A study of attachment styles among children aged from 8 to 14 years in Nairobi, Kenya.

Thesis presented to the University of Nairobi as partial fulfillment for the requirement of the degree of Master of Science in Clinical

Psychology at the

University of Nairobi

College of Health Science

Department of Psychiatry

By

Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto
(BSc (SPbIFMO, RF), MSc(SPbIFMO, RF), DApPsy(UoL, UK))

July 2014

i

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation <u>A study of attachment styles among children aged from 8 to 14 years in Nairobi, Kenya is my original work and has not been presented in any other college, institution or university other than the University of Nairobi for academic credit.</u>

Signed	Date
Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto	
Registration number:	

DECLARATION BY THE SUPERVISORS

This Research Dissertation is submitted for the award of the Master of Science in Clinical Psychology with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

Dr Manasi Kumar	
Signed	Date
Dr Muthoni Mathai	
Signed	Date

ABSTRACT

Introduction. Contrary to common perceptions, there is growing evidence that parents continue to play a key role in influencing their adolescent's development, regardless of decreasing amount of time spent together. Attachment security, despite built-in capacity for stability, is a dynamic concept that continues one's development and re-adjustment to new personal developmental levels and external conditions through the whole life-span. Recent researches suggest that development of attachment representations during the middle childhood and later in adolescence is more strongly influenced by ongoing family experiences than by the early childhood relationships with primary caregiver. Globally there is a consensus amongst child development researchers that there is a large gap in the theorization and assessment of middle childhood and early adolescence.

Statement of the problem. More than 50% of Kenyans are young people under 18. One of the known protective factors for different types of psychopathology in youth is attachment security, which is today recognized as a universal phenomenon.

Objectives. The study specifically tries to (1) Describe attachment styles and their presentation amongst 8 to 14 years old Kenyan children based in Nairobi. (2) Categorize study population into secure and insecure attachment depending on findings. (3) Demonstrate the applicability of Child Attachment Interview for designated age group (8 to 14) for the Kenyan urban child population based in Nairobi.

Purpose of the study. As one of the few studies on this important topic, this study aims to offer in-depth understanding of child's experience of parenting in Kenya examined through the lens of contemporary attachment theory.

Significance. Secure attachment in childhood and adolescence is associated with less engagement in high risk behaviors (such as delinquent behavior, teenager's pregnancy, suicide, and substances misuse), fewer mental health problems, and enhanced social skills and coping strategies.

Methodology. The study design is qualitative; 19 participants aged 8 to 14 who met the inclusion criteria. Content analysis of obtained narratives was focused on revealing culturally-specific themes relevant to attachment and assessment of cross-cultural sensitivity of tool. Results are presented in the form of tables, diagrams, and bar-charts.

Results. Child Attachment Interview (CAI) Protocol can be used with Kenyan urban population for designated age group of 8 to 14 years old. Children from Low SES are able to give narratives rich enough for coding. Out of 19 children who were interviewed, 16 (84%) were securely attached to their mothers and 17 (88%) were securely attached to their fathers.

Conclusion. Apart from demonstrating applicability of the measure and obtaining valuable information about attachment security distribution in late childhood and early adolescence; the tool also allowed to see various aspects of parenting through child's eyes.

DEFINITION OF SIGNIFICANT TERMS

Attachment can be called child's emotional tie to his primary care-giver. An affectional bond becomes an attachment bond when a person is looking for support, protection and security from the relationships in case of impending or current distress, danger, or/and illness.

Attachment figure/s - primary care giver/s who responds to child's emotional, security, and protection needs in case of impending or current distress, danger, or/and illness.

Attachment type (style) can be defined as relatively stable network of mental representations of self, partners, and relationships based on significant interactions with an attachment figure/s. The most recent studies use the following categorization of attachment types (styles): Secure, Insecure-Preoccupied (Anxious), Insecure-Dismissive (Avoidant), and Insecure-Disorganized.

Internal Working Model (**Internal Working Representation**) is a stored knowledge of previous interactions with attachment figures, which allows a person to predict future interactions with the relationship partner and adjust proximity-seeking attempts without having to rethink each one of them.

Primary care-giver/s (in the current research) is mother or father, although this can at times include extended family members like grandparents, aunts or even nannies, depending on family-specific circumstances (i.e. who is actually looking after child on daily basis).

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CAI – Child Attachment Interview

IWM – Internal Working Model

LMIC - Low and Middle Income Countries

SES – Socio-Economic Status

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1 Attachment Types Adopted from Main (1990)	page 7
Table 2 Child Attachment Security Measures	pages 8
Table 3 Attachment Classification Categories	page 19
Table 4 CAI's Expressions Modification	page 20
Table 5 CAI Coding Categories	page 21
Table 6 Thematic Analysis Guidelines	page 22
Figure 1 Overall Level of Attachment Security Children-Mothers and Children-Fathers	page 25
Figure 2 Overall Level of Attachment Security Boys-Mothers and Boys-Fathers	page 25
Figure 3 Overall Level of Attachment Security Girls-Mothers and Girls-Fathers	page 26
Table 7 Attachment Styles Child-Mother in Middle Class Sample	page 26
Figure 4 Boys-Mothers and Girls-Mothers Attachment Security in Middle Class School	page27
Table 8 Attachment Styles Child-Father in Middle Class Sample	page 27
Figure 5 Boys-Fathers and Girls-Fathers Attachment Security in Middle Class School	page 28
Table 9 Attachment Styles Child-Mother in Low Class Sample	page 28
Figure 6 Boys-Mothers and Girls-Mothers Attachment Security in Low Class School	page 29
Table 10 Attachment Styles Child-Father in Low Class Sample	page 29
Figure 7 Boys-Fathers and Girls-Fathers Attachment Security in Low Class School	page 30
Figure 8 Directions of Wishes	page 37

TABLE OF CONTENT

STUDENT'S DECLARATION	ii
DECLARATION BY THE SUPERVISORS	iii
ABSTRACT	
DEFINITION OF SIGNIFICANT TERMS	v
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	vi
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	vii
TABLE OF CONTENT	viii
1.0 INTRODUCTION	
1.1. Statement of the Problem	
1.2. Rationale and Justification	2
1.3. Research Questions	
1.4. Aims and Objectives	3
1.4.1. Overall Objective	3
1.4.2. Specific Objectives	3
1.5. Output of the Study	3
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW	4
2.1. Attachment Theory	4
2.2. Attachment Tools	7
2.3. Developmental Perspective on Late Childhood and Early Adolescence	9
2.4. Attachment as Cross-cultural Phenomenon	10
3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	12
3.1. Study Design	12
3.2. Study Site	12
3.3. Study Population and Selection Process	12
3.4. Sample Size Determination	13
3.5. Sampling Method	13
3.6. Recruitment and Consenting Procedures	13
3.7. Data Collection Procedures	16
3.8. Training and Quality Assurance Procedures	17
3.9. Measures/ Data Collection Instruments	17
3.10. Materials – equipment, suppliers, personnel	20
3.11. Data Management and Statistical Analysis Plans	21

3.12. Study Limitations	23
3.13. Ethical Consideration / Human Subjects	23
4.0 RESULTS	25
4.1. Overall Level of Attachment Security Among Urban Sample	25
4.2. Thematic Analysis	31
5.0 DISCUSSION	32
5.1. Remarks about Applicability of CAI Protocol in Kenya	32
5.2. Process Oriented Issues	32
5.3. Factors Affecting Attachment Security in Studied Sample	32
5.4. Child's Experience of Parenting in Kenya through the Eyes of Attachment and Ecologic Theories	
6.0 CONCLUSION	47
7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS	
REFERENCES	49
BUDGET	
APPENDIX 1 Child Attachment Interview (CAI) Protocol	59
APPENDIX 2 CAI Format for arranging Transcripts for further coding	63
APPENDIX 3 Consent Explanation for Parents and Guardians	64
APPENDIX 4 Consent Form for Parents and Guardians	67
KIAMBATISHO 5 Maelezo kuhusu Kibali cha Utafiti kwa Wazazi na Walezi	68
KIAMBATISHO CHA 6 Fomu ya Kibali cha Utafiti kwa Wazazi na Walezi	72

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Children and adolescents represent approximately 30% of the total world population with 90% of them living in low and middle income countries (LMIC), which equates to almost 2 billion individuals (UNICEF, 2008). Awareness and resolution of mental health issues during childhood and adolescence in LMIC was named in (Kieling at al., 2011) as "a priority for the global health agenda." At the same time, there is a huge gap in the published work in terms of prevalence, risk and protective factors, and evidence-based interventions originated from LMIC, e.g. "only 10% of trials come from low-income and middle-income countries" (Kieling at al., 2011, p.1).

Secure attachment in childhood and adolescence was identified as a protective factor for engagement in high risk behaviors and development of various mental health problems further in life (Doyle & Moretti, 2000). Contrary to common understanding, attachment security is a dynamic structure and, although this does not undermine importance of early development, security of attachment can be altered by subsequent negative events such as loss of a parent, parental divorce, life-threatening illness, parental psychiatric disorder, or child abuse later in life (Dubois-Comtois & Moss, 2008; Belsky & Fearon, 2002). In the same way, insecurity of attachment established early in life also can be amended by experience of high-sensitive mothering in the middle childhood or developing of cognitive functions, especially, self-reflecting capacities in adolescence (Main, Kaplan, Cassidy, 1985).

There is evidence of a measurement gap with regards to assessment tools and Target and colleagues (2007) stated that "whilst well-established attachment measures have been developed for infancy, early childhood and adulthood, a 'measurement gap' has been identified in middle childhood, where behavioral or representational measures are not yet sufficiently robust (p.1)." The CAI protocol is semi-structured interview specifically designed to address this gap and to get access to attachment related narratives. CAI will be used here to provide a solid tool for in-depth analysis of children's experience of parental care-giving. Children's accounts of both maternal and paternal sensitivity in different attachment activating situations will be explored. High maternal sensitivity is particularly linked to development of secure attachment and with positive child health outcomes. Effect of paternal sensitivity on child attachment security in such male-dominated country as Kenya will also be interesting to investigate. This will be one of the few studies to provide detailed understanding of children's experiences of parenting in Kenya for this particular age group.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

More than 50% of Kenyans are young people under 18 (UNICEF, Kenya statistics, 2010). According to a recently conducted meta-analytical study which covers 9713 children from 6 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, one in ten (9.5%) children and adolescents have a specific psychiatric disorder (Cortina at al, 2012). One of the known protective factors for different types of psychopathology is attachment security (Pace & Zappulla, 2011; Brown & Rinelli, 2010; Nakash-Eisikovits et al, 2002; Sund & Wichstrom, 2002). Moreover, attachment security has been shown to be a universally applicable phenomenon (Grossmann & Grossmann, 1990; Kumar & Fonagy, 2011). The purpose of this study was to explore the children's experience of parental care and representations of that care provided by significant figures in their lives. Through content analysis of these attachment narratives, the research at first displayed the cross-cultural applicability of CAI, and then provided foundation for a culturally sensitive attachment related studies in the country.

1.2. Rationale and Justification

Attachment security in late childhood and adolescence is recognized as an important protective factor for different type of psychopathology later in life (Higgins, Jennings, & Mahoney, 2010; Moretti & Peled, 2004). Despite a global recognition of attachment as an important indicator for life-span development and historical roots of attachment research in East Africa (Mary Ainsworth (1989) research in Uganda), only one published research on attachment in Kenyan context was found during the literature search for this study and it was done with children under 5, and their results suggested that 90.2% of children were securely attached (Bryant at al, 2012). Taking into consideration significance of late childhood and early adolescence attachment security for further mental health outcome and the fact that more than 50% of total population in Kenya are young people below 18 years of age with 23% of them being adolescents (aged 10-19) (UNICEF, Kenya statistics, 2010), gathering evidence following a longitudinal design would be crucial for attachment researchers studying the African/Kenyan context. The findings of this particular study in progress could potentially demonstrate the cross-cultural importance of child-parent attachment for 8 to 14 years old, then demonstrate the suitability and applicability of CAI in a Kenyan setting, and lastly provide basis for further epidemiological research and development of culturally specific intervention strategies.

1.3. Research Questions

This research attempts to answer the following questions:

- i. What are the styles of attachment security amongst 8 to 14 years old Kenyan children based in Nairobi?
- ii. What is the cultural presentation of different attachment styles in the study site?
- iii. How applicable is the CAI protocol for assessing attachment security for the designated age group using the Kenyan urban child population based in Nairobi?

1.4. Aims and Objectives

1.4.1. Overall Objective

Determine and describe attachment styles between children and parents in the age groups 8 to 14 years old age groups in a select population of Kenyan urban children in Nairobi.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The study specifically tries to:

- 1. Describe attachment styles and their manifestation amongst 8 to 14 years old Kenyan children based in Nairobi.
- 2. Categorize study population into secure and insecure attachment based on the findings.
- 3. Determine the applicability of CAI protocol for the designated age group (8 to 14) for the Kenyan urban child population based in Nairobi.

1.5. Output of the Study

The study will be able to give insight into attachment security amongst 8 to 14 years old Kenyan urban children, document the applicability of CAI protocol for the Kenyan urban child population, and provide baseline for further investigations of attachment security in the region and development of relevant culturally sensitive interventions.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Attachment Theory

Attachment theory is one of the major developmental psychology frameworks which include both parent-child relationships and children's socio-emotional development. Bowlby's statement (1979) summarizes the vital importance of attachment in human life:

"Evidence is accumulating that *human beings of all ages* are happiest and able to deploy their talents to best advantage when they are confident that, standing behind them, there are one or more trusted persons who will come to their aid should difficulties arise." (Bowlby, 1979 cited in 2005, p.124-125, *my italics*).

Definition of the term "attachment" underwent significant transformations from the time when it was first formulated to its modern conceptualization. The father of attachment theory first called it "the child's tie to his mother" (Bowlby, 1958).

The attachment tie or bond is an asymmetrical subclass of affectional bonds, whereby someone has specific emotional importance for another. An affectional bond becomes an attachment bond when a person is looking for support, protection and security from the relationships in case of impending or current distress, danger, or/and illness (Ainsworth, 1989).

Goldberg, Grusec and Jenkins (1999) suggested that attachment is a very specific component of parent-child relationships and offered a "narrow" definition of attachment as "...protection...a singular, central aspect of the parent-child relationship" (p.479).

In contrast, Isabella (1999) emphasized Bowlby's later theory, with the idea of attachment as a life span construct. He pointed at the whole body of research which discusses internal working models (IWM) or representational models (RM) of attachment as a means of examining individuals' accounts of attachment experiences and how they manifest themselves into a set of beliefs about themselves and others. He further noted that "these representational models are believed to develop from an infant's early attachment experiences, to remain with a person for a lifetime, and to be subject to revision on the basis of ongoing experiences" (p. 502).

Fonagy (1999) defines the attachment system as "an open bio-social homeostatic regulatory

system", whereas Shaver & Mkulincer (2006) qualify that "attachment [...] is an inborn regulatory system with important implications for personality development and social behavior".

Apart from being "secure base" for exploration, a parent is thought to function as a "haven of safety" during times of distress (Ainsworth, 1989; Bowlby, 1982). In order to fulfill these obligations a parent is expected to be responsive, sensitive and available both physically and emotionally (Bowlby, 1982).

The nature and quality of sensitivity, responsiveness and accessibility in the care-giving context when provided by primary caregiver (in the initial phases usually provided by a maternal figure) over time forms children's attachment experience. These then further consolidate into "internal working models" (IWM) of relationships with "a complimentary and mutually confirming view of the self as worthy or unworthy of care" (Bowlby, 1973, p. 238).

According to Bowlby (1973), attachment type (style) can be defined as a relatively stable network of mental representations of self, partners, and relationships based on significant interactions with an attachment figure/s. This stored knowledge, taking the form of working models or representational models which allows a person to predict future interactions with the relationship partner and adjust proximity-seeking attempts without having to rethink each one.

Securely attached children expect appropriate responsiveness and availability from their parents in time of distress and feel sufficiently safe and competent for mastering their environment at time of low stress. They will also develop an internal model of the self as a person who is likely to receive support, care and love. On the other hand, children who are not able to use their parents as "secure bases" and "haven of safety" in these circumstances are believed to develop one of the insecure internal working models of their relationships with parents and view parents as persons who do not respond to their attachment needs. They are thought to develop a complementary model of the self as a person who is unlikely to receive support, care and love.

But how exactly does the attachment activation system work? In simple terms it works more or less in the same way as hunger. When one feels hungry, one cannot think about anything

else, so that person has to start looking for food or, in case of a small child, for someone who can feed them, as soon as they are satiated, hunger is reduced and their attention can be drawn back to other activities such as playing, reading, exploring, etc. Eventually, an individual will develop some certain schemata about where one could find food, who most likely will be available to feed them, and a complimentary model of self as being likely fed and attended to, or hungry and left to own devices. The attachment cycle can be explained in a very similar manner. Hypothetically, when under stress or in danger, a person will look for help, protection, comfort, love from an attachment figure (parent, caregiver, lover, close friend depending on the age), if he/she gets the needed support (actual physical proximity is needed only early in life, later with developing of mental capacity child is able for longer and longer period of time stay away from primary attachment figure), it will result in a reduction and/or removal of stress and the danger stimuli, and consequently that person can go back to what he/she has been doing before the attachment activating situation. Again, after a while, certain pattern of behaviors of significant others will emerge, building up in internal working model (IWM) of relationships with those people and in complementary model of self as someone who is likely or not to receive needed support, care and love.

