PARENTAL ATTACHMENT
AND ADJUSTMENT TO COLLEGE
FOR ADOLESCENT STUDENTS
IN FURTHER EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Experience with adolescent students who attended a college counselling service suggested that, whatever their presenting problems, focusing on their past and present parental relationships was particularly helpful. Researchers in the United States were making similar suggestions because they were finding a strong association between parental attachment and adjustment to college for undergraduates.

This research investigated the association between adolescent-parent attachment and adjustment to college for British students in further education. The subjects were 16 - 20 year olds who came from socio-economically and ethnically diverse families. A new self-report questionnaire, relevant to these subjects, was developed to measure their adjustment to college.

The research was in three parts. a) The questionnaire study of 315 students measured parental and peer attachment and adjustment to college. A strong association between parental attachment and college adjustment was found and gender differences were examined. b) For the counselling outcome study, students attending the college counselling service were tested on the same questionnaires before and after counselling which included repeated parent-focused intervention. Although only one aspect of attachment showed significant change, the process material indicated that attachment style was relevant to the counselling approach. c) In the third study sixteen poorly adjusted students were interviewed after they too had been retested on the questionnaires. The interview material was examined for interactions between parental attachment and wellbeing.

Drawing together all the findings, discussion focused on the relevance of attachment style, the importance of gender specific parent-child relationships and the recognition of cultural differences between British Asian and non-Asian adolescent-parent relationships. A developmental model illustrating the association between parental attachment and adolescent well-being was presented. Implications for counselling adolescents were discussed.
Dedication

In memory of my parents, Fay and Phil Fine

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Many people have helped and supported me, both directly and indirectly, with the preparation, research and writing of this thesis. Firstly I should like to thank my supervisor Dr. Stephen Frosh for all his encouragement, enthusiasm, consistency and patience. He has given me invaluable guidance - but has also allowed me to find my own way. My thanks are also due to my clinical supervisor Dr. Sheila Bichard for giving me different perspectives on clinical research and much constructive advice, particularly when it was hard to get started. I also appreciate all the support and encouragement I have received from the other staff members on the Birkbeck College/Tavistock Clinic Ph.D team and from my fellow students. My particular thanks go to Dr. Fiona Tasker for her tireless help with the statistics.

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PREFACE

A BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

When I first studied psychology in the nineteen-sixties, the emphasis was on experiments and measuring observable behaviour. If feelings were mentioned at all, then I was not listening. As a neuropsychologist in the 'seventies I was researching into cognitive deficits caused by lesions in specific areas of the brain until I became increasingly aware that my research subjects were really individual human beings, whose lives were often devastated by their illnesses but whose feelings of loss and despair were not being addressed. After a lengthy maternity period I decided that helping people cope with uncomfortable feelings might be a more rewarding career path and I was eventually swept into taking a counselling qualification in the late 'eighties. I enjoyed the freedom to introspect and to journey with clients through their past histories, making sense of emotions and embarking on change. However, in my academic work, I found myself yearning for the rigours of psychological research which I had abandoned so disdainfully when I embraced the world of feelings.

Thus it was with great delight that I greeted an advert in The Psychologist offering a Clinical Ph.D. in Psychology from two highly respected institutions, Birkbeck College and the Tavistock Clinic, which would enable me to combine the counselling with the psychology. This was surely a gift-wrapped opportunity with my name on the label.

Choosing an area for research was easy because I have always been interested in adolescence. As an only child, I had been acutely aware of my own transition from childhood to adulthood, forging my own path and excited to find that I could actually change my behaviour and my life to suit myself. From young adulthood I worked with adolescents in my spare time, in a number of voluntary roles. My employment was in a college of Further Education, where I moved from lecturing in psychology to becoming a college counsellor. Encouraged to consider a focus for research I considered peer relationships, offending behaviour and the development of identity.
Perversely the adolescent-parent relationship was not even under consideration. Perhaps I was inhibited about what I might find - and feel - because I was struggling through the peaks and troughs of being mother to my own three adolescent children. However the more I updated myself on the adolescent literature, the greater the significance that the adolescent-parent relationship appeared to hold for late adolescent development. At the same time, in my counselling relationships, I became increasingly aware that work with sixteen to twenty year olds focused more frequently on parental relationships than on other presenting problems. The background to the present research began with a look back through my own recent clinical work.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this research came from my counselling work with three adolescent female students. All were intelligent young women with the potential to do well, but they were failing their respective college courses.

The first client, an eighteen year old, was depressed and withdrawn. She eventually disclosed, for the very first time, that she had been sexually abused by an uncle between the ages of three and seven. Even though she lived with her parents she hardly communicated with them and she had no friends. Although much of our work focused on the abuse, it was the dawning realization during counselling that her father did care for her which marked the turning-point towards recovery. As she began to understand how she had been cutting herself off from her parents, she allowed herself to reconnect to her father. Within six months she had also made a number of friends and gained top marks in her exams. A year later she wrote to say that she had told her mother about the abuse ... and they had hugged for the first time in over ten years.

Aged twenty, the second young woman had been severely physically abused by her father at the age of fourteen. Although he regularly contacted her siblings, there was no contact between the two of them. We traced events back to a death-defying accident when she had cracked her skull and smashed her face so badly that it had to be rebuilt by plastic surgery. Her father had been unable to recognize her when he visited the hospital. Before that she had been the apple of his eye, a superb athlete and an excellent student. Since then she lost her nerve whenever she had to compete in competitions and, despite excellent predictions, she failed her A levels. With severe exam anxiety, she was about to do the same again. After a couple of counselling sessions she happened to lift the phone when her father called and found herself having a conversation with him for the first time in six years. He was actually interested in her! In counselling we began to make sense of the lost relationship and
its meaning for her and slowly she began to reconnect with him. Within a few weeks she managed to sit her exams and pass them with good grades.

Aged sixteen and the youngest of three sisters, the third client came for counselling because she was concerned about an imminent hospital appointment when her mother was likely to find out that she was on the birth control pill. It soon emerged that the mother-daughter relationship had always been difficult. She was told that she had been a sickly and troublesome baby who refused to eat - and now she had a history of recent illnesses all requiring medical investigation and she was bulimic. She was desperately envious of her middle sister who was the object of all mother's attention. She continued to make herself ill, but mother began to ignore the overtures and stopped accompanying her to the doctor. When her appendix was removed, mother hardly visited her in hospital. Counselling failed to break the behaviour pattern whereby by the daughter would do anything to claim mother's attention and then embarrass her. Meanwhile the family G.P. also failed in her efforts to get mother to respond appropriately. In between other illnesses there were scares about possible pregnancy. (She was unsure about getting engaged to her boyfriend but his mother treated her just like a mother should!) Despite the professional help the daughter overdosed - and mother still refused to travel in the ambulance with her to hospital. While counselling helped her to gain a realistic perspective on her relationship with her boyfriend to whom she could respond appropriately, nothing could satisfy her overwhelming need for her mother's love and care. Meanwhile mother remained obstinately emotionally unavailable. After a second overdose the girl managed to manipulate social services into giving her her own accommodation. (Her older sister had had an improved relationship with mother since she had moved out.) A few months after leaving college the client wrote to say that she was expecting a baby - and mother still was not interested.

For the first two clients, the accidental reconnecting of parental relationships was the major therapeutic factor. The third client was desperate for such a connection, but mother was completely unresponsive. As parental relationships appeared to be a key
factor in the counselling work with these and other clients, whether by accident or design, it seemed to be a worthwhile research focus. Embarking on the research the main aim was to understand more about the significance of parental relationships for late adolescents with a view to informing counsellors about effective ways of working with this group of clients.

The research thesis

The thesis is presented in six sections. The first section provides the background and focus for the research. Chapter 2 describes four theoretical perspectives of adolescence which have evolved from contrasting approaches to clinical practice and have been further developed alongside therapeutic work with troubled adolescents. There is much similarity and consistency to be found between them but an argument is made out for selecting attachment theory to provide the theoretical framework for the work ahead. Chapter 3 presents a review of the research literature, focusing particularly on the studies concerning adolescents and based on attachment theory, which have blossomed in the last ten years. Among the most prominent findings has been the association between parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment and well-being for late adolescents. However most of the research relates to white, middle-class undergraduates and researchers have indicated the need to extend their work to broader adolescent populations. Based on the theory, the previous research and my own clinical experience, Chapter 4 explains the rationale for the research and presents the hypotheses.

Section II contains the groundwork. Chapter 5 outlines the research design in which the first two hypotheses will be tested by a questionnaire study, three further hypotheses will be tested by a counselling outcome study and comparative qualitative material from a non-clinical (control) sample will be provided by an interview study. Chapter 6 describes the further education college population from which the subjects will be drawn. The grounds for selecting the attachment measures are presented in Chapter 7, but as there are no adjustment to college measures suitable for British further education students, Chapter 8 concentrates on the major piece of preparatory
work, which is the development of the Adjustment to College Questionnaire. In Chapter 9 a reliability and validity study for the newly developed questionnaire is described and satisfactory results are reported.

Section III contains the questionnaire study, in which 315 students are tested on the Adjustment to College Questionnaire and other questionnaires to measure attachment to parents and peers. The procedure is explained in Chapter 10. Chapter 11 focuses once more on the Adjustment to College Questionnaire because its psychometric properties need to be re-assessed before it can be assumed to be valid measure from which research inferences can be drawn. As the new measure has now been used on a substantial sample, factor analysis is appropriate. The results suggest good construct validity for a 27 item questionnaire consisting of three subscales which measure social adjustment, adjustment to work and adjustment to attendance. This measure, named AdColl27, is used for the quantitative analyses to follow. Chapter 12 reports the results of the questionnaire study and their analyses. Briefly they indicate a strong association between parental attachment and adjustment to college but there is no support for gender difference. Chapter 13 contains the discussion.

The counselling study in which student clients receive parent-focused counselling is presented in Chapter IV. The titles of the next chapters speak for themselves. Chapter 14 describes, the method, subjects and procedure. Chapter 15 concentrates on the quantitative results which lend support to the hypothesis that students seeking counselling are less well attached to their parents than other students but does not indicate significant improvement in attachment or adjustment to college after counselling. The qualitative material from the counselling sessions is described in some detail in Chapter 16, providing the evidence for the discussion in Chapter 17 which gives some explanations, based on the different attachment styles and experiences of individual clients, as to why some found the parent-focused counselling beneficial and other did not. Implications for student counselling are discussed.

The final study based on the interviews of poorly adjusted students, who did not attend
the counselling service and who served as controls for the counselling study, is contained in Section V. Chapter 18 explains the rationale and methodology for this interview study. In Chapter 19 each of the sixteen interviewees is described individually together with their questionnaire test results. Although this may appear rather lengthy its value lies in the detail. It provides good evidence for triangulating the quantitative with the qualitative and it also provides the basis for the following chapter. Chapter 20 discusses the relevance of attachment experience and style to adolescent development and well-being, considers the relevance of other attachment concepts, such as the secure base, focuses on specific parent-adolescent child relationships and contrasts British-Asian and non-Asian parental relationships.

The final section, Section VI, draws the different studies together. After evaluating the strengths and limitations of the research, Chapter 21 reports the main findings, discussing them in the context of earlier research findings and theory. Attachment theory's developmental pathway model, first suggested by Bowlby (1980) and further developed by Kobak et al. (1991) and Kenny & Rice (1995), is particularly useful for understanding and describing adolescents' changing relationships and their associated well-being. An extension to Kenny & Rice's Mental Health Trajectory Model, incorporating the attachment-adjustment association and illustrating attachment style differences, is proposed. Chapter 22 bring the thesis to a close with suggestions for further research and counselling implications for those working with adolescents.
SECTION I:

ATTACHMENT & ADJUSTMENT

A SUBJECT FOR RESEARCH
COMPARING DIFFERENT THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON LATE ADOLESCENCE

This chapter explores different theoretical perspectives aimed at the understanding of emotional development in middle to late adolescence. The four different approaches presented are as follows: the psychodynamic perspective, attachment theory, family systems theory and the "connectedness" or self-in-relation theory of women's development.

Traditional psychoanalytical theories see the major task of adolescence to be detachment or separation from parents and the establishment of adult identity. From a contrasting viewpoint, attachment theory, family systems theories and feminist "connectedness" theories would suggest that the parent-adolescent relationship continues, but it is transformed as the balance of responsibilities passes from parent to child. The evidence for both sides may not be as contradictory as it at first appears and it may be possible to integrate the different perspectives together in describing adolescent behaviour and adolescent-parent relationships.

THE PSYCHODYNAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Psychodynamic theories attempt to explain the developmental changes that occur in an individual's inner world, both conscious and unconscious. From a psychoanalytic perspective, Peter Blos (1962, 1979a, 1979b, 1980) has made a major contribution to the understanding of adolescent development based on his own clinical work. He describes four developmental tasks of adolescence, which are integrated into a total process, to enable psychic restructuring. These tasks are, firstly, the second individuation process, secondly, achieving ego continuity, thirdly, dealing with residual trauma and, finally, finding sexual identity.
Blos believes that the main task of adolescence is to disengage from the internalized parents, or, in psychoanalytic terms:

the adolescent child has to disengage himself from infantile dependencies. Anna Freud (1958) has referred to this as "loosening of the infantile object ties." (1979c p. 412)

For this disengagement process Blos has used the term the second individuation, because it draws attention to the parallels with the primary process of individuation, which occurs during infancy. Whereas, in the separation phase of infancy, the child learns to differentiate between "I and not-I," during adolescence the young person has to make inner differentiations between what values, beliefs and characteristics, previously internalized from parents during childhood and latency, are now to be rejected and which accepted and owned as part of his or her own identity. The difference between the two processes is that in infancy the child becomes independent by internalizing "mother's presence, her ministrations and her emotional supplies" (Blos, 1979b) and so gains psychological separateness; in adolescence the young person has to disengage from these family dependencies which result in "the rejection of parental ego support" (p. 144) and account for vulnerabilities and mood swings.

To achieve this disengagement the adolescent has to regress to the emotional state of childhood and renegotiate a state of ambivalence as before, using fantasies, coping patterns and defensive organization, but this time with the availability of a more developed cognitive capacity and support from a peer group rather than parents. Accompanying the swings between regression and progression are the "emotional fluctuations between love and hate" (Blos, 1979b, p. 162) directed towards the parents from whom he is trying to detach. There is also confusion in the parent-adolescent relationship as at first the disengaged adolescent becomes very self-centred with feelings swinging between "narcissistic grandeur (which) rarely fails to elicit its counterpart, namely the sense of nothingness (the state of helplessness) and despair (the state of object loss),"(p. 412). The adolescent also discovers that parents are not perfect but human and, with this de-idealization, he rejects them and all that they seem to represent in society. Gradually the ego matures and is able to cope again with ambivalence, both external and internal.
Despite the emphasis on disengagement, Blos does comment that the external relationship with the parent continues. Whilst the inner psychic restructuring causes unpredictability and mood swings, the majority of young people continue to live with their families, attend school and participate in sporting and/or other leisure activities with reasonable success. Although conflicts with parents occur regularly, they are rarely so severe as to cause the relationship to break down completely. It may be helpful to recognize that Blos was developing his understanding of adolescents while working with them psychotherapeutically. In this work he would have helped them to think back to earlier relationships, particularly those with parents, working with transference and counter-transference. Perhaps his theories reflect the process of therapeutic intervention which helped these adolescents rather than the emotional development of all adolescents.

The other tasks of adolescence, as described by Blos, also involve past and present parental relationships. Ego continuity is the process by which the adolescent synthesizes his or her own view of the past, present and future. The spoken “truth” about the past must tally with what is remembered consciously or unconsciously and must also be consistent with present feelings about self. Where there have been distortions by lies or family secrets, pathological symptoms may arise in adolescence. The third task is the mastering of residual trauma from infancy. Although in childhood the feelings associated with trauma may have been soothed or accommodated with parental support, the withdrawal or rejection of this support during adolescence may lead to the feelings returning, so that the anxieties need to be understood and dealt with again. However, these tasks may be more relevant to and necessary for adolescents needing therapy, than for the general population.

However, the final task of sexual identity formation and making adult relationships is a task for all. Reviewing Blos’ theory, Hill and Holmbeck (1986) illustrate how the process of forming sexual identity combines with emotional disengagement.

It is during adolescence proper that revival of Oedipal conflict occurs as do initial cathexes of nonincestuous heterosexual love objects. Initially, withdrawal of object cathexis leads to increased over-evaluation of the self, to self-centredness, to self-absorption. Concomitantly, the previous overvaluing and unrealistic assessment of the parent decreases. De-idealization (considered by
Blos to be the most difficult part of adolescent disengagement) means that the parents are “seen to have the shabby proportions of ... fallen idol(s). Arrogance, flouting of parental authority, rebelliousness and defiance of rules also reflect the adolescents' narcissistic self-inflation. The male is particularly concerned with overcoming the feminine remnants of the negative Oedipal complex and the female with giving up the masculinity complex... (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986, p. 153)

When the adolescent looks outward again for objects to love and chooses a person from the opposite sex to fall in love with, traits of masculinity and femininity are further heightened. By late adolescence some aspects of the Oedipal relations remain unresolved but integrated into the character as the personality begins to consolidate. Hill and Holmbeck summarize their interpretation of Blos' view on the relationship with parents in late adolescence:

In relation to parents, there is a "ceaseless effort" to come to terms with parental ego interests and attitudes. However, unlike in earlier stages, this is not driven by mastery of conflictual anxiety but is instead an adaptive and integrative process - a revision of earlier rejected, provisional and accepted identifications. During this phase, the ego ideal takes over the regulatory function of the superego. "Sacrifices of all sorts" are made to sustain the dignity and self-esteem rather than reliance on parents. Although, for the female, the "ego ideal tends to remain enmeshed, or is prone to become reenmeshed, in the vicissitudes of object relations." (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986, p.154-155.)

