Infants, parental separation, custody, and overnight care: a vexed combination of issues and needs that has long perplexed the family law field. Carol George and Judith Solomon have conducted the only published observational study of infant attachment in light of postseparation overnight care arrangements. Here they revisit that study and bring more than three decades of experience to bear on questions concerning very young children implicated in family law disputes. Currently a professor of psychology at Mills College, California, George is an author and coauthor of several notable attachment measures and has over 50 research publications in the area of attachment. Judith Solomon is both a clinical psychologist and a researcher in the attachment field, specializing in the study of early attachment relationships and representations, most recently in the Department of Pediatrics, Bridgeport Hospital. George and Solomon are associate editors of the journal, Attachment and Human Development, reviewers on multiple developmental journals, and both consult and teach internationally.

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McIntosh: I began work on this Special Edition by surveying the AFCC membership to identify key questions they would ask if they had the opportunity to talk with attachment researchers and specialists. That survey produced 12 major themes about attachment, and of interest, 60 percent of the content focused on one single issue: infants and overnight care. Specifically respondents wanted to know “When is an infant ready for shared overnights?” Judith Solomon and Carol George, you have published one of the very few studies on infant attachment in the context of overnight care (Solomon & George, 1999), a study which you probably know became a little controversial in the family law arena.

George: Quite controversial! Our study is used in a variety of different ways, including some ways that I do not agree with, or that the data do not support.

Solomon: I do not know many other things that evoke such strong feelings in people than the combination of divorce, custody, and babies. Parents, attorneys, judges, and everyone around the baby can be very stirred up. There is little hard information to go by, so that the situation of infants in overnight care is like a Rorschach inkblot. People project their views very strongly onto it and feel completely invested in those views. It is difficult to open that up and bring information and research into an already fixed view. Our study itself was intriguing, but the aftermath, I found really quite exhausting. The people for whom the conclusions were congenial liked the study, and people for whom the results looked uncongenial disliked the study. And, in places it was used to fuel the gender war we so often see in the divorce arena.

George: I have seen the Solomon and George paper used to justify many things I do not necessarily agree with. For example, some have used our findings to support withholding contact from the father because the mother is breastfeeding the baby. We know that nursing is important, but in isolation, whether or not the baby is breastfed does not seem to actually determine the security of attachment to mother (or father!) at 12 months, so, with an older infant, I would avoid using breastfeeding as the reason why a baby shouldn’t have an overnight visit. Other factors are much more important to consider. Conversely, I object to people using our findings specifically, or attachment theory in general, to justify switching babies back and forth all the time between parents, because of somebody’s idea of what is necessary to establish or maintain the attachment relationship to mother or
father. These ideas are not backed up by theory or data (as described in Solomon and Birengen, 2001). What is important is taking the time to evaluate whether this particular baby can thrive in that kind of environment, and whether these particular parents are in a position to help that baby to do it well.

McIntosh: Your study was the first to identify significant strain in the relationship between the infant and mother after regular overnight separation, particularly in a high-conflict context. Your suggestion was that with repeated overnight separations, the infant experienced the mother as being unpredictably present; that on a regular basis, she did not appear when needed, the infant’s attachment system was repeatedly highly aroused and their distress never fully terminated during overnight separations. Are you still comfortable with those conclusions?

Solomon: I am. Unlike some people who seem to believe that any kind of separation is too much and overnight should be completely avoided, I do not feel that way. I do feel it is stressful, and there does seem to be good reason to believe that night time is a particularly stressful time for babies. In the context of divorce or separation, with all the parents’ confusion and strong feelings that are going on around them, we saw in our study that this environment was stressful for the baby too, and that the high-conflict couples were rarely able to help the baby negotiate this additional stress. It is not hard to understand how parental conflict and the polarization between the parents make a normally stressful situation even worse. Observing these babies in laboratory separations, we frequently saw a breakdown in strategy used by the infant in signaling what they needed to the primary parent. And the infants definitely seemed angry at their mothers. Many toddlers in our sample looked like they were trying unsuccessfully to use an avoidant strategy to cope with laboratory separations from the mother. An avoidant child is supposed to stay cool for three minutes in a reunion, but these infants were getting irritable quite quickly, they were getting provocative, they were getting upset. That was one of the main contributors to the high level of disorganized and unclassifiable attachments we saw with their mothers.