The next logical question will be what is happening in a case when attachment relationships do not "function well"? So far there were 3 types of insecurities described in the literature with the last being added by Main and Solomon (1990). These are avoidant, anxious and disorganized/disoriented; the latter is characterized by odd/weird behavior and unusual fluctuations between anxiety and avoidance.

Table 1 Attachment Types adopted from Main (1990)

Secure	Avoidant	Anxious	Disorganized
Individuals have accessible working models of successful proximity-seeking attempts and security attainment. Care-givers tend to be sensitive, emotionally and physically available, and responsive.	Individuals have accessible working models related to attachment-system deactivation. (or "protest" response in Bowlby's (1982) terms) Care-givers are better described as rejecting, emotionally rigid and angry.	Individuals have accessible working models related to attachment-system hyper-activation. ("compulsive self-reliance", same source) Care-givers can be characterized by lack of harmony and lack of consistent responsiveness.	Individuals failing to get access to any of attachment strategies (secure, hyperactivating, or deactivating) and either oscillate between strategies or do something bizarre. Care-givers have tendency to dissociation, confused or/and frightening behavior.

2.2. Attachment Tools

Development of attachment tools started from the well-known Ainsworth's Strange Situation (Ainsworth et al, 1978) and since then many theoretical and methodological innovations have taken place. A range of instruments and coding systems are available now, including family photos, story stems and drawings, categorical force-choice descriptions and doll play. The development of the Adults Attachment Interview (AAI) was a real step forward allowing access to internal working models (IWM) whose existence was proposed by Bowlby (1980). The "internal working models" are mental representations that include affective as well as cognitive components about attachment-related aspects of the world, others, self, or relationships to significant others. They are an essential part of the attachment behavioral system; which filter new information, direct evaluation of experience and correspondingly guides behavior (Bowlby, 1969/1982, 1973). Although, they have a built-in quality of resistance to change, they are still active construction and can be re-structured to assimilate or accommodate new attachment-related experience.

Fonagy (2004) suggested following categorization of currently existing child attachment security measures. Please see more comprehensive review on developed measures of infant and child attachment in Kerns et al (2005).

Table 2 Child attachment security measures

Name	Short Description
The Strange Situation by Mary Ainsworth (Ainsworth at al, 1978)	Measures attachment for infants of 1 to 2 years old. Observational tool "developed to examine the behavioral strategies that infants and toddlers employ in their attempts to maintain proximity to their attachment figures in their presence and absence" (Target, 2007, p.4)
The Cassidy and Marvin System (1992)	Measures attachment for pre-school and kindergarten children of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ years old. Also observational tool.
Symbolic Representation Based Measures	For children from 5 to 7 years old. Number of measures were developed, such as doll play by Bretherton et al. (1990); the Separation Anxiety Test (SAT) by Slough and Greenberg (1990), doll house story completion task by Green and colleagues (Green, 2000). Access to attachment related representation through deliberate activation of attachment system through doll play involving separation and reunion.
The Child Attachment Interview (CAI)	The modified version (significant changes in regards of instructions and probes) AAI for 8 to 14 years old with focus on current relationships
The Attachment Q-Sort	Observational tool. Developed to systematically measure the child's level of attachment in a more natural setting (i.e. the home environment). Required two raters. " (Ainsworth, et al., 1978)
Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden & Greenberg (1987)	Self-report measure of attachment. Measure assesses the quality of attachment to parents and peers. IPPA has been demonstrated to be a valid measure of attachment for the developmental periods of mid - to late adolescence and early adulthood.
Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) George, C., Kaplan, N., & Main, M. (1985). Adult Attachment Interview Protocol (2nd ed.). Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley.	It is semi-structured interview was designed to assess an adult's "current state of mind with respect to attachment" through a series of questions focused principally on memories of attachment-related experiences during childhood (i.e., before the age of 12 years old).
	The AAI has been widely used in developmental research, including research with adolescents (see Allen & Land, 1999, for a review), and its psychometric properties have been well established (Hesse, 1999).
Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ) Kenny, M. E. (1987).	55-item self-report scale suitable for adolescents and young adults
Mother-Father-Peer scale Epstein, S. (1983)	Tool assesses adolescents' and adults' recollections of their childhood relationships with parents.

2.3. Developmental Perspective on Late Childhood and Early Adolescence

There are several significant physical, temperamental, cognitive, moral, and social changes taking place during late childhood and adolescence that must be noted when examining that developmental stage. For instance, Piaget's cognitive development stages or Erikson's social development stages are well known in their focus on developmental progression of human capabilities (Sadock & Sadock, 2005). General association with late childhood and adolescence is transition - transition from childhood to adulthood. Such major move carries with it a lot of changes such as in physical appearance, interpersonal relationships with parents and peers, cognition, sexuality, and hormones. Therefore, late childhood and adolescence is commonly recognized as a vulnerable period for development of many psychopathologies, including, amongst others, major depressive disorder, conduct disorder, substance abuse disorders, and anxiety and eating disorders (Boutelle at al, 2009; Ackard at al, 2006).

Modern researchers now believe that the brain continues to develop into the third decade of life, particularly the part of the frontal lobe called "the prefrontal cortex", which is responsible for long-term planning, self-control, decision-making, and judgment (Giedd et al., 2012; Pharo et al., 2011).

Since all adolescents undergo these changes in the development of the brain, researchers tried to come up with other factors responsible for the fact that only some individuals seem to be at an increased risk of involvement in risky behaviors and development of psychopathology.

Resnick and colleagues (1997) named family factors as the second-most influential category after individual characteristics in terms of mitigating various types of psychopathology. Out of different family-related factors in preventing substance related conditions in adolescence family connectedness emerged as the most important protective factor. Family connectedness can be described as bidirectional feelings of closeness and caring between parents and children and definition derived from attachment theory (Boutelle et al., 2009).

Income inequalities have been shown to create impoverishment in different aspects of child caregiving (De Wolff & van IJzendoorn, 1997, Walker at al, 2007). Belsky (1999) suggested integration of ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 2005) with attachment theory.

In that model, formation of attachment security is affected by maternal sensitivity, availability and responsiveness, which in its turn results not only from maternal qualities but are affected by the whole ecological system of the caregiver such as formal and informal social support, financial and job security, etc. Therefore, something that seems to be a dyadic relationship in real sense is affected by other demands on the caregiver, e.g. environmental factors such as poverty have been found to influence the rate of secure attachment in lower socio-economic groups (Belsky, 1999; De Wolff & van IJzendoorn, 1997, Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005). Apart from it, early researchers found that children's narrative skills might be compromised by early socio-economic deprivation (Neuman & Dickinson, 2003).

2.4. Attachment as Cross-cultural Phenomenon

Numerous cross-cultural researches have shown parental sensitivity to be a universal phenomenon that is viewed similarly by parents from different cultures and socio-economic groups and that can predict secure attachment across cultures (Van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008) as well as positive cognitive development, social behavior, and emotion regulation (e.g., Mesman, Van IJzendoorn, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2012). Majority of researches have explored maternal sensitivity in the name of parental sensitivity.

Harris (1995) suggested that taking into account decreasing amount of time adolescents tend to spend with their parents and the opposite trend for adolescent-peers time together, parental influence is negligible compared to the influence of peers groups. Contrary to this position, there is growing evidence that parents continue to play a key role in influencing their adolescent's development and adolescent-parent attachment has profound effects on cognitive, social and emotional functioning of their offspring. Secure attachment is associated with reduction in high risk behaviors, fewer mental health problems, and enhanced social skills and coping strategies (Doyle & Moretti, 2000; Doyle at al, 2002).

A systematic search of PubMed and PsycInfo with the following terms: "infant," "child," "adolescent," "attachment," "Kenya," "Uganda," "Tanzania," "Burundi", and "Rwanda" revealed less than a dozen studies originated from East African Community all of them concentrated on attachment security in early childhood. One such study by Bryant and colleagues (2012) found that less than 10% Kenyan infants are insecure that do not correspond to generally accepted prevalence for normative samples where by 30 to 40% children in any population sample would show insecure patterns including 10 to 15% who would display disorganized attachment style.

Different types of social disadvantages (like low socio-economic status (SES), parental substance use, child maltreatment) can raise prevalence of insecure attachment almost three times the global prevalence rate of attachment insecurities for normative samples (Prior & Glaser, 2006).

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study Design

Qualitative research design was used as the most appropriate for this project for a number of reasons. First of all, a qualitative design enables an in-depth exploration of this relatively new tool that has not been standardized in Africa before. Secondly, naturally focused on the participants, this design helps to build empathic, unstructured and hopefully unbiased entrance into the participant's framework of reference. It additionally addresses critical cultural suitability and points to socio-familial issues that need to be grasped in the Kenyan care-giving context.

3.2. Study Site

Two private schools were chosen: one school was chosen from a low socio-economic setting (slum area) and another from middle socio-economic setting (middle class school).

Low SES School	Middle SES School
Situated in a slum area	Situated in a middle class area
Does not provide school transport	Provide school transport, has several branches
Tuition fees per Trimester less then 50\$	Tuition fees per trimester more then 500\$

3.3. Study Population and Selection Process

For current research purposes, the research aimed to interview 20 children from 2 schools with different socio-economic settings. To be eligible, the child had to be between the ages of 8 to 14 and be enrolled in one of the chosen schools. Priority was given to locating two-parent households in order to obtain child's perspectives on both mother and father.

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Enrolled in selected school	Presence of significant psychopathology/ mental retardation and/or growth related
• Belonging to age range of 8 to 14	deformity in child
Two-parents household	
Children who will give assent to participate in the study	
Children whose parents will sign full consent form	

3.4. Sample Size Determination

For a qualitative study, sample size does not have a similar level of importance as for quantitative research. A purposive sampling method was used to identify and recruit 20 child participants.

3.5. Sampling Method

Sampling frame:

Low Socio-Economic Status 8-14 year old children in Nairobi, Kenya (Private School in slum area)

Middle Socio-Economic Status 8-14 year old children in Nairobi, Kenya (Middle class private school)

Sample: Two children for 8, 9, and 10 years and one child for 11, 12, 13 and 14 years. Children whose parents signed informed consent and who themselves gave assent.

Sampling recruitment plan: After passing Ethical Committee (KNH/UoN) and getting letters from Ministry of Education and Department of Psychiatry (UoN) researcher contacted the Principals of the chosen school (purposive convenience sampling), after his/her approval the teachers and then children and parents were contacted, from those who gave consent and assent researcher chose each 2nd and 4th child as a participant.

3.6. Recruitment and Consenting Procedures

Nairobi Middle Class School

After obtaining permission from the Principal of middle class school researcher was introduced to class 2 to 8 teachers and scheduled interviews with minimum intervention to education process.

Children were invited from 2 adjacent classes, so class 2 and class 3 pupils were invited together. As per Informed Consent Form at the beginning of the meeting the researcher introduced herself, then the children were given general information about the research purposes, procedures of obtaining informed assents and consents as a means of participation in the study.

After providing children with the information about research, voluntary participation, confidentiality and procedures around it, researcher invited them to ask any questions about it. Older children generally asked more questions, younger ones were a bit hesitant at the beginning but after they had seen that first questions were received with respect and

encouragement they also became more free to ask and by the end the feeling was conveyed that some questions were asked for the purpose of participation in that plenary rather than to get the answer.

On the average, the session like this in middle class school took 30 to 40 minutes from which the actual researcher explanation took around 10 minutes; the rest was a question-answer plenary. After all questions finished, sealed envelopes were given to those children who volunteered themselves to participate in the study. Those, who took envelopes, were requested to bring them signed the next day. All children who brought properly signed (all fields regarding the child and parents were filled in, date and signature were in place) were invited to participate in a so called "first part" of the research – "drawing the family." Children were given pencils and crayons to do it and were offered to take stationary with them as a token of researcher's gratitude for their time. All those children who were not selected for "the second part" of research – "actual interview", were given an adequate explanation of the researcher's logic for participant selection and were assured that those not selected for further interviews did not lack or fail in any of the activities. Out of those who completed drawing exercise, every second and fourth child aged 8, 9 and 10 years old; and every second child aged 11, 12, 13, and 14 years old were invited to the next stage of the study. Since verbal ability increases with child's age, the researcher needed more children of younger age to see if they would be able to give codable accounts/codable narratives of their experiences.

Initially the researcher was given place in the dining hall to conduct interviews, but after the very first interview it became clear that there were too many distractions from workers who had to come in and out of the room, so the researcher requested for another location and was given a small storage room next to head-teacher's office. Even though, it was also a bit noisy due to visitors going in to see the head-teacher, but privacy nonetheless was observed.

Ten interviews were conducted, although, one (1) of them (interview with a 10 year old girl) later was discarded due to technical issues (It was the last interview on that day and camera's battery finished on 12th question). So total number of interviews for further analysis were as follow: 2 interviews for 8 year olds (2 boys), 2 interviews for 9 year olds (1 boy and 1 girl), 1 interview with a 10 year old girl, one interview with an 11 year old girl, 1 interview with a 12 year old girl, 1 interview with a 13 year old girl, and lastly 1 interview with a 14 year old girl. Average length of the interviews was twenty three minutes, with shortest – 21 minutes and the longest – 32 minutes. Although, all nine interviews from middle class sample were found to be codable; some impoverishment of those narrations was noted. So it was predicted that interviews in low SES could be worse due to strong negative correlation between child's

verbal ability and early deprivation associated with low economic status. Therefore, additional discussion during the group session was suggested. Apart from general explanation about the purpose of research, voluntary mode of participation, confidentiality, etc, it was proposed to include a talk on expected format of the answers. So the next group of interviews in the low SES school was conducted considering all of the mentioned above suggestions.

Low Class Primary School in Nairobi slums

After obtaining permission from the Principal of primary school in the slums, the researcher was introduced to classes 2 to 8 teachers and scheduled interviews with minimum intervention to the education process.

Same as in the previous school children from two adjacent classes were invited together. As per Informed Consent Form, first the researcher introduced herself, then gave general information about the purpose of the research, how to participate in it and what was required from the participants. But apart from the above and before the actual distribution of sealed envelopes (with informed consent forms between willing to participate children), the researcher added information about the expected format of the answers. Children were told that sometimes short-answers are difficult to understand and were given an example of how "I went home and cut myself." It was explained that to get the full picture of what actually happened in that case, we would need much more information on "What did I do before and after? Who was I with? How it happened? And so on..." To double check that the researcher was truly understood, she also suggested children ask extra questions on the same sentence till it became a complete story. The main points of that procedure were repeated again before each interview but without examples.

After giving the information about the overall research, voluntary participation, confidentiality, procedures around it, and the expected format of their answers the researcher invited children to ask any questions about it. An average session like this in a school located in the slums area took 30 to 40 minutes from which the researcher's presentation took around 20 minutes; with the rest of the time spent on a question-answer plenary. The rest of the procedure was the same as in the previous school. For conducting interviews researcher was given a place in the school chapel.

A total of ten (10) interviews were conducted: 2 interviews with 8 year olds (1 girl and 1 boy), 2 interviews with 9 year olds (2 girls), 2 interviews with 10 year olds (2 girls), 1 interview with an 11 year old boy, 1 interview with a 12 year old girl, 1 interview with a 13 year old boy, and lastly 1 interview with a 14 year old girl. The average length of the interviews was 41 minutes, with the shortest – 29 minutes and the longest – 62 minutes.

There wasn't much difference between ages in terms of number of questions asked after preliminary discussion in the second group compare to the first group. Although, in the second group there were fewer questions compared to the first one. The researcher would attribute that difference to a number of causes:

- longer general explanation from the researcher's side,
- changes were made in the structure of the session in the second group learning from previous experience of interviewing children the researcher welcomed questions after explaining each interview question. Ultimately, this proved to be a good change as it brought more clarity into the interview and in the responses children gave.
- lastly, the number of questions might have been underestimated in the second group because they were spread through the whole introductory part due to change of the structure, instead of being concentrated in the end as in the first group.

The average length of the interviews in low SES school is almost two times (41 minutes in low SES against 23 minutes in middle SES) of the average length in the first group of middle SES.

There are few possible reasons for this difference, all with different contribution to that:

- Improvement of researcher' interviewing skills (skills acquisition should not be discarded taking into consideration that it was the second group of interviews)
- Researcher's greater familiarization with the tool, its questions, prompts, expected lines of narrations.
- Finally, probably, the main contribution was the introduction of an additional discussion on the expected format of the answers, in the second group of children who were more willing to tell the whole story rather than give short sentence or monosyllabic answers.

All interviews from low SES were found detailed enough to be coded.

3.7. Data Collection Procedures

All interviews were face to face, and video- and audio-recorded. The researcher herself set video and audio recording without assistance of technicians. The duration of each interview was approximately 20 minutes to one hour.

