner choice, the quality and stability of the partner relationship between man and woman and the gender roles. The importance of partner choice might be generally underestimated.<sup>195</sup> It is clear that both parents can have different qualities of attachment to the child, to the extent that eventually deficits in the responsiveness of one parent can be balanced out by the other. The quality of the partner attachment interacts with the attachments to their children; this is also valid in a negative sense in the case of partnership crises or divorce.<sup>196</sup> Therefore, the kind of marriage or partnership initialization, patterns of interaction between the partners and the possibility or commonness of separations

---

<sup>190</sup> Gloger-Tippelt (2001b), p. 182.

<sup>191</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> cf. Zimmermann et al. (1997), p. 316.

<sup>193</sup> see Haesing & Janus (1999) for more thorough case studies.

<sup>194</sup> cf. Puhar (2000) on extreme dismissing-avoidant attitudes towards pregnant or childbearing women in former Yugoslavia.

<sup>195</sup> Huether (2000) has argued that this also holds true for biological evolution.

<sup>196</sup> cf. Grossmann (2000b), p. 75 ff.

and divorces in a culture are significant intervening variables in the transmission of attachment experiences. In this regard it is well-known from attachment research that the quality of partner relations between the sexes, at least in youth, correlates with the type of attachment representation of the partners: In AAI-based studies on youths, the more secure the attachment representation of the youths, the stronger close love relationships were characterized by emotional openness and support.<sup>197</sup> Love relationships and marriages, alongside of the sexual and the provider aspect, in themselves naturally have an absolutely essential attachment component and are thus also as such objects of attachment research.<sup>198</sup> The development of love between the sexes and of its emotional qualities in the course of history is also an important topic in psychohistory<sup>199</sup>, which heretofore in relation to childhood history has played a somewhat subordinate role. Peter Juengst<sup>200</sup> has particularly stressed the meaning of the distinct scenic-spatial separation of the sexes in some cultures (e.g. in the Islamic culture area), which has "profound effects... on pair relations and thus also on primary and secondary socialization."<sup>201</sup> – A further element of the attachment-relevant family constellation are not least the relations to siblings, grandparents and possibly other relatives, which can under certain circumstances have a compensatory effect if parents do something wrong<sup>202</sup>, and can even for the small child provide for a cognitively inspiring richness in the social environment.<sup>203</sup>

For all the variables dealt with so far which influence the transmission of attachment patterns – particularly however for the relationship of the parents between each other described in the last section above – a feedback effect must be assumed: If the theses of psychohistory apply, partnership attachments as well as social institutions, attitudes towards work and the occurrences of wars are for their part also conditioned by psychological states of the populations, which in turn are controlled to some extent by the existing attachment representations. These paths of cause and effect form however, if they exist, a complex network, so that for the empirical proof of interrelations still a wide field for research is opened.

#### *5.4. Attachment to groups, institutions, territories, and leading figures*

John Bowlby at a very early point put forth the assumption that attachment figures in the case of adults can also be replaced by institutions:

"During adolescence and adult life a measure of attachment behaviour is commonly directed not only towards persons outside the family but

---

<sup>197</sup> Zimmermann (1997), p. 228; cf. also Hopf et al. (1995), p. 158 ff.

<sup>198</sup> Sydow (2001).

<sup>199</sup> Ottmueller (2000).

<sup>200</sup> Juengst (1997), p. 85 f. and p. 99.

<sup>201</sup> *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>202</sup> cf. Chamberlain (2000), p. 119.

<sup>203</sup> cf. G. Huether, cited in Kurth (2001c), p. 212.

also towards groups and institutions other than the family. A school or college, a work group, a religious group or a political group can come to constitute for many people a subordinate attachment-'figure', and for some people a principal attachment-'figure'. In such cases, it seems probable, the development of attachment to a group is mediated, at least initially, by attachment to a person holding a prominent position within that group. Thus, for many a citizen attachment to his state is a derivative of and initially dependent on his attachment to its sovereign or president."<sup>204</sup>

At first, this suggestion was scarcely pursued in attachment research. Possibly one saw some difficulties in the operationalization of the term "attachment" with regard to institutions. – Contrary to the Bowlby quotation above Mary Ainsworth assumed that there exists an independent behavioral system of attachment in groups, which fulfils a survival function inasmuch as it leads the individuals to seek for proximity to members of the same species:

"It is thus reasonable to believe that there is some behavioral system that has evolved in social species that leads individuals to seek to maintain proximity to conspecifics, even to those to whom they are not attached or otherwise bonded, and despite the fact that wariness is likely to be evoked by those who are initially unfamiliar. ...Greenberg and Marvin... have suggested that it be called the 'sociable' system."<sup>205</sup>

She provided evidence for the existence of this behavioral system through observations in the "Strange Situation", where most children upon the first encounter with a stranger had not only shown fear, but also affable ("sociable") behavior.<sup>206</sup> – Therefore the intermediation by individual persons (heads of state), as supposed by Bowlby, would not at all be necessary for the development of group behavior of attachment character.

It would be possible to unite both points of view if one presupposed that here Bowlby and Ainsworth did not have the same in mind. Sociable, cooperative behavior in the group (including friendship attachments) would then under normal conditions evolve in the individual as a part of the lifelong maturing process of the attachment behavioral system ("sociable system"), without the need for particular, one-sided attachments to "leading figures", while in certain cases the feeling of togetherness within a group is brought about through a common affective relation to a leading person or to certain specific institutions or symbols (flag). If we generalize the observations of Sigrud Chamberlain<sup>207</sup> concerning comradeship versus friendship relations in the "Third Reich", we can make the assumption that the latter, "Fuehrer-induced" group behavior, displays rather a deficit and is found among persons who

---

<sup>204</sup> Bowlby (1997a), p. 207.

<sup>205</sup> Ainsworth (1991), p. 44.

<sup>206</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> Chamberlain (2000), p. 79 ff.

were deprived of their attachment needs in childhood. If this is true, "attachment behavior" would not be the correct designation for the variant mentioned last, because here one attempts rather to compensate a lack of attachment by something else – by an affect-tinted relationship to a leader, a flag, an ideal.

Feeney and Noller refer to a comparable "compensation model" regarding the relationship of religious people to God:

"...empirical data provide some support for the compensation model of religious behavior, which argues that people are most likely to turn to religion during times of emotional stress and in the absence of adequate human relationships. In other words, people are inclined to compensate for their inadequate human relationships by having a close relationship with God."<sup>208</sup>

This assumption would be in agreement with the observation that the attachment system is activated most strongly under conditions of stress, and upon the failure of secure attachment to the parents substitute attachment figures are sought.<sup>209</sup> The same authors mention, however, that data from the attachment research also exists, which supports a "correspondence hypothesis" in respect to religion, according to which individual relationship styles go hand in hand with an analogous religious behavior: Test persons with secure attachment representation view God more as loving, less remote and less controlling (therefore more strongly as a "secure base") in comparison to those with insecure attachment representation. Insecure-avoidant attachment representations are frequently accompanied by weak religious commitment or atheism, insecure-ambivalent, on the other hand, by extreme religious behavior such as e.g. speaking in tongues.<sup>210</sup> If one combines the two hypotheses, compensation and correspondence, the result is that God can indeed function as parent-substitute; at the same time, however, characteristics of the parents (or their attachment qualities) are transferred to Him. The same can be assumed also in the case of the affective relationship to political leaders or institutions:

"The tendency to equate nations with parental figures suggests that one's nation and government are often viewed in terms of parental imagery and that there is a similarity between affective attachment towards parents and affective attachments towards one's nation."<sup>211</sup>

The use of *body-language* metaphors in connection to territories and nations ("encircling", "cutting off the life vein", "strangulation"<sup>212</sup>) can likewise be seen as

---

<sup>208</sup> Feeney & Noller (1996), p. 77.

<sup>209</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>210</sup> *ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>211</sup> Garelli (2001).

<sup>212</sup> cf. Stein (1987, 1989); Juengst (1997), p. 78; deMause (2000), p. 129 ff.

indication for the fact that in the affective connotations of these abstract objects experiences from early phases of life history are re-activated.

Against the background of empirical social science Seymour Feshbach pursued in a questionnaire survey of students in the USA<sup>213</sup> the question whether individual differences in early family attachment are reflected in differences in "patriotic" attachments to the country ("I love my country", "I am proud to be an American" etc.<sup>214</sup>). A significant correlation was only to be found for early father attachment; in a control study this was observed only for politically conservative students.<sup>215</sup>

Unfortunately, a detailed survey of the attachment representation employing the AAI was not conducted in this study. It is a known fact, however, that among right-extremist youths insecure-avoidant and insecure-ambivalent attachment types occur with an above-average frequency.<sup>216</sup> The answers in Feshbach's questionnaires may have been distorted by idealizing characterizations of the parents, which typically occur in one section of the group of the insecurely attached persons. If this was the case, the idealized father attachment could to the same extent fill a compensatory role as patriotism for these youths, whose attachment needs were not met in an early phase of their development. There still is a great need for research to clarify such assumptions.

