HANDBOOK OF EMOTIONS

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Love and Attachment Processes

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On March 30, 1981, less than 2 hours before John W. Hinckley, Jr., shot President Ronald Reagan, Hinckley scrawled a final plea to the actress Jodie Foster, with whom he was obsessed:

> Dear Jodie,
>
> There is a definite possibility that I will be killed in my attempt to get Reagan. It is for this very reason I am writing you this letter now.
>
> As you well know by now I love you very much. Over the past seven months I've left you dozens of poems, letters and love messages in the faint hope that you could develop an interest in me. Although we talked on the phone a couple of times I never had the nerve to simply approach you and introduce myself. Besides my shyness, I honestly did not wish to bother you with my constant presence. I know the many messages left at your door and in your mailbox were a nuisance, but I felt that it was the most painless way for me to express my love for you. . . .
>
> Jodie, I would abandon this idea of getting Reagan in a second if I could only win your heart and live out the rest of my life with you, whether it be in total obscurity or whatever.
>
> I will admit to you that the reason I'm going ahead with this attempt now is because I just cannot wait any longer to impress you. I've got to do something now to make you understand, in no uncertain terms, that I am doing all of this for your sake! By sacrificing my freedom and possibly my life, I hope to change your mind about me. This letter is being written only an hour before I leave for the Hilton Hotel. Jodie, I'm asking to please look into your heart and at least give me the chance, with this historical deed, to gain your respect and love.
>
> I love you forever,
> John Hinckley
>
> (quoted in Caplan, 1984, pp. 46–48)

Of course, passionate love rarely leads to murderous fantasies. However, the power of love has sparked social psychologists' and emotions researchers' interest in passionate and companionate love and the attachment processes which shape them.

DEFINITIONS

Most scientists distinguish between two forms of love—"passionate love" and "companionate love." Fischer, Shaver, and Carnochan (1990) point out that all emotions possess a number of components:

> [Emotions are] . . . organised, meaningful, generally adaptive action systems. . . . [They] are complex functional wholes including appraisals or appreciations. patterned physiological processes, action tendencies, subjective feelings, expressions, and instrumental behaviors. . . . [However,] none of these features is necessary for a particular instance of emotion. Emotions fit into families, within which all members share a family resemblance but no universal set of features. (pp. 84–85)

They contend that there are five prototypic emotions: two positive emotions (love and

joy) and three negative ones (anger, sadness, and fear). They, too, distinguish two kinds of love: passionate love (which they label "infatuation") and companionate love (which they label "fondness"). Other researchers have proposed more elaborate typologies of the varieties of love (Sternberg, 1988; Hendrick, (1989).

Passionate love (sometimes called "obsessive love," "infatuation," "lovesickness," or "being in love") is an intense emotion. Elsewhere, we have defined it as follows:

> A state of intense longing for union with another. Reciprocated love (union with the other) is associated with fulfillment and ecstasy. Unrequited love (separation) is associated with emptiness, anxiety, or despair. Passionate love is a complex functional whole including appraisals or appreciations, subjective feelings, expressions, patterned physiological processes, action tendencies, and instrumental behaviors. (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993, p. 5)

The Passionate Love Scale was designed to assess the cognitive, physiological, and behavioral indicants of such a "longing for union" (Hatfield & Sprecher, 1986).

Companionate love (sometimes called "true love" or "conjugal love") is a far less intense emotion. It combines feelings of deep attachment, commitment, and intimacy. We have defined it as follows:

> The affection and tenderness we feel for those with whom our lives are deeply entwined. Companionate love is a complex functional whole including appraisals or appreciations, subjective feelings, expressions, patterned physiological processes, action tendencies, and instrumental behaviors. (Hatfield & Rapson, 1993, p. 9)

Psychologists have used a variety of scales to measure companionate love. For example, Berscheid and Hatfield (1978) focused on subjects' subjective appraisals (attitudes). More recently, Sternberg (1988) has assumed that companionate relationships possess little passion but a great deal of commitment and intimacy; thus, he assessed companionate love by measuring commitment and intimacy (Sternberg, 1986). Berscheid (1983) focused on assessing how "entwined" or linked couples' organized action sequences were.