Although Blos sees the end of adolescence as a time of emotional disengagement from the internalized parents he does not have to be understood as advocating adolescence as the time for separating from parents completely. By the end of adolescence parents are perceived in a more realistic light and the restructured ego ideal is able to re-engage with them.

Ruthellen Josselson

Adolescence is the phase in which work on individuation is renewed and dominant; it ends when tasks of individuation become less central. (Josselson, 1980, p. 191)

Ruthellen Josselson (1980) has further developed Blos' ideas of adolescent ego development and the second individuation by comparing adolescent separation behaviour with the infant separation meticulously observed by Mahler, Pine and Bergman (1975). She summarizes the four subphases they found as follows:

The first is the differentiation subphase, the precipitation of separate self and object representations
from the undifferentiated symbiotic mass. In the second subphase, the infant "practises" awareness of self as the autonomous ego grows in close proximity to the mother. The child concentrates on experimenting with his rapidly developing independent skills, often oblivious to his mother's presence. The awareness of his physical and psychological separateness stimulates a need to regain closeness to his mother. Thus begins the rapprochement subphase in which the toddler demands the mother's investment in his newfound autonomy. In this subphase the child has an increased need to share his new experience as well as a great need for his mother's love. The fourth phase sees the consolidation of individuality and the beginnings of emotional object constancy. (Josselson, 1980, p. 193)

She suggests that the ego which has been structured during early individuation undergoes "massive structural modification" during adolescence. At the end of latency the child is still identified with his or her parents, using the parental ego as an extension or an ego ideal, while intellectually aware that he or she is a separate person. There remains an emotional dependency, a need for parental approval and a regard for parental values, which have been internalized as the superego. Josselson sees latency as a period of "harmony" between child and parents, when, parallel to Mahler's second subphase of individuation, the child "practises" his developing autonomy alongside his parents. This is comparable with the classical psychoanalytic view that just before puberty there is a "precarious inner balance between sexual impulses and their control" (Hill and Holmbeck, 1986).

This harmony is shattered with puberty and the eruption of new exciting sexual sensations, accompanied by embarrassment and self-consciousness. Anna Freud (1966) saw the adolescent ego as battling under the onslaught of sexual and aggressive impulses and having to muster defence to cope with the anxieties raised by the conflicting pulls of the id and superego. Josselson (1980) suggests that the traditional emphasis on defence, "turmoil", ego weakness and the importance of the re-working of the Oedipal complex give a "skewed picture of adolescence" in contrast with the research studies of the late 1960's and 1970's. Although Josselson acknowledges that the young adolescent develops inhibitions about sharing feelings with parents and turns towards his peers, she presents a more positive picture of the early adolescent enjoying new feelings of autonomy and separateness, rather like the infant discovering independence as he learns new skills.

However the middle adolescent discovers that there are negative aspects to this newly
found autonomy and still wants to have parental support and to "restore harmony". Josselson suggests that the next stage of adolescent behaviour is very similar to that of the toddler in Mahler's third "rapprochement" subphase "characterized by the rapidly alternating desire to push mother away and to cling to her" (Mahler, Pine and Bergman, 1975, p.95). Where Blos' theoretical perspective suggests that in renegotiating individuation and re-experiencing infantile anxieties the adolescent rejects the support of the parental ego extension and regresses so that the ego becomes restructured, Josselson describes this second individuation occurring with parental support. She describes the typical fluctuations of the rapprochement phase:

The most common plaint of the middle adolescent is, "My parents don't understand me," a cry that condenses both the wish for distinctness and the wish for approval. If the parents do not understand the adolescent, that means the adolescent is separate and an individual. But if the parents do not understand him, they do not love him. The adolescent longs to share the new ego experiences, but would lose the sense of individuation if this were to come about too completely or too rapidly. At the same time, the adolescent, like the child in the rapprochement subphase, wants his parent there as a home base to return to in times of need. This ambivalence over autonomy is what creates much of the pain - for both parent and adolescent - of this period of development.

In this second phase of individuation, the dynamics of rapprochement play themselves out over a number of years. Each gain in ego separateness is followed by efforts to reassure himself that the parents are still there, approving and loving. And with each gain in ego autonomy, the adolescent becomes less reliant on the parental ego for the very approval he seeks. (Josselson, 1980, p. 195)

It could be argued that the process that Josselson describes as rapprochement in the second individuation is similar to but not the same as the process in the first individuation. In the first process the infant is still forming the relationship with mother and enjoying her participation as well as her approval. In the second process, the adolescent wants to be assured that his parents approve of the separation and perhaps to know that their relationship with him will continue in spite of his move away from them. Josselson describes individuation as a two-part complementary process, comprising both "separation-individuation and relatedness", which should be seen as "two sides of the same matrix," and that "attachment is not the opposite of separation-individuation - it is coincident with it" (Josselson, 1988, p. 95). Increasing separation from parents and continuing attachment to them are two parallel processes. Consequently she argues that Blos' psychoanalytic theory of adolescent emotional disengagement from the internalized parents is compatible with phenomenological
research findings of close, continuing adolescent-parent relationships.

Josselson also borrows some concepts from attachment theory. Rather than object ties being relinquished and replaced, she talks about early attachments being transformed as well as new attachments being formed. She also mentions the adolescent having a "home base in times of need." As attachment theory, an offshoot of psychoanalytic theory, is being constantly researched and updated, its relevance to the understanding of adolescent development will be considered next.

ATTACHMENT THEORY

Founded by John Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1975, 1980) attachment theory was based on an amalgamation of the object relations school of psychoanalysis and the science of ethology. Holmes (1993) summarizes attachment theory as being embodied in five basic principles. Firstly, infants are programmed to seek proximity to an attachment figure, usually a parent, who provides care, nourishment and, above all, protection. Secondly, in the absence of threat, the attachment figure provides a secure base from which the infant can explore his or her environment. Thirdly, when parted from the attachment figure, the infant responds and protests by showing distress and/or aggression. Fourthly, the developing relationship between the growing infant and the attachment figure becomes psychologically stored in the form of an internal working model, which will become the basis for his or her future assumptions and expectations about future relationships, including factors such as responsiveness and reliability. Fifthly, the attachment dynamic does not end in infancy but continues on through childhood and adolescence into adulthood. Although the frequency and intensity of attachment behaviour decreases with age, it becomes activated in times of distress, illness and fear.

Attachment theory is particularly relevant to adolescence. Just as the infant is eager to explore his environment but only feels safe to do so when mother remains available for him to rush back as necessary, so the adolescent is ready to explore the world and himself in relation to the world, but he too needs an available attachment figure. The
adventures and the paths through adolescence are frequently experienced as worrying and stressful and the adolescent also needs reassurance and support in times of anxiety or disappointment. Rice (1990) illustrates how the attachment behaviour differs with maturity using the example of a late adolescent college student, who, having just left home for university, expresses her attachment behaviour with a phone call to her parents. Feelings of comfort and security are derived from contacting an attachment figure at home. A securely attached adolescent can venture away from home both physically and psychologically, knowing that a parent will be available for support if things go wrong. However the adolescent who cannot rely on parental support may lack the confidence to go out into the world.

The quality of an attachment relationship for a child develops from the responsiveness of its caregiver, usually its mother, during infancy. Mary Ainsworth (1982; Ainsworth et al. 1978) studying mothers and their infants used the term “secure base” to describe the safe area around the attachment figure from which the infant felt safe to explore knowing that he could return for protection and comfort. In her “Strange Situation” experiments she tested the mother-infant bond under the stress inducing conditions of short separations and returns. She found that infants could be classified as being either securely attached, where mother is experienced as being generally reliable and responsive, or insecurely attached, where mother is experienced as insensitive and an unreliable source of support. In non-stressful circumstances the securely attached child willingly separates from mother to explore his surroundings; in the stressful “strange situation” this child seeks comfort from mother, but once comforted will continue to explore. The insecurely or anxiously attached could be further classified: the “insecure-avoidant” does not tend to explore his environment, nor does he show distress at separation from mother and he will close contact with her at reunion; the “insecure-ambivalent” explores very little, keeping close to mother even in non-stressful situations and he is likely to become highly distressed at separation and to cry and cling and not be comforted on reunion. Later researchers identified a small additional group of infants, not fitting into the above categories, who show a diverse range of contradictory and confused behaviours such as freezing or stereotyped movements when reunited with their parent, and this has become known as the
insecure "disorganized-disoriented" group (Main & Solomon, 1990). Further longitudinal research has shown that these attachment styles persist into childhood to produce different types of behaviour in stressful situations (Fonagy et al., 1994) and in love relationships and work in adulthood (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; 1990).

Feeney and Noller (1996) suggest that "attachment theory can be described as a theory of affect regulation; that is, a theory about how people handle negative emotion" (p. 36). They describe adult attachment styles of responding to stress, based on the classifications above, which develop from infancy and through childhood experience. Secure individuals can handle negative emotions constructively by acknowledging their stress and turning to others for support. These strategies are derived from their past experience of consistent, available and responsive caregivers. Avoidant individuals may be unable to acknowledge their negative feelings and may be unwilling to reveal their feelings of anger or distress because they have learned this strategy as a way of reducing conflict with rejecting or insensitive caregivers. These individuals will not expect support from others and tend to be more self-reliant. Anxious-ambivalent individuals may show more attention-seeking behaviour because they are used to inconsistent caregivers. They are described as being hypervigilant to negative feelings and criticism and more likely to express their feelings of fear or anger because they need to maintain contact with their caregivers. Kobak and Sceery (1988) were among the first to link attachment style to affect regulation as evident in the mood and social behaviour of adolescent American college students. Using interviews to assess relationships with parents, subjects were classified as secure, dismissing of attachment, (their equivalent to insecure-avoidant) and preoccupied, (equivalent to insecure-ambivalent.) Other self-report measures and ratings by peers identified different ways of dealing with negative feelings in the three groups. The secure group were more ego-resilient, less hostile or anxious and they reported high levels of social support and low levels of distress. Dismissing subjects were less ego-resilient, more hostile but they also reported good levels of social support and little distress. However their self-reports were interpreted as an inability to admit negative feelings. Preoccupied individuals were perceived as being very anxious and they reported high levels of distress, which was consistent with descriptions of anxious-ambivalent individuals.
showing both heightened awareness and heightened response to negative feelings. Overall the study suggests that the social behaviour exhibited by adolescents at university varies according to their style of attachment derived from parental relationships.

As well as being a process for handling stress, attachment behaviour can be viewed from an "organizational perspective" as a basis for adaptive functioning. Sroufe & Waters (1977) suggested that the goal of attachment behaviour is about more than just providing protection and comfort from anxiety. It also has a motivating aim to help the child to achieve a sense of "felt security" and to support its exploratory endeavours. Following this they hypothesized that attachment relations become the basis for subsequent adaptive functioning by the child in its expanding world (Rice, 1990). Securely attached children being more willing than the insecure to explore their environment, have been found to be more effective learners and more socially competent (Rice, 1990) and generally confident and competent (Bowlby, 1982). Since attachment styles continue into later life, perhaps securely attached adolescents are more confident in approaching new challenges and they find it easier than their insecurely attached counterparts to adjust to new situations. A number of research studies (e.g. Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Kenny, 1987) have been carried out to investigate whether secure attachment is associated with adaptive functioning in adolescence and these will be reviewed in the next chapter. Meanwhile it can be noted that the proponents of attachment theory suggest that its concepts are relevant well beyond childhood in modified forms.

The changing adolescent-parent relationship

Following the assumption that the attachment system of childhood persists into adolescence, Robert Weiss (1982) hypothesizes that there is a structural change of the system in adolescence to allow for pairing and adult bonding into new relationships of central emotional importance. He describes the attachment relationship between adolescent and parent undergoing change. Whereas the child feels most comfortable when the attachment figure is easily available and attachment behaviour is exhibited to any threat of separation, the adolescent begins to feel comfortable in "intervals in
which (he is) free from parental surveillance" (p. 175), although he still wants to be assured of his parents' emotional investment. Basing his observations on interviews with adolescents, Weiss describes intervals of increasing duration during which parental accessibility no longer contributes to feelings of security. His description is very similar to the psychodynamic construct of de-idealization of parents:

During these intervals in which adolescents no longer experience their parents as attachment figures, their parents appear to them in a new light. No longer are the parents awesome, larger-than-life repositories of strength. Instead they are ordinary people with the usual budget of frailties and problems. (Weiss, 1982, p. 176)

He suggests that the process of relinquishing parents as attachment figures is not one of gradual withdrawal but more of "interruptions of the ongoing attachment" which are at first widely spaced and then become more frequent and longer in duration until the periods of interruption are longer than the periods of attachment. "Attachment does not fade in the sense of becoming progressively weaker, but is rather entirely absent for longer and longer intervals,"(Weiss, 1982, p. 177). This relinquishing of attachment figures allows space and redirection of attachment to new figures, perhaps to a small group of peers and then to new individual attachment figures usually of the opposite sex. However, Weiss also has to acknowledge that, despite the loss of parents as significant attachment figures, they remain as "essential allies in coping with the challenge of maturation." Also his description of increasing periods of interrupted attachment is culture-bound to those late adolescents who physically leave home to attend college. In other cultures adolescents remain at home for longer or move out but within the neighbourhood, so that they remain in regular, if not daily, contact with their parents. If interrupted attachment does not describe these relationships, it would appear most likely that these adolescents just add new relationships without relinquishing the old.

Evidence is easily available to show that new attachments are formed during adolescence and the break-up of a first meaningful girl-boy relationship elicits all the emotional signs of separation. Is there much evidence to indicate the relinquishment of attachment to parents? When an attachment relationship is comfortably in place, attachment-seeking behaviour is not exhibited. A securely attached adolescent does
not need to gain emotional proximity to parents and it is difficult to prove relinquishment. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that the "acting out" behaviour of adolescence, seen in its more extreme form as delinquency, could be interpreted as cries for parental emotional accessibility in the insecurely attached adolescent.

Weiss describes a phenomenon sounding rather like the Mahler/Josselson stage of "rapprochement", of needing emotional support and approval for a new identity.

Late adolescents who have been away from home may harbor the hope that their parents may function for them as attachment-figures-in-reserve, that is, figures with whom attachment can be reinstated under appropriate circumstances. They may return home from their absence expecting to experience again the sense of comfort once provided by the presence of their parents. Sometimes they then discover that their home is a place they have left emotionally and their parents are now only fellow humans. Attachment to parents may be relinquished without the adolescents being entirely aware it has happened. (Weiss, 1982, p. 176)

The securely attached adolescent returning from an interval of absence, or period of independent exploration, may find parents as emotionally available as ever in times of distress and be very grateful for the rapprochement until ready to set out again. The same individual may be hurt to discover that during the time of absence, the parents have withdrawn into their own lives and are no longer available and may not recognize that their adolescent still needs their emotional support. The insecurely attached may not have managed to leave psychologically at all. If all their mental energy is directed towards maintaining parental attachments, then there may be little left for self exploration and new relationships. Past experiences of relationships will also make them wary about forming new ones. Conversely they may latch on to a substitute mother-figure or father-figure to fulfill their needs.

Adult attachment and internal working models

In the late 1980's psychologists became increasingly interested in attachment behaviour in adults. Mary Main developed the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985) which was a semi-structured interview by which mothers could be classified into the same attachment style groups as infants. The attachment category for the mother was found to be reasonably consistent in predicting that her child would
have the same style of attachment (Main et al., 1985). At a similar time, Hazan and Shaver (1987) were formulating their theory that romantic love was an attachment process and they developed a self-report procedure to classify adults into the three original categories of attachment, which they called secure, avoidant and anxious-ambivalent. Although researchers using the two methods of assessment were agreed upon the way secure adults perceived themselves positively and enjoyed comfortable relationships with others there were some discrepancies in the way insecurely attached adults were described. Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) identified a difficulty with the category named dismissing-detached by Main et al. and avoidant by Hazan and Shaver. The AAI identified avoidant adults as those who did not admit to feeling distressed and denied the importance of attachment needs, while the Hazan & Shaver test identified people who did feel distress and discomfort when they got close to others. Bartholomew and Horowitz suggested that the single avoidant-detached category might be obscuring adult attachment differences and that this category should be split.

Bartholomew (1990) had proposed a four-category attachment style model based on Bowlby's (1973) concept of working models, which were internal representations derived from repeated childhood experiences with caretakers and attachment figures. Bowlby described two variables:

(a) whether or not the attachment figure is judged to be the sort of person who in general responds to calls for support and protection; (b) whether or not the self is judged to be the sort of person towards whom anyone, and the attachment figure in particular, is likely to respond in a helpful way. (Bowlby, 1973, p. 238)

As simplified by Bartholomew (1990), in the model of others, an individual either has positive expectations that his attachment figure will be available and caring or negative expectations that the attachment figure will be distant, rejecting or non-caring. In the second variable regarding self, the individual either has a positive working model of himself as a person worthy of love and attention or a negative model whereby he is unworthy of love and attention. The two components can be combined as a two-dimensional model with four attachment categories as illustrated in Figure 2.1.
According to Bartholomew (1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) individuals with positive mental models of other can be divided into two non-avoidant categories and classified as either secure or preoccupied. The Secure category indicates a sense of worthiness and an expectation that other people are generally accepting and responsive and this category corresponds with the concept held by other researchers to be secure attachment. The Preoccupied category indicates a sense of unworthiness combined with a positive evaluation of others, which leads the individual to want to get the acceptance of others. This category corresponds with both Hazan and Shaver's anxious-ambivalent classification and Main's preoccupied group. There are also two avoidant categories where the individual does not expect care or support from others but which differentiate negative and positive feelings regarding self. The Fearful category indicates a sense of unworthiness with an expectation that others will be untrustworthy and rejecting. By avoiding close contact with others, individuals in this category can protect themselves against possible rejection and this corresponds to Hazan and Shaver's concept of avoidant attachment. The Dismissing category indicates what they call "love-worthiness" combined with a negative expectation of others. These people protect themselves against disappointment by avoiding close relationships and maintaining a sense of independence, which corresponds with Main
et al.'s (1985) dismissing-detached group.

Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) tested their four-category model of attachment on mainly upper-middle-class undergraduate students using peer ratings, family ratings and self-report measures and produced consistent and congruent results for both continuous and categorical measures. They also found that each style was associated with a distinct profile of interpersonal problems. For example, the fearful style was consistently associated with social insecurity and lack of assertiveness. In the preoccupied style, individuals would blame themselves for perceived rejections by others, so that they could maintain a positive view of others. In contrast, dismissing individuals would downplay the importance of others they perceived as rejecting so as to maintain their own self-esteem. Although the subjects in these studies did not fit uniquely into any one category and they did report a mix of tendencies across time and across relationships, the authors still concluded that their four-category classification was as useful as their continuous measures. Whether future researchers use this four-category model or prefer to rate individuals along the two dimensions according to model of self and model of other, Bartholomew and Horowitz have proposed a useful way of understanding the dynamics of peer and parent attachment relationships which is applicable to adolescents.¹

The scope of attachment theory has not been restricted to describing developmental processes in childhood and adolescence. Psychologists have used the concepts to explain how early attachment behaviour provides a model for later life with relationships underpinning the meaning of life and the structure of society (Marris 1982, 1991), influencing social and love relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987, 1990, 1994) and affecting mental health (Henderson, 1982; Holmes, 1993). In his review of attachment theory and its clinical implications Rutter (1995) notes how some concepts have been modified over the years in response to research findings but that most of the original key features have been supported by empirical research. He

¹Unfortunately I did not discover Bartholomew & Horowitz's model until the present study was underway. However their concepts were included in the interpretation of the data.
favourably compares the usefulness of attachment concepts over traditional psychoanalytic theories of development. While emphasizing that attachment is not the only factor in relationships and warning that attachment concepts should not be generalized and over-simplified as the only determinant affecting developmental processes, Rutter highlights the usefulness of attachment concepts for therapy in clinical practice.

Alongside the growing body of research, clinicians working from different theoretical perspectives have been considering how attachment concepts can improve their therapeutic work. Pistole (1989a) and Holmes (1993) both give examples of patients with different types of insecure attachment. Holmes describes how these different attachment styles require different approaches to effect change, while Pistole also explains how adult patients can be helped to understand that an attachment style has been useful in the past but should now be relinquished if relationships are to improve. They each also discuss how the therapeutic relationship itself can be used as an attachment relationship. Although attachment theory was originally an offshoot of psychoanalysis its concepts have been adopted by others. John Byng-Hall (1991) describes how the family therapist can be the "wise" attachment figure in the strange situation of therapy and explains the applications of attachment theory to understanding and treatment in family therapy. Therapists and counsellors working with adolescents may well be using attachment theory concepts but as yet their work regarding this treatment of adolescents has not been published. However there have been many studies regarding adolescent attachment to and separation from their parents and these will be a focus of the research literature in the next chapter.

Overall attachment theory may provide a useful framework for describing and understanding adolescent behaviour and explaining why some adolescents experience considerably more difficulty in their passage to adulthood than others. Attachment concepts are not at odds with a dual process of separation from and continuing relationships with parents and it can accommodate the concept of rapprochement. While psychodynamic theory concentrates on the adolescent restructuring which takes place intrapersonally, attachment theory focuses on changes which are supported by
the interpersonal relationships between the adolescent and his attachment figure(s). However other theorists would contend that it is the adolescent's relationships within the whole family and the family dynamics which shape individual development. This is the next perspective to be considered.

FAMILY SYSTEMS THEORY

Just as psychodynamic theory and attachment theory were first developed alongside the treatment and understanding of clinical patients, so family therapy also evolved in a clinical setting. Christopher Dare (1985) traces the progress of family therapy from Bowen's clinical observation of the relationship between a mother and her schizophrenic child, which led him to realize how a family can affect the personality structure of one of its more vulnerable members. Different groups of clinicians began to observe their psychotic patients within the contexts of their families and discovered patterns and systems of behaviour which helped to maintain the patient's illness and role in the family.

Family therapy theory has been greatly influenced by the view of the family as a co-ordinated entity capable of developing stabilizing systems at the expense of the psychological health of individuals and of using specific communication systems to maintain individuals in a role that provides apparent stability despite personal distress. (Dare, 1985, p. 814)

Rather than treating just the referred patient, the family therapist works with the whole family, helping them to look at their family concerns from new perspectives, to look at their relationships and to create a climate for change.

Theorists of the 1960's and 1970's perceived the family as a stable system, resistant to change, which might be shocked by the challenges of adolescence (Byng-Hall & Miller, 1975). Like the psychodynamic theorists, family therapists at this time were also inclined to accept that adolescent turmoil and conflict was a necessary stage in the process of individuation, during which the adolescent separates from his family system and leaves in order to form a new relationship and create a new family of his own. "Leaving home" was recognized as being a critical stage for individuation and a problem for some families who could not accommodate to changing family roles for
their adolescent child (Haley, 1980). However, the recognition that leaving home can also be a smooth stage of transition and that not all parent-adolescent relationships are conflict-laden has led recent theorists, such as Noller & Callan (1991), to view the ideal family as offering an encouraging and supportive environment for identity exploration and individuation and the opportunity to renegotiate relationships. Thus, although family therapists are looking at the impact of adolescence in a wider context than psychodynamic and attachment theorists, they are still trying to explain the same phenomenon of separation-individuation occurring together with continuing attachments.

Change in the family

David Campbell (1982) describes adolescence as a psycho-social stage affecting the whole family. He describes the task of adolescence as identity formation, which takes place within the context of the family system, which he introduces as a new perspective.

This is not to deny, for example, that the adolescent experiences confusion, sexual pangs, existential doubts and feelings of deep dependency; rather the new perspective defines these experiences in a social context. The new perspective says that when existential doubts become a social event i.e. are shared with another person through word or action, they should be viewed as manoeuvres designed to elicit a reaction or pattern of reactions from another person or group. As Milton Erickson has said: "Symptoms are contracts between people." (Campbell, 1982, p 339)

To "find" identity, the adolescent requires “feedback” from the family system; he wants his family to recognize the changes that he is experiencing. Campbell suggests that the adolescent has to struggle against his unyielding family system, to try to gain control and make changes. This is where stalemate can be reached, with neither side giving way for fear that the family might break apart. Campbell gives examples of families struggling with such problems and asking for therapeutic help. However, the majority of families do not need specialized help because they manage to accommodate to adolescence by allowing gradual change, or at least managing their stressful conflicts and remaking boundaries. Such families find that even major shifts in boundaries do not cause the family to disintegrate. Lynn Hoffman (1981) describes how family therapy theory now recognizes that healthy families are not stable systems balanced by homeostasis, but they are evolving systems which accommodate to small
changes and sometimes have to endure major shifts from which there is no return. Her analogy of the kaleidoscope, which gradually changes its pattern until a twist too far causes a major rearrangement of the same pieces into different spatial relationships, could be seen to fit the impact of adolescence on a family system.

Perhaps adolescence is a period for family restructuring, in addition to the intrapsychic restructuring of the individual as described by psychodynamic theory. Papini (1994) suggests that the adolescent needs to "co-construct" his or her adult identity together with parents.

The adolescent's ability to successfully negotiate this intrapsychic process depends in large part on the presence or absence of certain qualities in the family environment. The ability to construct an identity capable of self-regulation holds forward the promise of efficient and effective adaptation to the demands of the adult world. The failure to replace childhood identifications with parents through the processes of exploration and commitment may result in short-term pseudoadaptation but long-term maladjustment. (Papini, 1994, p. 48)

An example of pseudoadaptation would be a young person who follows the obvious path into the family's traditional occupation or into the family business, without considering other options, and after a few years feels unfulfilled and restless.

Some researchers have attempted to set up family interactions so that they could observe the processes which allow or encourage the adolescent to construct his or her own identity. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) investigated the optimal qualities of a facilitative family, by observing interactions while parents together with their two adolescent children planned a holiday. (The mean age of the targeted adolescents was 17.6 years and the mean age of the siblings was 15.2 years.) Using the context of the family, they defined individuation as comprising the components individuality and connectedness, thus demonstrating a similar perspective to Josselson's psychodynamic approach. In their model individuality is reflected in separateness and self-assertion and connectedness is reflected by mutuality (sensitivity and respect for others) and permeability (openness and responsiveness to others). They found different styles of interaction between genders, in that the boys who scored highly for exploring their identities tended to be encouraged and supported by their fathers but were not shown to be significantly influenced by their other family interactions. In contrast, girls were
affected significantly by all their family relationships. Overall their results suggested that:

...in late adolescence, acknowledgement and coordination of such differences in family interactions as seen in permeability and mutuality, offer a context in which adolescents may consider and refine options for their identity. In families whose adolescents engage in more exploration, these supportive qualities seem to be expressed primarily from the parents to their adolescents rather than vice versa. (Grotevant and Cooper, 1985, p. 425)

Where adolescents do not engage in exploratory behaviour, the family interaction is characterized by an avoidance of disagreements and a high level of permeability. This would suggest that where families avoid or fear conflict, adolescents have less opportunity to explore and choose different options.

This study provides some interesting insights into the adolescent parent relationship, but the task was artificial and the subjects, aware of being observed, would want to show themselves and their families in a favourable light. Parents, in particular, invest greatly in their role and they want to believe and be seen to be doing a good job (Noller and Callan, 1991). The families in this study were also middle-class and their style of interaction may not be representative of all families. Nevertheless the ideal family environment may well be one where there is no fear or threat that overall connectedness will be damaged by disagreement or the separateness of individual members. This description of a positive family context is not very different from the climate that attachment theory might predict, where securely attached relationships can weather conflict satisfactorily.

**Family Systems Models**

Family systems theorists have developed models to further describe qualitative differences in family interaction and communication patterns. The Circumplex Model developed by Olson and his colleagues (Barnes and Olson, 1985) has been used particularly to investigate parent-adolescent relationships. It proposes three central dimensions of family behaviour: cohesion, adaptability and communication. Cohesion is the family bonding between family members; adaptability is ability of the family
system to change its power structure, roles and rules as a situation requires; communication is the exchange of information between family members. Cohesion and adaptability are continua ranging between extremes which can be represented on a two-dimensional graph. Along the cohesion dimension a disengaged family would score very low and an enmeshed family would score very highly; along the adaptability dimension a rigid family would score very low and a chaotic family would score very highly. Thus a fairly healthy or "balanced" family would have a moderate score on both dimensions and their behaviour would be monitored by communication. Such a family would produce an optimal climate for adolescent exploration and identity formation as well as making family changes.

Working in India, Bhushan and Shirali (1992) hypothesized that male adolescents, aged between 18 and 24 years, who came from balanced families scoring in the moderate range for both dimensions, would score higher on identity achievement, have more positive communication and have less problems with their parents than adolescents from more extreme families. Their hypotheses were supported by the results. In addition they pointed out that negative communications from father to son or emotional distance between them was a significant problem in the Indian sociocultural context, leading to sons:

...likely to grow up as adults, unsure of themselves, dissatisfied at their own competence, and nursing a nostalgic desire for approval and sanction of the father at every step. (Bhushan and Shirali, 1992, pp. 695-696.)

This is compatible with Grotevant and Cooper's complementary findings concerning positive father-son interactions. It would be interesting to find out whether Indian female adolescents are also affected mainly by their fathers or, like Western girls, are affected by all family relationships. The family systems models could be useful, when families ask for therapeutic help, to indicate what sort of intervention would be helpful. Papini (1994) suggests that intervention could be introduced into families even before adolescence to help parents "establish cohesion, flexible adaptability and open patterns of communication" (p. 55).
Interventions

Different approaches for therapeutic intervention and family therapy theory have developed in tandem. Jay Haley's important work "Leaving Home" (1980) describes work with severely disturbed adolescents and their families. He sees the disturbed adolescent as the member of the family with the role of maintaining his bad behaviour to keep the focus off other family tensions, such as problems between the parents. When the family can no longer contain the adolescent they get the community to contain their problem, by providing hospitalization or jail, but this still allows them to focus on their problem child. Haley's prescriptive approach is to treat the whole family and to get the parents to take back responsibility for their child. When the parents are once more in a position of authority and have taken charge of their adolescent he gets them to draw boundaries and plan strategies so that the adolescent can "leave home" in a controlled, negotiated and positive way. Haley sees the goal of therapy as ending the family cycle:

One way the young person can stabilize the family is to develop some incapacitating problem that makes him or her a failure, so that he or she continues to need the parents. The function of the failure is to let the parents continue to communicate through and about the young person, with the organization remaining the same. (1980 p. 31)

The situation is stable until the young person succeeds in work or school, the parents threaten separation, the family becomes unstable, and the cycle repeats. The goal of the therapy proposed here is to end the cycle, to get the young person past that eccentric episode and successfully functioning outside the family, with the family re-organized to survive that change. (1980, p. 33)

When the whole family is in therapy, the therapist is able to draw attention to the problem that they have been previously distracted from so that it too can be dealt with. These therapeutic methods have a good deal of success, but it could be argued that this is due to valuable side effects not necessarily recognized by Haley. For example, in bringing the family into therapy he is offering communication between adolescent and parents in a safe place, where they can build or re-build a relationship. Under the control of the therapist this relationship will have firm boundaries and a good deal of predictability. In another theoretical framework this could be viewed as helping to form a secure attachment, even if it is somewhat artificial. Only after this parental support has been established and experienced, when the adolescent has returned home, is he or she encouraged to leave home as an independent young adult. This is a move
from the now more secure base of home, albeit bolstered by the therapist. From this perspective, as well as dealing with problems between parents which do not allow the adolescent to succeed and leave, therapy is also providing a facilitating family environment in attachment theory terms.

Family therapy ideas have also been used to develop community interventionist programmes to help adolescents to stay at home rather than be hospitalized. Seelig et al. (1992) report on a Californian project to help 160 High Risk Adolescents aged between 12 and 17 years. The intervention was staffed by a multicultural team with diverse clinical specialities and was limited to 90 days, with a follow-up discharge programme. Among the seven therapeutic goals they list: developing methods to engage and work with families and parents, (described as unmotivated, aggressively distant, resistant, etc.) and developing a range of specific clinical strategies to bring structure to families with patterns of chaos or enmeshment and build links in families that are fragmented, disengaged or isolated. Their approach at the first meeting was to empower the parents and challenge them to resume responsibility for their adolescent. Throughout the therapy, parents were used as the resource and were helped to become more emotionally available to their adolescent child, whether a delinquent from a chaotic, disengaged family with no boundaries or a suicidal adolescent from a "pseudofunctioning" family, used to denying family problems. Although the programme's resources included professionals of all varieties and individual therapy was given too, it was the parent-adolescent relationship which was recognized to be the most vital element in the intervention. Again the adolescent is helped to re-connect, re-attach or even to attach securely for the first time, so that he or she can function more normally.

Other therapeutic interventions have focused more rigorously on the structure of the family. Minuchin, for example, considers that:

...an appropriately organized family will have clearly marked boundaries. The marital subsystem will have closed boundaries to protect the privacy of the spouses. The parental subsystem will have clear boundaries between it and the children, but not so impenetrable as to limit the access necessary for good parenting. The sibling subsystem will have its own boundaries and will be organized hierarchically, so that children are given tasks and privileges consonant with age and sex.
as determined by the family's culture. Finally the boundary around the nuclear family will also be respected, although this is dependent on cultural, social and economic factors. (Hoffman, 1981, p 262.)

The therapist uses this model to assess the referred family. Where the family deviates from the model, they are encouraged to put the boundaries into place and by changing the dysfunctional family structure, they can cure the problem. Minuchin and his colleagues have had considerable success with this structuralist approach but Hoffman suggests that the technique is difficult to learn and also difficult to use with families who are resistant to change.

The systems approach developed by the Milan Associates (Selvini Palazzoli, Prata, Boscolo and Cecchin, 1987) has some quite revolutionary features to allow a family to evolve their own relationships by encouraging open communication, although the therapist takes a neutral stance. Cecchin explains a live family therapy session to his colleagues:

In point of fact, every change of subject seems to happen before the subject has been completed. This is an important feature of the systemic interview. The therapist tries to open up possibilities in a certain area, to disturb the thinking pattern of the system, to suggest different connections, different punctuations, and then leaves the system in that area and changes the subject completely. This allows the system to elaborate these changes by itself, perhaps not on a conscious level. (Boscolo et al. 1987, p 299.)

This climate for encouraging discussion and the idea of family change, without demands, could be a useful example for interaction in a family struggling with adolescence. Individuals need time and space to see that changes can be made, to see the view from another's perspective and to foresee that the system will not necessarily disintegrate if changes are made.

**Family Therapy and Attachment Theory**

Despite their different provenance, Family systems theory and Attachment theory can complement one another well, particularly when working with and trying to understand adolescents and their families. John Byng-Hall (1991) suggests that the first family therapy interview can be used to assess how attachment behaviour actually works in the family, for the first interview is rather a "strange situation" which may feel
threatening and provoke anxiety. He presents the therapist as a secure attachment figure, that is a wise person who provides a secure base in a frightening situation. During therapy the therapist needs to be aware of the different attachment needs and relationships between individual members and will find it useful to know who gives care to whom and who seeks care from whom. Alongside the attachment models of ambivalent attachment or avoidant attachment with its classic approach-avoidance conflicts, the escalation of tensions within the family system can be observed with their similar oscillations. In asymmetrical escalations the dominant person can become more dominant and the submissive more giving, until the dominant gives way, no longer gaining satisfaction because the submission is too easily gained. In symmetrical escalations the tension increases and will lead to destruction of the system by violence or separation but usually a third person intervenes, for example a child diverting the focus from its warring parents. If, during therapy the family can learn to recognize their own styles of interaction and to understand why their behaviour system may have developed and how it is perpetuated, then they may be able to develop different ways of interacting which in turn will develop more secure attachment patterns. More particularly in a family with one or more adolescents, the young person may be able to develop within the family rather than having to detach or be pushed out, leading to guilt and discomfort on both sides.