McIntosh: In our study of infants under four years (McIntosh, Smyth & Kelaher, 2010), we also found significantly higher reported irritability and angry behavior toward the primary parent in infants who had one or more nights per week away. Allowing for differences in methodology and data sources, I see important consistencies in the findings of the two studies.

Solomon: Yes, I am glad to hear of your study and to see that our early findings are being corroborated in many ways. We need to have properly funded studies to allow us to better understand the nature of the baby’s experience.

McIntosh: Ten years after your study, if you step to a meta-perspective and look down on this daunting issue of parental separation during infancy, how do you now reflect on the issues, and the guideposts used in family law for decisions about infants’ care arrangements?

George: Overnights may work for some families, but many babies under a year-and-a-half or two seem to show that regular overnights away from their primary caregiver are stressful. I would rather see overnight continuity with one parent, provided of course that their care is good enough, and a concerted effort to support the noncustodial parent to have regular day times together, so that when, developmentally speaking, the baby is ready for overnights, that person is very familiar. After that, I think parents have to cooperate in this. I think we really have to be more careful to understand where the baby is developmentally, understand where this baby is in these relationships and do what we can to foster relationships with both parents but not create formulas that are simply because “this is what we do with babies.” We have to look at individual differences with babies.

BUILDING AN ATTACHMENT RELATIONSHIP WITH A NONRESIDENT PARENT

McIntosh: From the attachment perspective, let’s consider what it takes for a child to build trust and security with the parent with whom they spend less time after separation, or whom they are just beginning to spend time with, in the case of parents who have never co-habited. Particularly, many of our survey responses referred to a notion that there is a window of opportunity for secure attachment in early infancy, which may close quickly when the child is two or older. How much weight does that idea hold?
Solomon: That idea is a fallacy. The window does not close on developing secure attachment the way people used to think. It used to be thought that if the child did not have a stable caregiver by age two, they would never develop a secure attachment to anyone. The data do not support that anymore. It does not mean that there aren’t some long-term effects of relationship instability that we do not want to have happen. The point is simply, that the attachment system is not rigid in that way. If people were to think about other kinds of situations, for example involving grandparents or aunts, or fathers who come back from the war, they would know without needing to read attachment theory that it is simply not true. The window never closes. Think about children who never knew their dad and meet them for the first time when they are 21; sometimes those relationships take off and become beautiful, and other times, it cannot happen. It is not simply correlated with time.

George: We know from studies like Mary Dozier’s adoption data (e.g., 2005) that you do not have to start out with that relationship from birth in order to form an attachment relationship with that person.

McIntosh: There are many separation situations beyond the divorce world that give us clues about what a baby needs to establish or consolidate trust with a second parent. For example where a parent is away on military service. Reunion in that scenario is not without its difficulties for young children, and there may be a period of stress, but between the parents, qualities exist that set the scene for repair, such as shared joy in the baby, and eagerness to be together as a triad again. Crucial for the child in that scenario, spending time with the second parent does not mean the absence of the primary parent. This is in sharp contrast to conflicted divorce, when one parent disappears every time the second parent appears. So, it strikes me that in divorce, more is required of the baby in the absence of a psychological bridge between their parents that enables the baby to move to and fro with confidence.

George: Yes, those are important examples of what it takes for a baby to feel trust in a second caregiver. It is so much harder to establish that in the absence of the primary parent.