Interviewing was done on one-to-one basis in a separate room, which was requested for that very purpose from school administration. During the interview the researcher followed structure of CAI Protocol, names, addresses or other personal identification information was not mentioned. Note with kind request of not disturbing during the interview was placed on

the door outside the classroom. All information obtained from this study is confidential. From camcorder's and audio-recorder's memory cards interviews were burnt to DVDs and each participant was assigned a specific number prior to passing it further for transcribing. Demographics and other identifying information are kept in a separate from the research file data. Audio and video recordings and transcripts were identified by numbers only. Access to raw data (audio and video records) was restricted to the researcher, her supervisors, and one transcriber. The transcriber was required to sign a statement pledging confidentiality and to withdraw from further involvement had it been discovered that she knew the participant. The DVDs was destroyed upon completion of the data analysis. The researcher arranged final transcriptions as per the CAI format (see Appendix 3) where each question from the interview is sequenced in a set pattern before coding.

3.8. Training and Quality Assurance Procedures

The principal researcher was trained by supervisor on conducting and coding child attachment interviews, their skills were checked in two (2) pre-test interviews from which one was conducted under direct supervision of the supervisor, and then the researcher was advised on the areas to improve. Coding was done by the researcher and then by one of the supervisors who is a 'reliable coder.'

3.9. Measures/ Data Collection Instruments

The Child Attachment Interview (CAI) (*please see Appendix 1*) developed by Target, Fonagy, and Shmueli-Goetz (2003) to assess attachment organization in middle childhood and early adolescence was the primary instrument used in this study. It is a semi-structured interview which consists of nineteen questions designed to bring out relevant attachment information, concepts of self and important others in interpersonal relationships (Target, Fonagy, Shmueli-Goetz, 2003).

In the CAI, child is interviewed about his or her general view of the relationship with parents; common experiences with parents in which the attachment system is presumed to be activated (upset, injury, illness, separation); experiences of loss; and finally the self perception which child derived from those experiences. The CAI is video-recorded and transcribed, before coding all transcripts was organized in a specific manner (please see Appendix 2), afterwards the transcripts were coded according to a multifaceted scoring system that was meant to capture both the content of what child said (e.g. that mother is caring, harsh, or neglectful) and unintended qualities of the person's narration, such as incoherence, inconsistency, and

emotional disorganization.

Obtained narrations were coded in 9 scales:

- 1. Emotional Openness
- 2. Preoccupied Anger
- 3. Idealization
- 4. Dismissal
- 5. Self Organization/ Disorganization
- 6. Balance of Positive and Negative References of Attachment Figures
- 7. Use of Examples
- 8. Resolution of Conflicts
- 9. Overall Coherence.

All scales were scored from 1 to 9, attachment to mother and father were scored separately. Scoring was based primarily on a child's ability to give an integrated, believable account of his or her experiences which were supported by elaborated and relevant examples.

Scale score patterns were used further to assign child one of the four major attachment classification categories: Secure, Insecure-Preoccupied, Insecure-Dismissing or Insecure-Disorganized for both parents.

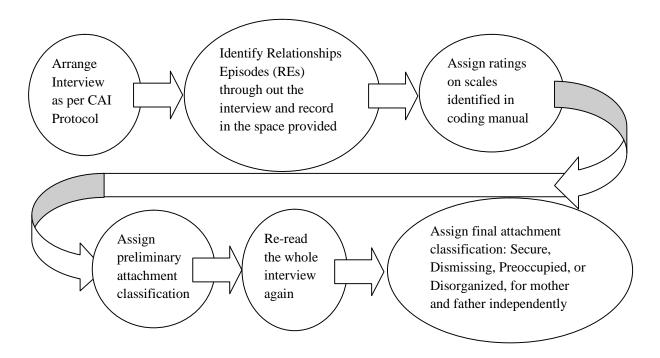


Table 3 Attachment Classification categories adapted from Mikulincer & Shaver (2006)

Secure	Increased access to representations of attachment figures, and relevant episodic memories. Predominantly positive thoughts about parental proximity, availability and love in case of hurtful, upsetting or over wise distressing experience
Insecure- Preoccupied (Anxious)	Heightened access to attachment related worries and grievances. Attachment related representations predominate all the time, even when no apparent external threat is present
Insecure- Dismissing (Avoidant)	Suppression of attachment related worries and inhibition of representations of attachment figures and experiences, especially when thoughts of separation or threat of a similar kind are evoked
Insecure- Disorganized	High scores on both the preoccupation and the dismissing dimensions

CAI protocol has not been used in Sub-Saharan region. As it was mentioned above, CAI protocol was developed by researchers based in University College London (UCL). Although, it was developed in English, it was hypothesized that some expressions which can be common in the UK will be hard for understanding here in Kenya for unexposed children, especially for kids from low SES in the slum school. Therefore, researcher gave that questionnaire to people with different educational and exposure levels, (UoN students, KNH nurses, house-help girls from neighboring houses).

Some fixed expressions indeed occurred to be unknown to local unexposed Kenyans. All suggestions were further discussed with both supervisors, one of whom is a trained coder of CAI and implemented without compromising consistency of the tool.

Table 4 CAI Expressions Modification

Original expression	Expression after modification
Q4 What happens when your Mum gets cross with you or tells you off?	Q4 What happens when your Mum gets angry with you?
Q6 What happens when your Dad gets cross with you or tells you off?	Q6 What happens when your Dad gets angry with you?
Q9 What happens when you <u>are ill</u> ?	Q9 What happens when you are ill or sick?
Q14 Has anyone important to you ever died? Has a pet you cared about died?	Q14 Has anyone important to you ever died? (The question on pet was omitted due to cultural incomparability question about deceased relative and pet in one sentence)
Q15 (prompt) Do you keep in touch?	Q15 (prompt) Do you communicate?

After receiving all necessary approvals the piloting of the research was schedule. Before going to the field after training in conducting Child Attachment Interview short piloting session was undertaken with 2 children: boy 14 years old and girl 10 years old from Middle Middle Class SES. The whole procedure of obtaining parental informed consent and child's assent was followed according to Ethics Committee protocol. Both obtained narratives were rich, coherent and codable. Both children were securely attached to their parents. Apart from valuable experience in conducting Child Attachment Interview researcher also received recommendations on improving her skills as an interviewer as applied to the tool used. Piloting was important in terms of researcher familiarization with the tool and acquiring initial interviewing skills applicable to specificity of the protocol.

3.10. Materials - equipment, suppliers, personnel

Interview was video- and audio-recorded (audio recoding was used for securing clarity of the sound for further transcribing since camcorder have to be positioned on some distance in order to get good picture of participant) therefore equipment included: camcorder, memory card for camcorder, DVDs (for burning), audio-recorder, stationary sets (crayons and pencils – to give children), printing papers, and envelops.

3.11. Data Management and Statistical Analysis Plans

Video (with the support of audio records when needed) was transcribed. Content of transcriptions was further organized in specific structural manner (Please see Appendix 2) for coding.

Then interviews were checked for consistency in transcriptions and coded by the principal researcher first and then by one of the supervisors as per the CAI instructions.

Table 5 CAI coding categories.

Coding Categories	Description
Emotional Openness	assesses the ability to express and name emotions, and give supporting examples of interactions with attachment figures.
Preoccupied Anger	assesses presence of an active dislike or disapproval towards attachment figures and to what extent the anger pervades the narrative of the child.
Idealization	assesses the extent of discrepancies between adjectives child choose to describe his/her parental figure and given narratives about the relationship with that parent.
Dismissal	assesses presence of derogation of attachment relevant experience
Self Organization/ Disorganization	attempts to assess the child's internal representations of self
Use of Examples	assesses child's use of relevant and rich examples to support his/her statements
Resolution of conflicts	assesses the child's ability to describe constructive resolutions to conflicts described during the course of the narrative.
Balance of Positive and Negative references of Attachment Figures	assesses the ability of the child to acknowledge and accept both positive and negative aspects of parental figures
Overall Coherence	assesses the quality of the child's narrative as a whole

All scales for each interview were coded from 1 to 9. Afterwards all children were assigned to one of attachment category for each parent.

Content analysis was focused on revealing culturally-specific themes relevant to attachment and assessment of cross-cultural sensitivity of the tool. Thematic analysis was performed with accordance to guidelines offered by Braun and Clarke (2006) modified for CAI protocol needs.

Table 6 Thematic analysis guidelines.

Guideline	Description		
Familiarization with the data	The data to be transcribed verbatim, including all of the verbal expressions and any nonverbal forms of communication (pauses, laughing, crying, etc) both from audio and video records. After reading through it repeatedly (termed immersion), initial ideas to be noted. Punctuation marks to be added as not to change the "true" meaning of the data. All transcripts from video to be checked against the audio recordings for accuracy.		
Generating initial codes	The data set to be arranged and coded in a systematic way whereby interesting information to be highlighted in the most basic way to generate codes.		
Searching for themes	Gathered codes to be placed into potential themes		
Reviewing themes	Data themes to be checked, so as to create some sort of thematic map for analysis		
Defining and naming themes	Data themes to be clearly defined, named, and shown in the final thematic map		
Producing the report	A selection of vivid, compelling extract examples to be taken and highlighted in the final report		

The qualitative analysis also included complimentary analysis of video material: rating child's non-verbal behavior, difficulties in understanding questions, emotional expressions, length of pauses, etc.

For the purpose of enhancing reliability, all the materials were transcribed verbatim and each procedural and analysis step was documented. The researcher's supervisors assessed each step of analysis for accuracy, which also contributed to increasing reliability. Interviewing procedures, transcriptions, coding and analysis processes were thoroughly checked by the researcher's supervisor trained in use and coding of CAI by its creators in order to increase the validity of the study. Apart from it, validity of the study was improved by providing sufficient interview citations to support any claims that were made in regards of revealed themes. The strengths and limitations of the study were also acknowledged. The results were presented in the form of tables, diagrams, and bar-charts.

3.12. Study Limitations

There are several limitations of this study. First of all, the scope of this study was limited to two urban schools, using a convenience sampling method which consisted of low and middle socio-economic status population. This is a small sample size (N = 20). Additionally, although an entirely Kenyan youth sample was used, it is worth noting that multiple tribes (over 40 tribes in Kenya) and other nationalities and subgroups (e.g. White Kenyan and Kenyan Indian subgroups) exist within Kenya with distinct cultures and parenting practices. Given these factors, there is a question of generalizability of the results beyond this study's population.

Also recruitment procedure might have resulted in a somewhat biased group: those children with parents involved in their lives and interested enough to complete the forms. Therefore the level of secure attachment might be higher than expected because the researcher possibly ended up with a population of more involved, closer families or more sensitive parent-adolescent relationships.

Moreover, there is a possibility that children who volunteered themselves to take part in the research had certain qualities which allowed them to step forward. Consequently, by asking children to volunteer the researcher might have ended up with rather biased population. For further studies the researcher might need to look into parents or school staff to volunteer their children.

Lastly, we should not exclude the possibility of social desirability effect in adolescents' responses to the interview questions that might have also compromised the results.

3.13. Ethical Consideration / Human Subjects

The research was designed taking into consideration participant's rights for confidentially and withdrawal from the study at any given time. In order to protect identity of participants, school names are not included in the report. The research followed the main codes of ethics such as The International Code of Medical Ethics of the World Medical Association (WMA) (1949) and WMA Declaration of Helsinki (2008) on human experimentation and statute laws. Participants whose clinical status after an interview was found to need further interventions were given referral to specialists in convenient mental health institution (hospital, clinic, or specific psychiatrist/psychologist).

The research process started after obtaining all necessary approvals from KNH/UoN Research

and Ethics Committee, and the Department of Psychiatry, University of Nairobi. Interviews were conducted after obtaining an informed consent and assent form one of the parents and child respectively.

Risks:

There were no anticipated risks. However, interviews might have elicited some unpleasant or traumatic memories.

In such case participant was debriefed after the interview and offered additional control meeting to exclude possibility of any negative affective states caused by the interview.

Question N12 ("(For primary school-aged children: Have you ever been touched in the private parts of your body by someone much older than you?) (For older children: Have you ever been touched sexually by someone, when you didn't want them to do it?") was excluded from the interview due to ethical considerations.

Benefits:

The research provides culture specific information on applicability of middle childhood attachment measure in Kenya and gives insight into parenting practice and correspondent attachment security in given population.

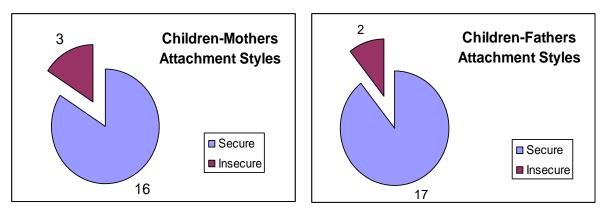
Upon presenting results of the study in Department of Psychiatry (UoN), both participating schools were informed and offered open-talk/presentation about implications of study results for improvement of child-parent relationships (parental sensitivity and parent-child attachment for transitional age was to be discussed). Participated and none-participated children, their parents and teachers were welcomed.

4.0 RESULTS

4.1. Overall Level of Attachment Security Among Urban Sample

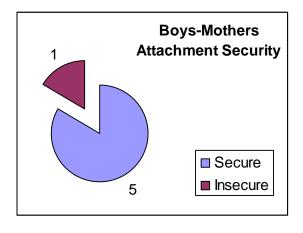
Twenty interviews were conducted in 2 schools (middle and low SES): 6 with boys 8 to 13 years old and 13 with girls 8 to 14 years old. One interview with 10-year-old girl from middle class school was discarded due to technical issues, remaining 19 were transcribed and coded. Out of 19 children who were interviewed, 16 (84%) were securely attached to their mothers and 17 (88%) were securely attached to their fathers.

Figure 1 Overall Level of Attachment Security Children-Mothers and Children-Fathers



Out of 6 boys from both schools, 5 were securely attached to their mothers and 5 – to their fathers. Out of 13 girls, 11 were securely attached to their mothers and 12 to their fathers.

Figure 2 Overall Level of Attachment Security Boys-Mothers and Boys-Fathers



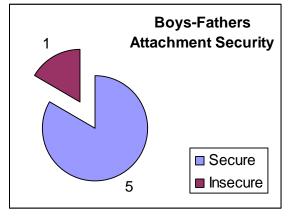
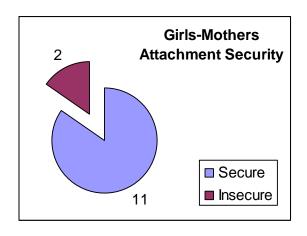
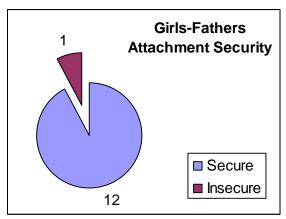


Figure 3 Overall Level of Attachment Security Girls-Mothers and Girls-Fathers



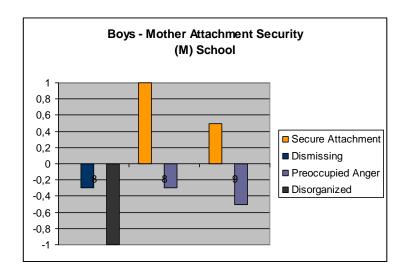


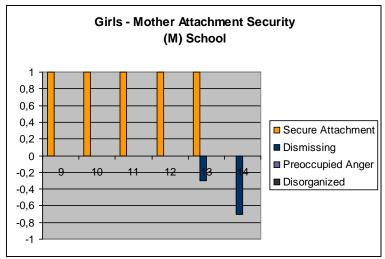
Middle class School

Table 7 Attachment Styles Child-Mother in Middle Class Sample

Children	Secure Attachment	Insecure Attachment			
		Dismissing	Preoccupied Anger	Disorganized	
Boy (8 years)		Idealization Tendency		Yes	
Boy (8 years)	Secure		Tendency		
Girl (9 years)	Secure				
Boy (9 years)	Borderline		Tendency		
	Secure				
Girl (10 years)	Secure				
Girl (11 years)	Secure				
Girl (12 years)	Secure				
Girl (13 years)	Secure	Idealization Tendency			
Girl (14 years)		Borderline Dismissal			

Figure 4 Boys-Mothers and Girls-Mothers Attachment Security in Middle Class School





In the middle class sample one 8-year-old boy's attachment style his mother was rated as Disorganized with Idealization tendency; another 8-year-old boy's - as Secure with slight trace of Preoccupied Anger, and the 9-year-old boy's attachment was rated as Borderline Preoccupied.

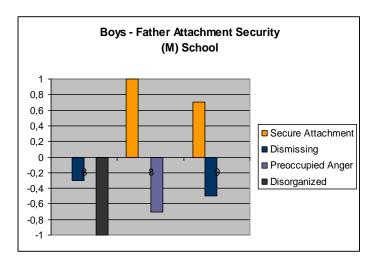
Four girls (9, 10, 11, and 12 years old) attachment styles to their mothers was rated as

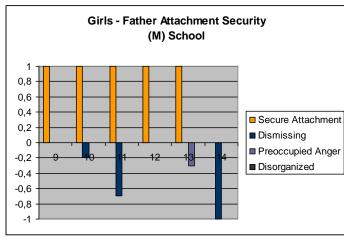
Secure, one 13 years old girl's attachment style was rated secure with Dismissing tendency, and the last 14 years old girl's attachment was rated as Dismissing. Therefore, out of 9 children 6 were rated Securely Attached to their mothers, one boy was rated Borderline, and two children Insecurely Attached: one boy rated as Insecure-Disorganized and one girl as Insecure-Dismissing.