Family therapy has provided both a different way of working with adolescents and a different context in which to understand the changes they encounter in their relationships. Although the early emphasis was on separation and leaving home as necessary stages for adolescent individuation, there is also now some recognition for the need of continuing attachment or connectedness too. The theory attempts to explain how the family system reacts to adolescence, tries to accommodate it and often requires restructuring. The family structure that appears to cope best has balanced amounts of both flexibility and cohesion, moderated by open communication, but further research is needed. Different types of therapeutic intervention can be used to help dysfunctional families, so that the adolescents can explore their individual identities but remain connected, and it can be used alongside attachment theory. Among other issues, family therapy theory has yet to explain the gender differences
affecting the relationships with each parent and differences within families.

The last of the four perspectives places even greater emphasis on "connectedness" and gender differences.

CONNECTEDNESS AND THE SELF-IN-RELATION THEORY OF WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

This fourth perspective relevant to adolescence was developed in the 1970's and 1980's by women psychologists and psychotherapists, who were intrigued by the importance of relationships in the lives of women and how this affected their perspectives, aims and achievements and contrasted with those of men (Miller, 1976; Gilligan, 1982). They believed that traditional theories of development did not take account of the gender differences sufficiently and that women's development should be separately researched. Carol Gilligan and her colleagues (Gilligan, Lyons & Hanmer, 1989; Brown & Gilligan, 1992) began to study the development of schoolgirls from a non-clinical population, by listening to and analysing their conversations and interviews and, in some studies, following them over three or four years to monitor the process. At the same time, at The Stone Center at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, a group of women including Jean Baker Miller, Judith Jordan, Alexandra Kaplan, Irene Stiver and Janet Surrey were exchanging ideas about women's development of "self-in-relation" to others and were trying to develop a theoretical framework, although they had some difficulty in agreeing upon which words best described the phenomena. In this thesis "connectedness" will be used to mean developing and ongoing "mutual" relationships between individuals.

Gender difference

The separation-connectedness/attachment issue, discussed earlier in this chapter, was considered by Josselson to be a dual process and by the family systems theorists as separation occurring in the context of attachment. Gilligan (1982) views it differently. She sees masculinity as being defined by separation while femininity is defined by attachment; she suggests that male identity is threatened by intimacy while female
identity is threatened by separation. She gives examples of this dichotomy from an early age and shows that it can be observed in the different sorts of games played by boys and girls and the way they interact in a playground, (as had been earlier recognized by Blos). Whereas boys and men see relationships in a hierarchical form and view success as reaching the top of the hierarchy, women view relationships more as a web and, for them, success is being at the centre. In essence Gilligan sees separation for men and connectedness for women as different pathways to maturity. It could be argued that in her enthusiasm to stress the contrasts Gilligan has overemphasized the differences and not taken into account indications that men and boys do need relationships too and women and girls do enjoy and need some degree of separation. However the need for connectedness in women is the basis for the connectedness perspective.

The popularity of the women's movement and writings such as Gilligan's did not go unnoticed by psychologists who were committed to Erikson's psychosocial stages theory of development. James Marcia (1966), who operationalized the identity diffusion versus achievement stage with his Identity Status Model, has been working with colleagues and questioning the appropriateness of this model for women. Patterson et al. (1992) concluded that an additional dimension of "connectedness" would have to be added to the already established dimensions of exploration and commitment to adequately describe the identity position for women. This would suggest that the female developmental process of identity formation in adolescence is also significantly different for women. Sally Archer (1992) found that when interviewing adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18 years about their career domain and their family domain, the males talked about them as separate areas of their lives whereas the females integrated them. It could be said that the female identity is affected by her intrapsychic connectedness needs and perspectives, but it could also be argued that this Western identity has been affected by social pressures and expectations for women to take responsibility for child-rearing which affects career plans. There is evidence to show that a women's identity status can change a number of times during her life, depending on the stages of child-rearing responsibilities. Many women remain at a stage of foreclosure or moratorium until they have raised
their family, when they find themselves free to achieve their adult identity (Patterson et al. 1992). However, during his life time, a male may also change his status, for example when his position of Achievement no longer holds his interest and he changes to Moratorium to explore other possibilities. Identity formation may be an important task for the adolescent, but it is not restricted to adolescence. More evidence is required to demonstrate whether the male and female processes are actually different.

**Encouragement of gender differences in emotional development**

Gilligan, Rogers & Brown (1989) demonstrate, with character sketches of 12 and 16 year old girls, how the “voice” of justice or moral concepts become inter-twined with the “voice” of connectedness as girls go through adolescence. If girls really are so different from boys with their preoccupation for connectedness affecting all aspects of life and thought, how does this develop? Judith Jordan (1991) suggests that the mother encourages different socialization according to sex from birth, and particularly encourages the development of empathy in daughters. This will give them the necessary ability to become Winnicott’s “good-enough” mother in turn.

Young girls, therefore, are encouraged to attend to others’ affective states and to maintain proximity to others; they also are allowed significant affective expression, particularly when the expression is non-aggressive and prosocial. Girls are urged to develop perceptual acuity in reading others’ reactions to themselves.

For boys, on the other hand, socialized to be good soldiers or effective competitors in a largely alienated work world, highly developed empathy might be seen as most unadaptive. (Jordan et al., 1991, p 31.)

Jean Baker Miller (1991) suggests that the infant and young child begins to identify with the actions of the care-taker and that the infant begins to develop:

...an internal representation of itself as a kind of being that, for the moment, I will call by a hyphenated term-a “being-in-relationship.” This is the beginning of a sense of “self” that reflects what is happening between people. The infant picks up the feelings of the other person, that is it has an early sense “that I feel what is going on in the other as well as what is going on in myself.” The child experiences a sense of comfort only as the other is also comfortable, or, more precisely, only as they are both engaged in an emotional relationship that is moving toward greater well-being, rather than toward the opposite - that is, only as the interactions in the emotional field between the infant and the adult are moving toward a “better” progression of events. In this sense, the infant, actively exerting an effect on the relationship, begins to develop an internal sense of itself as one who changes the emotional interplay for both participants - for good or ill. (Miller, 1991, p 13.)
Miller's description of the beginning of the mental construction of self is not inconsistent with Winnicott's "maternal preoccupation" (Winnicott, 1958), nor with the developing attachment bond in attachment theory, but neither of these theories suggest this type of gender difference, of this particular responsiveness between mothers and daughters. It is more usual to discuss mothers' cultural preference for boys and the Oedipal issues (Stiver, 1991). The infant observations by Daniel Stern (1986) which demonstrate that the infant takes an active and responsive role in its relationship with its mother, suggests that it would be possible for a mother to encourage different behaviour and different mental constructs of self for her sons and for her daughters and, thus, the connectedness of the mother-daughter relationship could grow.

During childhood girls learn to develop their abilities differently from boys. The Stone Center writers feel that they can produce a better explanation of girls development than the psychoanalytic explanation of the Oedipal stage.

There is no major crisis of "cutting off" anything, and especially relationships. And there is no need to fulfill the goal of "identifying with an aggressor," that is, the threatening and dominant male figure... However there is a message that may come into play more forcefully at this time (though it begins earlier and it continues later)--that the girl should now focus all her energies on the well-being, growth and development of men. Nonetheless, the relationship to the mother and other women continues. A pronounced turning away from the mother and toward the father may occur in particular families, especially when the mother herself encourages and models this way of being. (Miller, 1991, p. 18.)

The connectedness continues throughout childhood and latency, while girls voice their opinions confidently and are not afraid to face moral issues and deal with conflicts in a straightforward manner. However, as adolescence begins, girls become less confident and give greater priority to connectedness over other issues for fear of losing relationships and becoming isolated. Brown and Gilligan (1992) interviewed American, private school, girl students once a year between the ages of 12 and 18 years and found:

Girls at the edge of adolescence face a central relational crisis: to speak what they know through experience of themselves and of relationships created political problems - disagreement with authorities, disrupting relationships - while not to speak leaves a residue of psychological problems; false relationships and confusion as to what they feel and think. (Brown & Gilligan, 1992. p. 214.)

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They conclude that adolescence is a time when girls are at risk from losing touch with reality and "are in danger of losing their ability to know the difference between true and false relationships." (p. 215) However there is no comparable study of adolescent boys and their emotional development. Do boys face the same dilemmas but react with less intensity or do they really disregard relationships or connectedness in favour of Gilligan's "voice of justice?" By late adolescence is there a difference in the value of connectedness as held by young men and women?

Research Studies

Some psychological studies have attempted to measure differences between males and females in late adolescence. Archer and Waterman (1988) reviewed the research literature to see if they could find gender differences in measures of "psychological individualism". They found 88 relevant studies with subjects of "college age or older" and made gender comparisons on four constructs of "personal identity, self-actualization, internal locus of control and principled moral reasoning," arguing that these were a measure of effective psychological functioning. They did not find a difference between males and females, with the former being more individuated or the latter more connected. However, when they looked at the males and females who scored most highly and were therefore judged to have effective psychological functioning, they found that these individuals of both sexes had a combination of both individuated, "agentic" characteristics and connected and caring characteristics.

Gilligan [1982] heard a sequence of moral judgments for women which developmentally culminated in a principled female voice. The authors feel that her description represents effective psychological functioning for females as well as males. Individuals learn to recognize that they are equal to others, that self and others are interdependent such that life, however variable in itself, can only be sustained by care in relationships. [p. 127]. Individuals come to recognize the 'worth of the self in relation to others, the claiming of the power to choose and the acceptance of responsibility for choice' [p. 94]. Such individuals are no longer isolate or exploiter, victim or martyr. They are individuated and choose to care. (Archer & Waterman, 1988, pp.77-78.)

Thus, they concluded that connectedness was not a quality held only by women and that it was an essential part of mature functioning for both men and women. (Such findings would also be supportive of Josselson's dual process theory.)
However, gender differences were found in some studies measuring "attachment," where researchers had based their work on attachment theory and had not predicted a difference. These studies will be described in more detail in following chapters but they are mentioned here to support the connectedness perspective. Armsden and Greenberg (1987) who developed the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) found that females scored significantly higher than males on measures of attachment behaviour towards their parents and their peers. That females scored more highly on peer attachment was again found for college students (Lapsley, Rice and Fitzgerald, 1990) and for fifteen year olds (Nada Raja, McGee and Stanton, 1992). Thus there is some evidence from independent sources that adolescent females can be measured as showing a greater degree of attachment towards their peers, which can be interpreted as connectedness, than their male counterparts.

The Self-in-relation Model

The Stone Center writers attempt to explain the processes by which girls and boys develop differently during adolescence. Miller (1991) describes a sexual conflict for girls.

In heterosexual relationships, if the girl or young woman tries to have her own perception, to follow her own desires, and to bring them into sexual experience with boys, she is still destined for conflict. Despite all of the recent talk, the girl's attempt to act on the basis of her own sexuality still leads to conflict with her potential male partners. It will also lead to internal conflict with certain components of her sense of self. One is the part that says she should— and she wants to—be attuned to others, which leads to a conflict if the other is behaving in ways that are excluding her perceptions and desires from the relationship. Another is the part that has made sexuality an unacceptable aspect of her internal sense of self and therefore prevents her from bringing a large part of herself into the relationship.

A similar dynamic exists in regard to "agency", that is, the girl's capacity to perceive and to use her powers in all ways. Women are not supposed to do this, and they have incorporated the idea that to do so is wrong and shameful. (Miller, 1991, p.20.)

Thus girls are socially pressured into a different way of behaving and so they seek out a different sort of identity.

The woman's role of "caring" is devalued in the male world but when a woman feels "more related to another person" she enhances her feelings about herself and this
provides motivation in her life. Janet Surrey (1991) discusses a two-way interactional model of how the "self" develops in the context of relationships. She uses the example of the mother-daughter relationship to show how the learning grows but explains that the process can take place in any relationship. She explains the growth as taking an interest in and paying attention to others, mutual empathy, and "the expectation of interaction and relationship as a process of mutual sensitivity and mutual responsibility that provides the stimulus for the growth of empowerment and self-knowledge." (p. 59.) She prefers the construct "relationship-differentiation" rather than separation-individuation to describe the developing relationship.

What this new model emphasizes is that the direction of growth is not towards greater degrees of autonomy or individuation and the breaking of early emotional ties, but toward a process of growth within relationship, where both or all people involved are encouraged and challenged to maintain connection and to foster, adapt to, and change with the growth of the other... For example, the adolescent does not necessarily want to "separate" from her parents, but rather to change the form and content of the relationship in a way that confirms her own developmental changes and allows new relationships to develop and take priority. (Surrey, 1991, p. 60)

She adds that the mutual relationship also provides the energy for each party to be seen and recognized as their true self, which she call "authenticity." Interestingly, the description of this "new" model does not seem very different from the family systems model of how a well-functioning family should respond to a developing adolescent. In both models adolescent and parent accommodate to their differences within their relationships and gradually change without separation. The value of the Stone Center model is that it tries to explain how the two-way relationship develops the individual self from birth with the encouragement of empathy and mutuality, whereas the systems theory concentrates on the whole family system without looking at the individual. Perhaps the two theories are complementary. However, the Stone Center model is also limited in that it ignores the development of men. Their development needs to be studied too.

Whilst comparing the self-in-relation theory to other theories it must be emphasized that Surrey distinguishes between her construct of relationship and those offered by object relations theories or by attachment theory. She views her construct as being more interactive and self-motivated than object relations and providing more than the
security, well-being and need gratification of attachment theory. In this differentiating relationship, both parties change as people because of their relatedness. Qualitative examples of such mother-daughter relationships are given by Sharon Rich (1989) and Lori Stern (1989). Rich analysed the interviews of twenty-two early to middle adolescent girls who were each seen three times at annual intervals at the Emma Willard girls' school. Overall they reported that they kept connected with their mothers, but that their relationships became differentiated as they dealt with their similarities and differences, their complaints and their conflicts. However these were girls from middle class families and most were boarders, not having day-to-day relationships with their mothers. Further studies are needed to see if such findings can be generalized to mothers and daughters from different socioeconomic backgrounds, day-schools and co-educational schools. The intervention of an annual interview may also have affected the way the subjects perceived their relationships.

Kaplan, Gleason and Klein (1991) looked specifically at how the self-in-relation theory related to late adolescent women in approximately the 18 to 21 year old range. They used both their clinical work and surveys of "normal" female college students to examine their theoretical framework. They suggest that sustained mother-daughter relationships are not "pre-Oedipal" attachments, as described by Blos (1980), but a positive and growing relationship, within which conflict promotes growth but not loss of connection.

The intense affective quality with which conflict is expressed can represent a means by which young women work out differences within a relationship, moving into a relationship to confront differences, not away from it. Disconnection, or separation, would more accurately be characterized by indifference, withdrawal, diffidence, or "false compliance." Further, the capacity to engage parents in conflict without disrupting the underlying qualities of care and commitment is an important step toward expressing this same stance within later adult relationships. (Kaplan et al., 1991, p. 126.)

This view of an adolescent's relationships with her parents is not so different from other theoretical perspectives. Family therapists would also encourage the working out of conflict within the relationship. Kaplan et al. suggest too that parents need to be flexible and that problems arise when parents are "fixed on earlier, more controlling, modes of relationship, which contrast with the daughter's age appropriate expansion
of spheres of ability and competence" (p. 127). This theory supports the family therapy perspective and only really differs in its emphasis on girls' problems, ignoring any similar difficulties experienced by boys. In addition, this theory is consistent with attachment theory in recognizing the problems of disengaged women students, whom they predict have had no emotional connection from early in life.

In clinical work with women who are disengaged in this way, it is still important to see how much the lack of a growth-promoting relational context has hurt them and to help them work toward developing such a context—rather than seeking only more separation. (Kaplan et al. 1991, p. 127.)

This sounds very similar to "insecure attachment," despite Surrey's denial.

Interestingly, a clinical example, given by Kaplan et al. to show how the self-in-relation theory can be used therapeutically, also bears great similarity to approaches based on other previously described theories. A nineteen year old female student who had lost her self-confidence and self-motivation once she was removed from her supportive peer-group of school friends suddenly needed the support of her parents. In a family meeting the student was able to express her feelings to her parents and her mother was able to respond:

...by sharing her feeling that Ann was the family member by whom she had always felt most understood. Ann, deeply moved, smiled through her tears and expressed her affirmation at hearing this. This exchange was a turning point for Ann's establishing mutually rewarding affective connection with her family and subsequently with new friends. (Kaplan et al. 1991, p 131.)

This approach is hardly revolutionary though it is sound. A family therapist would have also aimed to have a meeting for the student and her parents to enable them to express their feelings to one another. Kaplan et al. suggest that this approach differs from traditional psychotherapy which would encourage separation, but Josselson may see such an approach as allowing rapprochement and the individuating adolescent to find a secure home base from which to explore.

In a survey at the all-female Wellesley College focusing on changes in the mother-daughter relationship during the daughter's years at college, most respondents saw their relationship with their mother as positive and two-thirds of the sample wanted to
change in having "more closeness, greater openness, trust or friendship. The direction of their relationship is in more relationship, not less" (Gleason, 1991, p. 137). Rather than separating from mother these girls wanted their mother's approval and support. This sample may have been biased because this was a self-selected group and girls attending an all-female institution may differ from girls who choose co-education. However, the overall results lend support to all theories which predict the continuity and deepening of the adolescent-parent relationship. White, Speisman and Costos, (1983) wanted to find out whether this deepening relationship carries on into young adulthood, or it lessens as sons and daughters become competent adults. They measured relationships with parents at the ages of 22, 24 and 26 for both males and females. The finding that they reported to be the most significant and interesting was that a female was most likely to have a perspective of her mothers as having life as a separate person, whereas a male even when 26 and married himself still saw mother as his mother and as in relationship to himself. There seems to be plenty of evidence which supports a gender difference in relationships with mothers.