Researchers have proposed that both passionate and companionate love can be understood, in part, by examining the mother–child attachment experiences on which they are based. Researchers interested in passionate love have tended to focus on infants' attachments (as the prototype of later passionate attachments); researchers interested in companionate love have tended to focus on parental attachments (as the prototype of companionate love). Of course, love relationships can involve both passionate and companionate love.

PASSIONATE LOVE

The Evolutionary Soil of Passionate Love

The Triune Brain

In the 1940s, MacLean (1986) proposed that in the course of evolution, humans have ended up with a brain that possesses a "triune structure." The brain is thought to consist of three different types of brains, layered one upon the other. The oldest brain is basically reptilian. It is primarily concerned with the preservation of the self and the species. The second brain, the neomammalian brain or limbic system, is inherited from the early mammals and evolved to facilitate mother–child relationships. Such emotions as desire, affection, ecstasy, fear, anger, and sadness all derive from activities in the limbic system. The third brain, the late mammalian/early primate brain or neocortex, is inherited from the late mammals and early primates. Not until the neocortex evolved did symbolic or verbal information become important in shaping emotional experience and expression.

Love in Primates

Rosenblum and Plimpton (1981) point out that even primates may experience a primitive form of passionate love. In some species, infant primates must possess a "desire for union" if they are to survive. Separation often means death. Thus, infants are prewired to cling to their mothers. Should a brief separation occur, infants quickly become frantic and begin searching for their mothers. If the mothers return, the infants are joyous—they cling to them and/or bound about in excitement. If the mothers do not return, the infants eventually abandon all hope of contact, despair, and die. The experience Rosenblum and Plimpton describe, with its alternating lows and highs,

certainly sounds much like passionate love's "desire for union." Fervent attachments seem not to be unique to humans.

Love in Children

Ainsworth (1989) and Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980) carried out extensive studies of the process of attachment, separation, and loss in children. They found that infants and toddlers react to separation in the same way as do their primate ancestors.

There is some evidence that children experience passionate love very early. Bell (1902) interviewed 1,700 Indiana teachers and observed 800 children; he concluded that children could experience "sex-love" as early as 3½ years of age. Easton and Hatfield (cited in Hatfield, Schmitz, Cornelius, & Rapson, 1988) developed the Childhood Love Scale, a children's version of the Passionate Love Scale. They interviewed more than 200 boys and girls, ranging in age from 4 to 18, about their romantic feelings. Their results made it clear that Bell was right—even the youngest of children were capable of passionate love. Subsequent research (Hatfield, Brinton, & Cornelius, 1989) has made it clear that when children are anxious or fearful, they are especially vulnerable to passionate love.

Of course, passionate love becomes very powerful when children enter puberty. Perhaps this is because teenagers experience the return of old separation anxieties during the period; perhaps they are under unusual stress as they go through the agonies of adolescence. Neurophysiologists remind us that passionate love may also be fueled by pubescent hormonal changes (Gadpaille, 1975; Money, 1980). In any case, puberty and sexual maturity may well bring a new depth to passion.

Love in Adults

Recently, Shaver and Hazan (1988) have proposed that romantic love should be conceived of as a form of attachment. Children's early patterns of attachment should influence their adult attachments. For example, children are likely to become securely attached to their mothers if they are allowed to be both affectionate *and* independent. Such children should mature into secure adults who are comfortable with intimacy and are able to trust and depend on those they care for. Children may become anxious/ambivalent if they have learned to be clingy and dependent, or fearful of being smothered and restrained, or both. Such children should become anxious/ambivalent adults who fall in love easily, who seek extreme levels of closeness, and who are terrified that they will be abandoned. Their love affairs are likely to be short-lived. The avoidant child (who has been abandoned early on) may well become an avoidant adult who is uncomfortable getting too close and has difficulty depending on others. The authors have amassed considerable support in favor of this formulation.