Table 8 Attachment Styles Child-Father in Middle Class Sample

Children	Secure	Insecure Attachment		
	Attachment	Dismissing	Preoccupied Anger	Disorganized
Boy (8 years)		Idealization		Yes
		Tendency		
Boy (8 years)	Secure		Borderline Anger	
Girl (9 years)	Secure			
Boy (9 years)	Borderline	Strong		
	Secure	Tendency to		
		Idealization		
Girl (10 years)	Secure	Slight		
		Idealization		
Girl (11 years)	Secure	Borderline		
		Dismissing		
Girl (12 years)	Secure			
Girl (13 years)	Secure		Traces of Unresolved Anger	
Girl (14 years)		Dismissal		

Figure 5 Boys-Fathers and Girls-Fathers Attachment Security in Middle Class School





In middle class sample one 8-year-old boy's attachment style to his father was rated as Disorganized with Idealization tendency, another 8-year-old boy's - as Secure with borderline Preoccupied Anger, and the last 9-year-old boy's attachment was rated as borderline Dismissing.

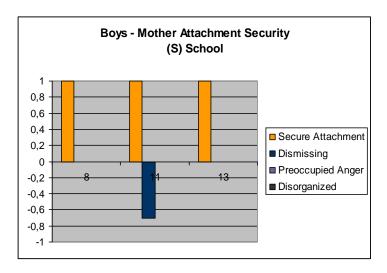
Two girls (9 and 12 years old) attachment styles to their fathers was rated as Secure, one 10-year old girl's attachment style was rated Secure with slight Dismissing tendency, one 13-yearold girl's attachment style was rated as Secure with slight tendency to Preoccupied Anger, one 11-year-old girl was found borderline Dismissing, and the last 14-year- old girl's attachment was rated as Dismissing. Therefore, out of 9 children 5 were rated Securely Attached to their fathers, two children: one girl and one boy were rated Borderline, and two Insecurely Attached: one boy was rated as Insecure-Disorganized and one girl as Insecure-Dismissing.

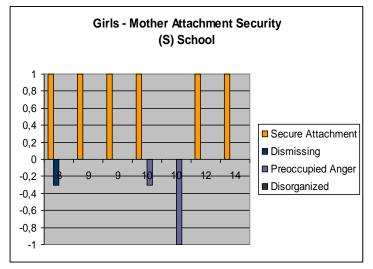
Slum School

Table 9 Attachment Styles Child-Mother in Low Class Sample

Table / Attachi	Table 7 Attachment Styles Child-Wother in Low Class Sample			
	Secure	Insecure Attachment		
Children	Attachment			D:1
Children		Dismissing	Preoccupied	Disorganized
			Anger	
Boy (8 years)	Secure			
Girl (8 years)	Secure	Tendency to dismiss		
Girl (9 years)	Secure			
Girl (9 years)	Secure			
Girl (10 years)	Secure		Traces of Anger	
Girl (10 years)			Preoccupied	
			Anger	
Boy (11 years)	Secure	Borderline Dismissing		
Girl (12 years)	Secure			
Boy (13 years)	Secure			
Girl (14 years)	Secure			

Figure 6 Boys-Mothers and Girls-Mothers Attachment Security in Low Class School





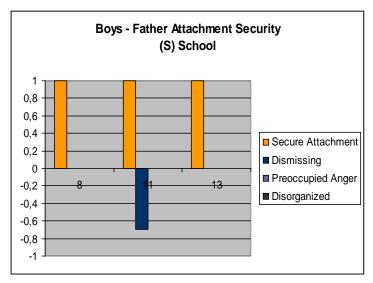
In the slum' class sample one 11-year-old boy's attachment style to his mother was rated as Borderline Dismissing, two other boys of 8 and 13 years old are Securely Attached to their mothers.

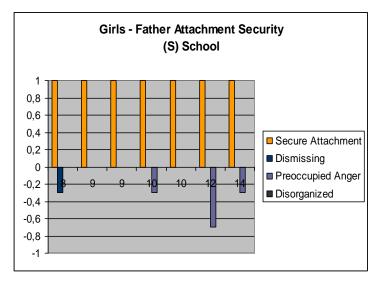
Four girls (both 9-year- old ones, 12 and 14 year olds) attachment styles to mothers was rated as Secure, one 8-year-old girl's attachment style was rated secure with Dismissing tendency, one 10year-old girl's attachment style was rated as Secure with tendency to Preoccupied Anger, and one 10-year-old girl's attachment was rated Preoccupied Anger. Therefore, out of 10 children 8 were rated Securely Attached to their mothers, one boy was rated Borderline, and one girl Insecure Preoccupied.

Table 10 Attachment Styles Child-Father in Low Class Sample

Children	Secure	Insecure Attachment		
	Attachment			
		Dismissing	Preoccupied Anger	Disorganized
Boy (8 years)	Secure			
Girl (8 years)	Secure	Tendency to		
		idealize		
Girl (9 years)	Secure			
Girl (9 years)	Secure			
Girl (10 years)	Secure			
Girl (10 years)	Secure			
Boy (11 years)	Secure	Borderline		
		Dismissing		
Girl (12 years)	Secure		Borderline Anger	
Boy (13 years)	Secure			
Girl (14 years)	Secure		Tendency to Anger	

Figure 7 Boys-Fathers and Girls-Fathers Attachment Security in Low Class School





In low class sample one 11year-old boy's attachment style to his father was rated as Borderline Dismissing, two other boys 8 and 13 years old were rated as Secure.

Three girls' (both 9 year olds and one 10 year old) attachment styles to their fathers were rated as Secure.

Two girls' (10 and 14 years old) attachment style were rated as Secure with slight Preoccupied tendency to Anger, one 8-year-old girl's attachment style was rated as secure with Dismissing tendency, and one 12-yearold girl was found Borderline Anger. Therefore, out of 10 children 8 were rated Securely Attached to their fathers, two children: one girl and one boy were rated Borderline.

4.2. Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis was performed with accordance to guidelines offered by Braun and Clarke (2006) modified for CAI protocol needs. (Please see above Table 6, p. 21)

Following themes emerged:

- 1. The issue of child's own self image
- 2. The subjective image of mother
- 3. The subjective image of father
- 4. Issue of disciplining children
- 5. Parental quarrels/arguments/fighting as witnessed through child's eyes,
- 6. The relationship with siblings
- 7. The effect of birth order and number of siblings on child's wellbeing
- 8. The aspirations, dreams and wishes expressed by the children
- 9. Child's internalization of socio-cultural norms
- 10. Presence of God/ church/ religion in child's life (Since when? And how?)
- 11. Children's different definitions of the same words to describe self, mother, and father Some themes were related directly to CAI questions, but a number of themes emerged independently: "presence of God/church/religion in child's life," "education," "siblings," and "child's internalization of different socio-cultural norms."

5.0 DISCUSSION

5.1. Remarks about Applicability of CAI Protocol in Kenya

Research has successfully demonstrated applicability of CAI in Kenyan urban population for designated age group of 8 to 14-year-olds. Narratives of all 8 year old children from both SES level were found rich, comprehensive and detailed enough for the coding purposes.

Some fixed expressions in the questionnaire were modified during piloting stage of the research, after adaptation there have not been noted any significant difficulties in children's understanding of CAI questions.

5.2. Process Oriented Issues

Pilot study apart from helping in initial testing of modified tool, also assisted in valuable experience in conducting Child Attachment Interview, and improving interviewing skills as applied to the tool used, since even number and types of prompts are stipulated.

Unforeseen issues arose in the course of conducting the first group of interviews in the middle class school. Obtained narrations were less elaborative than during piloting due to a number of reasons discussed above in methodology chapter. Analysis of achieved results allowed the researcher to reassess procedural part of research methodology and few suggestions regarding preliminary part of participants' recruitment were generated. Additional information about desired format of the answers proved to be an important element in initial recruitment session with children.

Researcher's skills acquisition applied specifically to CAI protocol also has to be noted as a factor affecting quality of narrations in the second half of the interviews conducted in the slum school. Closed collaboration with supervisors allowed the researcher to refine her interviewing skills over a period of time.

5.3. Factors Affecting Attachment Security in Studied Sample

Overall attachment security level was found in the middle between Bryant and colleagues (2012) figure of 91% and 57-69% of Van IJzendoorn and Sagi (1999) data for Africa. In current research out of 19 children who were interviewed 16 (84%) were securely attached to their mothers and 17 (88%) were securely attached to their fathers.

As it was predicted, prevalence of attachment security is higher then average. Most likely it is a

result of methodological issues: first of all, the children were asked to volunteer themselves to participate in the study – attachment security is positively associated with higher self-esteem and confidence in middle childhood (Gomez & McLaren, 2007; Booth-Laforce et al, 2006); therefore sampling on the first stage could be biased towards overrepresentation of securely attached children.

Apart from it, in order to participate in the study, children were requested to bring signed informed consent form the next day. It meant that so fast a response should have also been expected mostly from available and supportive parents as opposed to rejecting and hostile ones, which in turn aggravated bias towards security.

According to attachment theory, apart from being available both physically and emotionally and being supportive, parents also have to be responsive and sensitive in order to become a "secure base" for exploration and a "heaven of safety" during times of distress for their children (Ainsworth, 1989; Bowlby, 1982).

Following factors were revealed to be related to development of secure attachment in children from the studied sample:

- sensitive parenting (main aspects of sensitivity were associated with disciplinary methods and child's access to education),
- child's birth order in girls,
- parental emotional (mostly in child-mother relations) availability,
- severity of inter-parental conflicts.

The importance of parental control is accepted across cultures. However, there are many factors related to differing circumstances that determine the amount of control that is optimal (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). All children rated as secure, as opposed to insecure ones who were able to explain clearly their home-rules regarding the punishable behavior and the level of punishment for different misdeed.

This is how a secure 9-year-old boy from middle SES explains instances when his mum can get angry at him:

"When I do some bad ... like I have not clean my clothes, I watched too much TV if ... I play too much and my things get lost ... because I gave them to my friends"

And that account of "crime and punishment" of secure 12-year-old girl from low SES:

"I stole ... I saw there is a time that was a cake on the table when I saw I went to borrow her she refused I took that advantage I went to take it"; "She just took a slipper and hit me"; "I was not angry with her because I know ... I was suppose to go and apologize I am the bad person there she is not doing something wrong I was the one who has done something wrong."

Number of politicians, policy-makers and practitioners focused their interventions on raising

aspirations and changing attitudes to schooling among poorer children as a way of improvement their educational outcomes (Cummings et al, 2012; Gorard et al, 2012). In their narrations children placed great importance on knowledge acquisition and based evaluation of parental sensitivity and responsiveness through their ability to provide the school fees, money for educational trips and related materials.

"When he pays my school fees ... like for some of my friends the father does not pay their I feel happy ... When I saw the father he is already paid the school fees" – 11year-old girl, middle SES

"She is encouraging" – "I told my mother that I need books ... she tried their best and she bought for me books: exercise books, story books and dictionary. Now that day ... I just saw that my mother is encouraging" – 9-year-girl, low SES.

"Happy" – "Number one he pays school fees for the whole year without me to be send home for the school fees" – 11-year-old boy, low SES.

Burden of responsibilities related to being the first born girl in the family was negatively affecting development of secure attachment in the study. Even if overall assigned classification for the fist born girl was secure, additional tendencies towards preoccupied anger were noted. The trend was especially evident in low SES sample, probably due to common use of maids to perform main house-chores in the middle class sample.

"they had told me to wash utensils and after that I will go to fetch water After fetching water I go for the charcoal After charcoal I come again I light for them the giko ... So I was very sad ...worried because ... they are giving me a lot of work to do and my brother moves to school comes and just do homework when he has finished": 10-year-old girl, low SES.

Emotional availability is generally expected from mothers, as opposed to fathers, which is most likely because of gender specific role expectations. Traditionally fathers are expected to be the providers and source of security and mothers to look after children and be caring (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1976). Violation of those norms are noticed and disapproved by children.

One 13-year-old girl in middle class sample characterized her dad as "boring," "fun," and "he is a quiet person," however when it comes to example related to child's misdeed it occurred that

"When he gets angry he just calls me and sit ... and sits besides me and just talks to me ... tells me what is the problem Only that then after I explain to him the problem he shows me the ways how to tackle it out ... he is reasonable and understanding"

All through the interview there are other incidences when it becomes clear that mother is the real head of the family and that is why for dad being "reasonable and understanding" is not enough

to win the child's approval.

In another 11-yearold girl's narration, from middle class school, there are two very exemplary descriptions:

Mother "closed" – "When we talk about each other when we get to know each other ... When I felt depressed or sad I just tell her what has happened"

Dad "generous" – "when he pays my school fees ... like for some of my friends the father does not pay their... So I feel happy when I ... When I saw the father he is already paid the school fees."

"Exposure to inter-adult discord has significant impact on children's emotional, behavioral, interpersonal, and even physiological functioning. . . . [H]ow the parents fight and whether they are able to resolve their differences probably holds the key to understanding the impact of marital discord on children." (Cummings & Davies, 1994 p. xii)

Three out of nine children in middle class sample reported that their parents are arguing sometimes. Two of them said that parents don't know how they feel when their parents argue; one girl said that her mum knows but her dad does not know how she feels.

"I feel like crying I feel like telling them "Stop arguing" the way they tells us to stop arguing Because I do not want my parents to be arguing but it is not very often" - girl, 9 years old, middle SES.

According to the 'Family Stress Model' (Conger et al. 2000), poverty is one of the most important factors that can put severe strains on spousal relationships bringing up or increasing family dysfunction. In low class sample twice as many children as in middle class sample reported some types of arguments or fighting between their parents.

Many researches (Cummings & Davies, 1994; Cummings & Davies, 2010; McDonald & Jouriles, 1991) reported strong link between parental conflicts and severe distress in children. Moreover findings also showed that these children experience ambivalent emotions of loyalty conflict (Lee, 2001).

"When they were arguing I felt bad because my father was saying: "I leave your mother! I leave your mother" and I said "If you leave I will die" "At least you go without children but if you leave I die" Now they sat down and they talk now they are as the parents", "I feel bad because I cannot stay without my mother and I cannot stay without my father" - girl, 9 years old, low SES.

"This main thing now if they quarrel like this I know one of them must leave either my mother will go on her path or my father. So I will be left in a dilemma to choose who will I go with? Either will I go with my dad or mum? And I love both of them so that is what makes me worried

most when they quarrel" - girl, 14 years old, low SES.

Negative effect of parental conflicts on children academic performance (Unger McLeod, Brown & Tressell, 2000; Clare-Stewart, Vandell, McCartney, Owen, & Booth, 2000) was also confirmed. That is how children explain it:

"Like we are in class sometimes when the teacher is teaching I can just remember what happened in the home I am just remembering everything instead of listening to the teacher They just argue when us we are asleep or sometimes we have gone somewhere to school so that they don't argue in front of us because they know they can bring for us a problems in our studies" - girl, 10 years old, low SES.

"... once they quarreled I was watching. My father slapped my mum. So when I watched that I could not even concentrate in class, what ... exam came I really failed. They asked me "what is the main reason for you to fail this exam?" Then I said I don't like to see you guys fight... - now that was the main reason" - girl, 14 years old, low SES.

5.4. Child's Experience of Parenting in Kenya through the Eyes of Attachment and Ecological Theories

A great number of researchers of early childhood education, history, developmental psychology, and anthropology suggest that "childhood" is a cultural construction; moreover it is Westernderived cultural construction (Cannella & Kincheloe, 2002; Prout & James, 1997). These scholars suggest critical appraisal of any globalized definitions and movement towards describing locally relevant models (Stephens, 1995).

Bronfenbrenner's (1989) ecological theory evaluates child development in context of the person, the environment both immediate and more remote, and the continuous interaction of the two. Bronfenbrenner described the child's experience "as a set of nested structures, each inside the next, like a set of Russian dolls" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 22). According to him, environment can be perceived as multileveled, consisted macrosystem, exosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem. These levels, correspondingly, describe influences as intercultural community, organizational, and interpersonal or individual.

Traditionally many researchers were focusing on either the micro level (individual behavior) or macro level (cultural influences). Attachment theory focuses primarily on dyadic relationships of child-caregiver. Bronfenbrenner expanded this perspective to include intercultural, community, and organizational levels of environments which affect those relationships (Belsky, 1999). Simultaneous consideration of attachment and ecological theories can enrich understanding of child's experience of parenting and add extra culturally specific dimensions to it.

Children self-descriptions can serve as a very vivid example of multileveled affect of environment on self-image formation. For example, explanations of "intelligence" depend on child's gender and give an insight in children's internalization of culture-specific gender roles. Kenyan cultural practices and traditions have strong tendency to relegate woman to second class category (Mutiso at al., 2010), nurturing such qualities as submissiveness, quietness and subservience.

"I do well in exams. I do my class-work well and I can answer questions which anyone asks." - Boy, 8 years old.