Less attention appears to have been paid to relationships with fathers during adolescence. Discussing the sexual component of the father-daughter relationship, Stiver (1991) describes fathers becoming uneasy when their daughters reach adolescence. Some become over-involved by being over-possessive or restrictive to protect them from the dangers of the outside world, while others withdraw or distance themselves to ward off their own sexual impulses. She also suggests contrasting perceptions of each parent:

Fathers, as more mysterious figures who are not as present as mothers, are perceived to be more in the world and more valued than the mother; this perception, in turn, leads to an overidealization of father in contrast to the mother, who is seen as more familiar and real and whose flaws are more visible in day-to-day interactions. (Stiver, 1991, p. 119)

Presuming that less time is spent with father during adolescence, there is less opportunity for their relationship to change and mature and so idealization may continue into adulthood. However, because the self-in-relation theorists have focused mainly on women's development and growth in relation to their mothers, much of their
understanding of the father-daughter relationship has come from clinical experience and has not yet been supported by in-depth surveys, interviews or other empirical research.

Perhaps the major contribution of the Women’s Self-in-relation Theory of connectedness is their emphasis of the gender difference and the explanation of how it is encouraged from birth by mother and by general socialization.

**RATIONALE FOR EMPLOYING ATTACHMENT THEORY**

Although they have developed from different bases, these four theoretical perspectives all recognize that parental relationships, past and/or present, remain central to middle and late adolescent emotional development. Each of these perspectives makes a useful contribution in its own right, explaining how adolescents adapt to the developmental demands placed on them in the outside world. All except the traditional psychoanalytic theory describe how parental relationships can be maintained alongside the exploration of the adult opportunities away from home and the making of new relationships. Even their clinical interventions, which are underpinned by different ideas and vary in their stated aims and approaches, could be presented as sharing an underlying purpose which is to restore a weak or broken link between adolescent and parent. Despite their different viewpoints their concepts tend to be complementary and to some extent shared.

Their positions may be summarized as follows. In the psychodynamic tradition, Blos (1979) views the process of development as intrapsychic separation or differentiation from the internalized parents with elements of regression and restructuring. Partially following the same theoretical framework, adding some concepts from attachment theory and also taking into consideration the findings that many adolescents remain on relatively good terms with their parents even through adolescence, Josselson (1980, 1988) proposes a two-part complementary process which combines the separation-individuation mechanism together with a continuing relatedness process. Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1979; Rice, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991;
Holmes, 1993) describes both inter-personal relationships between child and attachment figure and intrapsychic structures, known as internal working models. The securely attached adolescent confidently leaves the secure home base to explore the world, knowing that he can rely on support from attachment figures and others in times of stress; the insecurely attached adolescent does not have the confidence that his attachment figure or anyone else will offer him support when needed and so he is less likely to explore the world or adapt to strange new situations. Family systems theory (Papini, 1994) explains how the adolescent transforms views of his changing self as reflected within the family system and also proposes a restructuring of the whole family system to accommodate the changes. Conflict can be seen as a positive catalyst for change within the system of relationships, (Campbell, 1982.) Focusing primarily on the developmental process for women and taking a robust position that all changes take place within relationships, the proponents of the self-in-relation or connectedness theories (Gilligan, 1982; Jordan et al., 1991) hypothesize that girls differentiate and mature within their deepening relationships whereas boys grow increasingly independent.

Out of all of them, attachment theory appears to be the one which can stand independently, whereas some of the others have borrowed attachment concepts. For example, in her expansion of psychodynamic theory Josselson has adopted the concept of the secure base, and she has dropped some original psychoanalytic themes such as the precedence of fantasies over life experience (Rutter, 1995). Byng-Hall (1991) has shown how attachment concepts can be used within family therapy. As theorists from other perspectives find attachment concepts useful for additional explanation, this promotes attachment theory as an attractive choice to provide the framework for the present study.

Attachment theory also provides some of the most useful propositions on which to base a model of adolescence, parallel to the attachment models of infancy and early childhood. Kenny (1987) first described the experience of leaving home for college in late adolescence as a "strange situation" and how it has been adopted generally, as a naturally occurring experience, presenting the student with a new environment to
explore and master, will be examined in the next chapter. The key attachment concepts for adolescence are as follows:

1. The secure base as provided by an attachment figure, usually a parent at home.
2. An attachment figure who continues to be available for support and comfort particularly in periods of stress, such as transition to college.
3. An attachment figure who encourages environmental exploration and mastery.
4. Internal working models which are internal representations of the self and of others which have been developing from experiences with caregivers since infancy and through childhood (Bowlby, 1973). Secure models contribute to psychological resilience and enable individual adolescents to adapt to changing life circumstances; insecure models contribute to conditions of psychological risk which may lead to maladaptive development and a predisposition to failure (Kenny & Rice, 1995).

Attachment theory does have its limitations. Firstly it does not provide any explanation for gender differences. Secondly attachment styles are modelled on White middle class expectations and behaviour and research is needed to investigate how well these concepts apply to individuals from diverse cultures. However, despite these drawbacks, while the other perspectives describe adolescent behaviour, attachment theory provides some explanation of individual difference as well as suggesting strategies for counselling intervention. Attachment concepts can provide a suitable framework from which a model of adolescence can be further developed and then tested to see if its predictions are robust. Before any new research is planned, the existing empirical research will be reviewed.
Chapter 3

A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

Considering the different theoretical perspectives of adolescence was helpful in clarifying that research in the area of adolescent-parent relationships was crucial to the understanding of adolescent emotional development and relevant to my aim of finding more effective ways of counselling adolescents who seek help at college. The expansion of attachment theory in the mid 1980's and the recognition of its relevance in understanding different aspects of adolescent behaviour gave rise to a rapidly increasing number of studies by researchers working independently. The present chapter reviews their work and also includes research that has focused on the area of parental relationships and the allied issues of separation-individuation and continuing attachment which have developed from other theoretical approaches. Some of the studies mentioned had not been published when the present research was begun, but they are included to demonstrate how far our knowledge has extended by the beginning of 1997 and because they are relevant to the findings and interpretation of this research.

The context

Until the 1960's there was an historically held belief that adolescence was a time of "storm and stress" and that conflict, rebelliousness and ambivalence were necessary for the normal adolescent to achieve autonomy (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986). However systematic research into parent-adolescent relationships suggested that they were more stable and less conflict-ridden than had been assumed (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Offer and Offer, 1975, Sullivan and Sullivan, 1980). While it must be acknowledged that adolescents and their parents do argue over style of clothing, curfews, helping around the home and other everyday matters (Coleman, 1974; Smilansky, 1991), evidence from a large variety of population samples suggests that only about one in five families are affected by major disputes and only about "one in ten or twenty families experience a dramatic deterioration of parent-adolescent relationships during
adolescence" (Hill, 1993, p. 70). From the mid 1980's research psychologists studying
general adolescent development began paying less attention to the conflict in
adolescent-parent relationships and taking more interest in the quality of these
relationships. They also started to look to the theories developing out of clinical work
with adolescents experiencing developmental difficulties to find mechanisms to explain
normal adolescent development. The aim of the present chapter is to review some of
the research into adolescent-parent relationships and their association with adolescent
development which has been published since the mid 1980's.

Early investigations
Hoping to learn more about the separation-individuation process and interested in how
a non-clinical sample of adolescents viewed their own relationships with their parents,
Pipp et al. (1985) used a retrospective method to investigate the parental relationships
from infancy through to late adolescence. They found that their subjects, American
university undergraduates with a mean age of 19.0 years, did alter their description of
the child-parent relationship as a function of age, but that two distinct patterns
emerged. There was a linear trend for the child's side of the relationship to increase
with a sense of responsibility, similarity, dominance, independence and size of self
with age. Correspondingly, the same items for parents decreased with age. The
authors suggested that these trends showed a move towards separation, autonomy and
equality with age. However, the second pattern was of discontinuity. Although
adolescents portrayed their relationships with their parents as involving greater
distance, less intersection and relatively less love from infancy through childhood and
early adolescence, this trend abruptly reversed for the current period of late
adolescence. The authors offered a number of explanations including the rise in
affection when the adolescent has left home, perceiving a lessening of the day-to-day
conflicts, an appreciation of home, a move to autonomy balanced by strong feelings
of love and a recognition of the restructuring of the parent-child relationship.
However, this second pattern describing a sudden increase of love, affection and
closeness at age 16+, could be viewed as a cluster of attachment measures, and could
be interpreted as Josselson's stage of rapprochement. Although not interpreted as such
by the authors, this study lends support to Josselson's (1980, 1988) two part
complementary model and to an attachment theory model, with the subjects reporting ongoing secure attachment during late adolescence.

Among the first to investigate whether close affective bonds with parents last into adolescence were Bell et al. (1985). Testing a large sample of over 2,000 undergraduates, aged 17 and 18 years, they found positive correlations between family bonds and social competence. Their measures of social competence included social self-esteem, instrumentality, expressiveness, shyness and degree of satisfaction/ease in same and opposite-sex peer relationships. Although the measure of family bonds or "closeness" was crude and hardly a measure of attachment, their significant finding encouraged others.

Parental attachment and psychological well-being
Surveying the literature, Maureen Kenny (1987) found that little research had focused on the extent and function of the parent-adolescent bond following the late adolescent's departure from the family home. She adopted the attachment model as the theoretical framework for her study and was one of the first to suggest that leaving home was the adolescent equivalent of Ainsworth's "Strange Situation." The securely attached adolescent would perceive leaving home as an opportunity for environmental exploration and mastery, but the parents would remain a secure base and be sought out in times of stress. Kenny developed a self-report questionnaire to measure adolescents' perceived attachment to their parents and this later became the Parental Attachment Questionnaire, (PAQ). Using this measure of parental attachment and exploring its association with social competence, she found that first year undergraduates showed the characteristics of secure attachment in that they were positive about their relationships with their parents, whom they considered to be understanding, accepting, available and encouraging and whom they sought out in times of stress. Also, for female students, she found a significant association between close relationships with parents and positive feelings of assertion, which could be interpreted as self-confidence.

A further study comparing first year students with college seniors (Kenny, 1990)
confirmed this gender difference. However, contrary to expectation, the older students after three years away from home were not less attached to their parents than the younger ones. She reasoned that attachment did not mean dependence and that these students could remain independent but still view their parents as a source of help and encouragement, when needed.

Working at about the same time but independently from Kenny, Armsden and Greenberg (1987) also used attachment theory as a theoretical framework for their research into the association between adolescents’ attachment relationships to their parents and peers and to their general psychological well-being. They too needed a measure of attachment and they developed the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) which was also in the form of a self-report questionnaire, with separate but parallel forms for each parent and a slightly different form for peers. Testing 16 - 20 year old students, they found support for their hypothesis that the quality of both parent and peer attachment was significantly related to psychological well-being. Moreover they reported:

that adolescents classified as highly securely attached reported greater satisfaction with themselves, a higher likelihood of seeking social support, and less symptomatic response to stressful life events. (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987, p. 427.)

There were also significant correlations between low security of attachment to parents and high scores of depression/anxiety and resentment/alienation measures. Attachment to parents and attachment to peers did not necessarily correspond, but their samples were small. Their results also indicated gender differences in peer attachment with females scoring higher on communication and trust scales, which have since been supported by other studies (Lapsley et al, 1990; Nada Raja et al, 1992).

Thus these two independent studies using their own self-report measures of parental attachment had both found evidence that, even for late adolescents who were mainly living at college away from home, secure attachment to parents was significantly associated with feelings of well-being and self-confidence. This was support for the concept of attachment which would predict that the internal working model for secure
adolescents would assist in the self-assured exploration of the world. Many studies followed (e.g. Lapsley et al., 1990; Rice & Mulkeen, 1995; Mallinckrodt, 1992; Kenny, 1994; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994; Rice et al., 1995) which produced evidence of positive association between attachment and various dimensions of emotional and social well-being and development for adolescent students and young adults.

**Parental attachment and dysfunctional behaviour**

From another of the theoretical perspectives, the proponents of "connectedness" concerned primarily with women's development (Gilligan, 1982; Kaplan and Klein, 1985; Steinar-Adair, 1989) have suggested that eating disorders in young women were due to their need to keep connected to their families rather than the traditional psychoanalytic assumption that such psychopathology was due to separation difficulties. Equating the need for connection with continuing attachment to parents, Kenny and Hart (1992) examined the relationship between parental attachment and eating disorders and found that women in-patients with eating disorders were less securely attached to their parents than a non-clinical sample of women students of the same age. (These women did not differ in measures of "maturity fear" or "body dissatisfaction.") Studying only female college students, Kenny and Donaldson (1992) found a positive relationship between parental attachment and adjustment to college. They described characteristics of secure attachment among the well-adjusted students and identified the poorly adjusted as having parental relationships characterized by guilt, anxiety and resentment. Thus evidence was emerging of poor psychosocial adjustment being associated with problematic parental relationships.

Considering whether attachment literature could contribute to the understanding of other dysfunctional behaviour, de Jong (1992) measured attachment in three groups of undergraduates: those who had a history of suicide attempts or plans, a group who were currently depressed and a control group. She also measured individuation from parents. Her hypotheses were confirmed in that students with a history of suicidality exhibited the lowest security of attachment as well as the least degree of individuation from their parents. In contrast, attachment and individuation from peers did not
significantly differ between the groups. A strong gender effect was found in the relationship between suicidality and attachment.

Males with a history of suicidality had by far the lowest number of parent, mother and significant other attachment figures available when growing up than any other sex group category. This, combined with a similar trend in mean scores for current attachment to mother and father for suicidal males, suggests that these males suffered the most serious degree of unrelatedness to parents of all groups. It is suggested that a more serious degree of unrelatedness might better explain the consistently higher rates of completed suicides in males over females found in epidemiological studies. Similarly, a stronger sense of relatedness in females of the suicide group might be related to the higher suicide attempt ratio in this group as there might still be some expectation of others providing help. (de Jong, 1992, p. 370.)

This interpretation of females trying to gain help by suicide attempts is similar to the connectedness theorists' explanations of anorectic behaviour. Overall the study highlights the importance of parents as available attachment figures for vulnerable adolescents at critical times.

Also measuring mental health and attachment for fifteen year olds in New Zealand, Nada Raja et al. (1992) found that low perceived attachment to parents was associated with greater problems of conduct, inattention, depression and the frequent experience of negative life events. This was not compensated by higher levels of attachment to peers. Again girls reported higher levels of peer attachment but also higher levels of symptoms than boys. Thus a pattern seems to be emerging that although peer relationships show higher levels of attachment for girls this does not replace the need for emotionally available parents.

Researchers less concerned with attachment concepts but interested in family dynamics have also found evidence of the important role that parents play in the healthy development of their late adolescents. Parental warmth was found to be related positively to good psychological adjustment whereas harsh, rejecting discipline was related to poorer psychosocial adjustment (Steinberg et al., 1989). Wagner et al. (1996) suggested that adolescents with positive parental relationships would be better able to deal with stress either because they could look to their parents for support or because the positive relationship would enhance the psychological resources of the adolescent such as self-esteem and emotional regulation. The argument is similar to
Armsden and Greenberg's (1987) suggestion that parents can act as an "emotional buffer" in times of stress. Recently, in a longitudinal study, Wagner et al. have found that adolescents who reported warm parenting from both parents had a smaller association of stressful events with symptoms of depression as compared to others. In addition to the evidence that middle to late adolescents are psychologically healthier if they perceive themselves to be securely attached to their parents or have good relationships with them, there is also evidence that poor attachment to parents or difficult relationships is associated with poor psychosocial adjustment and less ability to deal with stress.

**Attachment style**

Another area of research has focused on the attachment theory concept of discrete attachment styles and their association with different patterns of adolescent social behaviour. The seminal work by Kobak and Sceery (1988) was partially described in the last chapter to explain its support for attachment concepts extending to adolescence. It is repeated here because of its important contribution to the research methodology and the work that followed. As internal working models formed in response to early attachment figures tend to shape an individual's construction of subsequent relationships (Bowlby, 1973; Sroufe and Waters, 1977), Kobak and Sceery hypothesized that different attachment styles, as originally categorized by Ainsworth for infants, would be associated with differences in affect regulation and representations of "self" and "other" for adolescents. They tested first year undergraduate students, with recent transition to college, who were mainly from middle-class, two parent families by giving them self report questionnaires to measure different aspects of their social behaviour and the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (George et al, 1985) to assess and classify their attachment style. In addition the social behaviour of each subject was independently assessed by three peers. They found that subjects who were classified as having secure attachment on the AAI were more ego-resilient than the others. They could modulate their negative feelings, were less anxious or hostile, they reported less distress and were more socially competent. The avoidant/dismissing group were lonelier and reported less social support. They were rated by their peers as being anxious and hostile, although they considered
themselves as being confident and self-reliant. The ambivalent/preoccupied group were also rated to be highly anxious but they rated themselves as lacking in confidence and having more psychopathological symptoms. Thus Kobak and Sceery found support for their concept of the different working models as specific organizational constructs, each associated with different styles of affect regulation in the distress related context of a new social environment. They suggested that further research was needed to investigate whether adolescents' communication of distress to their parents together with their expectations of support or rejection would assist in understanding how present interactions with parents also influence adolescent social behaviour.