If the thesis of compensatory and at the same time parent-analogous relationship qualities to institutions, leaders and territories can be corroborated, this would mean a vicious circle: Because the persons concerned would act out again and again on the political stage the unsatisfactory attachment experiences with their early attachment figures, they would hardly achieve any *actual* compensation for the deprivation experience in their childhood. It would then also seem certain that the history of institutions and of nations would reflect the history of internal mental attachment representations and consequently also the history of childhood. This is exactly what the psychogenic theory of history claims: "...political, religious and social behavior restage early traumas... recorded in separate areas of our minds."<sup>217</sup>

## 6. Applications of attachment theory to psychohistorical inquiries

So far there exist only few studies in which concepts and methods of attachment theory were explicitly applied to historical topics or topics of contemporary history. Three pregnant examples will be tersely presented here.

---

<sup>213</sup> Feshbach (1987).

<sup>214</sup> *ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>215</sup> *ibid.*, p. 322.

<sup>216</sup> Hopf et al. (1995); see below: section 6.2.

<sup>217</sup> deMause (2002).

### 6.1. The upbringing of babies and infants under National Socialism

Sigrid Chamberlain examined two books from the period of National Socialism, the primers for the care and upbringing of children, "The German mother and her first child" and "Our little children", whereby she used results of more recent infant and attachment research as a basis.<sup>218</sup> The two books, written by the practical doctor Johanna Haarer and published by Julius F. Lehmann, a very early promoter of Hitler, were widespread<sup>219</sup> and influential in NS times; furthermore, they were – in a somewhat slightly changed and politically cleansed form – also for several decades in post-war times still in print.<sup>220</sup> These books were considered practical guides for families and as a basis for the training of mothers throughout the "Reich" as well as for nursing staffs, but they also were political propaganda pamphlets, which were expressly designed to educate the people to become effective members of the NS system.<sup>221</sup>

Chamberlain's central thesis asserts that NS education was supposed to produce an *attachment-incapable* human being.<sup>222</sup> The practices propagated in Haarer's books keep the child at a distance and prevent the development of secure attachments. This begins immediately after birth: According to Haarer's instructions the healthy newborn child, after the cutting of the umbilical cord, should be separated immediately for 24 hours from the mother and be left "preferably by itself in a room of its own"<sup>223</sup>, before putting it on the breast to be fed for the first time. In this way the early mother-child contact in the "sensitive phase" (passive attention of the baby for ca. 60 minutes after its birth)<sup>224</sup> regarded as especially important and formative in infant research, would be prevented; the sensitive phase is completely wasted. "The price for this can sometimes be high... Mothers who were separated from their child immediately after giving birth later reacted rather insensitively towards their child, in a way different from mothers who remained together with their babies. They were more clumsy in caring for their babies; they had more problems with breast-feeding; they held the babies more rarely in an en-face-position..."<sup>225</sup> This means: An insecure attachment is promoted. This applies also for other rules recommended by Haarer: Letting the baby cry (with a warning against the "little house tyrant" that one would otherwise rear), giving it an accommodation separate from the mother and leaving it isolated to a large extent, a dysfunctional carrying posture while handling the child, which would make eye-to-eye contact more difficult and avoid chest-to-chest contact<sup>226</sup>, finally also the refusal of verbal

---

<sup>218</sup> Chamberlain (2000); cf. also the shorter version in Chamberlain (2001).

<sup>219</sup> Print-run of the first book at the end of the war: 690 000, cf. the epilogue by Gregor Dill in Chamberlain (2000), p. 207.

<sup>220</sup> *ibid.* and Chamberlain (2001).

<sup>221</sup> Chamberlain (2000), p. 8.

<sup>222</sup> *ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>223</sup> cited after Chamberlain (2000), p. 23.

<sup>224</sup> Klaus and Kennell, cited *ibid.*, p. 24; see also Chamberlain (2001).

<sup>225</sup> Chamberlain (2000), p. 25.

<sup>226</sup> *ibid.*, p. 30 ff; Chamberlain (2001).

contacts with the child in appropriate "baby talk". A later compensation of the early attachment deprivation, as is principally possible with humans<sup>227</sup>, is effectively prevented by observing these instructions. Haarer's demands for cleanliness are so strict that Chamberlain speaks of a "hygiene isolation wall" around the child.<sup>228</sup> In this manner a child is reared "without its own skin", which is exposed to a constant control of its bodily functions by adults.<sup>229</sup> This continues with persistence also later in the upbringing of the infant. Uncleanliness, "sloppy eating" etc., as well as deviations from the timetable for eating, using the pot, and going to sleep are strictly punished. It is expected that commands be followed with absolute obedience. Haarer's educational style, measured in terms of the "psychogenic modes" of deMause, can be viewed as an extreme form of the "intrusive mode". Disciplining was central in this mode:

"Subjection meant to demonstrate to the baby from its birth onward that everything it had brought with it, its spontaneous impulses and natural reflexes, its needs and abilities, were WRONG in the environment it had stumbled into. Here primal mistrust in the baby was produced not only of the world, but also of itself. From then on, against the backdrop of this existential deprivation of security, autonomy or the attempt to achieve it was no longer possible. All the energies of the baby were bound by the search for orientation and the fight for mere survival..."<sup>230</sup>

Chamberlain deduces from the behavior descriptions of the two and a half-year old children in Haarer's books that Haarer here envisaged *children with insecure-avoidant attachment*: "Haarer stated repeatedly that children up to the age of two and a half principally accept any adult..."<sup>231</sup> These are the children, which Haarer takes as the norm.<sup>232</sup> Insecure-avoidant attachment thus in NS times obviously became the cultural norm. Chamberlain considers it possible that this continued to have an effect still far into the post-war period: "Perhaps we have 'inherited' something there. The latent animosity and relationship deficit of a whole society in the treatment of its children may have some connection to the isolation of its smallest children, which was strictly carried out many decades ago and has since then never been completely resolved."<sup>233</sup> She quotes the couple Grossmann and Grossmann, attachment researchers, with the observation that the insecure-avoidant behavior of small children in the "Strange Situation" especially in Germany – contrary to other Western countries – is positively judged by very many adults and is taken for an extraordinary form of independence: "If one presupposes, however, that

---

<sup>227</sup> cf. Chamberlain (2000), p. 25.

<sup>228</sup> *ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>229</sup> *ibid.*, p. 53 ff.

<sup>230</sup> Chamberlain (2000), p. 139.

<sup>231</sup> *ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>232</sup> *ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>233</sup> *ibid.*, p. 28.

millionfold and for many decades one educated along the lines of Haarer, then this observation can be easily explained."<sup>234</sup> What was the function of the lack of attachment in the NS state, apparently sought after, and what are its implications?

"Lack of attachment from the beginning of life onward: This is the basis for the breeding of an all-purpose 'type', who is not really bound by conscience, values or morals, has no bonds to human beings or native country, and is, of course, readily replaceable at any time. His lack of attachment is the first and earliest disorder in the fascist character; all his further defects, like his docility, his restlessness and insatiability, his obsession with the conception of an immaculate, hardened body, also the 'national body', his inability to cope with ambivalences, so-called half measures; whatever other characteristics are attributed to the fascist character, they are functions of this, his first and deepest, disorder. This also applies to his lack of feeling for himself and for others, i.e. to his contact disorder, to his addiction to symbiotic entanglements and his proneness to relationships of subordination, which are for their part expressions of his inability to establish relationships... The child raised as a National Socialist, with its absolute relationship disorder, is predestined to seek refuge in ill-fated symbioses. This is, indeed, what finally makes the National Socialist type so susceptible to assimilation into the formed up masses. In these masses he is then seemingly connected with the many others..."<sup>235</sup>

Interesting from a psychohistorical point of view is also Chamberlains final chapter with the title "Notes on Adolf Hitler".<sup>236</sup> First she lists various psychological and psychoanalytical explanations in the literature for the destructivity of Hitler's personality and then deals with the findings of attachment research, which imply that processes of *development* and *dissolution* of intensive attachments in the case of humans can only with great difficulty occur at the same time: "We could observe in many cases where of a pair of twins one twin died that it was difficult for parents to mourn the lost baby with full intensity and at the same time to feel attachment to the surviving twin. The same problem arises if a mother, after having lost a newborn child, becomes pregnant again shortly afterward..."<sup>237</sup> Adolf Hitler's mother, Klara Hitler, had lost within shortest time three children to diphtheria before she became pregnant with him. "It can be assumed thus that the dissolution of her attachment to the three dead children was still not fully accomplished and her ability had not yet been restored to establish an attachment to a further child."<sup>238</sup> This may in turn have enhanced the lack of attachment and an inner emptiness and "Incorporeality"

---

<sup>234</sup> *ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>235</sup> *ibid.*, p. 168, p. 177, original italicization retained.