"I like fashion and I like cooking too" - Girl, 11 year old.

"I respect decisions and I respect my elders and also my younger ones ... and also decisions they are making" - Girl, 14 year old.

In another example three level of child's environment are present in one sentence given by an 8 year old boy from middle class school.

"I am good" - "when I help my mother at home [microsystem - interpersonal level], when I go to church [mesosystem - organizational level] and then I help needy [exosystem - community level]."

Children's views of themselves were put in prospective by the last question of CAI protocol "If you could make three wishes when you are older what would they be?"

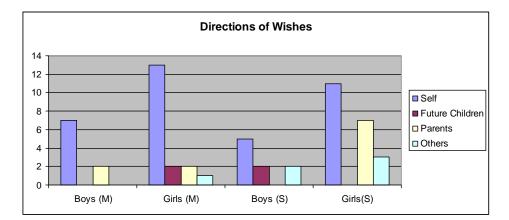


Figure 8 Directions of Wishes

Wishes of children from the middle class sample were mostly directed to themselves, describing acquired professions ("doctor, pilot, and scientist"), possessions ("to have mansion-house, to have a big restaurant and fashion house") and general level of wellbeing ("yo have a bright

future, to have a good life").

Pro-social intentions of children from low class sample were more prominent and generally wishes were more diversified between self, others, parents and future children. Pro-social behavior normally defined as some activities that are beneficial to other person, group of people or the society in general (Pilliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner & Clark, 1981). That disparity can be explained by the empathy-altruism hypothesis (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Batson, Ahmad, Lishner & Tsang 2002), which proposes that the main reason for helping is self-identification with a person in need. In line with this view is Kagitcibasi's research (1997) that focuses on an individuals' immediate and community environment in an attempt to explain cultural differences in pro-social behavior. Based on her argumentation, individuals have to adapt to different conditions of a community. For example, in more traditional and poor communities with little or no social security, maintaining close relationships with relatives, neighbors, and community members is more adaptive and functional than in more-individualized and affluent communities, because those relationships can serve as a security and cushion you during emergencies (Kagitcibasi, 1997, 2007).

Nigerian researcher Olukayode Afolabi (2014) stated that socialization during sharing family chores helps nurture pro-social intentions in children. That type of stimulation is generally missing in middle class households due to widespread use of maids' service.

Although Milkie with colleagues (1997) made an attempt to raise a concern regarding very limited number of psychological, anthropological and sociological research which would focus on children's understanding, portrayals, and evaluations of families, up to now despite a slight positive trend, majority of works related to the family issues is studied from parental or societal prospective (e.g. effect of divorce on children's school performance).

"We suggest that children's own descriptions (with few imposed constraints) of their perspective on parents and familial relations is important because this form of children's narrative is rare and because there is reason to expect that children offer a distinctive view of families." (Milkie, Simon, Powell, 1997; p.218)

After analysis of over 3000 essays written by children in 1980 and beginning of 1990 about their parents they came up with many different conclusions, one of which was as following: with age, children shift from instrumental, educational and recreational descriptions towards more personal and emotional.

Current research replicated those findings with additional dimension of socio-economic status. Younger children from middle class sample used more recreational and utilitarian (also connected to recreational) descriptions with gradual move towards interpersonal and emotional.

Recreational:

"good" – "When she takes us for lunch or dinner, for outing, ... swimming, ... to relatives, when we go shopping" - Girl, 9 years old.

"We were throwing on each other water, we were throwing each other to the pool" – Girl, 12 years old.

"He was playing with my cousin's dolls "this is my sister" – Girl, 9 years old.

Utilitarian:

"good" -"I asked her to buy me something and she bought" - Boy, 8 years old.

"good" – "he bought for me PC" – Boy, 8 years old.

"We went to Nakumat he bought some food and some groceries" - Boy, 9 years old.

Interpersonal, emotional:

"happy" – "I am always happy with him. He has never disappointed me." – Girl, 10 years old.

"close" – "when we talk about each other when we get to know each other... when I feel depressed or sad I just tell her what has happened" – Girl, 11 years old.

As for low class sample, educational and utilitarian (still connected to education) descriptions were domineering for younger children with gradual shift to interpersonal and affective.

Educational:

"she congratulates me and that makes me to have courage" – "It is when we did middle term exams and ... I become position one She also bought for me cloths If I see that ... I usually feel good It makes me to be high in my studies and everything I do" - Boy, 8 years old.

"She makes me comfortable and ... she teaches me good behaviors. When my mother was just telling me I should be following instructions and I should be obeying them so that I can live longer" – Girl, 10 years old.

"very very well" – "he helps me to understand that I need to pass exams ... he also tells me to revise all the time ... he is giving me a good guide"

"I feel like I am in a palace" – "The day I feel like I am palace because the school fees was a... the balance it was 5000 and it was cleared now this ... this exam which we are going to do on Friday my father and my mother will clear the school fees"

Utilitarian:

"he bought me several text-books and exercise-books and one set for Oxford and one bag That time when I went to school",

"... I used to put my bag on the nail Yes and one day it got torn and I shown my father and my father ... bought me another bag ... when I am doing small-small mistakes he... he will never beat me" – Girl, 8 years old.

"Because if you tell my dad about the school fees he will look it and the school fees will be

cleared and I will do the exams or I will continue with learning" – Girl, 9 years old.

Interpersonal, affective:

"Loving" – "Can I say for the last time? ... but she is always loving Yes There is no first and last time for her She is always loving" – Girl, 12 years old.

"Friendly" – "I like him because when we are with him he does not want to react like a big man or a what He is just like a little child He takes us may be to a park You can not know if he is our father because at that time he lives the ...those things about fathers there He is ... he becomes like a little child Now we play with him, do everything with him like he is our own age-mate"

These patterns support developmental work proposed by Piaget (1926) who argues that with maturity children's ability to recognize their parents as separate entities also grows and they are more likely to value "selfless" components about their relationship.

It was reported early that "... even when children use the same terms to describe mothers and fathers, the meanings of these terms may differ." (Milkie, Simon, Powell, 1997; p.227). The meanings of the terms used for father and mothers were also different from the meanings applied when the very same term was used by the child to describe him or herself.

"Good" -Boy, 8 years old. middle SES.

Self – "When I help my mother at home, when I go to church and when I help the needy"

Mum – "I asked her to buy me something and she bought it"

Dad - "He bought for me PC"

"Good" – Girl, 8 years old low SES.

Self – "when my friend ... got lost a pencil and then I find it ... I took it to her"

Mum – "I used to wash my clothes Now my Father was there and my Mother was there now my Father told me that I go and wash my clothes when my Mother heard that, she told my Father that ... she need to wash for me my clothes"

Dad – "he bought me several text-books and exercise-books and one set for Oxford and one bag ... I used to put my bag on the nail Yes and one day it got torn and I shown my father and my father bought me ... bought me another bag"

"Comfortable" - boy, 11 years old, low SES.

Mum – "I feel comfortable everyday when I am with her and I like ... telling her stories ... which I read and my studies which I do here in school and then she tell me other things then I go to do then those things are wonderful and I usually be comfortable with them"

Dad — "he went and looked for a good house which was self-contained It was good and everything was inside … Then he came and shifted from there from that house we went to the house which was self-contained I felt comfortably and my father bought everything in that house … he bought the chairs of butterfly which nowadays are there in the house which even visitors

can come they will be there even they will be comfortable to sit there"

This finding implies traditional role-specific standards that children employ when evaluating themselves and their parents. According to Ocholla-Ayayo (1976) father's role in a family primarily involves providing food, shelter and security; adjudicating family disagreement, passing on skills to their sons, and giving guidance and advice to family members. Other aspects of parenting traditionally were left to their wives, elder daughters, and other female relatives (grandmothers, aunts).

"I love him" – "he normally brings there the food, he brings water to drink, he brings ... even on Christmas he brings ... he takes us there ... to Uhuru park, you know?! Yes" – Girl, 8 years old, low SES.

In extracts from the narratives mentioned above father is "good" and "comfortable" when he provides for good housing, education and some recreational activities. The same descriptions were used for mum when she is emotionally available, supportive and caring.

Types of parental disciplining methods vary greatly cross-culturally (Fisher, 1966; Levin, 1966; Rogers, Hevey, & Ash, 1989). Culture clash in terms of punishment methods was noted by Kiong, Elliott & Tan, (1996). They stated that Western societies are less approving of physical punishment compare to Africans. However, according to Loh (1990) in Africa corporal punishment is regarded more as a sign of parental concern and love rather then hostility to the child.

That notion reflected in the common traditional childrearing sayings amongst the Luo which include, "A tree is shaped while young, or when it is grown up it breaks" and "Iron is forged while hot; otherwise you would need extra force to forge it, or it breaks" (Oburu, 2004; Ocholla-Ayayo, 1976).

Types of punishment reported by children in current research correspond to Mundany's (1998) study of child discipline methods used by parents in Kibera slum and do not differ significantly by SES. Eight out of nine children in middle class sample and eight out of ten children in low class sample reported use of physical punishment by at least one parent. Five out of nine in the middle class sample and five out of ten in low class sample reported being beaten by both parents.

Types of corporal punishment reported includes: beating (including beating with a belt), spanking, ear pulling, slapping, pinching, hitting with a slipper, denying of food.

Other types of punishment reported were: sending to read a book, command to stop talking, shouting, threatening, yelling, growling, scolding, warning, assigning home chores, refusing to pay for school trips.

The severity of the punishments also varied:

"They spanking us ... Sometimes they are using either slipper or the belt" [mum & dad] - Girl, 9 years old, middle SES.

"... sometimes they are rude to me and they beat me up so badly" [mum &dad] - Girl, 14 years old, middle SES.

"When she tells you and you... do the same mistake the second time it is than she punish you She can punish you by ... by pinching you, by beating you." [mum] - boy, 8 years old, low SES.

"So she just hit me in the face and I just hear like I am blind I don't know where I am going So I just hit the door in front and I just felt like somebody has take ... my mum has taken the stone and bit me on the head So I just felt like I am very confused I don't know where I am going and what I am doing So I just went up to there ... I just went and slept" [mum] - Girl, 10 years old, low SES.

Types of offences also vary greatly but generally correspond to the list offered by Mudany (1997). In her research more then 50% of respondents named "major" following offences: stealing, drug abuse, selling property without permission, lack of respect, disobedience, abusing people, cheating, beating others, coming home late, dangerous play, and spending night out.

Apart from above offences which were named by parents and recorded in Mudany's children from the current study added the following: damage of any property (from breaking a glass at home to breaking neighbor's window while playing football), fighting/arguing with siblings, making noise, failing exams, not following instructions, eating food meant for someone else, losing money (from 10 Kshs to school fees), coming home dirty, tearing pages from school books, and getting angry.

Grusec & Goodnow (1994) argued that effectiveness of any discipline methods depends on how just and reasonable it is perceived by recipient, namely by the child. Intended disciplinary message would not be internalized if child appraises it as out of the range or unfair. In Kenya children occupy subservient low ranks in a societal hierarchy compare to their parents; therefore they are expected to conform to parental expectations and to respect age and societal status in their daily interactions with adults (Oburu & Palmerus, 2003).

That could be one of the possible explanations to the fact that most of the children who reported rather harsh physical punishment tried to justify their parents.

"And why do you think he spanks you? Because he loves us and he wants to teach us that we should not do what we did" [dad] – Girl, 9 years old, middle SES.

"Why do you think she is beating you? She wants me like... It is a must every parent has to beat you so that you will be disciplined. She wants me ... She is beating me for me to see the mistakes I have done so that next time I would not do that mistake" [mum] – Girl, 13 years old, middle SES.

"But she does not beat us thoroughly ... she usually do like this because if ... if she does not do

so we can ... we continue with the same mistakes without knowing that it is wrong" [mum] – Boy, 8 years old, low SES.

"Because she is correcting me She is not beating me the bad she is correcting me she correcting my mistakes" – Girl, 8 years old, low SES.

"As you know "spare the rode spoil the child" You must discipline your child even if you love her how .. discipline must be there because if you just take care of that child like a (inaudible) even if she sense or do something bad you just leave her You spoiling that child now she must punish me" [mum] – Girl, 12 years old, low SES.

"She caned me to correct me Yeah to show me the right way Not that she caned me because of hatred She caned me because she wanted to tell me that I am suppose to do her work" [mum] – Boy, 13 years old, low SES.

Although in families where at least one parent does not use corporal punishment as a mean of disciplining, children plan never to use such methods with their own children in the future. Also if it is the case, they explain parental aversion of physical punishment as a result of very harsh childhood.

"So why do you think she is just threatening you but not doing something more? Doing something else? Because may be when she was young may be she was beaten too much but she does not... she did not want to the generation on" [mum] – Girl, 12 years old, middle SES.

"In which way would you not like to be like your mum? *Because she is beating me and when I grow up I don't want to beat other ... other children*" [mum] – Boy, 8 years old, low SES.

In nature birth order as a proxy for disparities in age, physical size, and status affect corresponding behavioral differences of animal species in competition for parental investments. Daly and Wilson (1990) compare Darwinian and Freudian theory on siblings' competition in humans. According to Darwin, parents usually equal in relation to all children, whereas siblings usually prefer a bias in their own favor in order to "get out of childhood alive." In Freudian theory, such conflicts have their origins in Oedipus complex or the child's unconscious desire for sexual access to the opposite-sex parent. Competition for parental love has been an important driving force in human evolution. If before 1800 differences in parental favor, mediated through nutrition and health care, influenced which children reached adulthood (Voland, 1988, 1990), then now those differences affect child's access to better education, healthcare and additional stimulation (in terms of extracurricular activities) shaping their future success in life.

In narratives children's feeling of being "unloved" mostly relates to distribution of parental resources perceived as "unfair."

"When they [parents] buy for my brother some thing and not for me" - Boy, 8 years old, middle, SES.

"Yeah it was a one time we went for ... to buy something and they bought almost like everything for my sister I felt as if they did not care about me" - Girl, 13 years old, middle SES.

"When the birthday of my sister reaches they always through a party for her – a birthday party But when mine reaches they always say there is no money ... Do you think they know how you felt at that time? I don't think so because they love my younger sister very much" - Girl, 12 years old, low SES.

Literature on Kenyan educational system points at many challenges of providing access to quality education. Among those challenges is inadequacy of resources; overcrowded classrooms, insufficient or lacking in some cases learning materials, limited number of qualified teachers. (Mwangi & Kimu, 2003, p. 36).

Despite all struggles mentioned above children's attitudes to education and schooling were very similar in both SES groups that correspond to existing studies (Sutton et al. 2007; Horgan, 2007). Belief in the importance of education for future success was strong among students from both more or less advantaged, backgrounds.

However, theme of education was more domineering in low SES, whereby self-image, parental images (two out of three or even all three descriptions) and child-parent relationships generally were described as a child's mean of access to education.

Self-descriptions: "clever" – "I revise, when the teacher asks me a question I answer correctly and I listen to instructions and I obey the teacher"; "hard-working" – "On exams I feel like I am ready for this I have revised enough and I have listened to what the teacher told me" - Boy, 9 years old, middle SES.

Description of dad "happy" - "When he pays my school fees ... like for some of my friends the father does not pay their I feel happy ... When I saw the father he is already paid the school fees" - Girl, 11 years old, middle SES.

Self-description "hard-working" – "I do my best in my education Yeah because it is the key to success" - Girl, 14 years old, middle SES. Example of Mum being angry:

"if I failed exams terribly and it is not the first time Yes if I failed terribly she might ... because you know like I pass I do the best I can and I get to the grades that she wants me to get but if I drop terribly she have to ... she have no other choice but correct me through beating me" – Girl, 14 years old, middle SES.

Self-description "clever" – "I am clever because last month on January … I was back to number eleven now I had 372 marks and I have got 60 in mathematics This time on February I have got 390 and I was number 2 and got 72 in mathematics" – Girl, 8 years old, low SES.

Descriptions of mum "caring" – "she cares by paying my school fees I don't miss school any day"; "she helps in everything" – "She helps with my homework ... she also helps me when I am studying" – Girl, 9 years old, middle SES.

Descriptions of mother: "she is really nice" – "If you fail exams and she is there she will not lets say yell at you, scold you She will just tell you "You have tried but next time do this and do that. Try! You can do better then that"";

"She supports in everything" – "we were going for the trip ... I went to tell my dad if he could pay for me the trip money My dad refused ... when I called on a phone and told my mommy that there is a trip and I need to go My mother is so understanding and she just told my aunt to lend me some money and when she comes back she will pay her back" - Girl, 12 years old, low SES.

As it was mentioned above, Kenyan traditional family structure is highly hierarchical (Oburu & Palmerus, 2003). That cultural characteristic found reflection in children's narrative in regards to deferent interactions with adults in a family.

"What happens when you are ill or sick? I go and tell my aunty first when she passes it to my mother, my mother passes it further to my father and then they take me to the hospital" - Boy, 8 years old, middle SES.

"I usually feel like telling them "Why are you arguing?" but I feel that I should not tell them because they are older I am afraid to tell them like that ... I am not suppose to question them" - Girl, 9 years old, low SES.