Using the same logic, Bartholomew (1990) has proposed that adults' attachment styles should fall into one of four patterns, depending on their self-image (positive or negative) and their image of the other (positive or negative): (1) Men and women who have a positive self-image and a positive image of others should be capable of becoming securely attached to others; (2) those with low self-esteem and a positive regard for others should be preoccupied with intimate relations; (3) those who have a negative self-image and a negative image of others should be fearful of becoming close to others; and (4) those who have a positive self-image and a negative image of others should be dismissing of or detached from others. Bartholomew has found evidence in support of this typology. Hindy, Schwarz, and Brodsky (1989) tested the notion that children who receive inconsistent love and affection will be "at risk" in their love relationships. They gave men and women a battery of tests designed to determine the stability of their childhoods. (How stormy was the marriage between their parents? Did they get a divorce?) Then they asked subjects about their own romantic histories. (Did they often fall passionately in love? Or did they go out of their way to avoid entanglements? How jealous were they? When their love affairs fell apart, did they sink into deep depression?) They found that young men and women whose parents had been inconsistent in their love and nurturance were more "addicted" to love *or* more afraid of it than was the case with those who came from more secure backgrounds.

The Antecedents of Passionate Love

If passionate love is rooted in childhood attachments, certain types of people, caught up in certain types of situations, should be espe-

cially vulnerable to passion. Anything that makes adults feel as helpless and dependent as they were as children—anything that makes them fear separation and loss—should increase their passionate craving to merge with others. There is some evidence to support these speculations.

Low Self-Esteem

Reik (1949) was on of the first to propose that when self-esteem is threatened, individuals will be more likely to fall prey to passionate love. Hatfield (1965) conducted an experiment to test the hypothesis that when self-esteem has been bruised, subjects should be unusually receptive to the love and affection offered by others. As predicted, women whose self-esteem was threatened were most attracted to a potential romantic partner. (Other theorists have also found a link between low self-esteem and passionate love. See Jacobs, Berscheid, & Hatfield, 1971; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991.)

Dependency and Insecurity

A number of theorists have observed that people who are dependent and insecure (or who are caught up in affairs that promote such feelings) are especially vulnerable to passionate love. Berscheid and her associates (Fei & Berscheid, 1977) have argued that passionate love, dependency, and insecurity are tightly linked. When people are passionately in love, they are painfully aware of how dependent they are on those they love; dependency naturally breeds insecurity. In an ingenious experiment, Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, and Dermer (1976) found clear evidence in support of these contentions.

Anxiety

Numerous theorists, beginning with Sigmund Freud (1910/1953), have proposed that passionate love is fueled by anxiety and fear (Hatfield, 1971a, 1971b; Hatfield & Rapson, 1987; Carlson & Hatfield, 1992). This makes sense; passionate love and anxiety are closely related both neuroanatomically and chemically (Kaplan, 1979; Liebowitz, 1983). Researchers have demonstrated that anxious individuals are especially prone to seek passionate love relationships (Solomon & Corbit, 1974; Peele, 1975). In a series of studies, Hatfield et al. (1989), for example, found that adolescents of Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and mixed ancestry who were either momentarily or habitually anxious were especially vulnerable to passionate love.

Neediness

Social psychologists have found that acute deprivation does seem to set the stage for passionate love. Stephan, Berscheid, and Hatfield (1971) tested the simple hypothesis that when people are sexually aroused, their minds wander, and soon their dazzling fantasies lend sparkle to drab reality. They proposed that when men are sexually aroused, they should have a greater tendency to see women as sex objects. Hence, they should tend to exaggerate two of their dates' traits: their sexual desirability and their sexual receptivity. They found that they were right. As predicted, the more aroused the men, the more beautiful they thought their dates. In addition, the more aroused they were, the more likely they were to assume that their dates would be sexually receptive. Unaroused men judged their dates-to-be as fairly "nice" women. Aroused men suspected that they were probably "amorous," "immoral," "promiscuous," "willing," "unwholesome," and "uninhibited."