McIntosh: Richard Bowlby (see Bowlby & McIntosh, this issue) gives another example of the day care situation, where a young child confidently begins to build a relationship with a day carer when he sees what appears to be a warm relationship between his parent and the new carer. They may smile, chat, exchange pleasantries, even have a cup of tea together, so the baby experiences the carer as familiar and welcomed by their parent. Yet in conflicted divorce or in the early, raw stages of separation, parents may not even greet each other, the baby is moved from one to another without the proverbial cup of tea and a chat, or moved from one parent, to a contact worker, and then to the next parent. I wonder whether relationship security with the second parent is jeopardized by a stressful, unsupported beginning, and whether that relationship would grow in a more secure shape if all concerned waited until the child was older, had more cognitive equipment to understand the situation and to better manage separation from the primary parent.

Solomon: In theory, older children, around four and over, can handle more stress, again because of this additional cognitive and emotional development. But they continue to be subject to what every child is subject to, which is that the stress of parent conflict, whether it is expressed or suppressed, is simply a great burden for a child. That burden remains important to consider.

McIntosh: Our longitudinal study of high conflict separated families (McIntosh, Smyth, Kelaher, Wells, & Long, 2010) showed real problems of parental acrimony for children. Parents in this study by and large disengaged from each other over the years, so the behavioral side of the conflict calmed down, yet many parents continued to hold hostile or contemptuous attitudes about the other parent. For children who continued to move frequently between their homes, parental acrimony exacerbated difficulties for the child, particularly with internalizing symptoms. So for these older children, the hostile climate seemed to interact with the frequency of moves.

Solomon: Often parents are the ones who cannot manage frequent contact. Certainly, there are great situations, where separated couples get along in a lovely way and dad comes every morning and takes the children to school and whatever. That’s great! That just cannot be bad. But, not many couples can do that at first.
McIntosh: It seems some factors need to be weighed differently depending on stage of development. In a second study of infants and preschool children (op.cit), hostile attitudes between parents were not having a great impact on anybody, but independent of that, we found that regular frequent overnight stays were independently linked to significant problems in the babies’ behaviors. In our view, developmental stage seemed to be a trump card in the equation.

Solomon: I believe regular, more than monthly time with the noncustodial parent would be optimal for most young children, but yes, we have some good indications now that weekly overnights are too much of the wrong kind of contact for many young children.

George: The question is, what does it take for a baby to make a relationship with two parents who are not living in the home anymore? These relationships are built through protective and joyful interactions. I believe that overnight separation, whether you’re divorced or not, is really hard on babies. I am not in favor of overnight visitation for children until they are able to be assisted developmentally to handle that overnight. I am certainly in favor of making a situation so that the parent who does not get the baby overnight has ample opportunity to have those protective and joyful times together. In the majority of cases, when the second parent is able to safely provide that protection and delight, he or she will not be a stranger to the child, but will be a very important person in the baby’s life.

On a practical note, attachment actually requires our physical and emotional presence. So if visitation with father for an overnight is basically father picking the baby up, having the overnight and then father goes to work the next day, and leaving the baby with the paternal grandmother, that is not experience with the father. When we are developing our formulas, we’d better make sure that when the person has the baby, whether it is a daytime visitation or whether it is an overnight visitation, that it is really about this baby. So if I had to choose overnight versus non-overnight for the noncustodial parent, and the overnight meant you were just going through the routine of putting the baby to bed, and then figuring out how to get the baby to a care situation the next day, I would rather not have the overnight and make sure that the visitation was about the time that the baby had with the noncustodial parent to build the relationship.

McIntosh: Let’s unpack the issue of overnights. Why could a baby have 12 hours of day contact with a noncustodial parent over the course of a week, and you might feel confident about that in attachment terms, but much less confident if that time regularly included overnight time? What is it about nighttime that might make the impact of day and night hours sum up differently?

George: That is a really interesting question. Going to sleep at night is a separation and children at all ages make it really clear that night time sleeps are a big deal. When we are trying to get babies to sleep throughout the night, the babies learn from us that this is a big deal, especially if parents endorse sleeping in their own rooms. There is a cultural influence as well; Western cultures discourage co-sleeping.