"Things changed a lot Now for me I know I have a brother – big brother I am the second born and we are many Because in his family he has 3 another children So I knew we were many But now coming to this side we are only 3 I am the first born ... Now I am suppose to start ... to learn how to be in our new environment" - Girl, 14 years old, low SES.

Connections between religion and child abuse were reported long time ago (Pagelow & Johnson, 1988; Greven, 1991; Capps, 1992). Physical punishment as a disciplinary method justified by religious ideology was named among the most evident forms of abuse. "Religious beliefs can foster, encourage, and justify abusive behavior." (Bottoms at al, 1995; p. 85)Most frequently quoted passages related to physically abusive child-rearing techniques are as follows:

"He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chaseneth him betimes." and "Withhold no correction from the child: for if thou beatest him with the rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the rod, and shalt deliver his soul from hell" (Proverbs 13:24 and 23:13-14, respectively).

It was original scripture's wording, below are quotes from children's narratives:

"And why do you think she [Mother] is beating you when she is angry? *She follows the readings in the Bible it a verse about disciplining it is what she does* She follows what is written in the Bible? *Yeah* And in the Bible is written that you must beat your child? *You must discipline him.*" - Boy, 8 years old, middle SES.

"As you know "spare the rode spoil the child" You must discipline your child even if you love her how .. discipline must be there because if you just take care of that child like a (inaudible) even if she sense or do something bad you just leave her You spoiling that child now she must punish me" – Girl, 12 years old, low SES.

Children are driven into a corner – even if they try to question fairness of parental behavior, parents can always justify any of their actions by the "Word of God".

"[After some misdeed]... he [Dad] read for me the verse ... a verse that ... From the Bible? Yes That says that children should obey their parents so that the days of living can be added Okay Why do you think he ... he is reading you verses from the Bible when he finds something wrong? They read for me the verse because other times I can ... I cannot believe what they are saying because I can just think that they are ... it is their own words because I know ... because the Bible is the Word of God they read for me I understand it well"

That explains some ambivalence displayed by children who are subjected to sever physical punishments by their parents. On the one hand, they are in pain and can not comprehend how someone who claims to be loving to them can inflict on them such suffering; on the other hand, they can not even question their parents either from traditional beliefs prospective (see above "family hierarchy") or from the religious one.

"My mum has even beaten me until ... until sometimes I could not write well because she had beat me at the hand so my fingers were feeling cold"; "... sometimes I think that she is not good enough because sometimes when ...when I have done something she can forgive me but sometimes she is very angry so I just think that she is just correcting me to my manners", "if I see my mum I am just feeling like I can run but it reaches somewhere that I said I could not continue fearing my mum because even if she beats me she does not mean that she does not love me so I just continue", "I was thinking that my mother does not love me because sometimes even a small mistake she beats me but I just said "That is okay even if she beats me that one does not mean she hates me She is making a right ... mum in the future and she is making me a good ... child in future"" – Girl, 10 years old, low SES.

Religious component emerged in children's narrative not only in relation to disciplining methods but also as a source of support and strength in difficult times when child was punished, when he/she witnessed parental conflicts, when he/she felt hopeless and unloved. In those instances child's relationship with God provided safe haven and secure base and was conceptualized as an attachment relationship (Kirkpatrick & Shaver, 1990; Kirkpatrick, 1992, 1997, 1998).

To explain individual differences in one's attachment to God, Kirkpatrick (1997) proposed the compensation and the correspondence hypothesis. Thereby, correspondingly, God may serve as an attachment figure in either as a substitute for other less than optimal attachment figures, or as a continuation of other attachment relationships; therefore there should be correspondence between attachment to God and to the other significant attachment figures.

Collins and Read (1994) hold the view more close to classical attachment theory suggesting the potential for individuals to hold several independent attachment models.

It is difficult to make any conclusions in support of any hypotheses mentioned above in relation to children since there were no any published studies which focused on child-parent and religious attachments (Miner, 2009).

This is what children say about it in the current study:

"Did you ever felt that your parent don't really love you? Yeah. What was it? After I have got

spanked ... They did not make me hug after that so I felt no one in this house really loves me I thought that it was only God who loves me that is what I felt" - Girl, 9 years old, middle SES.

"My dad and my mum were fighting so I felt as if I did not know what is going to happened next So at that time I was feeling lonely and I do not know what to do but later I decided to prayed to God to tell them to be reconciled and God heard my prayer and in the end of the day they reconciled and things went back to normal" - Girl, 13 years old, middle SES.

"I felt pain because you know sometimes she starts abusing me: "you like your father, you are stupid" You know that time I felt pain but now I had to pass through I know it is temptations of the world Now I just pass ... went out, prayed to my God to give me more strength then I came back"; "You know at that time I had no one to talk to I just stayed and I prayed to my God to give me comfort" - Girl, 14 years old, low SES.

6.0 CONCLUSION

Child Attachment Interview (CAI) Protocol can be used with Kenyan urban population for designated age group of 8 to 14 years old. Children from low SES are able to give narratives rich enough for coding.

Apart from obtaining valuable information about attachment security distribution in late childhood and early adolescence tool also allowed to see various aspects of parenting through child's eyes.

7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

Be careful what you give children, for sooner or later you are sure to get it back.

-- Barbara Kingsolver

- For future studies in Kenya adapted version of CAI Protocol can be used
- Additional explanation during preliminary sessions with potential participants should include additional explanations about expected format of the answers
- Further modification of methodology is required in order to minimize bias during selection procedure
- Bigger sample which would include urban and rural, public and private, day and boarding schools is required to improve generalizing of the results
- Research can also serve as a baseline for developing culture-specific interventions related to parenting in general and specifically to attachment security
- Education of parents about effect of different aspects of their behavior in various situations on long-term developmental outcome in children can be possible through various means; churches, schools, and media.

REFERENCES

- 1. Ackard, D. M., Neumark-Sztainer, D., Story, M., & Perry, C. (2006). Parent-child connectedness and behavioral and emotional health among adolescents. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 30(1), 59-66. doi:10.1016/j.amepre.2005.09.013
- Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1989). Attachments beyond infancy. American Psychologist 44:709-716 in Fonagy, P. (2004). Attachment Theory and Psychoanalysis. Karnac Ltd., London
- 3. Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M. C., Waters, E., & Wall, S. (1978). Patterns of attachment: Assessed in the strange situation and at home. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- 4. Allen, J. P., & Land, D. (1999). Attachment in adolescence. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications (pp. 319–335). New York: Guilford.
- 5. Armsden, G. C., & Greenberg, M.T. (1987). The inventory of parent and peer attachment: Individual differences and their relationship to psychological well-being in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 16, (pp 427–454).
- Batson, C. D., Ahmad, N., Lishner, D. A., & Tsang, J. (2002). Empathy and altruism. In C. R. Snyder, & S. L. Lopez (Eds.), Handbook of positive psychology (pp. 485 – 498). New York: Oxford University Press.
- 7. Belsky, J. (1999). Interactional and contextual determinants of attachment security. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.) Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications, (pp. 249-264). New York: The Guilford Press.
- 8. Belsky, J., & Fearon, R. M. (2002). Infant-mother attachment security, contextual risk, and early development: A moderational analysis. *Development and Psychopathology*, 14, 293-310.
- 9. Booth-Laforce, C., Oh, W., Kim, A. H., Rubin, K. H., Rose-Krasnor, L., & Burgess, K. (2006). Attachment, self-worth, and peer-group functioning in middle childhood. *Attachment and Human Development*, 8(4), 309-325
- 10. Bottoms B. L., Shaver, P. R., Goodman, G. S. & Qin, J. (1995). In the Name of God: A Profile of Religion-Related Child Abuse. *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 51(2): 85-111.
- 11. Boutelle, K., Eisenberg, M. E., Gregory, M. L., & Neumark-Sztainer, D. (2009). The reciprocal relationship between parent-child connectedness and adolescent emotional functioning over 5 years. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 66: 309-316. doi:10.1016/j.jpsychores.2008.10.019.

- 12. Bowlby, J. (1958). The nature of the child's tie to his mother. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 39, 350-373.
- 13. Bowlby J (1973). Attachment and loss: Vol. 2. Separation: Anxiety and Anger. New York: Basic Books.
- 14. Bowlby, J. (1979), (2005). The making and breaking of affectional bonds. Routledge. London and New York: Originally published 1979 by Tavistock Publications Limited.
- 15. Bowlby, J. (1980). Attachment and loss: Vol. 3. Sadness and depression. New York: Basic Books. In Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2006). Attachment in Adulthood. Structure, Dynamics, and Change. The Guilford Press, New York.
- 16. Bowlby, J. (1982). Attachment and loss: Vol. 1. Attachment (2nd Ed.). New York: Basic Books. (Original ed. 1969) in Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2006). Attachment in Adulthood. Structure, Dynamics, and Change. The Guilford Press, New York.
- 17. Bowlby, J. (1988). A secure base: Clinical applications of attachment theory. London: Routledge.
- 18. Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 71–101.
- 19. Bretherton, I., Ridgeway, D. & Cassidy, J. (1990). Assessing internal working models of the attachment relationship: An attachment story completion task for 3-year-olds. In Attachment in the preschool years: Theory, research and intervention, Edited by: Greenberg, M., Cicchetti, D. & Cummings, E. M. (pp 273–308). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- 20. Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). The ecology of human development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- 21. Bronfenbrenner, U. (Ed.) (2005). Making human beings human: Bio-ecological perspectives on human development (pp. 3–15). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- 22. Brown, S. L., & Rinelli, L. N. (2010). Family structure, family processes, and adolescent smoking and drinking. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 20(2): 259-273. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00636.x
- 23. Bryant, J. H., Bryant, N. H., Williams, S., Ndambuki, R.N., & Erwin, P. C. (2012) Addressing Social Determinants of Health by Integrating Assessment of Caregiver-Child Attachment into Community Based Primary Health Care in Urban Kenya. *International Journal for Environmental Research in Public Health*. 9(10): 3588–3598.
- 24. Cannella, G. S., & Viruru, R., (2002). (Euro-American constructions of) education of children (and adults) around the world: A postcolonial critique. In Cannella, G. S. &Kincheloe, J. L. (Eds.), Kid world childhood studies, global perspectives, and education (pp. 197–214). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- 25. Capps, D. (1992). Religion and child abuse: Perfect together. Journal of the Scientific

- Study of Religion, 31, 1-14.
- 26. Cassidy, J., & Marvin, R. W. (1992). A system for coding the organization of attachment behavior in three and four-year-old children. Paper presented at *The International Conference on Infant Studies*. Washington, DC.
- Clarke-Stewart, K. A., Vandell, D. L., McCartney, K, Owen, M. T., & Booth, C. (2000).
 Effects of parental separation and divorce on very young children. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 14(2), 304-326.
- 28. Collins, N. L., & Read, S. J. (1994). Cognitive representations of attachment: The structure and functions of working models. In K. Bartholomew & D. Perlman (Eds.), Attachment processes in adulthood, Advances in Personal Relationships, Vol. 5. (53-90). Pennsylvania: Kingsley.
- 29. Conger, R. D., Conger, K. J., Elder G. H. Jr., Lorenz, F. O., & Simons, R. L. (1994) Economic stress, coercive family process and developmental problems of adolescents, *Child Development*, 65:,541 61, 1994.
- 30. Cortina, M.A., Sodha A, Fazel M, & Ramchandani P. G. (2012) Prevalence of child mental health problems in sub-Saharan Africa: a systematic review. *Archive of Pediatric Adolescence Medicine*. 166(3):276-81. doi: 10.1001/archpediatrics.2011.592.
- 31. Cummings, E. M. & Davies, P., (1994). Children and Marital Conflict: The Impact of Family Dispute and Resolution. New York: The Guilford Press.
- 32. Cummings, C., Laing, K., Law, J., McLaughlin, J., Papps, I., Todd, L., & Woolner, P. (2012). Can changing aspirations and attitudes impact on educational attainment? A review of interventions. York: JRF.
- 33. Daly, M., & Wilson, M. (1990). Is Parent-offspring Conflict Sex-linked? Freudian and Darwinian Models, *Journal of Personality*, 58, 163-189.
- 34. De Wolff, M. S., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1997). Sensitivity and attachment: A meta-analysis on parental antecedents of infant attachment. *Child Development*, 68: 571-591.
- 35. Doyle, A. B., & Moretti, M. M. (2000) Attachment to Parents and Adjustment in Adolescence. Literature Review and Policy Implications, Childhood and Youth Division Health Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.
- 36. Doyle, A. B., Moretti, M. M., Brendgen M., & Bukowski W. (2002) Parent child relationships and adjustment in adolescence: Findings from the HSBC and NLSCY Cycle 2 Studies. Ottawa: Health Canada, Child and Family Division. CAT number 032ss. H5219-00CYHS
- 37. Dubois-Comtois, K., & Moss, E. (2008). Beyond the dyad: do family interactions influence children's attachment representations in middle childhood? *Attachment & Human Development*. Vol. 10, No. 4, 415–431.
- 38. Epstein, S. (1983). Scoring and interpretation of Mother-Father-Peer Scale. Unpublished

- manuscript, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
- 39. Fisher, J. L., & Fisher, A. (1966). The New Englanders of Orchard Town USA. In Whiting, B (Ed) Six Cultures New York, John Wiley & Sons, (p. 142).
- 40. Fonagy, P., (1999). Transgenerational Consistencies of Attachment: A New Theory Paper to the Developmental and Psychoanalytic Discussion Group, *American Psychoanalytic Association Meeting*, Washington DC.
- 41. Fonagy, P. (2004). Attachment Theory and Psychoanalysis. Karnac, London.
- 42. George, C., Kaplan, N., & Main, M. (1985). Adult Attachment Interview Protocol (2nd ed.). Unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley.
- 43. Giedd, J. N., Stockman, M., Weddle, C., Liverpool, M., Wallace, G. L., Raitano Lee, N., Lalonde, F., & Lenroot, R. K. (2012). Anatomic magnetic resonance imaging of the developing child and adolescent brain. In Reyna, V.F. (Ed.), Chapman, S. B. (Ed.), Dougherty, M. R. (Ed.), Confrey, J. (Ed.), The adolescent brain: Learning, reasoning, and decision making (pp. 15-35). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/13493-001
- 44. Goldberg, S., Grusec, J. E., & Jenkins, J. M. (1999). Confidence in protection: Arguments for a narrow definition of attachment. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 13(4), 475-483.
- 45. Gomez, R., & McLaren, S. (2007). The inter-relations of mother and father attachment, selfesteem and aggression during late adolescence. *Aggressive Behavior*, 33, 160-169. doi:10.1002/ab.20181
- 46. Gorard, S., See, B. H. and Davies, P. (2012). The impact of attitudes and aspirations on educational attainment and participation. York: JRF.
- 47. Green, J. (2000). A new method of evaluating attachment representations in young school-age children: The Manchester Child Evaluation Story Task. *Attachment and Human Development*, 2(1), 48-70.
- 48. Greven, P. (1991). Spare the Child: The religious roots of punishment and the psychological impact of physical abuse. New York: Knopf.
- 49. Grossmann, K. E., & Grossmann, K. (1990) The Wider Concept of Attachment in Cross-Cultural Research, *Human Development*, 33:31–47
- 50. Grusec J. E., & Goodnow J.J. (1994). Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A re-conceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology*, 30:4–19.
- 51. Harris, J.R. (1995). Where is the child's environment? A group socialization theory of development. *Psychological Review*, 102:458–489
- 52. Hesse, E. (1999). The adult attachment interview: Historical and current perspectives. In

- J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications (pp. 395 433). New York: Guilford.
- 53. Higgins, G. E., Jennings, W. G., & Mahoney, M. (2010). Developmental trajectories of maternal and paternal attachment and delinquency in adolescence. Deviant Behavior, 31: 655-677. doi: 10.1080/01639620903415851
- 54. Horgan, G. (2007). The impact of poverty on young children's experience of school. Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.
- 55. Howard, M. S., & Medway, F. J.(2004). Adolescents' attachment and coping with stress. *Psychology for Schools*:;41:391–402.
- 56. International Code of Medical Ethics of the World Medical Association (1949). *World Medical Association Bulletin*, vol.1, no. 3.
- 57. Isabella, R. A. (1999). Confidence in protection: Comment on Goldberg et al. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 13(4), 501-503.
- 58. Jouriles, E. N., Norwood, W. D., McDonald, R., Vincent, J. P., & Mahoney, A. (1996). Physical violence and other forms of marital aggression: Links with children's behavior problems. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 10: 223-234.
- 59. Kagitcibasi, C. (1997). Individualism and collectivism. In Berry, J. W., Segall, M. H., & Kagitcibasi, C. (Eds.), Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Vol. 3. Social behavior and applications (pp. 1-49). Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- 60. Kenny, M. E. (1987a). The extent and function of parental attachment among first-year college students. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 16: 17-29.
- 61. Kerns, K. A., Schlegelmilch, A., Morgan, T. A., & Abraham, M. M. (2005). Assessing attachment in middle childhood. In Kerns, K. A., & Richardson, R. A. (Eds.), Attachment in middle childhood (pp. 46-70). New York: Guilford Press.
- 62. Kieling C., Baker-Henningham H., Belfer M., Conti G., Ertem I., Omigbodun O., Rohde L. A., Srinath S., Ulkuer N., & Rahman A. (2011). Child and adolescent mental health worldwide: evidence for action. Global Mental Health 2. *Lancet*. 378: 1515-25.
- 63. Kiong, C. T., Elliott, M. J., & Tan, M. E. H. P. (1996). Public perceptions of child abuse and neglect in Singapore. Research Monograph Number 1: Singapore Children's Society.
- 64. Kirkpatrick, L.A. (1997). A longitudinal study of changes in religious belief and behavior as a function of individual differences in adult attachment style. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 36: 207-217.
- 65. Kirkpatrick, L. A. (1998). God as a substitute attachment figure: A longitudinal study of adult attachment style and religious change in college students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24: 961-97.

