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Attachment security and how to get it

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Abstract

Attachment theory has become a dominant framework for understanding people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors with respect to close relationships. People often want to and are motivated to improve their personalities and their relationships. Can attachment orientations change across the lifespan? And if so, what facilitates change? Will insecure people stay insecurely attached across their life or is there hope for change? The current review provides a bird's eye view of the research on how and why attachment orientations change in adulthood. We provide some descriptive information for how attachment changes across the lifespan and how much of this variation is attributable to early life experiences. Then, we focus on the processes that are thought to engender attachment-related changes over time. Finally, we provide some directions for future research to help fill some holes in the field's understanding about attachment orientations and how they change over time.

KEYWORDS

adult attachment, close relationships, lifespan development, personality, volitional change

1 | INTRODUCTION

Attachment theory postulates that the interactions between caregivers and their children shape children's working models of how relationships work and that these working models continue to guide relational behavior across the lifespan (Bowlby, 1969/1982; Shaver & Fraley, 2008). More responsive caregiving is thought to contribute to attachment security—a relative ease in forming close relationships and depending on close others (Roisman & Fraley, 2012).

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The theory has been extended into adulthood by both developmental and social/personality psychologists, particularly in the realm of romantic relationships (Antonucci, 1976; Fraley, 2019; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Sroufe, 2005; Sroufe et al., 2005). Since then, research has proliferated in linking individual differences in *attachment orientations*—people's characteristic approaches to social relationships—and individual and relationship outcomes (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2017). Within the study of romantic relationships, researchers have often focused on variation in different forms of attachment insecurity, such as anxiety (a preoccupation with the availability of close others) and avoidance (a discomfort with emotional and physical intimacy), in an effort to describe why people act the way they do in romantic relationships (Crowell et al., 2008).

Over the past half-century, due in part to this proliferation, attachment theory has become a dominant framework for understanding people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors with respect to close relationships. It has also entered the public zeitgeist, providing non-academics and clinicians with a framework to understand themselves and their clients, respectively (Levine & Heller, 2012; Slade & Holmes, 2019). In both academic and public-facing work, there is often an invocation of fatalism—that our early life experiences set us on a trajectory from which we are unable to deviate, even if the evidence around this idea is suspect (Fraley & Roisman, 2015; Lewis, 1997). However, people often want to and are motivated to improve their personalities and relationships (Hudson et al., 2020; Hudson & Fraley, 2016). Many people probably want to change for the better because attachment security is associated with positive life outcomes in close relationships, health, and well-being (Pietromonaco & Carnelley, 1994; Pietromonaco et al., 2013). But can attachment orientations change across the lifespan? And if so, what facilitates change? Will insecure people stay insecurely attached throughout their life, or is there hope for change?

2 | HOW STABLE IS SOMEONE'S ATTACHMENT ORIENTATION?

In the social/personality literature, an individual's attachment orientation is conceptualized as their position on two conceptually distinct dimensions: avoidance and anxiety. The avoidance dimension is characterized by a deliberate evasion of emotional and physical intimacy and a lower likelihood of providing emotional support for close others (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2017). The anxiety dimension is characterized by a preoccupation with the availability of close others and a hypervigilance to signs of rejection and abandonment (Shaver et al., 2005).

In discussing whether attachment orientations are stable or change over time, it is important to clarify conceptually what researchers are referring to. In this paper, we distinguish between “stability” and “change” in ways that are consistent with the literature on individual differences and developmental change (e.g., Donnellan, 2023; Edmonds et al., 2008). Here, *stability* refers to the rank-ordering of individuals over time (i.e., whether one person's attachment anxiety is higher than another person's). Mean-level *change* refers to how people's mean-levels of attachment anxiety change over time. Thus, when researchers refer to attachment orientations being stable, they are often referring to test-retest correlations. Of course, these two types of change (i.e., stability and mean-level change) can occur simultaneously, but not necessarily. For example, a sample of participants might all experience declines in attachment anxiety over time. However, because their individual mean-levels all changed at a comparable rate, the sample might demonstrate near-perfect rank-order stability (i.e., everyone declined one point in anxiety, so the same people are still high in attachment anxiety relative to others). Likewise, it may appear that there are not very dramatic mean-level changes, but a dramatic reordering of individuals over time might imply a low degree of stability in attachment. Thus, when someone characterizes themselves as being anxiously attached, they could simultaneously mean that they have high (mean) levels of anxiety and are more anxious than most of the people they know (higher in a rank order). In the sections below, we will distinguish between these different types of changes as they have different implications for understanding if and how people move toward security over time.