<sup>236</sup> *ibid.*, p. 195 ff.

<sup>237</sup> Klaus und Kennell, cited after Chamberlain (2000), p. 197 f.

<sup>238</sup> Chamberlain (2000), p. 198.

(German: "Wesenlosigkeit", A. Speer<sup>239</sup>), as regards Adolf Hitler himself, and possibly also his fascination with death. Eyewitness reports about psychotic fits with "flashbacks" concerning his beating father<sup>240</sup>, lead us to conclude a disorganized attachment status.

## 6.2. Extreme right-wing youths in the 1990s

In three studies carried out by Christel Hopf and her assistants in the 1990s in the area Hildesheim-Hanover (Germany), the connection between the attachment representation type (derived from the AAI) and right-wing extremist and ethnocentric orientations was examined.<sup>241</sup> Here wide-range and qualitative interviews were conducted with 52 young men and women – one with respect to the actual living condition, one involving political and moral orientations and a variant of the AAI, respectively.<sup>242</sup> The samples were not representative for the whole population because a high proportion of right-wing extremist was desired in keeping with the line of questioning in the studies.<sup>243</sup>

In the results<sup>244</sup> it is clearly shown that the persons categorized as "secure-autonomous" without exception exhibited *no* tendency towards right-wing extremist orientations, whereas among the "insecure-dismissing" and "entangled" persons, i.e. in case of an insecure attachment representation, right-wing extremist orientations in many (not in all) cases were to be found. Right-wing extremist and ethnocentric aggressiveness upon close qualitative analysis of individual cases could in respect to the insecure-dismissing attachment type be interpreted as aggressiveness transferred from the parents onto substitute objects<sup>245</sup> – in accordance to classical conceptions of the "authoritarian character"<sup>246</sup>. For the group of "entangled" persons, on the other hand, the right-wing extremist propensity to aggression seemed to be more an extension than a substitute for the conflict with their parents.<sup>247</sup> Representatives of this group exhibited particularly uncontrolled aggressive expressions and intense feelings of hatred, which in contrast to the classical "authoritarian character" were not associated with subordination.<sup>248</sup> – The interrelation between authoritarianism

---

<sup>239</sup> cited *ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>240</sup> Miller (1983), p. 204 f.

<sup>241</sup> Hopf (2001); Hopf & Hopf (1997), p. 60 ff.; Hopf et al. (1995); Rieker (1997).

<sup>242</sup> Hopf et al. (1995), p. 189 ff.

<sup>243</sup> Hopf (2001), p. 350.

<sup>244</sup> Summaries of the figures from the three studies in Hopf (2001), p. 348 f., Hopf & Hopf (1997), p. 63, and cited in Kurth (2001b), p. 24.

<sup>245</sup> Hopf et al. (1995), p. 145. In addition, depth psychological studies suggest that the peer group is inclined to take on the function as parent surrogate with respect to a lack of positive emotionality, cf. Streeck-Fischer (1992), p. 756 ff; Streeck-Fischer (1998), p. 39; cf. also Chamberlain's thesis regarding the striving for a "symbiotic" merging with the group in the case of attachment disordered persons, see above.

<sup>246</sup> Adorno et al. (1969).

<sup>247</sup> Hopf et al. (1995), p. 149.

<sup>248</sup> *ibid.*, p. 152.

and insecure-dismissing (avoidant) attachment representation could also be affirmed in studies in the USA.<sup>249</sup>

In the Hildesheim studies an attempt was also made to determine the nature and the intensity of the internalization of *moral norms* and to analyze the connection to right-wing extremism and attachment representation. Here a scale of moral orientations (for fictive decision situations) was employed which ranged from "primarily instrumental-strategic arguments" to "primarily norm-related (valuational) arguments."<sup>250</sup> In the findings the interviewees with insecure-dismissing attachment representation revealed themselves to be more strongly instrumental-strategically (heteronomous) oriented in comparison to the secure-autonomous interviewees.<sup>251</sup> This is in agreement with the results already cited above, according to which securely attached children of preschool and school age display a more social quality of behavior and a higher degree of empathy in dealing with their peers (cf. sect. 5.2.). "A purposive orientation is a plausible correlation to an emotion-dismissing attachment representation. Emphasizing the material achievements attained or not attained by the parents or others and the calculation of advantageous strategies of action can help to distract the attention from emotional deficits and to push aside feelings of disappointment or anger."<sup>252</sup>

From a psychohistorical perspective the question arises whether or not in a capitalistic economic order – and especially in its presently developing, globalized and increasingly deregulated form<sup>253</sup> – such instrumental, selfish postures and thereby also the insecure-avoidant attachment representation are reinforced. In this case NS education (see the previous section) would only be a particularly open variant of a tendency to "socialization toward a lack of attachment" still present today, which is in harmony with certain social norms (predisposition to succeed, ruthlessness, egoistic profit optimizing) that in turn are adapted to structural necessities of the economic order.

A *counter-thesis* would be that the increasing individualization in the western societies<sup>254</sup> went hand in hand with an increase in secure-autonomous attachment representations. This would be in accord with the deMause's assumption of an evolution of more empathetic parent-child interaction forms (see section 3.1). Right-wing extremism would according to this point of view be a refuge for those who were not able to take part in this evolution due to extremely unfavorable developments in socialization and life and who are therefore frightened by the freer and more autonomous forms of interaction in the more progressive psychoclasses.<sup>255</sup>

---

<sup>249</sup> Cited in Hopf (2001), p. 350.

<sup>250</sup> *ibid.*, p. 355; more detailed in Hopf et al. (1995), p. 58 ff.

<sup>251</sup> Hopf (2001), p. 357 ff.

<sup>252</sup> *ibid.*, p. 361.

<sup>253</sup> cf. Nyssen (2001).

<sup>254</sup> cf., e.g., Beck et al. (1995).

<sup>255</sup> cf. the article by deMause (1995) on the Oklahoma City bomb attack. The extreme weapons fetishism of the right-wing extremist perpetrator McVeigh is assumed to have started when at the age of 10 he was abandoned by his mother (*ibid.*, p. 22).

Compatible with the interpretations just described are also the chains of thought put forward by Christel Hopf and her assistants in regard to the particularly high number of hostile attacks on foreigners in *Eastern Germany*.<sup>256</sup> In the light of the results of their Hildesheim studies on the interrelation between ethnocentric attitudes and insecure attachment experiences they propose the thesis that youths and young adults which grew up in the GDR have internalized insecure-dismissing attachment representations more often than those which grew up in the Federal Republic of Germany.<sup>257</sup> Although there is still no direct quantitative evidence for this proposal, such a conclusion would seem plausible based upon the assumed and to a certain extent already discussed effects of early socialization in the GDR and the pertinent social climate<sup>258</sup>:

"The children who grew up in the GDR were on the one hand more strongly emotionally encumbered by early separations and a deprivation of individual attention, on the other hand lived in a milieu, which suppressed criticism and denied trouble and sorrow... The educational environs which were aimed at self-idealization and control of the social life of the child on the individual level supported problem solving strategies which were counter-acting and minimizing existing problems."<sup>259</sup>

These assumptions were supported by interviews with some ethnocentrically oriented youths who were born in the GDR and later, as youths, moved to Western Germany. Here insecure-dismissing attachment representations were found that went hand in hand with strongly developed material orientation<sup>260</sup>, rigid views on order<sup>261</sup>, low insecurity tolerance<sup>262</sup> and a to a great extent economically based hostility towards foreigners.<sup>263</sup> – These results can also be easily placed in the larger framework of psychogenic theory, according to which a freer, democratic form of society is an achievement of anxiety-free, more favorably socialized psychoclasses.<sup>264</sup> Therefore, to make the "Wende" (= "[political] turn-around") in the GDR possible, the proportion of persons socialized with secure attachment would have had to first exceed a "critical level". For the insecurely attached persons a rebellion against the state exercising control and order would have been accompanied by much too massive fears. Because the configuration of psychoclasses only changes

---

<sup>256</sup> Hopf et al. (1999).

<sup>257</sup> *ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>258</sup> cf. Maaz (1992).

<sup>259</sup> Hopf et al. (1999), p. 100.

<sup>260</sup> *ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>261</sup> *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>262</sup> *ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>263</sup> *ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>264</sup> cf. deMause (2000), p. 453 ff., for a psychohistorical interpretation of the "velvet revolution" in Russia and Eastern Europe in 1989/90.

gradually, a proportion of insecurely attached persons above the average is to be expected also after the "Wende".