Solomon: There is a special vulnerability about nighttime. The state of the organism is to be more anxious at night. That is hard-wired in our cortisol rhythms.

McIntosh: In the divorce context, some suggest that for the father to provide the foundation for an attachment to build for his infant, he needs to be doing the same type of hands-on care that the mother is doing, including putting the child to sleep and being the one to comfort the child in the night.

George: I think that is an empirical question. I would agree that times of intimacy with the baby are important. We do know that for young babies, the types of interaction that makes a difference to attachment security include bathing, diapering, playing, and possibly feeding, although the meta-analytic data is inconclusive about feeding. Attachment with the second parent does not seem to depend on that person being the first person that the baby sees in the morning or in the middle of the night. Grandparents would tell you no as well. What does matter is a combination of intimacy (i.e., opportunity for the parent to be affectively attuned to the infant), sensitive response and being joyful about the baby, to delight in the baby. I do not believe it has to be overnight quite frankly. What do you think?

McIntosh: Well, my thoughts seem as complex as the scenarios we face in this field, but there is a need for guidelines. For young children prior to the phase of representational thought, prior to their
ability to understand time and to anticipate events, our research leads me to say that frequent shared overnights may undermine the very thing they hope to achieve: the emotional security of the child, and security of attachment with both parents. Yet again, let’s talk context. There is so much unique context to be considered in every case. At times, a mother of an infant may simply be a better, more responsive parent the next day if she had a good night’s sleep herself and felt grateful for and supported by father’s willingness to give her an occasional overnight break. Flexibility and parental capacity seem so important to these decisions. But on the basis of my research and clinical experience, I am cautious about regular overnights for under twos and about frequent overnights for a child 3 to 4 years. On developmental grounds, again context dependent, I am also conservative about equal shared overnight care prior to age six.

George: Right. I think overnights do matter for babies. I think you cannot just say x number of nights with this parent and not with the other parent. In support of the parent who does not have physical custody of the baby, I think we have to provide the opportunity for that parent if we are not providing overnights, to have intimacy with that baby, to do the things that are important to sensitive, responsive care. The parent needs to know who that baby is as an individual, and the baby needs to have the intimacy of care without too much disruption to keeping their world constant and predictable. Does the noncustodial parent have to have an overnight to achieve that? In the first year and a half, my hypothesis would be “no.”

DEVELOPMENTAL READINESS AND PARENTS’ READINESS FOR OVERNIGHT CARE

McIntosh: The 3-year-old age mark is an oft cited cutoff, after which professionals talk about “overnights being different.” In our recent research, we found that, once children turned 4, regular overnights away were not dys-regulating to the older children in the way they appeared to be for under-4-year-olds (McIntosh, Smyth, & Kelaher, 2010). Is this stage a useful cutoff point in planning overnight care?

Solomon: Well, it is not an arbitrary cutoff, nor is it an absolute. It is a convenient date to point to some major achievements in development, including the capacity for symbolic thought and use of language which enables children to remember, to talk about what is going to happen, to anticipate changes. That is a big one. And something seems to happen in terms of self-regulation at that time as well. So, I think three is a convenient estimate, but a more precise assessment of readiness for change depends on the individual child. There is so much heterogeneity in development that it is very difficult to predict what shape a child will be in at that age. Marvin in his early studies (e.g., Marvin & Greenberg, 1982) pointed to the importance of the child’s capacity to negotiate around comings and goings: “Where are you going? Are you going to stay for a while?” I sometimes wonder if we could come up with an assessment like that to determine whether a child is developmentally ready to cope with the stresses of making repeated separations.

McIntosh: You talk about the stresses of repeated separations. How does the Bowlby-Ainsworth attachment paradigm explain what might be going on, especially the difference between manageable stress and the kind of stress that can impact their development?