Before we can describe how attachment changes on a mean-level, it is worth acknowledging that several forces push people toward *stability* in their attachment orientation. Research shows that attachment is relatively stable over time, and stability increases over time and with age (e.g., Chopik et al., 2019; Fraley, 2002; Fraley & Brumbaugh, 2004; Fraley et al., 2011; Jones et al., 2018). In studies that assess attachment over long intervals, either from early childhood

into young adulthood (Fraley, 2002) or from early adulthood to older adulthood (Chopik et al., 2019), people are relatively moderate in their rank-order stability (i.e., their standing relative to others), such that test-retest correlations will fall around $r = 0.40$, although there is variation in the size of this correlation depending on the interval (longer interval = smaller correlation), attachment measure used, and life stage (earlier in life = smaller correlation) (Dinero et al., 2022; Fraley, 2002; Fraley et al., 2011; Zhang & Labouvie-Vief, 2004).

Part of the reason attachment orientations and other psychological characteristics stabilize is that there are dynamic person-environment interactions that privilege stability (Fraley & Roberts, 2005; Roberts & Caspi, 2003). In short, people select and interpret situations in ways that align with their existing beliefs about how the world works. As a result, people may not have the opportunity to accrue evidence that challenges these working models of relationships. For example, avoidant people may be less likely to find themselves in a relationship, preventing them from experiencing some of the processes that create changes in attachment (Schindler et al., 2010). Likewise, insecure people might “twist” relationship memories and disagreements to be more negative but ultimately more consistent with how they think about relationships (Feeney & Cassidy, 2003; Hudson & Chopik, 2023; Simpson et al., 2010). Finally, insecure people might behave in ways that evoke negative reactions from partners, such as making overly negative attributions about themselves, their partners, and their relationships (Collins, 1996; Collins & Feeney, 2004; Collins & Read, 1990). These negative attributions often guide behavior with their partner—resulting in cold, distant behavior, a biting remark, or outlandish accusations about their motives and feelings about the relationship. In this way, insecurely attached people's cognitive and emotional patterns can lead to behavior that undermines their relationships, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Although these factors might paint a pessimistic picture for insecure adults that attachment orientations do not change at all or that we are fully entrenched in how we view the world and relationships, there is also plenty of evidence to suggest that attachment orientations are not set in stone from birth.

First, critical reviews of one of the foundational assumptions of attachment theory (i.e., that early caregiving environments predict later relationship behavior and approaches), suggest a relative waning influence of these early environments on later behavior, with some studies showing small or near-zero associations over time (Fraley & Roisman, 2015, 2019; Fraley, Roisman, Booth-LaForce, et al., 2013; Fraley, Roisman, & Haltigan, 2013; Raby et al., 2015; Roisman & Fraley, 2012, 2013). Thus, although there is evidence that early experiences can play a role in influencing individual and social outcomes later in life (Eller et al., 2022; Farrell et al., 2019), the magnitude of these correlations is far from the size that would suggest a deterministic interpretation of attachment theory.