### 6.3. Attitudes towards nuclear armament during the "Cold War"

Authors with an orientation towards depth psychology have repeatedly linked war and efforts at armament to unconscious, destructive desires, which are related to experiences from early socialization.<sup>265</sup> "[The] dynamics of affect and interaction [of large groups] is, particularly in situations of tension and crisis, (co-)governed by regressive phenomena, which are well-known from psychoanalyses of seriously disturbed patients... and which can to a smaller or larger degree be activated even in regressive developments of 'normal' personalities, because they correspond to early phases in the development of the Self."<sup>266</sup> Unfortunately, attachment research has only contributed little to date to the clarification and empirical examination of these assumed connections. In a certain sense an exception is provided by the study of American college students by Seymour Feshbach already cited above in respect to patriotism, which was complemented by a similar study of 303 older Californian men and women of higher income with particular interest in foreign policy.<sup>267</sup> These surveys (in writing) were carried out in the 1980s, at a time when the nuclear armament race between the USA and the Soviet Union was still in progress and the question of further missile programs or a "freezing" of nuclear armament was being lively discussed. Let us briefly list here a few results:

- Those males and females polled who expressed emotional *affection for children* or favored the expenditure by the society of a significant part of its wealth for the welfare of the children tended to support nuclear disarmament, while those who judged children along *instrumental* lines were more inclined to support armament.
- Those persons polled who considered occasional wars necessary and positive tended also to be supporters of a strong nuclear armament program (which contradicts the proposition that atomic weapons – in terms of the doctrine of deterrence – was psychologically perceived of as a pure means of war *prevention*).
- Correlations between measurements of personal aggressiveness and the attitude toward nuclear armament were seldom found.
- On the other hand, nationalistic attitudes correlated with the support of strong nuclear armament.

Unfortunately, nothing similar to the Adult Attachment Interview was carried out through which a more precise assessment of attachment representations could have been derived. The answers in respect to an emotional vs. an instrumental attitude

---

<sup>265</sup> Parin (1983), Beisel (1985), Horn (1988), Lotto (1989), Berghold (1991), Mentzos (1993), Wolf (1993).

<sup>266</sup> Wolf (1993), p. 75.

<sup>267</sup> Feshbach (1987).

toward children can, however, – with a certain degree of caution – be interpreted as indicators of secure or insecure-avoidant attachment representation, respectively. Thus it becomes apparent that the insecure-avoidant group leans more heavily to a strong nuclear armament (and to nationalistic attitudes) than the securely attached, whereas the individual propensity to aggression is of only little value in predicting the attitude toward armament. Attachment research can thus possibly to a greater extent than aggression-theoretical approaches contribute to the clarification of psychological causes for an inclination to armament and war. Here there is a need for further research.

## **7. An attempt at a synthesis of attachment theory and the psychogenic theory of history**

Both theories, attachment theory as well as the psychogenic theory of history of deMause, examine the effects of the socialization of children upon individual and social development. If both theories correctly describe a segment of reality it should be possible to reconcile their concepts to a certain extent – namely insofar as the same spheres of reality are concerned. Especially between the types of attachment representation and the psychoclasses a relationship ought to exist.

One might raise the objection that "attachment" possesses a dyadic quality: Attachment of the child evolves with respect to the mother and the father (and to further persons, or surrogate persons), and the attachment quality to the mother and to the father can be different.<sup>268</sup> In a meta-analysis, however, a significant connection between the classification of the attachment to the mother and to the father, respectively, revealed itself in the "Strange Situation".<sup>269</sup> Furthermore, attachment theory assumes that with further development of the "internal working model" in most cases something like a uniform attachment representation emerges as a "core experience" from the sum of the interactions with different persons, which in turn generally affects the organization of feelings and the overcoming also of non attachment-relevant requisite situations.<sup>270</sup> This "core experience", this working model should present itself as a constitutive component of a "psychoclass" in the sense of deMause<sup>271</sup>, which indeed is precisely defined as a group of individuals with comparable childhood experiences.

For the "secure-autonomous" form of attachment representation a categorization presents no difficulty: It is the most frequent form in the western countries<sup>272</sup> and should therefore correspond to the presently dominating psychogenic mode there, the *socializing mode*.<sup>273</sup> (The after deMause historically most recent, still more progressive "supporting mode" is not yet as common and

---

<sup>268</sup> Main (1997), p. 124.

<sup>269</sup> Main (2001), p. 18.

<sup>270</sup> Zimmermann et al. (1997), p. 328.

<sup>271</sup> deMause (2000), p. 190.

<sup>272</sup> cf. Hoffmann (2001).

<sup>273</sup> deMause (2002).

could easily be assigned to an "particularly secure" subcategory of the autonomous attachment.) A classification problem does arise, however, for the two clearly different attachment types "insecure-dismissing" and "entangled". Both are represented to a significant extent in today's western societies. The respective behavior patterns in the "Strange Situation" are so diametrically opposed that a gradual transition from one form to the other hardly seems possible. Thus one should also expect that they correspond to different psychoclasses. According to the "linear" model of deMause the respective psychogenic modes should follow each other in historical sequence, and the one should have grown out of the other: The "intrusive mode" and the "ambivalent mode" (see table 1) would come into question here. Yet caution is required in regard to the meaning of the word "ambivalence", which for deMause<sup>274</sup> is somewhat different from that found in attachment research in respect to the "insecure-ambivalent" type. In case of the latter it is assumed that the child has indeed made proximity experiences with its reference figures, that these, however, were unreliable, anxious or inconsistent in the interaction with the child.<sup>275</sup> This characterization of the attachment experiences does not quite fit with the indeed strongly projective-dismissive and partly traumatizing parental treatment of their children as is the case with the historical "ambivalent type" of deMause (swaddling of the whole body, early beating, eroticization of the child)<sup>276</sup>, which should have had the tendency to produce borderline personalities.<sup>277</sup> A similarity to the entangled attachment type reveals itself, though, in the "needs for clinging", fears of separation and in the annoyance, as these were described by deMause, which ought to be characteristic for the personality type resulting from this psychoclass.<sup>278</sup>

On the basis of what Chamberlain discovered about the attachment-rejecting National Socialist upbringing of infants it is plausible to establish a connection between the insecure-dismissing attachment representation and the "intrusive mode" of deMause. Also for deMause, excessive control of the body functions of the child accompanied by a simultaneous emotional distance, the enforcement of discipline, strict budgeting of time etc. can be found as characteristics of this mode.<sup>279</sup> Historically this type precedes the socializing / securely attached type in German postwar history, which likewise agrees with the sequence proposed by deMause (see tab. 1). However, a certain discrepancy becomes apparent regarding the personality organization which this psychoclass should have produced: For deMause this had originally been characterized as "compulsive"<sup>280</sup>; in more recent times he calls it "depressive".<sup>281</sup> Since the insecure-avoidant attachment type in extreme cases hardly

---

<sup>274</sup> deMause (2000), p. 188.

<sup>275</sup> cf. Gomille (2001), p. 205 ff.

<sup>276</sup> deMause (2000), p. 187.

<sup>277</sup> deMause (2002), p. 416 ff.

<sup>278</sup> deMause, *ibid.*; for the pertinent characteristics of the entangled attachment type, cf. Hopf et al. (1995), p. 146 ff.

<sup>279</sup> deMause (2000), p. 114 f.

<sup>280</sup> deMause (2000), p. 193 f.

<sup>281</sup> deMause (2002).

has any access to its feelings (we are reminded here of the cold "zealous executors" of NS times and of their "inability to mourn" (Mitscherlich) – a consequence of an absolute lack of attachment), the characterization as depressive seems hardly adequate; on the other hand inconspicuous (in comparison to the "furious" representatives of the same elementary type), "depressive" variants were also reported for the "entangled" type.<sup>282</sup>

The discrepancies can be resolved if one tentatively deviates from deMause's "linear" model of psychogenic evolution and assumes that two psychoclasses (corresponding to the insecure-avoidant and the insecure-entangled attachment type) developed parallel to each other.