The Consequences of Passionate Love

The previous sections, dealing with the *roots* of love, have painted a somewhat dismal picture. We have focused on the bruised self-esteem, the dependence, and the insecurity that make people hunger for love. Here, we would normally point out that when people attain love (or imagine that they might), they experience intense happiness and excitement. Why would people long for love unless they enjoyed receiving it?

The Rewards of Passionate Love

Surprisingly, we have been able to find little survey or experimental research documenting the delights of passionate love; nonetheless, interviews with lovers and insights derived from works of fiction suggest that lovers may experience at least four kinds of rewards:

1. *Moments of exultation.* When love is realized, lovers may experience moments of passionate bliss.
2. *Feeling understood and accepted.* When men and women are loved, they sometimes feel fully understood, loved, and accepted.
3. *Sharing a sense of union.* Lovers may feel a sense of union with their beloved.
4. *Feeling secure and safe.* Lovers may feel safe and secure when they are with someone they love.
5. *Transcendence.* When people fall in love, they are sometimes able to transcend their former limitations.

The Costs of Passionate Love

Of course, love has its costs too. When hopes are dashed or relationships fall apart, people's self-esteem is often shattered; they feel lonely and miserable; and they may experience intense jealousy.

Why Is Passion So Passionate?

There are probably two main reasons why passionate love is often such an overpowering experience. First, passionate love is a basic emotion; for our ancestors, union was a life-and-death matter. Second, passionate feelings are mixed with other intense emotional experiences—joy, jealousy, loneliness, sadness, fear, and anger. The resulting emotional mixtures are often explosive combinations. Researchers have proposed that such emotional blending can produce especially strong emotional experiences/reactions. Let us review evidence in support of the "cross-magnification" hypothesis.

Shaver, Wu, and Schwartz (1991) interviewed young people in the United States, Italy, and the People's Republic of China about their emotional experiences. In all cultures, men and women identified the same emotions as basic or prototypic. These were joy/happiness, love/attraction, fear, anger/hate, and sadness/depression. They also agreed as to whether the various emotions should be labeled as positive experiences (such as joy) or negative ones (such as fear, anger, or sadness). They agreed completely, that is, except about one emotion—love. The U.S. and Italian subjects tended to equate love with happiness; both passionate and companionate love were assumed to be intensely positive experiences. Chinese students, however, had a darker view of love. In Chinese there are few "happy love" words; love is associated with sadness. They associated passionate love with such idiographs (words) as "infatuation," "unrequited love," "nostalgia," and "sorrow love." Shaver et al.'s students from the East and West never did come to an agreement as to the nature of love. The Eastern and Western groups continued to regard each other's visions of love as "unrealistic."

In this chapter, we take a complex view of the nature of passionate love. We would argue that, in fact, even in North American culture passionate love is usually a mixed blessing. As the definition of love indicates, passionate love *is* sometimes a joyously exciting experience, sparked by exciting fantasies and rewarding encounters with the loved one. But that is only part of the story. Passionate love is like any other form of excitement. By its very nature, excitement involves a continuous interplay between elation and despair, thrills and terror. Think, for example, of the mixed and rushed feelings that novice skiers experience. Their hearts begin to pound as they wait to lurch onto the ski lift. Once they realize they have made it, they are elated. On the easy ride to the top, they are still a bit unnerved. Their hands shake and their knees tremble, but they slowly begin to relax. Moments later they look ahead and realize it is time to push off the lift. The landing looks icy and steep. Their rush quickly turns to panic. They can't turn back. They struggle to get their feelings under control. They jump off the lift, elated and panicky—it is hard to tell which. Then they start to ski downhill, experiencing as they go a wild jumble of powerful emotions. Eventually, they arrive at the bottom of the hill, elated, relieved. Perhaps they feel like crying. Sometimes they are so tired they are flooded with waves of depression. Usually, they get up, ready to try again. Passionate lovers experience the same roller-coaster rush of feelings—euphoria, happiness, vulnerability, anxiety, panic, despair. The risks of love merely add fuel to the fire.