Second, more recent work quantifying within-person and situational changes in attachment (i.e., more situational fluctuations from a person's baseline attachment style) suggests that knowing the stability of attachment orientation from the between-person studies presented above might not be telling the whole story when researchers try to make predictions about how people behave in particular situations (Girme et al., 2018). Rather, evidence from these studies suggests that the stability of attachment orientations may be even lower—and these short-term fluctuations over shorter intervals could be attributable to specific relational situations that people find themselves in and related to important outcomes for individuals (Dugan et al., 2022; Stanton et al., 2017). In some cases, less stability (i.e., greater fluctuations) may be beneficial for helping fledgling relationships continue and transition into longer-term relationships (Eastwick et al., 2019). Altogether, although there is some evidence that attachment orientations might be moderately stable over time, the small links to early caregiving environments and the often-underappreciated within-person fluctuations that people experience suggest that it is far from destiny. So, given that there is evidence that attachment is not perfectly stable over time, what are the particular ways that attachment orientations change across adulthood?

3 | DO ATTACHMENT ORIENTATIONS CHANGE OVER TIME?

One of the fascinating mysteries about adult attachment is whether it can and does change over time. Although longitudinal data are relatively rare in the field, there have been some illustrations of how attachment orientations change during adulthood (e.g., Chopik et al., 2014; Chopik et al., 2019; Davila et al., 1997; Davila et al., 1999; Fraley et al., 2021; Kirkpatrick & Hazan, 1994; Klohnen & Bera, 1998; Klohnen & John, 1998; Zhang & Labouvie-Vief, 2004).

More common are cross-sectional investigations comparing the attachment orientations of people of different ages (Chopik & Edelstein, 2014; Chopik et al., 2013; Hudson et al., 2015; Mickelson et al., 1997; Segal et al., 2009). There is heterogeneity across studies, but generally, people trend toward security (e.g., lower levels of anxiety and avoidance, although some studies occasionally see increases or no changes in avoidance).

Gauging whether any one individual will become secure someday is more difficult. This is because—although average changes suggest movement toward security on average across age—the changes are relatively modest, occur mostly over longer periods of time, and there are individual differences in change (i.e., some people become more insecure over time). In other words, people might become more secure over time on average, but the exact degree to which this happens and why may differ across individuals. So, if attachment orientations do change over time, why do they change? Researchers have produced many arguments to explain variation in attachment changes and the conditions under which attachment can be modified. We broadly organized them into two areas—(1) maturational, volitional, life event, and cognitive processes and (2) strictly relational processes (in which relational or environmental influences are exerted or studied).

4 | WHY MIGHT ATTACHMENT ORIENTATIONS CHANGE OVER TIME?

Researchers have proposed a few different reasons why people might naturally migrate toward attachment security over time. The prototype model suggests that the influence of early life experiences continues at a modest level over time but weakens as people experience new relationship contexts (Fraley, 2002; Jones et al., 2018). Instead of early experiences continuing to affect attachment in adulthood, some of the normative change toward security has been attributed to maturation (i.e., becoming more agreeable, emotionally stable, conscientious, and responsive) and attachment-related events that happen in adulthood (Fraley et al., 2021; Hudson et al., 2015; Nettle & Shaver, 2006; Schwaba et al., 2022). General theories of personality development suggest investing in social roles and institutions that foster commitment and responsibility as one driving force underlying personality maturation over time (Roberts et al., 2005; Roberts & Nickel, 2017). For example, becoming a romantic partner is accompanied by many additional expectations that might alter behavior, such as taking other people's perspectives and needs into account, sacrificing one's needs and desires for others', and being an attentive, responsive partner. As a result, people might alter how they think about themselves, their relationships, and themselves in the context of relationships. Thus, on average, people are rewarded by rising to these expectations. These relational transitions and changes in expectations occur throughout the entire lifespan, although there are individual differences in the degree to which people can do this. Indeed, new roles and attachment-related events, such as being a caregiver for an elderly parent and experiencing bereavement, can shape people's attachment (Magai, 2008). Changes in these non-attachment-related constructs (e.g., Big Five personality traits) have been shown to correlate with simultaneous changes in positive relational traits (Lehnart & Neyer, 2006), and positive relational changes are observable by close others (Schwaba et al., 2022).