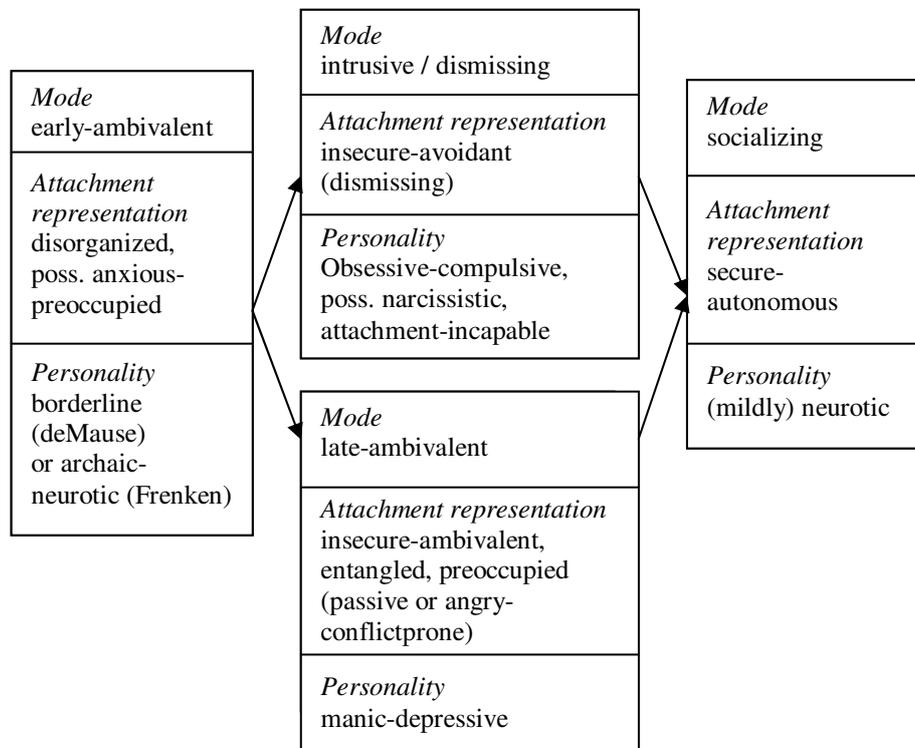


Fig. 2: Revised part of the development of the psychoclasses (historical sequence tendentially from left to right).<sup>283</sup>

I would like to call the one mode, which corresponds to the insecure-avoidant attachment type (and in extreme cases to the NS personality with a complete lack of

<sup>282</sup> Hopf et al. (1995), p. 153.

<sup>283</sup> The personality type is assigned to the early-ambivalent mode in keeping with deMause (2002) or, alternatively, according to Frenken (2001), whereas the latter only described individual cases.

attachment), "intrusive-dismissing", in an extreme case it will produce obsessive-compulsive, narcissistic personalities and personalities with attachment inabilities. The other mode I would like to call "late-ambivalent", in demarcation to the (consequently "early"-)"ambivalent" mode of deMause, out of which it might have developed historically, like the intrusive-dismissing mode. This late-ambivalent psychoclass corresponds to the tendentially manic-depressive personality organization, which deMause had assigned to the intrusive mode (which occurs historically parallel). Thus a "bifurcation" results in the psychogenic evolution, which takes into account the differences in the associated attachment forms "insecure-dismissing" and "entangled" (fig. 2). – The arrows in the diagram should not be seen as a compulsory direction of development established once and for all; reversals in the development are possible; for instance, in Germany during the 1930s retrogressions from at that time already existing "socializing" forms of the Weimar Republic back to the intrusive-dismissing mode might have taken place. – Earlier psychoclasses than the "early-ambivalent" mode are not included in the diagram; attachment representations corresponding to them should presumably be seen as subtypes of the disturbed, disorganized type and still have to be examined in further detail.

Since this partial revision of deMause's psychogenic scheme is only a first attempt and because appropriate, systematic studies of historical sources are missing so far, it is not possible at this point to state when exactly the split in the development of the psychoclasses took place. This split can be explained, however, from the point of view of the motivation of the parents: The fear of the own child, which was very strong in the early-ambivalent mode<sup>284</sup>, can be encountered either through constant control (intrusive) and a maintenance of distance, or by alternating allowance of empathic affection and temporary retreat (experienced by the child as unreliability in satisfying attachment needs). The pattern last mentioned would lead to an insecure-ambivalent attachment representation. With a theory-guided analysis of autobiographies – comparable to that carried out by Frenken for earlier psychogenic phases<sup>285</sup> – empirical evidence for these assumptions might be sought after.

In summary, one might say that attachment theory has already made relevant new insights into specific important psychohistorical questions possible (NS infant upbringing; correlates to right-wing extremist and xenophobic attitudes). With regard to other important questions, e.g. the intrapsychic presuppositions for wars and armament races, there are so far only certain clues implying that attachment experiences (in particular deprivation and insecure attachment) play some role; targeted studies are still wanting.

In case of destructive practices in history (wars, effectuated economic collapses) deMause very frequently takes recourse to *guilt feelings* introjected by

---

<sup>284</sup> cf. deMause (2002).

<sup>285</sup> Frenken (1999, 2000).

parents as a motivational basis.<sup>286</sup> This "standard explanation" reproduces an old idea of Freud ("the guilt feeling as the most important problem of cultural development..."<sup>287</sup>), which is, however, with its lack of differentiation not fully adequate for the otherwise already further advanced psychogenic theory.<sup>288</sup> Guilt feelings will actually have played an important role in some situations; one should, however, at least tentatively consider other motivational structures. Especially those effects of early separations known from attachment research – extreme anxiety and fear of any form of change<sup>289</sup> – could lead to alternative explanations for some historical cases of growth panic, fear of liberty, xenophobia and self-exclusion (see sect. 5.2). The studies by Alenka Puhar on family structures and conditions in early socialization in former Yugoslavia<sup>290</sup>, which might have severely hampered the development of secure attachments, suggest that proclivity to violence and war is to a high degree influenced by such socialization factors.

As we have seen from the example of systematization of psychoclasses, the perspective of attachment research can possibly also lead to improvements in the psychogenic *theory*. This could also apply for the three forms of parental reaction postulated by deMause (projection, reversion and empathy): With the term "internal working model" attachment theory offers here a more differentiated concept, the applicability of which for the description and explanation of historical forms of parent-child interactions still has to be tested through appropriate studies. Also the significance of *several* reference figures and the influences, which in later life phases modify the psychological structures acquired in early socialization, will probably be better taken into account by attachment theory than is the case with the prior psychogenic approach in its simplest version. All in all, the basic framework of the psychogenic theory of history, which indeed exhibits, as we have seen in sections 4 and 5, broad structural similarities to attachment theory and common cornerstones, would not be fundamentally called into question, but meaningfully enhanced and further delineated.

Not every person with an insecure attachment representation becomes a Nazi. In addition, internal working models can be further developed. However, it should have become clear from the studies cited in the previous sections that the 25 % proportion of insecurely attached persons in the society presents a risk potential. It is also a humane prerequisite (which should actually be regarded as self-evident) to prevent the distress, which the baby feels upon neglect of its elementary attachment needs. From a *practical* point of view it would thus be desirable to try to increase the proportion of "autonomous" human beings in our society on a long-term basis through improved offers in aid and consultation for parents. In this connection, one

---

<sup>286</sup> see, e.g., deMause (1987), p. 76, on the recession under Reagan; deMause (2000), p. 472, on the Gulf War.

<sup>287</sup> Freud (1994), p. 97.

<sup>288</sup> cf. also Mentzos (1993), p. 141.

<sup>289</sup> cf. Bowlby (1997a), p. 222.

<sup>290</sup> Puhar (2000).

might also feel inclined to endorse Karl-Heinz Brisch's<sup>291</sup> call for a general *attachment training*, also for politicians, in order to spread knowledge about attachment theory and about psychohistorical foundations more widely.

*This text is a revised and translated version of an article which appeared first in the German "Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung".<sup>292</sup> An earlier version was accepted in August 2001 as intermediate thesis in the M.A. study course "Pedagogy" at the Georg-August University of Goettingen. The author would like to take this opportunity to express his gratitude to Prof. Wulf Hopf, first reader, and Prof. Christian Rittelmeyer, second reader. Translation: Tatyana Gardner.*

## References

- Adorno, Theodor W. / Frenkel-Brunswik, E. / Levinson, D. J. / Sanford, R. N., in cooperation with B. Aron, M. Hertz Levinson und W. Morrow (1969): *The Authoritarian Personality*. (New York 1969, 1st. ed. 1950).
- Ainsworth, Mary D. S. (1991): Attachments and other affectional bonds across the life cycle. In: Parkes, C. Murray / Stevenson-Hinde, J. / Marris, P. (eds.): *Attachment across the Life Cycle*. (London, New York 1991), p. 33-51.
- Ariès, Philippe (1962): *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1962, original French ed. 1960).
- Ariès, Philippe (1990): *Geschichte der Kindheit*. (Muenchen, 9th. ed. 1990, 1st. ed. 1978, original French ed. 1960).
- Beck, Ulrich / Vossenkuhl, Wilhelm / Erdmann Ziegler, Ulf (1995): *Eigenes Leben. Ausfluege in die unbekante Gesellschaft, in der wir leben* (Ausstellungsreihe "Erkundungen", Muenchen 1995).
- Beisel, David R. (1985): The Vietnam war: A beginning psychohistory. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 12 (3) (1985), 371-393.
- Berghold, Joseph (1991): Fathoming the depths of war motivation. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 19 (1) (1991), 53-56.
- Boelderl, Artur R. (2001): Der Andere als *social alter*. Die Ethik der Psychohistorie im Blick auf das Gewaltproblem. In: Kurth, Winfried / Rheinheimer, Martin (eds.): *Gruppenfantasien und Gewalt. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 1 (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg 2001), p. 37-46.
- Bowlby, John (1988): *A Secure Base. Parent-child attachment and healthy human development* (New York 1988, British original ed. 1988).
- Bowlby, John (1997a): *Attachment and Loss. Vol. 1: Attachment*. (Pimlico, London 1997; 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1969).
- Bowlby, John (1997b): *Bindung: Historische Wurzeln, theoretische Konzepte und klinische Relevanz*. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see below), p. 17-26.
- Bowlby, John (1998): *Attachment and Loss. Vol. 2: Separation. Anxiety and Anger*. (Pimlico, London 1998; 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1973).