Sometimes men and women become entangled in love affairs where the delight is brief, and pain, uncertainty, jealousy, misery, anxiety, and despair are abundant. Recent social-psychological research makes it clear that passionate love, which thrives on excitement, is linked to a variety of strong emotions—both positive and negative. Tennov

(1979) interviewed more than 500 lovers. Almost all of them took it for granted that passionate love (which Tennov labeled "limerence") is a bittersweet experience.

Hatfield (Carlson & Hatfield, 1992) has argued that such emotional mixtures sometimes produce the most intense explosions of feeling. Logically, when people are exposed to a variety of emotional stimuli, their emotions can interact in three different ways. First, sometimes people are able to identify the ebb and flow of their separate emotions. In such cases, they experience a series of distinct emotions, or emotional blends. Secondly, sometimes incompatible emotions may "cancel" one another out. Finally, people most often experience emotional cross-magnification. Passionate love, for instance, may actually be intensified by the shyness, anxiety, jealousy, or anger the other sparks in us. It is easy to identify such instances of emotional spillover in our daily lives. When we have been frenetically rushing around all day, we often end up snapping at a friend over some trifle. What would normally be slight irritation has exploded into rage; we have to remind ourselves (or *be* reminded) to "settle down." Or we trip on the threadbare carpet and save ourselves just in time from hurtling down the stairs. We dissolve in a fit of giggles. What's so funny about almost being killed? Our sense of the absurd has been magnified by our fear and relief.

Hatfield argued that in life such emotional spillover effects can have powerful consequences. Most intense emotional experiences involve such blends of emotions. This may not be pure coincidence. Perhaps emotions (especially positive emotions) have a better chance to rise to a fever pitch when several emotional units are activated. Love may be more intense than usual when it is fueled by ecstasy *and* jealousy, insecurity *and* fear of loss. The death of a mate may be especially hard for the survivor to bear when combined with guilt about the way he or she treated the deceased. Add grief and anger at the loss to that guilt, and the darkness deepens. Mixtures of emotions most certainly can fuel passion.

Evidence That Both Pleasure and Pain May Fuel Passion

Passion and the Positive Emotions. Our definition of passionate love states that "Reciprocated love (union with the other) is associated with fulfillment and ecstasy." No one doubts that love is such a "high," that the joys of love generally spill over and add sparkle to everything else in life. What has been of interest to psychologists is the converse of this proposition: that the adrenalin associated with a wide variety of highs can spill over and make passionate love more passionate.

A number of carefully crafted studies make it clear that various positive emotions—amusement (White, Fishbein, & Rustein, 1981), erotic excitement (Istvan & Griffitt, 1978; Istvan, Griffitt, & Weider, 1983; Stephan et al., 1971), or general excitement (Zuckerman, 1979)—can all intensify passion.

Passion and the Negative Emotions. In defining passionate love, we have also observed: "Unrequited love (separation) is associated with emptiness, anxiety, or despair." The world has noted that the failure to acquire or sustain love is an extraordinarily painful experience. Psychologists, along with most other writers, report the panic, loneliness, and eventual despair that people feel when they are separated from those they love (Peplau & Perlman, 1982).

By now, psychologists have amassed considerable evidence for the proposition that people are especially vulnerable to love when their lives are turbulent. For example, Dutton and Aron (1974), in a duo of studies, discovered a close link between fear and sexual attraction. By now there is a great deal of experimental and correlational evidence for the intriguing contention that, under the right conditions, a variety of awkward and painful experiences—anxiety and fear (Brehm, Gatz, Goethals, McCrimmon, & Ward, 1978; Dienstbier, 1978; Hoon, Wincze, & Hoon, 1977; Riordon & Tedeschi, 1983), embarrassment (Byrne, Przybyla, & Infantino, 1981), the discomfort of seeing others involved in conflict (Dutton, 1979), jealousy (Clanton & Smith, 1987), loneliness (Peplau & Perlman, 1982), anger (Barclay, 1969; Driscoll, Davis, & Lipsetz, 1972), horror (White et al., 1981), and even grief—can all deepen passion.