Kobak, Sudler and Gamble (1991) proposed a developmental pathway model suggesting that an adolescent's appraisal of parental availability would result from both the early attachment relationships giving rise to working models/attachment strategies and from current interactions with a parent. A period of conflict during adolescence would reduce the perceived availability of a parent, (perhaps where there had previously been a secure attachment). Alternatively an adolescent with a history of insecure attachment could find increased parental availability with a change in family circumstances or even parental maturity. Their subjects were younger adolescents in the 14 - 18 year range who were each tested together with their mothers. Both mothers and adolescents rated different aspects of their relationships and were observed in problem-solving discussions. In addition they were given self-report measures of depression and life stress and were given an adapted form of the AAI. The results showed a robust association between insecure attachment and depressive symptoms and a weaker association between the preoccupation style of attachment and depression. The observations of the problem-solving task revealed that depressed middle adolescents engaged in interactions that were characterized by high levels of maternal dominance and dysfunctional anger. There was also a gender difference in that the females reported more depressive symptoms while the depressed males engaged in interactions which involved higher levels of dysfunctional anger. Kobak and his colleagues emphasized that ongoing attachment relationships with parents remained relevant to the developmental task of adolescence. Their suggestion that "the mother-teen relationship must face the challenge of allowing the teen to move toward
autonomy while maintaining a goal-directed partnership" (Kobak et al., 1991, p. 417), sounds very similar to Josselson's (1980, 1988) two process model of separation and continuing attachment. They also proposed intervention based on improving parent-adolescent communication as a more effective way of treating depression than symptom-focused approaches.

As yet there have been no longitudinal studies to support Bowlby's continuity assumption that the quality of early attachment relationships should, barring trauma or disconfirming life events, be related to attachment styles in adulthood (Lopez, 1995). However there have been some retrospective studies which have established links between the nature of adults’ current attachment styles and their accounts of their earlier relationships with their parents (Brennan et al., 1991; Feeney & Noller, 1990). Secure individuals tended to report that their parents were caring and encouraged personal autonomy, whereas insecure adults talked about less positive childhood experiences with their parents being neglectful, overcontrolling or intrusive.

More indirect empirical evidence that early attachment styles extend into adolescence and young adulthood was provided by Hazan and Shaver (1987; 1990). They were testing whether romantic love could be conceptualized as an attachment process and whether love relationships and work in adulthood had a similar function to attachment and exploration in infancy. Their measure consisted of three short paragraphs describing feelings taken from infancy studies characterizing each of the main attachment styles, (secure, insecure avoidant and insecure-ambivalent), and subjects were asked to choose the paragraph which most closely matched their feelings in close relationships. Secure subjects were described as being comfortable with people and able to trust and depend on other people. Avoidant subjects were described as experiencing discomfort with closeness and intimacy. Anxious-ambivalent subjects were depicted as needing very close relationships and fearing abandonment. Two studies based on different subject samples produced similar results. Of subjects who responded to a "love-quiz" published in a newspaper, 56% classified themselves as secure, 23% as avoidant and 20% as insecure-ambivalent. Repeating the exercise with undergraduates, again 56% classified themselves as secure, with 25% as avoidant and
19% as anxious ambivalent. This distribution of attachment categorization was very similar to the proportions reported in American studies of infant-mother attachment, which were summarized by Campos et al. (1983) as 62% secure, 23% avoidant and 15% anxious-ambivalent. Hazan & Shaver (1987) argued that the similarity in distribution suggested that the subject's self-classification of attachment style in adolescence and adulthood was likely to have been affected by the same sort of processes as affecting attachment style in infancy and childhood. Later studies by independent researchers across different continents again demonstrated similar patterns in the distribution of attachment style (Feeney & Noller, 1990; Levey and Davis, 1988; Mikulincer, Florian and Tolmasz, 1990). Hazan and Shaver (1990) also found links between different styles and attitudes to love and work for the three different groups. Securely attached persons tended to approach their work with confidence, were relatively unburdened by fear of failure and were not likely to allow work to interfere with intimate relationships. In contrast, anxious-ambivalent individuals were more likely to allow love concerns and fear of rejection to interfere with work performance, while avoidant individuals were more likely to use work to avoid social relationships.

Other researchers have extended the work by Hazan and Shaver to produce different ways of measuring adult attachment styles. Collins and Read (1990) developed the Adult Attachment Scale with three dimensions measuring closeness, dependency and anxiety regarding abandonment or feeling unloved. Using this scale, Bartels and Frazier (1991) found that for undergraduate students the subjects who reported comfort with closeness, the belief that others could be depended on and minimal anxiety about being abandoned also reported better adjustment to college than those reporting insecure attachment. As described in the previous chapter, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) developed a four-category model of attachment. Using this measure Horowitz et al. (1993) examined the association between different attachment styles and different types of interpersonal problems. While secure participants did not have particular problem areas, preoccupied subjects revealed intrusive orientation to personal relationships, fearful-avoidant participants reported relatively more problems indicative of social inhibition and unassertiveness and dismissing avoidant participants revealed
a cold and hostile orientation to other people (Bradford & Lyddon, 1994). Thus there is a growing body of evidence which contributes to the understanding of why different attachment styles in late adolescence lead to different ways of reacting to interpersonal relationships with a secure attachment style more likely to promote social well-being and better adjustment to new life circumstances. However, all these attachment styles are considered to have been derived from early attachment relationships. The salience of ongoing parental relationships should also be borne in mind.

Separation-individuation and adjustment to college

While many researchers were focusing on continuing parental attachment and its relationship to different aspects of adjustment, others were exploring what Josselson (1980, 1988) describes as the parallel component of the adolescent developmental process: separation-individuation. Lopez et al. (1988) and Rice et al. (1990) showed that students who reported positive feelings about separating from their parents, such as not feeling angry, resentful or anxious about the separation were also those who reported healthy adjustment to college. Comparing first and second year undergraduates in the United States, and hypothesizing that older students would report greater individuation from their parents than younger students, Lapsley et al. (1989) indeed found that first year students reported greater psychological dependence than second year students. In general they found that, for both men and women measured on Hoffman's Psychological Separation Inventory, functional, emotional and conflictual independence were associated with better adjustment to college. However, there was an unexpected finding that attitudinal dependence on parents consistently corresponded with better adjustment to college.

To explore this further, Rice (1992) undertook a longitudinal study. He hypothesized firstly that students were expected to report greater independence from both parents over time. More specifically, men and women were both expected to show increases in independence, but women's scores were expected to be lower than men's scores. Students were also expected to show increased adjustment to college over time. For most measures his hypotheses were generally confirmed in that, between their first year and their third year, both male and female students did report increases in their
psychological independence from parents and in their adjustment to college. The only measure of separation which did not change over time was *attitudinal dependence*. In his discussion, Rice expressed surprise at this finding although it was consistent with Lapsley et al. (1989) and Lopez et al. (1988). He tried to explain it away by describing his sample of students as being conservative Catholics, less likely to question the previously held beliefs and ideals of their parental belief systems. He suggested that they might develop attitudinal separation later. However, this attitudinal dependence encompassing religious and cultural beliefs and ideals may have more implications for belonging and attachment to parents, families and communities than for separation from parents. Those remaining dependent may be benefitting from feelings of security and reduced conflict which would explain why attitudinal dependence is associated with better adjustment. Perhaps for many individuals attitudinal separation from parents is not a prerequisite for healthy adjustment to adulthood.

Blustein et al. (1991) investigated attachment and separation processes in relation to career exploration and commitment which could be described as one of the final exploratory tasks of adolescence. They too found that attitudinal independence was not a relevant factor for good adjustment and they moved from hypothesizing that separation difficulty would be associated with career indecision and deficits in career decision-making, to hypothesizing a model of functioning whereby separation working together with parental attachment would be positively related to progress in the career commitment process and be inversely related to the tendency to foreclose. They found gender differences. For women they reported that the combined influence of conflictual independence from both parents and attachment to both parents reflected the family condition that fostered an open approach and progress in the career development process. However for men there was a different pattern of results. Attitudinal independence was inversely related to the career commitment process. This finding in conjunction with the positive relationship between conflictual independence from and parental attachment to father (but not significantly to mother) suggested that the father-son relationship was particularly important in the career exploration and development of late adolescent males. From a theoretical perspective, drawing on
Josselson (1988) they suggested that in general adolescents find it “easier to grow and develop in an environment that allows for some emotional refuelling as they engage in the difficult developmental tasks that foster autonomy” (Blustein et al., 1991, p. 48).

Although many theorists have remained loyal to a dual developmental process comprising both continuing parental attachment and separation, the growing body of empirical evidence for the attachment processes appears to be stronger than that for the separation processes. Rice (1992) suggests implications for counsellors working with students. Firstly he recommends that they focus on conflicted feelings towards parents and secondly he suggests that rather than fostering increased separation and distance from parents it would be helpful to appreciate the importance of the relational connection with parents together with an understanding of the family dynamics.

**Gender differences**

The women theorists working from the “connectedness” perspective would predict that attachment relationships would be more important for female than for male adolescents. The research literature does demonstrate a proliferation of subtle gender differences in the associations between various aspects of attachment and different measures of adjustment. Evidence that females score more highly than males in measures of peer attachment has already been mentioned. Also females are more likely than males to use attachment behaviour and attempt to get social support in times of stress. Although Hazan and Shaver (1987) reported that there was no gender difference in the way individuals classified themselves as having secure, avoidant or anxious-ambivalent attachment, and this was in line with the findings of attachment behaviour in infancy and replicated by others using the three category attachment measure (Brennan et al., 1991; Feeney & Noller, 1990), Bartholomew's four-category measure did yield gender differences. In the avoidant categories, males were more likely to endorse the dismissing style and females more likely to endorse the fearful style (Brennan et al., 1991; Scharfe & Bartholomew, 1994) and this finding has proved to be robust (Feeney and Noller, 1996).

Other gender differences have emerged. In his longitudinal study of separation,
attachment and college adjustment, Rice (1992) found that for first year students separation-individuation was associated with social and emotional adjustment for women but not for men, on Baker & Siryk's (1986) scale for measuring adjustment to college. His results suggested that daughters who had just come to college managed better in social and personal arenas if they could depend on their fathers and had positive feelings towards their mothers. For Junior (third year) students, women's separation-individuation was significantly associated with social adjustment and to a lesser extent with emotional adjustment. However for the Junior men, the two were also associated but the emotional adjustment was the more significant. In particular he found that sons who were less angry and resentful with their fathers reported better emotional adjustment at college than those experiencing relationship conflicts. He concluded that there was a shift in the importance of the student-parent relationship over time and that this differed between men and women. Whereas the men benefitted from secure, minimally conflictual relationships with their fathers before an important developmental transition, such as going away to college, after the transition they could use resources such as friendships to help them adjust. This was consistent with the conclusions of Blustein et al. (1991) mentioned above that the father-son relationship was of particular importance at the time of career exploration in late adolescence which also just precedes another important transitional stage, the move into the adult world of work. Another important study by Grotevant and Cooper (1985), which was quoted in the previous chapter is also relevant here because they too found that in a family discussion task boys were most significantly influenced by their fathers, whereas girls were influenced by all family relationships. Working in India, Bhushan and Shirali (1992) found that late adolescent males aged between 18 and 24 years also needed the support of their fathers and that negative communication between father and son or emotional distance between them led to significant problems, suggesting that sons desire their fathers' approval. Thus there is a growing body of evidence indicating the importance of the father's support of his son, particularly before important transition stages when decisions have to be made.

Rice (1992) found that for women parental relationships remained consistently associated with social and emotional well-being though different parents were
important at different times. This is consistent with Grotevant and Cooper's finding that all family relationships affected the young women. However, Allen and Stoltenberg (1995) working from a self-in-relation theoretical perspective hypothesized gender differences but found that men and women viewed their families as equally socially desirable and both men and women reported few disturbances in the separation-individuation process. Women did report establishing more forms of social support and they saw their families as more cohesive than men. The researchers suggested that counsellors should bear in mind the need for females to maintain their close family ties even when living away from home to enhance their healthy development and adjustment to college. Further research is needed to clarify the gender differences in attachment and adjustment associations and to find out whether this has implications for counsellors to work differently with men and with women.

**Adolescent research populations**

This review of research studies which have been published in the last ten years has found many psychologists interested in the late adolescents' continuing relationships with their parents. Many of these have also provided evidence to support positive association between parental attachment and different aspects of psychosocial adjustment and well-being. However, the adolescent subjects for the majority of these studies were white, middle-class American university undergraduates, whom Kenny (1990) describes as economically and educationally privileged. To see if her findings would generalize to other adolescents, Kenny (1994) examined the practical factors affecting parental attachment in students at trade and technical schools. As well as coming from a wider socioeconomic range, these students were considered to be less academically able than the undergraduates, studying at colleges more local to their family homes. Her findings for these adolescents were consistent with the earlier ones in that they too rated their parental attachments positively, viewing them as fostering their autonomy and being available as a source of emotional support. This study is encouraging in suggesting a consistent quality about parent-adolescent relationships not affected by socioeconomic status and academic ability. However this study was limited in scope, in that social competence was the only measure of adjustment and well-being to be correlated with parental attachment.
A number of others researching in this area have acknowledged that their studies have been restricted to investigating relationships mainly within Caucasian American undergraduate populations, choosing students from two-parent families. Blustein et al. (1991) focusing on the contributions of separation and parental attachment to the career development processes in late adolescents suggested that future research should look at adolescents from single-parent homes. Continuing their work Palladino Schultheiss and Blustein (1994) also suggested the need for the work to be extended to culturally and ethnically diverse populations. Ryan et al. (1996) considered that their findings that securely attached individuals from well-functioning families are more efficient in their career search than those from dysfunctional families had limited generalizability because their subjects too were Caucasians from affluent community colleges. It may well be that the population of American undergraduates does consist mainly of the securely attached because they are the achievers, the ones who were able to adjust to new situations. Their insecurely attached contemporaries may not have had the support or the confidence to attain the necessary academic standards to get them into university. Mallinckrodt (1992) produced some evidence of particularly favourable parental attachment in his subject group of white undergraduates from an American mid-western university. He found that on the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI; Parker et al., 1979) there was a marked skew in distribution with an accumulation of scores in the direction of positive attachment, (that is high on Care and low on Overprotection). Further research should be directed to investigating whether the association between parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment and well-being can be generalized to adolescent populations reflecting a wider socioeconomic and academic ability range.

Reviewing research over the last fifty years on adolescents from ethnic minority groups, Spencer et al. (1991) complained that most studies focused on deviance and culture clashes and few concentrated on how ethnic adolescent development fits alongside the majority group or on how teachers, youth services or parents can help these adolescents. A literature search has produced just one study which focuses on adolescent-parent attachment relationships in an ethnic minority and this looks at the health and well-being of British Asian adolescents together with their non-Asian
counterparts. Shams and Williams (1995) conducted their study in Scotland with fourteen and fifteen year old middle adolescents. Using the Parental Bonding Instrument as a measure of attachment, they found that a higher level of perceived parental protection was associated with higher psychological distress and that a higher level of perceived parental care was associated with lower psychological distress. In addition they found significant differences between the ethnic groups in that British Asian adolescents perceived more parental protection than non-Asian adolescents and that British Asian girls perceived less parental care than non-Asian girls. This information could be valuable for counsellors working within adolescents from Asian communities. With increasing ethnic and cultural diversity within our communities, future research into adolescent-parent relationships should investigate the similarities and differences between the ethnic groups.

**Implications for counsellors**

Many of the researchers conclude their studies with suggestions aimed to help counsellors in their work with adolescents. Rather than focusing on the separation issues Holmbeck and Wandrei (1993) suggest that university counsellors should help first year students who are experiencing difficulty in adjusting to college to consider "family relations and object-relational functioning" (p. 77). As already mentioned other authors (e.g. Kobak et al., 1991; Blustein et al., 1991; Rice, 1992) have suggested that counsellors should encourage increased communication between adolescents and their parents to improve relationships. Kenny and Donaldson (1992) suggest that counsellors should explore their clients' connections to families and parental support when addressing college-related problems. From their work in the field of career counselling, Ryan et al. (1996) recommend a strategy rooted in attachment theory. They suggest it is important to assess the early messages that a client received about exploring the world to assess whether resistance to career search activities is linked to a general fear of situations that involve active exploration. "By gaining insight into how parent attachment processes and family dysfunction affect development of one's core self-conceptions .... clients may gain the cognitive and emotional scaffolding necessary to challenge themselves to perform necessary search activities." (Ryan et al., 1996, p. 88). Mallinckrodt (1992) suggests that, to help
adolescent clients who have difficulties in making use of social support because of poor early parental bonding, counselling intervention could restore the balance by providing a responsive interpersonal environment to compensate for the effects of earlier parental failure to respond. Such a counselling relationship might provide a 'good object' or a secure attachment figure, which would permit a corrective bonding experience and help to build the inter-personal competencies necessary for healthy social interaction (Mallinckrodt, 1992, pp. 459-460). Perhaps counsellors in education are taking up these suggestions in their therapeutic work with late adolescents but, possibly because this area of research is fairly new, any associated studies have not yet been published. Meanwhile it could be helpful to explore different ways in which looking at parental relationships past and present within the counselling relationship may be therapeutic.