Relatedly, repeated pursuit of and success in personal goals can invoke feelings of autonomy and less dependency on others, which help people feel more secure about themselves over time (Arriaga et al., 2014, 2018; Deci & Ryan, 2000). This is known as the Attachment Security Enhancement Model (ASEM; Arriaga et al., 2018), and it suggests that especially attachment anxiety can be reduced through experiences that foster a secure model of the self (an intrapersonal process) in people's daily lives. These processes can be seen across different life transitions—both personal and interpersonal. For example, during the transition to parenthood, people who felt competent and efficacious reported more attachment security (Arriaga et al., 2021). In contrast, people who lost a job showed enduring increases in attachment anxiety (Fraley et al., 2021). Both of these findings focus somewhat on an individual's self-perception, although both events likely have interpersonal consequences. Because avoidantly attached people have more trouble with forming well-functioning models of *others*, the process of fostering a secure model of others likely involves interpersonal processes that will be described in the upcoming section.

Despite average changes toward security across the lifespan, there are variations in patterns of change. Variation may come from experiencing certain life events (Davila & Sargent, 2003). For example, starting a new relationship and having positive relationship experiences are associated with increased attachment security. But plenty of other,

ostensibly non-relationship-related events and experiences were also associated with increases in security (failing health, receiving a promotion at work, moving to a new location, at least in the short-term (Fraley et al., 2021)). However, not all events lead to *enduring* changes (sometimes attachment security decreased on average over more extended periods of time after these events, or attachment security was largely unrelated to events over an extended time; Fraley et al., 2021). These ephemeral patterns could be due to differences in people's perceptions of the events. Among people who experienced the same type of life event, those who experienced events as more positive tended to show lasting decreases in attachment anxiety (Fraley et al., 2021). It could also be due to people's pre-existing individual differences having little to do with their current attachment orientation.¹

Researchers suggest that people with risk factors such as parental divorce or psychopathology may be more susceptible to changes and fluctuations in the face of new interpersonal events (Davila & Cobb, 2003; Davila et al., 1999). But *when* people experience certain events can explain some additional variability. Socialization effects are suggested to have a greater say in earlier life. It is assumed that people are more easily influenced by their environment earlier in life. Later in life, people are more likely to select and shape their environments (i.e., socialization-selection asymmetry; Fraley & Roisman, 2019). There is also a possible confounding (e.g., genetic) factor that might jointly explain selection and socialization processes across the lifespan (Briley et al., 2019; Kandler et al., 2012). This might be particularly true to the extent that attachment orientations reflect expressions of particular genes (although the extent to which this matters is less clear due to inconsistencies and small sample sizes in the literature; Picardi et al., 2020). Other intrapersonal situations have been proposed as possible triggers of change in attachment, including events such as spiritual influences or the winnowing of social networks (Arriaga et al., 2014).

Another exciting reason for explaining changes in attachment might be because people *want* to change and become more secure.² In a recent longitudinal study that followed people for four months, the majority of the participants wanted to be more secure, and this desire was linked with future ratings of security (Hudson et al., 2020). Specifically, people reported on goals related to changing attachment (e.g., "I want to be less concerned about rejection or abandonment." = an adapted item from a standard attachment measure). Participants rated their attachment and the extent to which they would like to change at the start of the study and continued to give weekly ratings of attachment. Over time, people tended to change in the desired direction of their goals. In other words, changes toward security occurred even without direct researcher, partner, or therapeutic intervention of specific strategies. Although people may want to be more secure on average, particularly those who are insecurely attached (Hudson et al., 2020), we mention this as a possible mechanism to acknowledge that changes in attachment likely do not occur in a vacuum—people have desires for what their ideal selves and relationships are like. There are possibly scenarios in which people may desire to feel more insecure toward close others, as might be predicted from ecological models providing evidence that attachment insecurity might be beneficial in some contexts (e.g., in particularly dangerous environments; Ein-Dor et al., 2010). Importantly, volitional change processes such as these can often happen regardless of whether or not people believe they can change in desirable ways (Hudson et al., 2021). The individual and their desire to change are rarely considered as catalysts of change in attachment orientations, but there is evidence to suggest that knowing what people want out of their relationships might be a useful starting point.