The evidence, then, suggests that various states of arousal can spill over and influence one another. Although most of us assume that we love the people we do *in spite* of the suffering they cause us, it may be that, in part, we love them *because* of the pain they cause.

Love seems to flourish when it is nurtured by a torrent of good experiences, as well as a sprinking of unsettling, irritating, and even painful ones.

Passion and Emotionally Neutral Arousal. Research indicates that passion can even be stirred by excitation transfer from such emotionally neutral but physically arousing experiences as riding an exercise bicycle (Cantor, Zillman, & Bryant, 1975) or jogging (White et al., 1981).

COMPANIONATE LOVE

Theorists who tried to explain the origins of companionate love have generally taken an evolutionary approach. Plutchik (1980), for one, argues that emotional "packages" are inherited, adaptive patterns of emotional experience, physiological reaction, and behavior. At every phylogenetic level, organisms face the same problems: If they are to survive and reproduce, they must find food, avoid being killed, and take advantage of reproductive opportunities. Many theorists believe that companionate love is built on the ancient circuitry evolved to ensure that mammals and primates mate, reproduce, and care for the young. Recently, neuroscientists, anthropologists, and developmentalists have begun to learn more about companionate love. They have begun to study the subjective feelings, expressions, patterned physiological processes, and action tendencies associated with this form of love's ancient heritage.

The Chemistry of Companionate Love

Neuroscientists know very little about the biological bases of companionate love and tenderness; researchers have just begun to speculate. Recently, neuroscientists have identified a hormone, oxytocin, which seems to promote affectionate, close, intimate bonds (Caldwell, Jirikowski, Greer, & Pedersen, 1989) and sexual and reproductive behavior (Pedersen, Caldwell, Jirikowski, & Insel, 1991). Carter, a zoologist, (quoted in Angier, 1991), observes: "It [oxytocin] facilitates tactile contact between animals, and that's an early step in the development of social attachment" (p. B8). Oxytocin also promotes more intense bonds between mothers and infants; it increases mothers' eagerness to nurture their young. Finally, oxytocin appears to increase contact between same-sex pairs as well (Angier, 1991, p. B8).

The Look, Posture, Sounds, and Behaviors of Companionate Love

Some theorists have argued that love's ancient beginnings can be read today in the looks, postures, sounds, and behaviors of companionate love.

The Look of Love

Emotions researchers have found that the universal emotions—joy, love, sadness, fear, and anger—are associated with certain characteristic facial expressions. In recent research, scientists have tried to pinpoint the facial expressions associated with joy and love. For example, Hatfield, Costello, Schalekamp, Hsee, and Denney (1991) found that people were able to distinguish facial expressions of love from expressions of joy, sadness, fear, and anger. Exactly how the subjects did this is not yet known. The authors have speculated that perhaps when men and women are experiencing companionate love, they take on the expression mothers often instinctively display when they are happily, tenderly gazing at their young infants: They gaze downward (at the infants), their faces soften, and a slight, tender smile plays about their lips. (Bloch, Orthous, & Santibañez-H., 1987, have proposed the same hypothesis; they provide some suggestive evidence in support of this contention.)

The Posture of Love

Morris (1971) observes:

> These, then, are our first real experiences of life—floating in a warm fluid, curling, inside a total embrace, swaying to the undulations of the moving body and hearing the beat of the pulsing heart. Our prolonged exposure to these sensations in the absence of other, competing stimuli leaves a lasting impression on our brains, an impression that spells security, comfort and passivity. (p. 12)

After birth, Morris contends, mothers instinctively try to recreate the security of the womb. Mothers kiss, caress, fondle, and embrace their infants; they cradle them in their arms. In the

womb, neonates hear the steady drumbeat of their mothers' hearts beating at 72 beats per minute. After birth, mothers instinctively hold their babies with their heads pressed against the mothers' left breasts, closest to their hearts. When their infants fret, mothers unconsciously rock them at a rate of between 60 and 70 rocks per minute, the rate that is most calming to infants. Morris points out: "It appears as if this rhythm, whether heard or felt, is the vital comforter, reminding the baby vividly of the lost paradise of the womb" (1971, p. 14). Of course, in adulthood, these same kisses, tender caresses, and embraces continue to provide security for men and women—who are unconscious of the early origins of these behaviors.