- 66. Kirkpatrick, L.A., & Shaver, P.R. (1990). Attachment theory and religion: Childhood attachments, religious beliefs, and conversion. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 29: 315-334.
- 67. Kouros, C. D., Cummings, E. M., & Davies, P. T. (2010). Early trajectories of interparental conflict and externalizing problems as predictors of social competence in preadolescence. *Development and Psychopathology*, 22: 527-537.
- 68. Kumar, M., & Fonagy, P. (2011). Conceptualizing attachment trauma: Exploring emotional vulnerabilities among disaster affected children of Gujarat. *Psychological Studies* DOI: 10.1007/s12646-011-0114-x.
- 69. Lee. M. Y. (2001). Marital violence: Impact on children's emotional experiences, emotional regulation and behaviors in a post-divorce/ separation situation. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 18(2),137-163.
- 70. Le Vin, R. A., & Le Vin B. B. (1966) Nyansongo: A Gusii Community in Kenya. . In Whiting, B (Ed) Six Cultures New York, John Wiley & Sons, (p. 111).
- 71. Loh, C. Y. (1990). Hospitalization and parental styles as factors affecting infant attachment behavior. Academic Exercise, Dept. of Social Work and Psychology. National University of Singapore.
- 72. Main, M. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of attachment organization: Recent studies, changing methodologies, and the concept of conditional strategies. *Human Development*, 33: 48-61.
- 73. Main, M., Kaplan, N., & Cassidy, J. (1985). Security in infancy, childhood, and adulthood: A move to the level of representation. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 50: 66-104. In Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2006). Attachment in Adulthood. Structure, Dynamics, and Change. The Guilford Press, New York.
- 74. Main, M., & Solomon, J. (1990). Procedures for identifying infants as disorganized/disoriented during the Ainsworth strange situation. In Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2006). Attachment in Adulthood. Structure, Dynamics, and Change. The Guilford Press, New York.
- 75. Mesman, J., Van IJzendoorn, M.H., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M.J. (2012). Unequal in opportunity, equal in process: Parental sensitivity promotes positive child development in ethnic minority families. *Child Development Perspectives*, 6(3): 239–250. doi: 10.1111/j.1750-8606.2011.00223.
- 76. Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2004). Security-based self-representations in adulthood: Contents and processes. In Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2006). Attachment in Adulthood. Structure, Dynamics, and Change. The Guilford Press, New York.
- 77. Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2006). Attachment in Adulthood. Structure, Dynamics,

- and Change. The Guilford Press, New York.
- 78. Milkie, M., Simon R. W., & Powell B. (1997) Through the Eyes of Children: Youths' Perceptions and Evaluations of Maternal and Paternal Roles. *Social Psychology Quarterly* Vol.60, No.3,218-237
- 79. Miner, M. (2009). The impact of child-parent attachment, attachment to God and religious orientation on psychological adjustment. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 114-124.
- 80. Moretti, M. M., & Peled, M. (2004) Adolescent-parent attachment: Bonds that support healthy development. *Pediatric Child Health*. 9(8): 551–555.
- 81. Mudany M. A. (1998). Community perceptions of child discipline and its contributions to child abuse. MMed (Pediatrics) Manuscript UoN.
- 82. Mutiso, M. M., Chessa, S. R., Chesire, M. A., &Kemboi, L. (2010). Factors Leading to Domestic Violence in Low-Income Residential Areas in Kenya: A Case Study of Low-income Residential Areas in Kisumu City. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies* (JETERAPS) 1 (2): 49-53, Scholarlink Research Institute Journals, 2010.
- 83. Mwangi, J. G., & Kimu, A. M. (2003). Factors related to the morale of secondary school teachers in Machakos District. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 18(2): 35-40.
- 84. Nakash-Eisikovits, O, Dutra, L, & Westen D. (2002). Relationship between attachment patterns and personality pathology in adolescents. *Journal of American Academy for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*. 41:1111–23.
- 85. Neuman, S. B., & Dickinson, D.K. (2003). Handbook of Early Literacy Research, Volume 1. Guilford Press.
- 86. Oburu, P. O. (2004). Social adjustment of Kenyan orphaned grandchildren, perceived caregiving stresses and discipline strategies used by their fostering grandmothers. Göteborg University, Sweden: Department of Psychology; 2004. (ISSN 1101-718X: ISRN GU/PSYK/AVH —134-SE).
- 87. Oburu P. O., & Palmerus, K. (2003). Parenting stress and self-reported discipline strategies of Kenyan caregiving grandmothers. International *Journal of Behavioral Development*; 27:505–512.
- 88. Ocholla-Ayayo, A. B. C. (1976). Traditional ideology and ethics among Southern Luo. Uppsala, Sweden: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies;
- 89. Olukayode, A. A. (2014). Psycho-Social Predictors of Pro-Social Behavior Among a Sample of Nigerian Undergraduates. *European Scientific Journal January*2014 edition vol.10, No.2 ISSN: 1857 7881 (Print)e ISSN 1857-7431.

- 90. Pace, U., & Zappulla, C. (2011). Problem behaviors in adolescence: The opposite role played by insecure attachment and commitment strength. *Journal of Child & Family Studies*, 20, 854-862. doi: 10.1007/s10826-011-9453-4
- 91. Pagelow, M. D., & Johnson, P. (1988) Abuse in the American family: The role of religion. In Horton, A. L., & Williamson, J. A. (Eds.), Abuse and religion (pp. 1-12). Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- 92. Piaget, J. (1926). The Language and Thought of the Child. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World
- 93. Piliavin, J. A., Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S., & Clark, R. D. (1981). Emergency intervention. New York: Academic Press.
- 94. Pharo, H., Sim, C., Graham, M., Gross, J., & Hayne, H. (2011). Risky business: Executive function, personality, and reckless behavior during adolescence and emerging adulthood. *Behavioral Neuroscience*, 125(6), 970-978. doi:10.1037/a0025768.
- 95. Prout, A., & James, A. (1997). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In A. James, & A. Prout (Eds.), Constructing and reconstructing childhood (pp. 7–33). London & Philadelphia: Falmer Press.
- 96. Resnick, M. D., Bearman, P. S., Blum, R. W., Bauman, K. E., Harris, K. M., Jones, J., Tabor, J., Beuhring, T., Sieving, R. E., Shew, M., Ireland, M., Bearinger, L. H., & Udry, J. R. (1997). Protecting adolescents from harm: Findings from the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health. *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, 278(10), 823-832. doi:10.1001/jama.1997.03550100049038.
- 97. Rogers, W., Hevey. D., & Ash. E. (Eds.). (1989). Child Abuse and Neglect: Facing the challenge. London: The Open University.
- 98. Sadock, B. J., & Sadock, V. A. (2005). Kaplan & Sadock's Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry, 8th Edition, Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- 99. Slough, N. M., & Greenberg, M. T. (1990). 5-year-olds' representations of separations from parents: Responses from the perspective of self and other. *New Directions for Child Development*, 48: 67-84.
- 100. Stephens, S. (Ed.) (1995). Children and the politics of culture. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- 101. Sund, A. M., & Wichstrom, L. (2002). Insecure attachment as a risk factor for future depressive symptoms in early adolescence. *Journal of American Academy for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry*, 41:1478–85.
- 102. Sutton, L., Smith, N., Dearden, C. & Middleton, S. (2007). A child's-eye view of social difference. Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.
- 103. Target M., (2007). The Child Attachment Interview: A Psychometric Study of

- Reliability and Validity. Unpublished.
- 104. Target, M., Fonagy, P., & Shmueli-Goetz, Y. (2003). Attachment representations in school-age children: The development of the child attachment interview (CAI). *Journal of Child Psychotherapy* 29: 171–186.
- 105. UNICEF; Statistics and monitoring. (2008). http://www.unicef.org/statistics
- 106. UNICEF, Kenya statistics, (2010). http://www.unicef.org/statistics
- 107. Unger, D. G., McLeod, L. E., Brown, M. B., & Tressell, P. A. (2000). The role of family support in inter-parental conflict and adolescent academic achievement. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 9(2): 191-202.
- 108. Van IJzendoorn, M. H. & Sagi, A. (1999). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: Universal and contextual dimensions. In Cassidy, J. & Shaver, P. (Eds.) Handbook of attachment. New York: Guilford.
- 109. Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Sagi-Schwartz, A. (2008). "Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: Universal and contextual dimensions". In Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications, 2nd ed., Edited by: Cassidy, J. and Shaver, P.R. 880–905. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- 110. Voland, E. (1988). Differential Infant and Child Mortality in Evolutionary Perspective: Data from the late 17th to 19th Century Ostfriesland (Germany), in Betzig, Laura, Mulder, Monique Borgerhoff, & Turke, Paul, eds., Human Reproduction Behaviour: A Darwinian Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 253-262.
- 111. Voland, E. (1990). "Differential Reproductive Success within the Krummhorn Population (Germany, 18th and 19th Centuries)", *Behavioral Ecology and Sociobiology*, 26, 54-72.
- 112. Walker S. P., Wachs T. D., & Gardner J. M., et al. Child development: risk factors for adverse outcomes in developing countries. *Lancet* 2007; 369: 145–157.
- 113. World Medical Association Declaration of Helsinki (2008). Ethical Principles for Medical Research Involving Human Subjects. http://www.wma.net/en/30publications/10policies/b3/index.html

BUDGET

Item	Cost
Research Proposal	2.000
Translation (to Kiswahili)	<u>5.000</u>
Ethics Committee Charges	2.000
Major modifications	<u>1.000</u>
Research materials/equipment:	
Memory card (for camcorder)	<u>3500</u>
CDs (for burning)	150x25=3750
Transport	<u>3.000</u>
Stationary for children	100x50=5000
Stationary/ Communication (airtime, internet)/Printing	<u>10.000</u>
Data Collection/Analysis:	
Interviews Transcribing	1800x25=45000
Atlas-Ti (Student version)	99\$ =8500
Nvivo 10 (for 1 semester)	<u>145\$ =12500</u>
Compilation, analysis (statistician) & presentation of research (final	<u>10.000</u>
printing in print-house, tea-break catering service)	
Contingency (10% of overall)	<u>11.750</u>
Total	123 000

APPENDIX 1 Child Attachment Interview (CAI) Protocol

THE CHILD ATTACHMENT INTERVIEW (CAI) PROTOCOL

Devised By

Mary Target, Peter Fonagy, Yael Shmueli-Goetz, Adrian Datta, and Tiffany Schneider.

The Sub Department of Clinical Health Psychology,
University College London, Gower Street,
London WC1E 6BT.

Child Attachment Interview (CAI) Protocol

(8 TO 14 YEAR OLDS) (Revised Edition VIII, 21/7/05)

Presenting the interview

"This is an interview about you and your family. [Here you can ask whether the child knows what an interview is, and make it clear that you want to know about his/her own point of view about things.] I am going to ask you some questions about yourself first and then I will ask questions about your relationship with your parents. For each question I will ask you to give me some examples. This interview is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. I would just like you to tell me what you and your family are like, from your point of view. The interview will last something like half an hour, maybe a bit more".

- 1) Can you tell me about the people in your family?
- 2) Tell me three words that describe yourself, that is not what you look like, but what sort of person you are (It may be useful to say "that is your personality")

"Can you give me an example of when you felt" 1...... 3

3) Can you tell me three words to describe your relationship with your mum, that is, what it's like to be with your Mum?

"Tell me about a time when you felt 1..... 2....... 3....... with her"

4) What happens when your Mum gets cross with you or tells you off?

"Tell me the last time mum got cross or upset with you".

How did you feel when that happens?

How did you think your mum feels when that happens?

Why do you think she does (whatever the child says mother does, e.g., shouts at you)?

5) Can you tell me three words to describe your relationship with your Dad, what it's like to be with your Dad?

"Tell me about a time when you felt 1..... 2....... 3....... with him"

What happens when your Dad gets cross with you or tells you off?

"Tell me the last time mum got upset with you".

How did you feel when that happens?

How do you think your dad feels when that happens?

Why	do you think he does (whatever the child said father does e.g., shouts at you)?		
7)	Can you tell me about a time when you were upset and wanted help?		
8)	Do you ever feel that your parents don't really love you?		
9) scho	What happens when you're ill? (Give examples if necessary, e.g. had to stay in bed or oll because of an illness)	of	
10)	What happens when you get hurt?		
11)	Have you ever been hit or hurt by an older child or a grown up in your family?		
Did i	t happen once or twice or more often?		
Can	you tell me what happened?		
How	did you feel?		
Have	been badly hit or hurt by someone else, outside your family?		
•	(For primary school aged children:) Have you ever been touched in the private parts of body by someone much older than you? (For older children:) Have you ever been touched ally by someone, when you didn't want them to do it?		
Did i	t happen once or more often?		
Can	you tell me what happened?		
How	did you feel?		
Do y	ou think(the person who did it) knew you felt like that?		
Has	anything else really big happened to you that upset, scared or confused you?		
Has	anyone important to you ever died? Has a pet you cared about died?		
Wha	happened? Was the death sudden? Was there a funeral?		
How	did you feel about it?		
How	do you think it made other people feel? (e.g. Mum, Dad, sibling?).		
15)	Is there anyone that you cared about who isn't around anymore?		
How	did it feel when they went away? Did things change much?		
b)	Do you keep in touch? If yes, how, if no why do you think that is?		
	If child says no: Tell me about a time when things changed. (e.g. moved house, went		
	to new school, parents separating, friend left).		

How did you feel?

Do you keep in touch? (If yes,) how, (if no) why do you think that is?

16) (For children living with parents) Have you been away from your parents for longer than a day? (For children already separated e.g. in foster home, divorced parents) Do you remember being separated from your Parents/Mum/etc?

What was it like to be away from you parent/s?

What do you think it was like for your mum and dad?

(If appropriate) What was it like seeing mum and dad again?

- 17) Do/did your parents sometimes argue?
- a) How do you feel? Why do you feel like that?

Why do you think they do that?

How do you think they feel?

Do they know how you feel?

18) In what ways would you like to be like your mum?

In what ways would you not like to be like your mum?

In what ways would you like to be like your dad?

In what ways would you not like to be like your dad?

19) Ending Question: If you could make three wishes when you are older what would they be?

Always end the interview by thanking the child and saying how helpful they've been and that you know that some of the questions are difficult and you really appreciate their help.

APPENDIX 2 CAI Format for arranging Transcripts for further coding

Date of Rating: Name of Rater: Child ID: Age of Child: Date of Testing:

Background Information:

Self-Description	Transcript of episodic examples/general notes	Notes/Relevant Scales
Self - 3 words		
Mum - 3 words		
Mother – angry		
Father - 3 words		
Father – angry		
Child Upset		
Parents don't really love you - never felt	-	
Child – ill		
Child – hurt		
Child – abuse		
Any other incident- caused pain or upset you		
Death- any other?		
Any thing/person close to you not there with you anymore?		
Separation		
Parents – fight		
Like mother		
Not like mother		
Like father		
Not like father		
3 wishes		

APPENDIX 3 Consent Explanation for Parents and Guardians

Study Title

A Study of Attachment styles amongst children aged from 8 to 14 years in Nairobi Kenya.

Introduction

My name is Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto. I am Master in Clinical Psychology final year student. I am doing research on attachment or emotional tie between mother and child and father and child. That connection between child and parent was identified as a protective factor for engagement in different high risk behaviors (use of drugs and alcohol, teen pregnancy, early beginning of sexual life) and development of various mental health problems further in life (depression, anorexia, conduct disorder). Contrary to common understanding, that type of emotional bond is very important not only for small children and babies but also for adolescents and later in life.

Because of its importance scientists are working on developing different tools to measure that connection from the time it was discovered in late 50s. There were many tools for measuring that bond in early childhood but till very recent there was none to use for late childhood and early adolescence. The Child Attachment Interview was developed in 2005 by group of scientists in University College London specifically for this purpose. It was tested in Britain, USA, India, Brazil and few other countries, but never in Africa.

That interview will be used in my research to find out if there will be any differences in that emotional bond between mother and child here in Kenya and also if it will be any differences in using that interview here in Kenya compare to other countries where it was used. Your child will be asked questions about his/her and parental behavior and attitude during his/her happy and sad times, when he/she was away from parents or sick.

Objectives of the study

Describe those emotional bonds between children in the age group 8 to 14 years and their parents in a select population of Kenyan urban children in Nairobi.