Solomon: Right, that is an important distinction. Well, the attachment system functions to help the young child to manage normal stress and to reduce all types of fear. It is the baby’s primary mechanism for regulating fear for many years to come, in a way forever. The attachment relationship is their dominant mechanism for a long time until they can learn how to manage fear on their own. So being away from their primary attachment figure is a natural cue to danger for babies, and so is darkness; it makes them alert, makes them hyper-vigilant, makes them a little anxious. That can be assuaged by a caregiver who is sensitive and responsive. But for a baby who is strongly alarmed or is repeatedly in a less familiar situation with new kinds of stresses and strains at a time in development when the baby does not know how to regulate his or her strong feelings, it is too much for a young child to be able to do, pushing an immature system further than we might like to. Now, is it the same
stress that would happen if a child was being taken from a primary caregiver and put into strange foster care? No, probably not. But that does not mean the stress is negligible either, and can be ignored. We are asking something extra of the child, really for the benefit of the parents. Nothing wrong with helping parents, but there is a bigger job there that they have to do.

McIntosh: Bowlby talked about the importance of secure base parenting. In divorce, I have come to see this as the need for parents to create certain continuities for the child between their homes. For a young child, optimally this might look like a comforting illusion that the two homes are one connected world. From the attachment paradigm, what parent attributes might make overnight care manageable and productive for a young child?

Solomon: We saw a few couples, well, very few to be truthful, but a few couples who seemed able to do that. So that the baby seemed fairly secure with mother, or at least had an organized strategy of being with her. Those couples tended to have somewhat longer relationships before the separation, and other important factors correlated with that, but there seemed to be something about the parents being more comfortable with their roles. And that may have made it, again, easier for all to find a way to make this work.

In our study, and also in my clinical experience, couples who make it work well do not do it exactly the same way; however, what brought them all together was their capacity to talk it over, to keep the child’s needs in focus and to be able to be flexible. This is what Carol and I call the capacity for thoughtful reflection and flexible integration. In our Caregiver Interview coding, we define that as a capacity to notice the child’s feelings as well as one’s own and to be oriented towards understanding the inner world of the child. That is extremely important. These parents can problem solve and regulate their own stress, and these parents do not allow their child to experience intense distress for long: they get the balance right. It is that simple. They tolerate a bit of stress in the child, because the child does need to develop their own capacity to soothe, but they support them by calming them down and making sense of their experience, up to the point where the child can do it for themselves.

McIntosh: This sounds like a parent who, in attachment language, is autonomous and organized with respect to caregiving. The dangers for a child lie in having disorganizing parents. As you two have literally written the book on that topic, can you elaborate on disorganization?

George: Right. What Judith and I see in the foundation of infant disorganization, in John Bowlby’s terms, is the failure to terminate the child’s attachment system, that is, to soothe the baby. One of the important things that I believe Judith and I have contributed is how the caregiving system works, and what makes disorganizing care possible. I do not believe you can go directly from the adult’s own attachment system to an understanding of their parental behavior. The caregiving system is the intermediating variable; it tells us about what is happening now in terms of sensitive response to the baby. That matters, because what is happening now is what is happening for the baby. The baby’s experience is right now, and the mother’s experience is a very complicated amalgam of what is coming from the past and of how it is being activated right now.

Let’s take some of the mothers in our study whose infants showed signs of disorganized attachment to her after regular overnight separations. Disorganizing care most often comes from mother’s own history of trauma in attachment relationships. But in our study we saw that it is not only coming from the mother’s past. It is also the result of her repeated inability to soothe the baby on reunion, from the moment the baby comes home from visitation with the father, because that father’s relationship with her is foremost in mother’s mind. The mother may be dysregulated herself by seeing or interacting with the father, where her own disorganizing attachment to the father means that her caregiving system is derailed by what is happening now.

McIntosh: In attachment terms, whose security should family law prioritize?