---

<sup>291</sup> cited in Kurth (2001c), p. 213.

<sup>292</sup> Kurth (2002a).

- Bretherton, Inge (1997): Die Geschichte der Bindungstheorie. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see below), p. 27-49.
- Bretherton, Inge (2001): Zur Konzeption innerer Arbeitsmodelle in der Bindungstheorie. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see below), p. 52-74.
- Chamberlain, Sigrid (2000): Adolf Hitler, die deutsche Mutter und ihr erstes Kind. Ueber zwei NS-Erziehungsbuecher (Psychosozial-Verlag, Giessen, 3rd. ed. 2000, 1st. ed. 1997).
- Chamberlain, Sigrid (2001): Zur fruehen Sozialisation in Deutschland zwischen 1934 und 1945. In: Kurth, Winfried / Janus, Ludwig (eds.): Psychohistorie und Persoenlichkeitsstruktur. *Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 2 (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg), in print.
- DeMause, Lloyd (1974): The evolution of childhood. In: *Journal of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974), 503-575.
- DeMause, Lloyd (1982): Foundations of Psychohistory. (New York 1982).
- DeMause, Lloyd (1987): Reagans Amerika. Eine psychohistorische Studie (Stroemfeld / Roter Stern, 2nd. ed. 1987, 1st. ed. 1984, American original ed. 1984).
- DeMause, Lloyd (ed.) (1989): Hoert ihr die Kinder weinen. Eine psychogenetische Geschichte der Kindheit (Suhkamp, Frankfurt, 6th. ed. 1989, 1st. ed. 1980, American original ed. 1974).
- DeMause, Lloyd (1989): Grundlagen der Psychohistorie. Psychohistorische Schriften von Lloyd deMause. Ed.: Aurel Ende (Suhkamp, Frankfurt 1989).
- DeMause, Lloyd (1990): The history of child assault. *The Journal of Psychohistory*, 18 (1990), 1-29.
- DeMause, Lloyd (1995): The Apocalypse in our heads. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 23 (1995), 18-25.
- DeMause, Lloyd (1997): The psychogenic theory of history. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 25 (1997), 112-183.
- DeMause, Lloyd (1999): Childhood and cultural evolution. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 26 (1999), 642-723.
- DeMause, Lloyd (2000): Was ist Psychohistorie? Eine Grundlegung (Psychosozial-Verlag, Giessen 2000).
- DeMause, Lloyd (2002): The Emotional Life of Nations. (Karnac, New York/London 2002, 454 p.).
- DeMause, Lloyd (2007a): Why males are more violent. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 35 (1) (Summer 2007), 22-33 (= chapter 2 of deMause (2011)).
- DeMause, Lloyd (2007b): The psychology and neurobiology of violence. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 35 (2) (Fall 2007), 114-141 (= chapter 3 of deMause (2011)).
- DeMause, Lloyd (2011): The Origins of War in Child Abuse. (Online book, [www.psychohistory.com](http://www.psychohistory.com)).
- DeMause, Lloyd / Lawton, Henry / Thiel, Axel / Hirohama, Michael / Weber, John (1998): Psychohistorians discuss psychohistory. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 25 (4) (1998), 387-395.
- Dornes, Martin (2000): Die Eltern der Bindungstheorie: Biographisches zu John Bowlby und Mary Ainsworth. In: Endres, Manfred / Hauser, Susanne (eds.): Bindungstheorie in der Psychotherapie. (Muenchen / Basel 2000), p. 18-37.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara (1997): Blutroutine. Ursprung und Geschichte der Lust am Krieg (Kunstmann, Muenchen 1997, American. original ed. 1997).
- Elias, Norbert (1994): The Civilizing Process. (Blackwell, Oxford 1994).
- Emde, Robert N. (1993): Die endliche und die unendliche Entwicklung. In: Petzold, Hilarion G. (ed.): Fruehe Schaedigungen – spaete Folgen? Psychotherapie und Babyforschung, Vol. 1: Die Herausforderung der Laengsschnittforschung (Junfermann, Paderborn 1993).

- Endres, Manfred / Hauser, Susanne (2000): Bindungstheorie und Entwicklungspsychologie – einführende Anmerkungen. In: Endres, Manfred / Hauser, Susanne (eds.): Bindungstheorie in der Psychotherapie. (Reinhardt, Muenchen / Basel 2000).
- Erikson, Erik H. (1995): Der vollstaendige Lebenszyklus. (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 3rd. ed. 1995, 1st. ed. 1988, American original ed. 1982).
- Feeney, Judith / Noller, Patricia (1996): Adult Attachment. (Sage, Thousand Oaks etc. 1996).
- Feshbach, Seymour (1987): Individual aggression, national attachment, and the search for peace. *Aggressive Behavior* 13 (1987), 315-325.
- Fremmer-Bombik, Elisabeth (1997): Innere Arbeitsmodelle von Bindung. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (ed., 1997, see below), p. 109-119.
- Fremmer-Bombik, Elisabeth / Grossmann, Klaus E. (1993): Ueber die lebenslange Bedeutung frueher Bindungserfahrungen. In: Petzold, Hilarion G. (ed.): Fruehe Schaedigungen – spaete Folgen? Psychotherapie und Babyforschung, Vol. 1: Die Herausforderung der Laengsschnittforschung (Junfermann, Paderborn 1993), p. 83-110.
- Frenken, Ralph (1999): Kindheit und Autobiographie vom 14. bis 17. Jahrhundert, 2 vols. (Oetker-Voges Verl., Kiel 1999, as well as Ph.D. thesis, Univ. Frankfurt 1998).
- Frenken, Ralph (2000): Childhood and fantasies of medieval mystics. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 28 (2), Fall 2000, p. 150-172.
- Frenken, Ralph (2001): Die Evolution von Kindheit, Persoenlichkeitsstrukturen und Ueberich in Deutschland – eine Skizze. In: Kurth, Winfried / Janus, Ludwig (eds.): Psychohistorie und Persoenlichkeitsstruktur. *Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 2 (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg), in print.
- Freud, Sigmund (1994): Das Unbehagen in der Kultur und andere kulturtheoretische Schriften. (Fischer, Frankfurt 1994, original ed. "Das Unbehagen in der Kultur" 1930).
- Galler, Florian (2000a): Warum es zum Mobbing der Juden kam. Ein psychohistorischer Beitrag ueber die Rolle der Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg. In: Janus, Ludwig / Kurth, Winfried (eds.): Psychohistorie, Gruppenphantasien und Krieg. (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg 2000), p. 189-193.
- Galler, Florian (2000b): Inflationsaengste als Aktualisierung frueher Traumen. In: Janus, Ludwig / Kurth, Winfried (eds.): Psychohistorie, Gruppenphantasien und Krieg. (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg 2000), p. 245-255.
- Galler, Florian (2001): "Noch blueht der junge Bush". Die Wahl von George W. Bush zum Praesidenten. Eine Niederlage des Bewusstseins. In: Kurth, Winfried / Janus, Ludwig (eds.): Psychohistorie und Persoenlichkeitsstruktur. *Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 2 (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg), in print.
- Garelli, Juan Carlos (2001): Aggression and attachment. <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Acropolis/3041/> (accessed July 2, 2001).
- George, Carol / Kaplan, Nancy / Main, Mary (2001): Adult Attachment Interview. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see below), p. 364-387.
- Gloger-Tippelt, Gabriele (2001a): Das Adult Attachment Interview: Durchfuehrung und Auswertung. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see below), p. 102-120.
- Gloger-Tippelt, Gabriele (2001b): Unsicher-distanzierende mentale Bindungsmodelle. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see below), p. 174-200.
- Gloger-Tippelt, Gabriele (ed.) (2001): Bindung im Erwachsenenalter. Ein Handbuch fuer Forschung und Praxis (Verl. Hans Huber, Bern etc. 2001).
- Gomille, Beate (2001): Unsicher-praeokkupierte mentale Bindungsmodelle. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 201-225.