Benefits

Upon presenting results of the study in the Department of Psychiatry (University of Nairobi), both participating schools will be informed and offered open-talk/presentation about implications of study results for improvement of child-parent relationships (parental sensitivity and parent-child attachment for transitional age). Participated and none-participated children and their parents will be welcomed.

Risks

There are no anticipated risks. However, interviews might elicit some unpleasant or traumatic memories. In such a case, the child will be debriefed after the interview and will be offered an additional counseling session to exclude possibility of any negative affective states caused by the interview.

Compensation mechanism if any

Each interview will start from request to draw the family using provided crayons, pencils, and eraser. The child will be allowed to take the stationery home as an appreciation for the time spent.

Alternative treatments

N/A

Voluntarism

The participation is voluntary, refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which child is otherwise entitled and also child may discontinue participation in interview at any time without penalty or loss of benefits, to which he/she is otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality

The information collected about your child will be collected and stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act.

All data collected for this study will remain anonymous and confidential. Your child's name will only appear on the consent form, which will be kept separate from all data collected. It is possible that data from this study will be used in subsequent studies, but will remain anonymous. Video as well as audio records will be destroyed immediately after transcription.

Researchers' contact details will be made available to you should you wish to contact us with any questions about the research.

Follow up schedules if applicable/expected time in the study

The duration of the child's interview will be approximately 30 minutes to one hour. Interviews will be conducted in mutually acceptable time after consultation with Principal and class teachers in order to insure that child's classroom time is protected. If necessary, child will be debriefed after the interview and will be offered an additional counseling session at a mutually convenient time so as to exclude possibility of any negative affective states caused by the interview. Children whose clinical status after an interview will be found to need further or additional interventions will be given referral to specialists in a convenient mental health institution (hospital, clinic, or specific specialist).

Information about research investigators:

Principal Investigator	Supervisor	Supervisor
Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto (2nd year MSc Student)	Dr Manasi Kumar Lecturer University of Nairobi	Dr Muthoni Mathai Lecture University of Nairobi
Department of Psychiatry, College of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Tel: + 254 73-812-79-34	Department of Psychiatry, College of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Tel: +254 71-737-96-87	Department of Psychiatry, College of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Tel: +254 72-732-99-04
E-Mail: pnastia@mail.ru	E-Mail: manni_3in@hotmail.com	E-Mail: mathai@web.de

Information on the KNH/UON/ERC in case they need to contact the committee:

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI KENYATTA NATIONAL HOSPITAL

COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES P O BOX 20723 Code 00202

P O BOX 19676 Code 00202 KNH/UON-ERC Tel: 726300-9

Telegrams: varsity Email: uonknh_erc@uonbi.ac.ke Fax: 725272

(254-020) 2726300 Ext 44355 Website: www.uonbi.ac.ke Telegrams: MEDSUP, Nairobi

Link: www.uonbi.ac.ke/activities/KNHUoN

Comment or Concerns during the Study

If you have any comments or concerns you should discuss these with the Principal Researcher. If you wish to go further and complain about any aspect of the way you have been approached or treated during the course of the study, you should contact Researcher's Supervisors or email the Chair of the KNH/UON/Ethics Research Committee (uonknh_erc@uonbi.ac.ke) who will take complaint forward as necessary.

Thank you for considering your child's participation in this study, a copy of this form and the signed consent form will be made available for you to keep.

This study has been approved by the Kenyatta National Hospital/ University of Nairobi – Ethics and Research Committee

APPENDIX 4 Consent Form for Parents and Guardians

CONSENT FORM for Parents and Guardians

Principal Investigator	Supervisor	Supervisor
Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto (2nd year MSc Student) Department of Psychiatry, College of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Tel: + 254 73-812-79-34 E-Mail: pnastia@mail.ru	Dr Manasi Kumar Lecture University of Nairobi Department of Psychiatry, College of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Tel: +254 71-737-96-87 E-Mail: manni_3in@hotmail.com	Dr Muthoni Mathai Lecture University of Nairobi Department of Psychiatry, College of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Tel: +254 72-732-99-04 E-Mail: mathai@web.de

KIAMBATISHO 5 Maelezo kuhusu Kibali cha Utafiti kwa Wazazi na Walezi

Mada ya Utafiti:

Usalama katika Malezi Miongoni mwa Watoto Walio Kati ya Umri Wa Miaka 8 – 14 jijini Nairobi, Kenya: Utafiti wa Kiuchunguzi

Utangulizi

Watoto na vijana huwakilisha karibu asilimia 30 ya idadi kamili ya watu ulimwenguni kote huku asilima 90 yao wakipatikana katika nchi zenye pato la chini na la kati (middle Income Countries, LMIC). Hii ni jumla ya watoto bilioni mbili (UNICEF, 2008). Utambuzi na azimio la maswala ya kiafya ya kiakili katika kipindi kati ya utoto na ujana katika nchi za LMIC uliangaziwa katika kazi ya Kieling et al (2011), 'kama unaohitaji kupewa kipaumbele katika agenda ya maswala ya kiafya ulimwenguni.' Hata hivyo kuna pengo katika kazi zilizochapishwa kuhusiana na masiala ya uwepo, hatari na usalama wa mtoto, pamoja masiala yenye idhibati yanayostahili kushughulikiwa na yaliyotokana na LMIC. Kwa mfano, 'aslimia 10 pekee ya tafiti kama hizi zimefanywa katika nchi zenye pato la chini na la kati.'

Usalama katika malezi kwa watoto na vijana ulitambuliwa kama njia moja inayoweza kuathiri tabia na ukomavu wa kiafya na kiakili wa kundi hili la watoto baadaye maishani (Dyle & Moretti, 2000). Kinyume na uelewa wa kawaida, usalama kutoka kwa walezi ni msingi dhabiti, na hata kama hili halifutilii mbali umuhimu wa ukomavu wa mapema wa watoto, ukosefu wa usalama kutoka kwa walezi (kama vile, kutokana na kufiwa na mzazi, wazazi kutengana, magonjwa yanayoweza kuathiri mwili, magonjwa ya kiakili ya wazazi, au kuwatumikiza watoto kwa njia zinazowaathiri) huweza kuwa na athari hasi baadaye maishani (Dubois-Comtois & Moss, 2008; Belsky &Fearon, 2002). Kutokana na hayo, ukosefu wa usalama kutoka kwa walezi huweza kurekebishwa kupitia malezi bora katika kipindi cha kati cha utoto au wakati watoto wanapokuza uwezo wa kutambua mambo, hasa uwezo wa kujifikiria watakapokuwa vijana (Main, Kaplan, Cassidy, 1985).

'Hata kama kuna hatua zilizowekewa misingi katika kipindi watoto wanapokuwa wachanga, wanapokua na wanapokuwa watu wazima, 'pengo linalohitaji kujazwa' limetambuliwa katika kipindi cha umri wa kati, cha utotoni, ambapo hatua za kitabia au kiuwakilishi bado hazijawekewa misingi imara (Target, 2007, p,1)'. Utaratibu wa mahojiano kuhusu malezi ya watoto (Child Attachment Interview-CAI) huwa ni aina ya mahojiano ya maswali funge na wazi ambayo huwa yamepangwa kutumika katika kujaza pengo hili na yenye kumwezesha mtafiti kupata habari zinazohusiana na malezi.

CAI itatumika katika utafiti huu kama chombo cha uchanganuzi wa kina wa uzoefu wa mtoto unaotokana na malezi ya walezi. Habari kuhusu jinsi mtoto anavyoyakumbatia malezi kutoka kwa walezi wa kiume na wa kike katika hali mbalimbali za ulezi zitashughulikiwa. Mtoto ataulizwa maswali kumhusu na yanayohusu malezi yake hasa wakati alipokuwa na furaha au wakati wa huzuni,wakati alipokuwa ametengwa na wazazi au alipokuwa mgonjwa. Malezi kutoka kwa wazazi wa kike kawaida yanahusishwa na ukuaji wenye usalama katika malezi pamoja na matokeo chanya ya afya ya mtoto. Athari zinazotokana na maelezi kutoka kwa wazazi wa kiume kuhusu usalama katika malezi ya mtoto hasa katika nchi zenye mitazamo ya kiubabedume kama vile Kenya yatakuwa muhimu katika utafiti huu. Utafiti huu unalenga kueleza jinsi mtoto katika kipindi cha miaka ya utotoni na ujana anavyopata malezi nchini Kenya.

Malengo ya Utafiti

Malengo ya Jumla

Kuonyesha umuhimu wa utaratibu wa mahojiano kuhusu malezi ya mtoto (Child Attachment Interview-CAI) katika hali mbalimbali na kuusimba utaratibu huu ili kuutumia katika uchunguzi wa malezi ya watoto wanaolelewa katika maeneo ya mijini (kati ya miaka 8 – 14) jijini Nairobi, nchini Kenya.

Malengo Mahususi

Utafiti huu unaongozwa na malengo yafuatayo:

- 1. Kueleza njia zinazotumiwa katika malezi pamoja na usalama uliopo katika malezi miongoni mwa watoto nchini Kenya walio kati ya umri wa miaka 8 14.
- 2. Kuonyesha matumizi ya utaratibu wa CAI katika utafiti unaohusu kundi la watoto walio katia ya miaka 8 14 nchini Kenya waliolelewa maeneo ya mijni hasa mjini Nairobi.

Umuhimu

Utafiti huu utatoa habari mahususi za kidesturi kuhusu hatua zinazohitaji kuchukuliwa kuhusiana na malezi ya watoto katika umri wa miaka kati ya utoto na ujana ili kutoa mwangaza kuhusu usalama katika malezi ya kundi hili.

Baada ya kuwasilisha matokeo ya utafiti huu katika Idara ya Taaluma ya Tiba na Magonjwa ya Kiakili (UoN), shule hizi mbili husika zitafahamishwa na mtafiti ataandaa wasilisho kuhusu athari za matokeo ya utafiti huu kuhusu jinsi ya kuboresha mahusiano kati ya mtoto na mzazi (malezi kutoka kwa walezi pamoja na mahusiano kati ya mtoto na mzazi walio kati ya umri wa miaka 8 – 14). Wazazi na watoto watakaoshirikishwa katika utafiti huu na wale ambao hawatashirikishwa wataalikwa kwa wasilisho hili.

Vikwazo

Katika utafiti huu, hatutaraji kukabiliana na vikwazi vyovyote. Hata hivyo, mahojiano tuatakayotumia kama njia ya kukusanya data huweza kuibua kumbukumbu ambazo si za kufurahisha na zenye kuathiri hisia za wahusika. Hali kama hizi zikitokea, wahusika watapewa ushauri baada ya mahojiano ili kufutilia mbali athari zozote hasi zitakazoibuliwa na mahojiano.

Njia za Kufidia ikiwa zitahitajika.

Kila awamu ya mahojiano itaanza kwa kuwataka wahusika/washiriki kuchora aina ya familia wanamopatikana huku wakitumia kalamu za kuchorea, kalamu ya mate na vifutio. Vifaa hivi baada ya mahojiano vitapewa mtoto kama njia ya kutoa shukrani kwa ushirikiano wake.

Njia zingine za kuwashughulikia wahusika.

HAZITAHITAJIKA

Kujitolea kushiriki

Watakaoshiriki katika mahojiano watafanya hivyo kwa hiari na iwapo mhusika atakosa kushiriki hakuna adhabu yoyote itakayotolewa au kuathirika kwa vyovyote vile. . Mhusika pia ana uhuru wa kujiondoa katika kushiriki kwenye mahojiano wakati wowote bila kuadhibiwa au kuathirika

kwa vyovyote vile.

Siri

Habari zitakazokusanywa kuhusu mtoto fulani zitakusanywa na kuhifadhiwa kulingana na Sheria inayodhibiti Utunzaji wa Data kwa njia ya Siri.

Data yoyote kutokana na utafiti huu itashughulikiwa bila kuwataja wahusika na kwa siri. Jina la mtoto wako litatokea tu katika fomu ya kibali, na ambayo itawekwa mbali na habari zilizokusanywa. Kuna uwezekano kuwa data kutokana na utafiti huu itatumika katika tafiti za baadaye, lakini wahusika hawatatambulishwa.

Anwani ya mtafiti itatolewa kwako ikiwa utaihitaji katika kuuliza maswali yoyote yanayohusiana na utafiti huu.

Utaratibu utakaofuatwa ikiwa patahitajika/muda utakaotumika katika kukusanya habari.

Muda utakaohitajika kumhoji kila mtoto unakadiriwa kuwa dakika 30 hadi saa moja. Mahojiano yatafanywa wakati unaofaa kutokana na makubaliano kati ya mtafiti na Mwalimu Mkuu na mwalimu wa darasa ili kuhakikisha kwamba muda wa mwanafunzi wa kuwa darasani hauathiriwi. Panapohitajika kila mhusika atapewa ushauri baada ya mahojiano ili kuhakikisha kuwa hakuna athari zozote hasi zilizoibuliwa na mahojiano. Baada ya mahojiano wahusika ambao watakuwa wameathirika kiafya na ambao watahitaji huduma ya kitaaluma watapendekezwa kwa wataalamu wa magonjwa ya kiakili ili kuhudumiwa (kama vile hospitali, kliniki au kwa wataalamu mahususi).

Habari kuhusu mtafiti na wasimamizi wake.

Mtafiti	Msimamizi I	Msimamizi II
Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto	Dr Manasi Kumar	Dr Muthoni Mathai
(2nd year MSc Student)	Lecturer, University of Nairobi	Lecturer, University of Nairobi
Department of Psychiatry,	Department of Psychiatry, College	Department of Psychiatry,
College of Health Sciences,	of Health Sciences, University of	College of Health Sciences,
University of Nairobi, Kenya	Nairobi, Kenya	University of Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: + 254 73-812-79-34	Tel: +254 71-737-96-87	Tel: +254 72-732-99-04
E-Mail: pnastia@mail.ru	E-Mail: manni_3in@hotmail.com	E-Mail: mathai@web.de

Habari kuhusu KNH/UON/ERC ikiwa utahitaji usaidizi wowote

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI		KENYATTA NATIONAL HOSPITAL
COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIEN	P O BOX 20723 Code 00202	
P O BOX 19676 Code 00202	KNH/UON-ERC	Tel: 726300-9
Telegrams: varsity	Email: uonknh_erc@uonbi.ac.ke	Fax: 725272
(254-020) 2726300 Ext 44355	Website: www.uonbi.ac.ke	Telegrams: MEDSUP, Nairobi

Link: www.uonbi.ac.ke/activities/KNH/UoN

Maoni au mapendekezo wakati wa Utafiti

Ikiwa una maoni au mapendekezo yoyote unaweza kumfahamisha mtafiti. Ikiwa una malalamiko zaidi kuhusu jinsi mtafiti alivyotekeleza kazi yake, unaweza kuwafahamisha wasimamizi wa utafiti huu au Mwenyekiti wa KNH/UON/ERC (Kamati inayoshughulika na Maadili ya Utafiti) kupitia anwani au barua pepe hii: uonknh_erc@uonbi.ac.ke. Hawa watashughulikia malalamiko hayo inavyotakikana.

Utahitajika kuweka sahihi katika kibali hiki kisha utapewa nakala moja uweke kama ithibati.

Shukrani kwa kumruhusu mtoto wako ashiriki katika utafiti huu.

Utafiti umeidhinishwa na Hospitali Kuu ya Kenyatta/Chuo Kikuu cha Nairobi – Kamati inayoshughulikia Maadili ya Utafiti.

KIAMBATISHO CHA 6 Fomu ya Kibali cha Utafiti kwa Wazazi na Walezi

FOMU YA KIBALI kwa Wazazi na Walezi

Utafiti huu unahusu uzoefu wa watoto katika malezi kwa mujibu wa nadharia ya malezi. Nimesoma habari zote kuhusu utafiti huu kutoka kwa fomu ya Maelezo ya Kibali kwa Wazazi na Walezi.

Kumbuka:

Uhusika katika utafiti huu ni wa hiari. Ikiwa hutashiriki katika utafiti huu hutaadhibiwa au kuathirika kwa njia yoyote na una uhuru wa kukosa kuendelea kushiriki wakati wowote bila kuadhibiwa ua kuathirika kwa vyovyote vile. Ikiwa una shaka au una maswali yoyote una uhuru wa kumuuliza mtafiti ili akutolee ufafanuzi zaidi. Pia una hiari ya kufutilia mbali kibali chako ikiwa huridhishwi na zoezi hili.

Sahihi ya Mlezi

Tarehe:

Mahali unapoishi na Anwani:

Habari kuhusu Mtafiti na Wasimamizi wake.

Msimamizi I Mtafiti Msimamizi II Anastasia Polkovnikova-Wamoto Dr Manasi Kumar Dr Muthoni Mathai (2nd year MSc Student) Lecturer, University of Nairobi Lecturer, University of Nairobi Department of Psychiatry, College of Department of Psychiatry, College of Department of Psychiatry, College Health Sciences, University of Health Sciences, University of of Health Sciences, University of Nairobi, Kenya Nairobi, Kenya Nairobi, Kenya Tel: + 254 73-812-79-34 Tel: +254 71-737-96-87 Tel: +254 72-732-99-04 E-Mail: pnastia@mail.ru E-Mail: manni 3in@hotmail.com E-Mail: mathai@web.de