George: For me, the question is, what does it take to for a parent to provide attachment security, or at least keep a baby organized? The Solomon and George data (1999) suggest that, in high-conflict divorce situations, disorganization is a strong risk. In family law, we need to adjust our thinking to say, “at least for right now, how can we get this child to at least settle down and become organized and well regulated?”
McIntosh: What about the cases where the conflict is toxic, an ongoing series of explosions or implosions, the humiliations and other emotional wounds run deep, and there is no effective communication? In this climate, what does it take to keep a baby organized in their attachment?

Solomon: I tend to be conservative and say let us be on the side of low stress for young children, and frequently check how they are doing and how they seem to be functioning. And so, if there is very high conflict, and the absence of communication, I do say buffer the child as much as you can from that conflict, and keep their stress as low as possible. That is the rule. Those are the situations where I would say this is not the time to start overnights, or to expect a young child to manage equal time with both, or anything approaching that. If you cannot have two people share time cooperatively, then temporarily, and I do see this as something temporary, you do need to make a choice of primary parent. Probably, in that context, if I knew the child were secure with one parent and not with another, I would want to go with the relationship they were secure in. But if that means a change of the baby’s primary residence, I would take that slowly, to minimize the disruption to the baby. And of course, what is tricky is we are looking at relationships under stress. We do not know how the relationship might improve under less stress. So it is kind of a judgment, which I know is less than satisfactory.

George: I think we have to use valid comprehensive assessments, including attachment and caregiving assessments, to figure out if there is at least a parent with whom the child is doing better at the moment. Attachment assessment as part of a comprehensive evaluation gives us the possibility of evaluating a child’s relationship with a particular parent. To the best of my knowledge, custody evaluations are not laid in cement. Reevaluations are common and recommendations change. If we can help a young child at least to consolidate a primary, well organized attachment relationship, and build a second attachment relationship, then good. Again it depends on age, but when you’re working with little babies, it takes about a year sometimes to see the developmental changes. So sometime within that year, we are going to re-evaluate, and hopefully then be able to build to the next level. If a baby is 12 months, we are not talking about changing custody arrangements at age 18 years. We say let’s get an 18-month-old to 2 1/2.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

George: It is terribly hard to help parents understand that their love for the baby has nothing to do with it. Attachment is not about love, it is more about a feeling of safety and protection. We experience love from the intimacy of the bond, and even babies who are in horrible situations love their parents. So it is not about love, it is about trying to help the child get to the next stepping stone in his development. In turn, that is not about time alone.

McIntosh: So, more love and more time do not make for “more attachment?”

Solomon: Right. I think that, in divorce, time is more for the parent. The baby does not know or count time. Separation from one’s baby is really hard for parents, at a time when the couple often is also grieving about their own lost relationship. There is no question that adults use their caregiving relationship with their child to heal themselves, and it can be very healing. For fathers, it can be very painful to wait and to miss those special moments of their baby’s early years. It is a grief, and it is very hard for any parent, and if there were a way to mitigate that, I would say “let’s do it!” Why should people have to grieve more than they already are for their lost relationship? I would not want to deprive either parent, but knowing that coming and going and being away overnight from your primary caregiver is additionally stressful, we have to prioritize comforting and supporting the child, it is just that simple.

George: And I think we have to ask, is this what we really want to risk with young children, where if we just wait a year, the risks would be so much lower? Even before we have the empirical answers, I think in so many of these cases the answer is just wait a year on the overnight issue. A baby cannot imagine what tomorrow is. Three years tends to be the beginning of a developmental shift, when children do not necessarily understand, but when they can, at least with help from the adults around them, keep these relationships alive with pictures and talking to the other parent on the phone. I feel
strongly that, if they have to, parents can make overnights for a baby work, but why take the risk? Divorce is such a hot-bed of emotion, why add to the risks?

McIntosh: Professor George and Dr. Solomon, thank you.

SELECTED REFERENCES


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