Other studies also suggest that priming security—showing attachment-security-related words, pictures, or recalling memories or scenarios—is helpful too. However, long-term effectiveness of these strategies is rarely examined (see Gillath et al., 2022 for a meta-analysis on priming attachment security; also see Sakaluk, 2014). Interestingly, priming attachment anxiety also increases security, particularly for highly anxious people perhaps because it reminds them to attend to and process their attachment insecurity (Hudson & Fraley, 2018). Should highly anxious people dwell on their insecurities as a way of eventually overcoming them (Kross et al., 2005; Selcuk et al., 2012)? Not necessarily, according to researchers: security primes are more recommended because security primes have shown links with more positive outcomes, and the exact mechanism for insecurity primes leading to greater security is yet to be discovered (Gillath et al., 2008, 2010; Hudson & Fraley, 2018; Mikulincer et al., 2001).

In sum, people become more secure over time, possibly because many common life experiences allow people to modify working models of the self and others. However, there are individual differences in trajectories based on

factors like perceptions of events and existing risk factors. Nevertheless, there seems to be room for volitional change in attachment—that people might be able to change if they want to.

5 | RELATIONAL PROCESSES AFFECTING VARIATION IN ATTACHMENT ORIENTATION

Adult attachment does not develop independently from people's relationships and relational partners. Indeed, attachment orientations are often sensitive to relationship transitions (Fraley et al., 2021; Kirkpatrick & Hazan, 1994; Lehnart & Neyer, 2006; Umemura et al., 2018). Moreover, other life experiences shared among romantic partners can contribute to attachment changes. For example, one study showed that when people report getting in a fight with their partner, they increase in both attachment anxiety and avoidance (Fraley et al., 2021).

The evidence that shared experiences—such as a joint argument—could change *both* partners' attachment orientations simultaneously is in line with the assumption that partners co-regulate their attachment orientations in adult romantic relationships. Partners might respond similarly to a shared environment they find themselves in (e.g., having an argument). For instance, a recent study found that having frequent daily positive relationship events brought more attachment security to avoidantly attached individuals over time (Bayraktaroglu et al., 2022). Similarly, in a longitudinal study of reciprocal attachment changes across 12 months, Hudson et al. (2014) found that if one person became more avoidant, for instance, their partner would also become more avoidant across the same time period. In addition, people who were more anxious or avoidant at a given time point had partners who were more avoidant at a subsequent time point—suggesting that romantic partners also directly influenced each other. Thus, it might not only be shared experiences that shape both partners' attachment simultaneously, but that one partner's insecure attachment fosters avoidance in the other partner. On a more positive note, though, this also means that more secure individuals might create safer relationship environments that lead their partners to become more secure (Hudson et al., 2014). The idea that close others can enhance individual functioning or relational closeness is one of the core features of many relationship theories and phenomena, such as self-expansion theory and social baseline theory (Aron et al., 2013; Beckes & Coan, 2011). Social baseline theory in particular provides a broad framework under which people expect to have access to social relationships and that this access helps people mitigate risk and outsource effort through including others within one's conceptualization of the self, both at the metaphorical and even neurological levels (Coan & Sbarra, 2015). Being deprived of these experiences forces individuals to move away from their social baseline, which greatly affects their perceptions of risk and makes emotion regulation more difficult.

In addition, the perceptions that people hold of their relationship and their partner seem to be impactful for attachment changes as well, and the list of factors contributing toward becoming more secure has been growing in recent years. For example, partnered people who become more secure tend to: (a) report more responsiveness from their partner, (b) have more positive expectations towards their partner, (c) report less demand-withdraw communication, (d) perceive their partner to be more trustworthy and goal-validating, (e) experience more gratitude towards their partner, (f) report more sexual desire and intimacy, and (g) are more satisfied with their relationship (Arriaga et al., 2014; Bühler et al., 2020; Givertz & Safford, 2011; Mizrahi et al., 2016; Park et al., 2019).