- Grossmann, Klaus E. (1995): The evolution and history of attachment research and theory. In: Goldberg, Susan / Muir, Roy / Kerr, John (eds.): Attachment Theory. Social, Developmental, and Clinical Perspectives (Hillsdale, N.J. 1995), p. 85-121.
- Grossmann, Karin (1997): Kontinuität und Konsequenzen der frühen Bindungsqualität während des Vorschulalters. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (ed., 1997, see below), p. 191-202.
- Grossmann, Klaus E. (2000a): Die Entwicklung von Bindungsqualität und Bindungsrepräsentation. Auf der Suche nach der Überwindung psychischer Unsicherheit. In: Endres, Manfred / Hauser, Susanne (eds.): Bindungstheorie in der Psychotherapie. (München / Basel 2000), p. 38-53.
- Grossmann, Karin (2000b): Praktische Anwendungen der Bindungstheorie. In: Endres, Manfred / Hauser, Susanne (eds.): Bindungstheorie in der Psychotherapie. (München / Basel 2000), p. 54-80.
- Grossmann, Klaus E. / Grossmann, Karin (1991): Attachment quality as an organizer of emotional and behavioral responses in a longitudinal perspective. In: Murray Parkes, Colin / Stevenson-Hinde, Joan / Marris, Peter (eds.): Attachment Across the Life Cycle. (Routledge, London / New York 1991), p. 93-114.
- Grossmann, Klaus E. / Grossmann, Karin (2001): Die Bedeutung sprachlicher Diskurse für die Entwicklung interner Arbeitsmodelle von Bindung. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 75-101.
- Haesing, Helga / Janus, Ludwig (1999): Ungewollte Kinder. Annäherungen, Beispiele, Hilfen (textophon, Wiesbaden 1999, Erstausg. Hamburg 1994).
- Hauser, Susanne (2001): Trauma – Der unverarbeitete Bindungsstatus im Adult Attachment Interview. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 226-250.
- Hinde, Robert A. / Stevenson-Hinde, Joan (1991): Perspectives on attachment. In: Murray Parkes, Colin / Stevenson-Hinde, Joan / Marris, Peter (eds.): Attachment Across the Life Cycle. (Routledge, London / New York 1991), p. 52-65.
- Hofmann, Volker (2001): Psychometrische Qualitäten des Adult Attachment Interviews. Stand der Forschung. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 121-153.
- Hopf, Christel (2001): Muster der Repräsentation von Bindungserfahrungen und rechtsextreme Orientierungen. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 344-363.
- Hopf, Christel / Hopf, Wulf (1997): Familie, Persönlichkeit, Politik. Eine Einführung in die politische Sozialisation (Juventa, Weinheim / München 1997).
- Hopf, Christel / Rieker, Peter / Sanden-Marcus, Martina / Schmidt, Christiane (1995): Familie und Rechtsextremismus. Familiäre Sozialisation und rechtsextreme Orientierungen junger Männer (Juventa, Weinheim / München 1995).
- Hopf, Christel / Silzer, Marlene / Wernich, Joerg M. (1999): Ethnozentrismus und Sozialisation in der DDR. In: Kalb, Peter E. / Sitte, Karin / Petry, Christian (ed.): Rechtsextremistische Jugendliche – was tun? (Beltz, Weinheim / Basel 1999), p. 80-121.
- Horn, Klaus (1988): Dossier: Die insgeheimen Lust am Krieg, den keiner ernsthaft wollen kann. Aspekte einer Soziopsychodynamik phantastischer Beziehungen zur Gewalt. In: Horn, Klaus: Gewalt – Aggression – Krieg. *Schriftenreihe der AFK*, Vol. 13 (Nomos, Baden-Baden 1988), p. 161-232.
- Huether, Gerald (2000): Die Evolution der Liebe. Was Darwin bereits ahnte und die Darwinisten nicht wahrhaben wollen (Vandenhoeck, Göttingen, 2nd. ed. 2000, 1st. ed. 1999).
- Jaynes, Julian (1993): Der Ursprung des Bewusstseins. (Reinbek 1993, 1st. ed. 1988, American original ed. 1976).
- Jonas, Eckart (2001): Psycho-Morphologie in vergleichenden Interpretationen geschichtlicher Entwicklung. In: Kurth, Winfried / Janus, Ludwig (eds.): Psychohistorie und Persönlichkeitsstruktur. *Jahrbuch für Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 2 (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg), in print.

- Juengst, Peter (1997): Das "Wir" und die Anderen – zur Dichotomisierung, Abgrenzung und "Einverleibung" von Territorien. In: Juengst, Peter (ed.): Identitaet, Aggressivitaet, Territorialitaet. *Urbs et Regio* 67 (Kassel 1997), p. 76-105.
- Kernberg, Otto F. (1983): *Borderline-Stoerungen und pathologischer Narzissmus*. (Frankfurt 1983).
- Klein, Melanie (1948): *Contributions to Psychoanalysis, 1921-1945*. (London 1948).
- Koehler, Lotte (1997): Bindungsforschung und Bindungstheorie aus der Sicht der Psychoanalyse. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see below), p. 67-85.
- Kurth, Winfried (1999): The psychological background of Germany's participation in the Kosovo war. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 27 (1999), 100-123.
- Kurth, Winfried (2000): Psychische Hintergruende der deutschen Beteiligung am Kosovo-Krieg. In: Janus, Ludwig / Kurth, Winfried (eds.): *Psychohistorie, Gruppenphantasien und Krieg*. (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2000), p. 45-75.
- Kurth, Winfried (2001a): Stimmungen und Gruppenphantasien im Deutschland der "Jahrtausendwende". In: Kurth, Winfried / Rheinheimer, Martin (eds.): *Gruppenphantasien und Gewalt. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 1 (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2001), p. 141-183.
- Kurth, Winfried (2001b): Bindungsrepraesentationen, Psychohistorie und politische Sozialisation: Ein Ueberblick. In: Kurth, Winfried / Rheinheimer, Martin (eds.): *Gruppenphantasien und Gewalt. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 1 (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2001), p. 19-36.
- Kurth, Winfried (2001c): "Im Teufelskreis der Selbstbezogenheit" – ein Kongress ueber Kinder mit Entwicklungsstoerungen. In: Kurth, Winfried / Rheinheimer, Martin (eds.): *Gruppenphantasien und Gewalt. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 1 (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2001), p. 211-214.
- Kurth, Winfried (2002a): Wechselseitige Bezuege von Bindungstheorie und psychohistorischer Forschung. In: Kurth, Winfried / Janus, Ludwig (eds.): *Psychohistorie und Persoenlichkeitsstruktur. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 2 (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2002), p. 261-313.
- Kurth, Winfried (2002b): Measuring the dynamics of group-fantasy by image analysis. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 30 (2) (2002), 112-129.
- Kurth, Winfried (2009): Die psychogene Theorie von Lloyd deMause – Plaedoyer fuer eine konstruktive Weiterentwicklung. In: Nielsen, Bernd / Kurth, Winfried / Reiss, Heinrich J. (eds.): *Psychologie der Finanzkrise. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 10 (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2009), p. 175-211.
- Liedloff, Jean (2001): *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Glueck. Gegen die Zerstoerung unserer Gluecksfaehigkeit in der fruehen Kindheit* (C. H. Beck, Muenchen 2001, 1st. ed. 1980, American original ed. 1977).
- Lotto, David (1989): Psychoanalytic perspectives on war. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 17 (2) (1989), 155-178.
- Lyotard, Jean-François (1990): *Randbemerkungen zu den Erzaehlungen*. In: Engelmann, Peter (ed.): *Postmoderne und Dekonstruktion. Texte franzoesischer Philosophen der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart 1990), p. 49-53.
- Maaz, Hans-Joachim (1992): *Der Gefuehlsstau. Ein Psychogramm der DDR* (Knaur, Muenchen 1992, original ed. Berlin 1990).
- Magai, Carol (1997): Bindung, Emotionen und Persoenlichkeitsentwicklung. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see below), p. 140-148.
- Magai, Carol / McFadden, Susan H. (1995): *The Role of Emotions in Social and Personality Development. History, Theory, and Research* (New York / London 1995).