Implications for further research
Overall the research studies have been developed from a variety of theoretical approaches, but whether rooted in one particular theory or taking concepts and building on work from a mixture of perspectives, they have produced considerable support for an association between parental attachment relationships and healthy development and psychosocial adjustment in late adolescence. There is also a variety of suggestions as to how this finding can be used to help adolescents who are experiencing developmental difficulties by addressing their parental relationships. As was explained at the beginning of this chapter this field of research is relatively new and expanding rapidly, so a number of the studies included in this review were not available when the present research was being planned and undertaken. However there was sufficient encouragement for further research and, in particular, investigation was required as to whether findings regarding the association between parental attachment and psychosocial and emotional adjustment for white, middle-class academically achieving undergraduates would generalize to adolescents of mixed academic ability from more culturally and socioeconomically diverse populations. In addition more research was required to assess the advantages and suitability of applying attachment theory and its concepts to adolescent development and its ability to account for individual differences and dysfunction.
Chapter 4

THE RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

Attachment theory as a framework for the research

Bearing in mind that the primary aim for this research is to understand more about the significance of parental relationships for late adolescents with a view to informing counselling practice, the literature review has provided more grounds for using attachment theory as a basis for the research, in addition to the theoretical advantages cited in Chapter 2. Firstly it is exciting to discover that other researchers have made the link between dysfunctional parental attachment and developmental difficulties for late adolescents and they too have considered attachment theory to be pertinent (de Jong, 1992; Kenny & Hart, 1992; Rada Naja, 1992). The way has been paved and some benchmarks for comparing my results will be available. Secondly, to operationalize my hypotheses it will be necessary to measure relationships and the availability of established measures that have been derived from a single theory will provide both consistency and comparability. Thirdly, attachment theory is relevant to the counselling part of the study which is being planned. Pistole (1989a) and Holmes (1994) have both discussed how the counselling relationship can be seen in terms of attachment theory and how this can be used as a strategy for producing therapeutic change. Finally and most importantly, attachment theory appears to provide explanations and interpretations which can be readily applied to the way adolescents function in their daily lives and as students at college (Kenny, 1987, 1990, 1994; Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Mallinckrodt, 1992). For the adolescent, attending a college of further education provides a stage of transition, beyond the confines and control of compulsory education, into the "strange situation" of exploring the threshold of adulthood. Is this situation for the adolescent parallel to that of the toddler? Are different attachment relationship styles associated with different patterns of adolescent behaviour? Attachment theory appears able to raise questions that are relevant to both the counselling and the research. However, although attachment concepts are being applied to adolescence, this area of research is new and further work is needed to test
the usefulness of the attachment model for understanding adolescent development and addressing emotional difficulties.

**Parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment for a broader population of adolescents.**

Using different measures and methodologies a range of research studies (Kenny, 1987, 1990; Armdsen and Greenberg, 1987; Kobak and Sceery, 1988; Kenny and Donaldson, 1991, 1992; Lapsley, Rice and Fitzgerald, 1990) all showed positive association between parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment. However almost all of the subjects were American college students the majority of whom reported parental relationships characteristic of secure attachment. It can be argued that these students were a select sample, coming from advantaged and supportive families, rather than being representative of the whole adolescent population. Most of the subjects were from white, middle-class families and they were academic achievers. Psychologists continuing the work in this field have expressed the need to investigate whether the findings would generalize to a wider population (Blustein et al., 1991; Papini & Roggman, 1992; Kenny, 1994, Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994). Would subjects from disadvantaged homes, from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds and those who are not successful students also show an association between parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment and wellbeing? A college of further education in Britain today could provide a diverse population of adolescents suitable for such an investigation. It would be useful to find out whether the students who are doing well at college are those who, when specifically tested, perceive themselves to have good parental attachments and conversely whether those doing less well perceive their parental attachments less favourably.

Few studies have focused on ethnically mixed adolescent populations. Writing about research over the last fifty years concerning adolescents from ethnic minority groups, Spencer et al. (1991) complained that most studies focused on deviance and culture clashes; few concentrated on how adolescents from ethnic minorities developed alongside the majority group or on how teachers, youth services or parents could help these adolescents. F.E. College students from a range of ethnic backgrounds would
provide a population functioning in a normal environment where adolescent-parent relationships and attachments could be compared. My clinical instinct suggests that the significance of parental attachment applies to all adolescents whatever their cultural background or socioeconomic status, but it is possible that the effects of parental approval/disapproval and available/absent emotional support are culturally bound to middle-class families with expectations of college education. This is worthy of investigation for students from a broad range of backgrounds. My hypothesis is that adolescent students who are securely attached to their parents will show good adjustment to life and study at college.

**Gender differences**

The gender issue has been raised both in the theory literature by Gilligan and her colleagues and also by the researchers at the Stone Center (Jordan et al., 1991) suggesting that relationships have greater significance for females than for males. The research literature confirms some gender differences but consistent patterns are more difficult to find, particularly for parental relationships. Kenny & Donaldson (1991) found that female students received more emotional support from their parents than males but further research into gender differences for parental attachment produced confusing results (Kenny et al., 1993). In research concerning family members working as a group with a particular task, Grotevant and Cooper (1985) found that while sons were most affected by their fathers, daughters were affected by all the relationships in their family. From his longitudinal study of parental attachment and separation Rice (1992) also found gender differences as relationships changed. He concluded that for women parental relationships remained consistently associated with their social and emotional wellbeing throughout their time at college, whereas for men the importance of parental relationships fluctuated. These findings all suggest that gender differences are also worthy of further investigation. If females are more sensitive to more relationships, perhaps they are also more adversely affected when relationships break down or attachment figures are found to be absent in times of need. In college female students frequently seek help from the college counsellors when their relationships with peers, parents or other family members are going wrong, but such problems are rarely brought as presenting issues by the men. The existing
research together with clinical experience suggests a second hypothesis that female students will show a more marked association between attachment to parents and adjustment to college than male students.

Developing a new measure

Although a range of different attachment measures suitable for British students are already available, the one well established measure of student psychosocial adjustment, Baker and Siryk's SACQ, is inappropriate for British F.E. students. Baker and Siryk (1984, 1986) recognized the need to measure what they termed "adjustment to college" to investigate the variables needed to determine successful adaptation to life away at university and "to have a diagnostic tool for identification of students who experience difficulty in their adjustment to college and might profit from counselling or other remedial interventions." (1984 p. 179) Their scale appears to be robust and reliable as a measure of students' performance in college life and it has been used in a number of studies investigating the parental attachment/separation issue and college adjustment (Allen et al., 1990; Lapsley et al.,1989; Lapsley et al., 1990; Kenny and Donaldson, 1992). However many of the items in this questionnaire focus on the experience of adjusting to the college community while living away from home or embody cultural values specifically relevant to the American college experience. Since most students at further education college in Britain still live in a parental home and the college culture is quite different, a new more relevant measure is required.

Developing a new measure of psychosocial adjustment and well-being suitable for British students would be useful as a research tool and, at the same time, it could provide a practical measure of adjustment to college which would assist in the recognition and monitoring of students with problems. While some teaching and tutoring staff manage to keep an eye on all their students and remain aware of how each individual is progressing, the majority have neither sufficient time nor good enough communication with their colleagues to notice when students begin to fall behind. Often the failing student is not recognized until the problem is full-blown, by which time valuable learning opportunities have been lost and it is particularly hard for the student to get back on course. A self-report questionnaire focusing on
adjustment to college would help staff to recognize problems earlier and address them.

Such a measure could also be directly helpful to students themselves. A student might have a vague doubt or concern about his or her progress, but with sparse timetables and the slow marking of assignments, feedback from teachers could come too late. Similarly measuring oneself against one's peers could be misleading if a group of friends were all truanting. In contrast, a questionnaire measure which could be self-scored would provide clear information or confirmation that a problem exists. This could provide an incentive to either make a supreme effort to do better or else to seek help from teaching or counselling staff. Thus a new measure of adjustment to college, relevant to British students, would be beneficial and worthy of development.

**Students using the college counselling service**

Although some students refer themselves to the counselling service and a few are brought by friends, the majority are referred by tutors or teachers because they are not meeting the academic, vocational or personal requirements of their course. Following this I hypothesize that as a group, the students who seek help from the counselling service are less well adjusted to college life and study than the general population of students. This third hypothesis could be tested using the new measure of adjustment to college.

Combining this inference with the attachment/adjustment research findings it would also be logical to hypothesize that students who seek help from the counselling service will be less securely attached to their parents than the general population of students.

**Interventions by college counsellors**

Many of the psychologists who have reported a strong association between positive parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment have also indicated its relevance for the counselling help given in college (Blustein et al., 1991; Mallinckrodt, 1992; Holmbeck & Wandrei, 1993; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994). Kenny and Donaldson (1992) suggested specifically that counsellors should be exploring connections to families and parental support rather than assuming that college related
issues were unconnected. Despite all the advice aimed at college counsellors I have not yet found any counselling research focusing on this area. Working in the counselling service of a further education college where students come for help with a wide variety of problems I am well placed to investigate whether specifically exploring parental relationships with students, whatever their presenting problems, would indeed be beneficial. The economic climate provides an additional incentive. With college authorities keeping an even tighter hold on their purse strings and counselling provision becoming even more stretched, a counsellor might work more effectively in a shorter time by moving directly towards parental attachment, rather than allowing it to emerge slowly. The literature also suggests that poor parental attachment affects different aspects of well-being so that dealing only with a presenting problem might only provide a temporary "fix." For the counselling to be truly effective, for sustained well-being, does the adolescent-parent relationship have to be fully addressed? This aspect of college counselling invites research. My specific hypothesis is that by focusing on the adolescent-parent relationship, counselling would improve both parental attachment and adjustment to college.

**Summarizing the rationale for the research**

With the ultimate aim of informing counsellors and others working to help adolescents, the research on parental attachment and adolescent adjustment should be further extended. Primarily, research with students in further education in Britain would provide an opportunity to investigate whether the positive association between parental attachment and psychosocial adjustment could be generalized to a culturally diverse population from a wide socio-economic range and with differing levels of academic achievement. This requires the development of a new measure of adjustment to college suitable for British students which would also be useful for teachers and counsellors.

Secondly the differences between male and female students need to be examined further. If females are more sensitive to attachments than males and this is shown to have more salient effects on their well-being, then styles of counselling interventions should reflect this.
Although the literature has suggested that counselling should focus on parental relationships and there are plenty of case studies from different theoretical perspectives to indicate that such interventions are successful, there does not appear to be any systematic counselling research to investigate this approach. I propose to carry out such an investigation.

The hypotheses
The hypotheses, which are based on both research literature and clinical experience as discussed above, are as follows:

I  Adolescent students who are securely attached to their parents (as measured by attachment questionnaires) will show good adjustment to life and study at F.E. college (as measured by an adjustment to college questionnaire.)

II Female students will show a more marked association between attachment to parents and adjustment to F. E. College than male students.

III Adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service will be less well adjusted to college life and study than the general population of students.

IV Adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service will be less securely attached to their parents than the general population of students.

V By focusing on the adolescent-parent relationship, counselling will raise the scores of both measures of attachment to parents and the measure of adjustment to college, suggesting more secure parental attachment and better adjustment to college.
SECTION II:

PLANNING THE STUDIES

SELECTING & DEVELOPING MEASURES
Chapter 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the design of the entire research study, as it was initially envisaged. More detailed explanations of research decisions will be given in the following chapters.

The research was designed in different parts which, where possible, would be undertaken simultaneously to allow for the constraints of time and subject availability.

The research would take place at a college of further education, with student subjects aged 16-20 years.

Assembling the test materials

To test hypotheses I and II measures of attachment to parents and adjustment to college would be needed. A number of attachment measures, described in the literature, were likely to be suitable. The following were to be assessed:

i) Kenny’s Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ) (1987)
ii) Armsden & Greenberg’s Inventory of Parental and Peer Attachment (IPPA)(1987)
iii) Hazan & Shaver’s model of attachment measure (1987; 1990)

However, there did not appear to be a suitable measure of adjustment to life and study at college for British students in further education and such a measure would have to be developed. The development of a questionnaire was planned as follows:

1. Small groups of subjects would take part in exploratory in-depth interviews to encourage them to express their own ideas about adjustment to life and study at F.E. College. These interviews would be audio-taped.
From the transcripts of these interviews, different themes and common examples of adjustment would be selected.

A questionnaire would be constructed, consisting of statements concerning different aspects of adjustment to college. The questionnaire would require responses on a Likert-type scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

A few subjects would be chosen by opportunity sampling just to check that all the statement items could be understood and that the form was "user-friendly." Alterations would be made accordingly.

For a pilot study, a small random sample of subjects would be tested on the questionnaire so that redundant items and problem items could be removed.

To test for reliability and validity/generalizability, 20 - 25 subjects would be randomly selected from across college and they would be tested individually in the following order:

a) Test on the Adjustment Questionnaire
b) Two weeks later - Re-test on the Adjustment Questionnaire.

A clinical counselling interview to explore how well the subject had adjusted to college. This interview would be audio-taped. The tape would be independently rated by a counsellor not involved in the research and with no knowledge of the questionnaire scores. The interview ratings would be statistically tested against the questionnaire scores.

If the newly developed Adjustment to College Questionnaire was found to be a valid and reliable measure and the attachment measures were deemed suitable, the research could proceed.
Testing Hypotheses I and II: a questionnaire study

Approximately 300 subjects would be required. Student classes would be randomly selected from a list of full-time college courses, excluding the classes aimed specifically at mature students and those for students with moderate and severe learning disabilities. The aim was to produce a representative sample of the late adolescent student population.

Students would be given a pack containing the following:

i) Kenny's Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ) (1987)
ii) Armsden & Greenberg's Inventory of Parental and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (1987)
iii) Hazan & Shaver's model of attachment measure
vi) The newly developed Questionnaire of Adjustment to College
v) A Personal information form including questions regarding family information, ethnic information and level of academic achievement.
vi) A question asking for subjects to indicate their willingness to be contacted in the future to participate in a one-to-one in-depth interview.

The PAQ and the IPPA would provide scores for attachment, on different scales, which could be statistically correlated with one another and with the adjustment to college scores. The Hazan and Shaver measure would assign subjects to one of three attachment groups: secure, insecure-avoidant and insecure-ambivalent. The attachment scores and the adjustment scores for the three groups could be statistically compared. The personal information form would provide information to enable statistical analysis according to gender, age, ethnic group, socio-economic status and single vs. two-parent families.

Approximately 15 out of the 300 subjects who had indicated a willingness for further contact and who were not clients of the college Counselling Service were to be seen again, individually, 8-12 weeks after their initial test. They would be retested on the whole set of questionnaires and then they would be given a semi-structured interview. This was planned so that:
a) The interval between their initial test and their retest would be similar to the interval experienced by the counselling clients in the third part of the study (see below). Their results could be compared.

b) This would provide an additional check on the reliability and validity of the Adjustment to College Questionnaire.

c) The interview would provide qualitative data regarding adolescent parental and peer attachment and adjustment to college.

The interview study

The 15 students described above would be given semi-structured in-depth interviews, which would be audio-taped. Focusing on the adolescents' perceptions of their parental and peer relationships and their adjustment to college, these interviews would provide qualitative data to give a more detailed account of this stage of development. This qualitative data would also be compared to the quantitative data for the individual subjects.

Testing hypotheses III, IV & V: A counselling outcome study

The pack of questionnaires described for the questionnaire study would be given to almost all of the students seen by the researcher for the College Counselling Service. The well-being of each individual client would remain paramount, with the researcher using her clinical judgment to decide whether participation in the research would be inappropriate. (For example, a student whose parent had recently died would not be asked to fill in questionnaires about parental attachment.)

The research schedule for individual counselling client subjects was planned as follows:

1 Questionnaire testing after assessment, but before counselling commences, to establish baseline responses.

2 Counselling sessions would follow a protocol and focus on the adolescent-parent relationship.

3 Re-testing on the questionnaires as soon as possible after the final counselling session, to measure any changes.
The quantitative data would be statistically analysed. Comparisons would be made with the scores of the 15 subjects initially tested and then retested on the questionnaires.

With the consent of the counselling clients, the counsellors' process notes would provide qualitative data to be examined. This could provide information about aspects of intervention which create therapeutic change.

Having planned the studies, the character of the college population needed investigation to confirm that it did meet the requirements of the research.
Chapter 6

THE COLLEGE POPULATION

One of the aims of the present research is to explore whether the positive association between the parental attachment relationship and adjustment to college found for mainly white, middle-class American university students (Kenny, 1987; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) could be similarly found for British students, including those less academically able, from a wider socio-economic range and from a wide mix of cultural backgrounds. The college of further education where I am employed as a college counsellor provides a suitable research population. The college is situated on two sites within a Borough of Greater London. Its catchment area includes neighbouring London Boroughs as well as some of the adjacent home counties. The college provides a wide range of both academic and vocational courses which are delivered as full-time, part-time and evening courses. Students range in age from 16 to over 60 years. For this research focusing on adolescence, the 16 to 20 year range would give sufficient spread of five years of late adolescence to explore any developmental differences in the adolescent-parent relationship and their effects on adjustment to college. The research findings should also be comparable with those from the United States. Students on full-time courses could be selected as being most comparable with the American university samples in contrast to the part-time and evening students, who would be more likely to have employment or other responsibilities and activities occupying the major part of their week so that their education might not be of primary concern. Thus this chapter will concentrate on the 16 to 20 year old full-time students, the potential subjects for the research.

Reasons for attending F.E. college.

This group of students has a very wide range of motives for choosing to attend further education college. A sizeable proportion hope to gain qualifications to go to university. Although A levels is still the most popular route, further education colleges provide BTEc and other more vocational courses which do lead to
qualification for university. Local school sixth forms have traditionally only offered A levels and although these are now offering a few vocational courses, students choose FE college because of the wider range of courses (e.g. leisure & tourism, business & finance, information technology). Many 16 year olds also choose to leave school because they are attracted by the more adult world of college, free from the restrictions of school rules. Those who have been unhappy at school welcome a change; those who have been failing at school welcome a new start. Some students retake courses they have failed at school, others take up completely new subjects. Others students have moved home from another area. Not all aspire to higher education. Some students want to gain vocational qualifications which will take them straight into employment, (nursery nursing, business administration NVQs, hairdressing, catering, engineering.) Others would prefer to get a job immediately but the current situation of high youth unemployment means that jobs are few and so they attend college as a stop-gap measure or as a socially acceptable alternative. Some students attend college because it is expected by their parents and families rather than because they want to remain in education for themselves. For some it is the only escape from a restrictive home culture which does not allow any other social interaction with peer groups outside the family environment.