In addition to these “actor effects” (i.e., *intrapersonal* effects within romantic partners and their perceptions), there are also “partner effects” (i.e., *interpersonal* effects between romantic partners) found in the literature. Partner effects are the associations between one person's reports (i.e., their behavior, emotions, and thoughts) and their partner's outcomes (in our case, attachment changes). Worth noting, partner effects may be occasionally overstated in the literature (Joel et al., 2020). Nevertheless, if people cannot change their partners' attachment orientations, they can at least reduce how harmful their insecurity can be to their relationships (Arriaga et al., 2018; Arriaga & Kumashiro, 2019; Simpson & Overall, 2014). More specifically, one person's insecure attachment might be activated by a specific trigger (i.e., stress or threat), and their partner can buffer the hyper-activated reaction (in the case of anxious attachment) or deactivating reaction of the partner (in the case of avoidant attachment). The buffering has

immediate consequences for the insecure partner (e.g., feeling greater security) and long-term consequences for both partners (e.g., higher relationship satisfaction; Simpson & Overall, 2014).

What are some of the buffering actions that partners of insecurely attached individuals can employ? For anxiously attached individuals, it is helpful if the partner uses “safe” strategies to mitigate the harmful effects of anxiety (Arriaga et al., 2018). This could involve exaggerating positive feelings towards them while being relatively mute about any negative feelings (Lemay & Dudley, 2011) or expressing feelings of guilt when the anxiously attached person is hurt (Overall et al., 2014). For avoidantly attached people, on the other hand, it seems to be most helpful if the partner uses “soft” strategies—a way to change other-oriented working models to become more secure (Arriaga et al., 2018). For instance, when people want to suggest changes for their avoidant partners, they might most effectively communicate this in a softer way (e.g., being sensitive to the person's autonomy and communicating that they value the person). This has been shown to attenuate the avoidantly attached person's negative reactions (Overall et al., 2013). This also appears to be the case when partners express confidence that an avoidant person can facilitate a request they make, exude high feelings of trust, and appropriately acknowledge the sacrifices they make (Farrell et al., 2016; Shallcross & Simpson, 2012). Indeed, perceptions of trust following potentially upsetting or threatening relationship interactions might help regulate the negative consequences of potential rejection and ultimately *enhance* closeness and security (Cavallo et al., 2014; Murray, 2005). Another buffering strategy includes the couple's sexuality. One study found that the negative link between attachment anxiety and relationship satisfaction was attenuated by people's higher sexual satisfaction, while the link between attachment avoidance and relationship satisfaction was non-existent in people who reported higher sexual frequency (Little et al., 2010).

Another potential way for both partners to develop greater attachment security is through directed couples therapy. For instance, Emotion Focused Couple Therapy (including a ‘blamer softening’) has been shown to reduce partners' attachment anxiety and avoidance over time (Burgess Moser et al., 2016; Wiebe et al., 2017). Altogether, addressing insecurity through therapeutic approaches derived from attachment theory might provide some promising strategies for cultivating attachment security.

In sum, people may strive toward security independently, but romantic partners are involved in the co-regulation of attachment orientation, shape their partner's attachment development, and can buffer negative attachment dynamics in the couple.

6 | WHAT DO WE NOT KNOW ABOUT HOW ATTACHMENT ORIENTATIONS CHANGE ACROSS LIFE?