- Main, Mary (1997): Desorganisation im Bindungsverhalten. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see below), p. 120-139.
- Main, Mary (2001): Aktuelle Studien zur Bindung. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 1-51.
- Main, Mary / Weston, Donna R. (1982): Avoidance of the attachment figure in infancy: Descriptions and interpretations. In: Murray Parkes, Colin / Stevenson-Hinde, Joan (eds.): *The Place of Attachment in Human Behavior*. (Tavistock, London / New York 1982), p. 31-59.
- Marris, Peter (1991): The social construction of uncertainty. In: Murray Parkes, Colin / Stevenson-Hinde, Joan / Marris, Peter (eds.): *Attachment Across the Life Cycle*. (Routledge, London / New York 1991), p. 77-90.
- Medick, Hans (1996): *Weben und Ueberleben in Laichingen 1650-1900. Lokalgeschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte* (Vandenhoeck, Goettingen 1996).
- Mentzos, Stavros (1993): *Der Krieg und seine psychosozialen Funktionen*. (Fischer, Frankfurt 1993).
- Miller, Alice (1983): *Am Anfang war Erziehung*. (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt 1983, original ed. 1980).
- Miller, Alice (1991): *Der gemiedene Schlüssel*. (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt 1991, original ed. 1988).
- Nyssen, Friedhelm (2001): Psychohistorie, soziale Ungleichheit und politische Veraenderung. In: Kurth, Winfried / Janus, Ludwig (eds.): *Psychohistorie und Persoenlichkeitsstruktur. Jahrbuch fuer Psychohistorische Forschung*, Vol. 2 (Mattes Verlag, Heidelberg), in print.
- Ottmueller, Uta (1991): *Speikinder – Gedeihkinder. Koerpersprachliche Voraussetzungen der Moderne* (Tuebingen 1991).
- Ottmueller, Uta (2000): Beziehungslernen in der europaeisch-christlichen Zivilisation. In: Janus, Ludwig / Kurth, Winfried (eds.): *Psychohistorie, Gruppenphantasien und Krieg*. (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2000), p. 89-106.
- Parin, Paul (1983): Die therapeutische Aufgabe und die Verleugnung der Gefahr. In: Passett, Peter / Modena, Emilio (eds.): *Krieg und Frieden aus psychoanalytischer Sicht*. (Muenchen / Zuerich 1983), p. 22-35.
- Prechter, Robert R., Jr. (1999): *The Wave Principle of Human Social Behavior and the New Science of Socionomics*. (New Classics Library, Gainesville, GA 1999).
- Puhar, Alenka (2000): Die Kindheits-Urspruenge des Krieges in Jugoslawien (Part I-III). In: Janus, Ludwig / Kurth, Winfried (eds.): *Psychohistorie, Gruppenphantasien und Krieg*. (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 2000), p. 107-179.
- Reemtsma, Jan Philipp (1996): Trauma und Moral. In: *kursbuch* 126 (1996), 95-111.
- Reich, Wilhelm (1986): *Die Massenpsychologie des Faschismus*. (Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Koeln 1986, 1. ed. 1971, American original ed. 1946).
- Rieker, Peter (1997): Ethnozentrismus bei jungen Maennern. Fremdenfeindlichkeit und Nationalismus und die Bedingungen ihrer Sozialisation (Juventa, Weinheim 1997).
- Rosenthal, Gabriele (ed.) (1997): *Der Holocaust im Leben von drei Generationen. Familien von Ueberlebenden der Shoah und von Nazi-Taetern* (Psychosozial-Verl., Giessen, 2nd. ed. 1997, 1st. ed. 1997).
- Rueckert, Sabine (2001): Die Moerderin. *Die Zeit / Dossier*, Nr. 31, 26. 7. 2001, p. 9-12.
- Smidoda, Iris (2001): "Keiner kommt zurueck wie er gegangen ist...". Behandlungszentrum fuer traumatisierte Soldaten – ein Projekt von Ohne Ruestung Leben in Novi Sad. *Ohne Ruestung Leben: Informationen* 97 (3/2001), 5-8.
- Spangler, Gottfried / Schieche, Michael (1997): Psychobiologie der Bindung. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see below), p. 297-310.

- Spangler, Gottfried / Zimmermann, Peter (eds.) (1997): Die Bindungstheorie. Grundlagen, Forschung und Anwendung (Klett-Cotta, Stuttgart, 2nd. ed. 1997, 1st. ed. 1995).
- Spengler, Oswald (1998): Der Untergang des Abendlandes. Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte (Muenchen 1998, original ed. 1923).
- Sroufe, L. Alan / Fleeson, June (1990): The coherence of family relationships. In: Hinde, R. A. / Stevenson-Hinde, J. (eds.): Relationships within Families. (Oxford 1990, original ed. 1988), p. 27-47.
- Sroufe, L. Alan / Waters, E. (1977): Attachment as an organisational construct. *Child Development* 48 (1977), 1184-1199.
- Stein, Howard F. (1987): Developmental Time, Cultural Space. Studies in Psychogeography (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman 1987).
- Stein, Howard F. (1989): The influence of psychogeography upon the conduct of international relations: Clinical and metapsychological considerations. In: Stein, Howard F. / Niederland, William G. (eds.): Maps from the Mind. Readings in Psychogeography (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman 1989), p. 181-207.
- Strauss, William / Howe, Neil (1998): The Fourth Turning. An American Prophecy (New York 1998, Erstaussg. 1997).
- Streeck-Fischer, Annette (1992): "Geil auf Gewalt". Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen zu Adoleszenz und Rechtsextremismus. *Psyche* 46 (8) (1992), 745-768.
- Streeck-Fischer, Annette (1998): Gewalt und Rechtsextremismus als Ausdrucksform einer schweren Adoleszenzkrise. In: Rudnitzki, Gerhard / Resch, Franz / Althoff, Frank (eds.): Adoleszente in Psychotherapie und beruflicher Rehabilitation. (Mattes Verl., Heidelberg 1998), p. 35-44.
- Sydow, Kirsten von (2001): Forschungsmethoden zur Erhebung von Partnerschaftsbindung. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 275-294.
- Theweleit, Klaus (1995a): Maennerphantasien. Band 1: Frauen, Fluten, Koerper, Geschichte (dtv, Muenchen 1995, original ed. 1977).
- Theweleit, Klaus (1995b): Maennerphantasien. Band 2: Maennerkoerper. Zur Psychoanalyse des weissen Terrors (dtv, Muenchen 1995, original ed. 1977).
- Tholey, Paul (1992): Gestaltpsychologie. In: Asanger, Roland / Wenninger, Gerd (eds.): Handwoerterbuch Psychologie. (Weinheim 1992), p. 249-254.
- Toynbee, Arnold (1954): A Study of History. Vol. IX (Oxford 1954).
- Van IJzendoorn, Marinus H. (1992): Intergenerational transmission of parenting: A review of studies in nonclinical populations. *Developmental Review* 12 (1992), 76-99.
- Van IJzendoorn, Marinus H. (1997): Attachment, emergent morality, and aggression: Toward a developmental socioemotional model of antisocial behaviour. *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 27 (1997), 703-727.
- Van IJzendoorn, Marinus H. / Kroonenberg, Pieter M. (1988): Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: A meta-analysis of the Strange Situation. *Child Development* 59 (1988), 147-156.
- Weinhold, Janae B. / Weinhold, Barry K. (1995): Global psychotherapy: Healing the whole person and the whole world. *The Journal of Psychohistory* 23 (2) (1995), 202-225.
- Wensauer, Mirjam (1997): Bindung, soziale Unterstuetzung und Zufriedenheit im hoeheren Erwachsenenalter. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see above), p. 232-248.
- Wolf, Michael (1993): Jetzt muessen die Waffen sprechen – Krieg als psychopathische Kommunikation und Ende der Politik. In: Plaenkers, Tomas (ed.): Die Angst vor der Freiheit. Beitrage zur Psychoanalyse des Krieges (Tuebingen 1993), p. 73-100.

- Ziegenhain, Ute (2001): Sichere mentale Bindungsmodelle. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 154-173.
- Zimmermann, Peter (1997): Bindungsentwicklung von der fruehen Kindheit bis zum Jugendalter und ihre Bedeutung fuer den Umgang mit Freundschaftsbeziehungen. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see above), p. 203-231.
- Zimmermann, Peter / Becker-Stoll, Fabienne (2001): Bindungsrepraesentation im Jugendalter. In: Gloger-Tippelt (ed., 2001, see above), p. 251-274.
- Zimmermann, Peter / Gliwitzky, Judith / Becker-Stoll, Fabienne (1996): Bindung und Freundschaftsbeziehungen im Jugendalter. *Psychologie, Erziehung, Unterricht* 43 (1996), 141-154.
- Zimmermann, Peter / Spangler, Gottfried / Schieche, Michael / Becker-Stoll, Fabienne (1997): Bindung im Lebenslauf: Determinanten, Kontinuitaet, Konsequenzen und kuenftige Perspektiven. In: Spangler & Zimmermann (eds., 1997, see above), p. 311-332.