The Sounds of Love

Finally, French psychophysiologist Bloch and her colleagues (1987) argue that not just joy, but passionate love ("eroticism") and companionate love ("tenderness") are associated with different breathing patterns and sounds. Mothers often coo or croon softly with their mouths held near their infants' heads. Bloch et al. have speculated that such tender maternal sounds become the forerunners of the breathing patterns and sounds associated with love. They studied the basic emotions of joy, love/eroticism, love/tenderness, fear, anger, and sadness, and discovered that the breathing patterns associated with eroticism and tenderness are somewhat different:

> In *eroticism*, the principal feature of sexual activation is an even breathing pattern which increases in frequency and amplitude depending on the intensity of the emotional engagement; inspiration occurs through a relaxed open mouth. The face muscles are relaxed, and the eyes are closed or semi-closed. In the female version of the erotic pattern, the head is tilted backwards, and the neck is exposed. (p. 6)

On the other hand, in tenderness,

> The breathing pattern is of low frequency with an even and regular rhythm; the mouth is semi-closed, the relaxed lips forming a slight smile. Facial and antigravitational muscles are very relaxed, eyes are open and relaxed, and the head is slightly tilted to the side. The postural attitude is one of approach. Vocalization includes a humming type lullaby sound. (p. 6)

Behavioral Indicators of Love

Finally, anthropologist Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1971), in *Love and Hate*, observes that primate mothers and infants reveal their close bonds in certain characteristic behaviors. In infancy, human mothers and their infants express their feelings for each other in much the same way. And in adulthood, men and women in all cultures cannot help showing their companionate love in the same ways they did as infants. For instance, newborn infants rhythmically rotate their heads from side to side as they root for their mothers' nipples. An adult, playfully nuzzling a loved one, often finds himself or herself using motions, gestures, and rhythms from the distant past—holding the loved one's head in his or her hands, or rubbing his or her lips against the loved one's cheek with a sideways movement of the head. Eibl-Eibesfeldt graphically illustrates the kissing, mutual feeding, and embracing that bond people together.

Parent–Child Coordination

Mothers and fathers differ in how well attuned they are to their infants' rhythms. Usually, both mother and child are in control of their interaction. The baby's needs must shape the general structure in which the interaction occurs; the mother then has the opportunity to regulate the tempo of the interaction. If she speeds up, she will reduce the baby's level of communication; if she slows down, she can expect a higher level of communication and engagement (Stern, 1974).

Sometimes, parents are not able to shape themselves to their infants' needs. When an infant turns its head, needing to cut down the level of stimulation that it is receiving, a young mother may panic: "The child doesn't like me. What did I do wrong?" She may intrusively force herself on the baby, looking for reassurance, but overwhelming the infant still further. A father, in an effort to play, may frighten a child with too much noise and movement. Or the parents may give the infant too little attention. They may be bored, uninterested, or distracted. They both may be exhausted from trying to keep house and from their careers outside the home. Generally, infants respond to such lack of interest by trying to rouse their caretakers. If that proves to be impossible, they eventually withdraw completely. We

might expect such parental intrusion or indifference to have a profound impact upon children's strategies for dealing with their subsequent love relationships. Such experiences may well shape their eagerness and willingness to get close to others, as well as their ability to balance closeness and distance, intimacy and independence.

CONCLUSIONS

In sum, then, researchers have proposed that both passionate and companionate love can be understood, in part, by examining the mother–child attachment experiences on which they are based. Researchers interested in passionate love have tended to focus on infants' attachments to their mothers (as the prototype of later passionate attachments); researchers interested in companionate love have tended to focus on parental attachments to their infants (as the prototype of companionate attachments). Of course, love relationships can involve both passionate and companionate love. In this chapter, we have reviewed research in support of these contentions.

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