As discussed in this article, many studies have examined what drives changes toward greater security. Nevertheless, the exact antecedents of attachment security and theories that give rise to them, particularly in adulthood, are just now being enumerated in the literature. So far, many examinations of attachment orientation changes do not adopt an approach that considers the personal and interpersonal considerations highlighted above (often focusing on description rather than explanation). As a field, we likely need studies that formally test many of the mechanisms reviewed above and, importantly, examine the relative effectiveness of these mechanisms when they are contrasted against each other within one or a series of related studies. Do the mechanisms highlighted above act synergistically, such that the more that are present necessarily spell greater security? Can one mechanism promoting security compensate for another mechanism that is absent, or do multiple factors need to be present to promote security? As it stands now, there are a few isolated, albeit promising, tests of many of these ideas, but researchers may need to test multiple mechanisms simultaneously in a more holistic way. This focus may also necessitate a move from purely observational studies with two goals: to conduct studies to determine specific mechanisms as causal factors predicting security and to develop more targeted interventions for couples. The field has historically struggled to create long-lasting and effective interventions, even when the goal was to improve relationship satisfaction and longevity (Bradbury & Lavner, 2012; Finkel et al., 2013; Karney & Bradbury, 2005; Loewenstein et al., 2015; Stanley

et al., 2000). However, the observational studies on the promotive factors for security provide some actionable directions for creating new interventions aimed at improving people's relationships.

In the current paper, we focused almost exclusively on cultivating attachment security in the context of adult romantic relationships. Little is known about how people's attachment orientations towards *other* relationship partners (e.g., parents, friends) co-develop and shape adult attachment in romantic relationships (Hudson et al., 2015). Can improvements in one relational domain spill over and improve our other relationships (Welker et al., 2014)? For example, people might think that repairing a relationship with a parent might resolve insecurities and improve their romantic lives. It is likely, however, that relationships towards peers and friends might be more important for attachment changes toward partners rather than relationships toward parents (for a review, see Dugan et al., 2022).

Lastly, a large portion of attachment research has been conducted with young adults and is "missing" middle and later life (Magai, 2008). This omission is particularly concerning given that significant attachment-related phenomena such as caregiving for one's partner, marriages (and re-marriages), and widowhood often happen in later life, and the role and manifestation of attachment might not be identical across the lifespan. Challenges in late life include physical and cognitive health declines, which also have implications for attachment-related processes. Studies have also examined whether attachment is a protective factor for healthy aging (e.g., physical and cognitive health; Monin et al., 2013; Waldinger et al., 2015; Weidmann & Chopik, 2022). With the increasing older adult population in the next 20 years, data to assess how changes in attachment are linked with people's health and well-being over longer periods of time among older adults is needed.

7 | CONCLUSION

In general, there is ostensibly good news—there are lifespan shifts toward attachment security. However, there are also many caveats—the changes are small, there are individual differences (i.e., some people become more insecure or do not change at all), and the field is a bit unsure exactly how and why the changes happen, although we provided the current best guesses for why attachment changes. Although there is still much to learn about attachment across the lifespan, there is a sense that people do indeed change and that early experiences are not as determinant for adult relationships as originally thought.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

All authors approve the content of this paper. There were no competing interests or financial conflicts of interest.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

No data were used in this manuscript.

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ENDNOTES

¹ In discussing life events, we are not making a value judgment that a person has entire control over their life circumstances. Many of the life events can be conceptualized as whether or not someone has a romantic partner as an attachment figure—a source of comfort and support. One limitation of life event research to date has been a relative neglect of the characteristics and contexts of these particular life events. For example, a new relationship might bring insecurity in a way that was not present in someone's life when they were single (and a divorce might bring comfort). Being a long-term

single (someone who “misses” relationship events) also does not doom someone to a life of attachment insecurity (Brumbaugh, 2017; Girmé et al., 2022; Oh et al., 2022; Pepping et al., 2018). Altogether, researchers are currently building taxonomies for characterizing life events (Luhmann et al., 2021), and linking individual differences in attachment to these perceptions will be invaluable moving forward.

- ² Worth noting, not all insecure people see their insecurity as a problem. For example, it may be perfectly reasonable (from their perspective) for avoidant people to see others as untrustworthy or to avoid intimate relationships. Likewise, anxious people may think of very good reasons to be suspicious or hypervigilant about partners' intentions. In a way, we wanted to take the opportunity to not pathologize attachment insecurity, especially given the many functional explanations that exist (Belsky et al., 1991; Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

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