**Age range and ethnic diversity**

For the academic year 1995-6 there were 2,874 enrolled students aged 16 to 20 years (1361 females, 1499 males, 14 gender not indicated.) Chart 6.1 gives the age distribution. These students came from families originating from a wide range of places and cultures and Chart 6.2 indicates how students responded to the question of ethnic origin on their college enrolment forms. The largest group was the white group accounting for 48% of the population. These students mainly came from families originating in Great Britain, the majority of their parents coming from London and the surrounding counties. The next largest grouping was the Indian sub-continent group, called the Asian group by the students themselves, and consisted of students whose families originate from India (18%), Pakistan (3%) and Bangladesh (1%). These students were mainly born in Britain but their grandparents and for many their parents too were born in the Asian sub-continent or East Africa and they consistently
Chart 6.1
Age distribution of the College Population

Chart 6.2
Ethnic Origins of the College Population

- Did not Respond
- Other
- Chinese
- Other Black
- Caribbean
- African
- Other Asian
- Bangladeshi
- Pakistani
- Indian

UK
indicate their ethnic origin to be the homeland for their grandparents. At college these students constitute large visible social groups. As many students from Asian families, particularly the girls, are not allowed to socialize with their peers outside college hours because of cultural conventions, so college becomes the focus of their social lives. Similar cultural restrictions are experienced by students originating from countries such as Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq, classified here as Other Asian (2%). The college has a smaller proportion of black students made up from Black Africans (5%) whose families originated in countries such as Nigeria and Ghana, Black Caribbeans (3%) and other Blacks (1%). There were just 5 Chinese students (0.3%) and 0.9% specified other origins. 17% of students did not respond. Thus the college population originated from a wide range of countries and cultures with just under half the students coming from native UK families.

**Academic ability**

The most obvious measure of academic ability for this age-group is the attainment of GCSE passes at levels A - C, but the college is unable to provide student statistics. However, the overall the academic ability of the college population appears to broadly reflect that of middle England. The government's education league tables for 1995-6 (The Times, 20th November 1996) reported that 40.9% of students in the college's local education authority achieved 5 or more GCSE passes, which was just below the national average of 44.5%, and the authority was placed 62nd out of 118 authorities in England. The college itself, when compared with other further education colleges and sixth-form colleges on A-level results, was placed 25th out of the 37 London Boroughs and is approximately calculated to fall within the 35th and 45th percentile range for national achievement. Thus the majority of students at this college are not likely to be high academic achievers but, although as a whole they fall a little below the national average, there is no evidence that the majority will be particularly low achievers either.

Within college there is a wide range of ability. The most able students are those who have attained 8 or more GCSEs. To undertake a three A-level course, the college requires a minimum of 4 GCSEs although some students with just 3 GCSEs are
accepted. Other advanced courses and BTec National courses also require 4 GCSEs or the equivalent. Lower level courses are non-selective in that they do not require any GCSEs and many students come with 0, 1 and 2 subjects. The college also provides courses for students with severe and moderate learning difficulties who come from special schools. These students attend specifically organized courses as well as having some mainstream integration. This group, numbering about 50, would not be included in the research because their particular difficulties and experiences would make their participation problematic and would create additional uncontrollable variables. Another group to be excluded would be the recent immigrants, mainly refugees and asylum seekers. These students attend college to learn English and there are approximately 35 in the relevant age-group. As their English is poor and the majority have recently suffered trauma which affected family relationships, it would be inappropriate to include them in the research. However, students who have been in this country long enough (usually at least two years) to have the language and the ability to cope in mainstream classes need not initially be excluded.

Socio-economic status

Again no statistics are available to define the socio-economic status of the students' families but experience in working with students at college over twelve years suggests that they reflect the breadth of the general population. Although college enrolment forms do not ask for parental occupations, counsellors do acquire that sort of information in their work. Family backgrounds have ranged from parents in occupations requiring professional training through those in skilled and semi-skilled jobs to those doing manual labour and other unskilled work. The geographical catchment area varies, in colloquial terms, from upper middle class homes to working class and problem estates with a high level of crime. A number of families are living on Income Support benefits. As no tuition fees are required for students who begin their courses before their nineteenth birthdays so, for the majority, there is no financial barrier preventing entry. However local authorities provide very few maintenance grants for living expenses and the majority of students live at home and are at least partially dependent on their parents. It is estimated that over 80% of students have part-time jobs to ease the financial burden but very few manage to be wholly self-
supporting. The college population could be described as including both middle class and working class families with no obvious bias towards one or the other.

**Students from single parent families**

As the current research is to explore adolescent-parent relationships, it would be helpful to have some statistics on the proportion of two-parent and single-parent families but again nothing is available. Impressions gained from counselling suggest that there is a high proportion of single-parent families and, although other researchers have restricted their studies to students with two parents, I have decided to include all students in all parts of the present work because adolescents who have lost a relationship with one or both parents could be an important source of information. It is possible that students who attend the counselling and advisory service are not a representative sample of the whole but for the counselling part of the research it would be useful to have control subjects from similar family backgrounds who have not received counselling.

**The college counselling service**

Individual counselling is available to all college students. It is provided by three qualified counsellors, all working part-time, and one trainee counsellor on placement. Approximately 300 students came for counselling appointments during the 1995-6 academic year, but this figure includes mature students. Some were self-referred but the majority were encouraged to attend by their tutors or other teaching staff. Some course areas, such as health and social care, A-levels and business administration, referred more students than others, such as engineering and computing. This might reflect the sensitivities and awareness of the staff as much as the needs of the students and it might also reflect the gender difference in the students attending those course. Considerably more females than males attend in the approximate ratio of 6:1. Students came from all the different ethnic groups. For some clients just one session was sufficient but others attended for more than twenty sessions. There is no limit imposed on the length of time a client could be seen but the pressure on the service means that clients are discouraged from lingering. Although clients are encouraged to make contracts for weekly appointment some of the younger ones tend to prefer a
drop-in service and return at times of crisis. The students attending counselling appear to be fairly representative of the whole college population but this will be explored in the research.
Chapter 7

SELECTING MEASURES OF ATTACHMENT

During the 1980's a number of psychologists, working independently, developed instruments to measure different aspects of attachment behaviour. This chapter will describe the reasons for selecting three particular attachment measures. It will describe their properties and evaluate their strengths and limitations.

Requirements of the present research
The concept of attachment has been developed into a complex construct with a variety of dimensions that can be explored and measured. These include:

- The infant's relationship with its carer, encompassing the carer's availability and responsiveness and the infant's ability to elicit this behaviour.
- The categorization of the individual's internal working models of attachment.
- Patterns of insecure attachment observed by Bowlby (1979) in adolescent and adult clinical populations.
- Adults' perceptions and memories of their early relationships with their own parents.
- Adolescents' perceptions and memories of their early parental relationships.
- Adolescents' current relationships with their parents.
- Adolescent peer relationships.
- Adult love relationships.

From the variety of measures and methods available, three tests to gauge current adolescent attachment have been selected. The Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ), the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) and the Hazan and Shaver measure of attachment are each assessed according to the following criteria.
a) Theoretical consistency

Measures of attachment behaviour have been developed by researchers working from different theoretical perspectives, such as family systems and behavioural models. However, since the present research and its hypotheses have developed from Attachment theory, those instruments for measuring attachment which share the same theoretical base are the most appropriate because they are most likely to be measuring a shared construct of attachment. This should ensure that the data being collected will reflect and measure those particular aspects of late adolescent attachment to parents which are most relevant to these hypotheses.

b) Psychometric properties

Attachment measures should have good, proven psychometric properties. In discussing the principles of measurement Oppenheim (1992) suggests that measuring instruments can be evaluated in terms of their:

1) uni-dimensionality or homogeneity
2) reliability
3) validity
4) scoring system and statistical norms.

A measuring instrument which has already been used by different researchers in a variety of studies is most desirable for the present study because reliability and validity will have been tested by independent psychologists who are presumably more objective than those developing the tests. If the results of independent and/or repeated research indicate high correlation coefficients for reliability and validity the measure can be assumed to have good psychometric properties.

c) Suitability for 16 - 20 year old F. E. student subjects

The proposed subject population consists of 16 to 20 year old students at a college of further education. The attachment measures must be appropriate for this age-group and preferably already standardized on the same age population. In addition this student population is drawn from a wide socio-economic range, a mixed academic ability range and a wide cultural base. (Details may be found in the Subject section
for each study.) Each item of a measure must be relevant to and answerable by each individual subject or the scores obtained would be meaningless. Some attachment measures have already been used on diverse adolescent populations and have been found to remain stable and reliable.

The experimental design requires 200-300 "normal" student subjects to be tested on attachment measures. For practical purposes, including substantial time-saving and efficiency, the measures need to be undertaken by a large number of students simultaneously. This rules out measures requiring individual interviews and indicates self-report measures which have full instructions and can be self-administered. There are a number of disadvantages in the use of self-report measures and these are more fully addressed in the evaluations below. However, these limitations are generally outweighed by the advantages of giving self-report measures to this population. Firstly, the subjects can be assured of confidentiality. Secondly, many of them appear to enjoy filling out questionnaires and so are likely to co-operate. Thirdly they can easily understand the focus of the research from the questions and so are less likely to fear a hidden agenda or manipulation by the experimenter.

d) Focus on measuring attachment in the adolescent-parent relationship

The present study was designed to investigate ongoing parent-adolescent relationships in relation to ongoing adjustment at college. Thus instruments which focus on adolescents' retrospective ratings of parental care, such as Parker, Tupling and Brown's (1979) Parental Bonding Instrument, would not be pertinent measures.

In addition to focusing on present relationships, a quantifiable measure of attachment was required. Theoretically an attachment relationship, the enduring affekctional bond between two people, can be perceived as falling on a continuum between very strong, secure attachment and very weak insecure attachment. Some instruments designed to quantify the point on this continuum for a particular adolescent-parent relationship, measure different aspects or dimensions of attachment behaviour, which are judged to reflect the level of attachment and which can be recognized and rated by the adolescent.
e) Ability to categorize style of attachment
An adolescent's internalized working model of attachment may be related to his or her performance in the adolescent equivalent of the "strange situation" which is to be measured as adjustment to college. A measure which could categorize this model or style of attachment would provide useful information.

f) Ability to assess change
This research also calls for a valid measure which will assess the change in attachment in clinical clients after counselling has focused on the parent-adolescent relationship. A measure of attachment which can be given before counselling and repeated after counselling is required. Scores can then be compared.

g) Qualitative information
If, in addition, the measure can identify aspects of attachment behaviour which change in response to counselling, this will help to inform counsellors of how they can work more effectively to enhance adolescent-parent relationships.

The variety of these requirements suggests that a single measure would not be sufficient.
Three measuring instruments have been selected and they are described and evaluated below.

PARENTAL ATTACHMENT QUESTIONNAIRE (PAQ)

Theoretical basis
My review of the theory and research concerning adolescence has already led me to the work of Maureen Kenny (1987). She designed a parental relationship questionnaire based on an adaptation of Ainsworth et al.'s (1978) conceptualization of attachment. She drew a parallel between the securely attached child in Ainsworth's "strange situation", who separates readily from his care-giver when separation is voluntary and stress is low, and the securely attached adolescent for whom leaving home for college is a similar opportunity of environmental exploration and mastery.
When stress is high, the child seeks out his or her attachment figure and remains in contact until comforted; in similar situations of stress, the college student will also seek out his or her attachment figure as a source of support. Kenny has developed her theoretical model of secure attachment for adolescent students as one of having parents who continue to provide a secure base. These parents are also perceived as being generally available, understanding, respectful of individual differences and facilitating autonomy. Specifically her model suggests that parental characteristics of affectionate sensitivity, emotional support and respect for autonomy are associated with secure attachment and increased social and emotional competence.

Aspects of attachment to be measured
Kenny (1987) developed a self-report questionnaire to tap these aspects of parental attachment, testing male and female, first-year undergraduates in an American university. The PAQ now consists of 55 item-statements. The literature referring to the development of the measure does not explain how exactly the items were derived but states that the questionnaire was designed to assess perceived parental availability, understanding, respect for individuality, facilitation of independence, interest in interaction with parents and affect towards parents during visits or reunion, student help-seeking behaviour in situations of stress, and satisfaction with help available from parents.

The PAQ contains three scales, namely the Affective Quality of the Parental Relationship, the Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support and the Parental Role in Fostering Autonomy, which were derived by factor analysis. Each scale consists of item statements which represent aspects of that domain. For example, "In general my parents are sensitive to my feelings and needs" reflects affective quality; "When I have a serious problem or important decision to make I talk to my family if I am not able to resolve the situation after talking it over with my friends," represents emotional source of support; "In general my parents encourage me to make my own decisions" represents fostering autonomy. The subjects respond to each item indicating how much the statement is true of their parental relationship, using a 5-point Likert-type rating scale ranging from 1 = not at all to 5 = very much.
Psychometric properties

The PAQ focuses entirely on the adolescent’s perception of parental attachment and appears homogeneous. Each item is restricted to one aspect of attachment. The scoring system is straightforward to use by both respondent and researcher. Although there are no published statistical norms to date, papers by Kenny and her colleagues (Kenny, 1990, 1994; Kenny and Donaldson, 1991, 1992) provide total scores, average mean scores and standard deviations for each scale and for male and female students separately.

Kenny (1987, 1990, 1994) assessed the questionnaire for both external and internal reliability. The test-retest reliability over a two week period was .92 for the measure as a whole and ranged from .82 to .91 for the three scales. To test for internal consistency Cronbach’s alpha was calculated for each of the scales and coefficients of .96, .88, and .88 were obtained for the relationship quality, the emotional support and the fostering autonomy scales respectively. Internal consistency for the entire measure was calculated by Cronbach’s alpha to be .93 for male college students and .95 for female college students. Lopez and Gover (1993), in their review of self-report measures of parent-adolescent attachment, consider these to be most satisfactory levels of reliability.

To test for validity Kenny used the Moos Family Environment Scale and obtained significant correlations between PAQ Affective Quality of Attachment and FES Cohesion (r=.51, p< .001); between PAQ Parental Fostering of Autonomy and FES Expressiveness (r = .33, p < .01); between PAQ Fostering of Autonomy and FES Independence (r = .35, p< .01); between PAQ Fostering of Autonomy and FES Control (r = -. 40, p < .01); between PAQ Parental Role Providing Emotional Support and FES Cohesion (r = .45, p < .001); and between PAQ Fostering Autonomy and FES Expressiveness (r = .33, p < .01.) (Kenny & Donaldson, 1991). These significant correlations suggest good concurrent validity. As Kenny developed the questionnaire specifically to test attachment theory assumptions, content and construct validity can be considered satisfactory.
Self-report measures have the disadvantage of being susceptible to subjects trying to please the experimenter and portraying themselves in a socially desirable light. Kenny and Donaldson (1992) reported that Kenny evaluated the PAQ for social desirability in an unpublished paper (1988). Using the Marlowe Crowne Social Desirability Scale she found no significant correlations between that and the PAQ Quality of Attachment scale or the Parental Role in Providing Emotional Support. There was however a small but significant correlation ($r = .22, p<.04$) between Social Desirability and the PAQ Fostering of Autonomy scale. Overall this suggests that the PAQ does not attract responses biased towards social desirability.

Use in subsequent research
Kenny and her colleagues have used the PAQ in a number of subsequent studies to look at the relationship between parental attachment and eating disorders (Kenny & Hart, 1992), depressive symptoms among early adolescents (Kenny et al., 1993) and the distance between student’s school and parents’ home and financial support (Kenny, 1994). No difficulties with the measure have been reported.

Lopez and Gover (1993) report that Sessa and Holmbeck (1989) used the PAQ in a study of the relation of family factors to adolescent ego identity development. They computed the PAQ total scores for college students’ relationships with each parent and found that scores for mother and for father were significantly correlated ($r = .36, p < .001$) and that both scores were significantly correlated with an independent measure of family cohesion. Kenny has used separate scales for each parent in some studies but the repeated findings of significant correlation between the scores for mother and for father have resulted in her returning to a combined parental measure in later studies.

Although Lopez and Gover consider the PAQ to be derived from attachment theory and to have good reliability and validity, they caution that even though the scales are conceptually linked it would be prudent to use the scales as separate measures rather than using the sum of the scales as a measure of attachment. They also draw attention to the limitation of the self-report measure which only has the adolescent’s perception
of the relationship and neglects that of the parents.

**Subjects on which test has been standardized.**
Kenny and her colleagues have extended the range of subjects from mainly white, middle-class academically able undergraduates to include eighth grade school-children, (Kenny et al., 1993) young adults, less academically able students who attend trade and technical school (Kenny, 1994) and female inpatients in a residential facility for anorexics and bulimics (Kenny & Hart, 1992). The measure has remained stable.

**The advantages and disadvantages of using the PAQ in the present research**
The advantages and disadvantages of using the PAQ in the present research. Firstly, the theoretical basis of the PAQ is entirely consistent with the theories underlying the present research. Secondly it provides quantitative measures of those aspects of parental attachment relevant to this research, namely perceived affective quality of the relationship, provision of support and fostering of autonomy. These aspects of attachment are also relevant to those F.E. students who seek counselling. Thirdly the measure is accepted by other psychologists as being both reliable and valid. Fourthly Kenny has found the test to be reliable and stable for a wide range of adolescent and young adult subjects, so it would be reasonable to extend it to British students in Further Education. Finally the test appears easy to use and should not present a problem for pre- and post-counselling tests.

The major limitations are those inherent in all self-report measures. Firstly the parental relationship is measured only from the adolescent’s point of view and experience. However, as the present research is restricted by the college policy of acquiring data only from students and not involving their parents, this limitation does not lead to any loss of information which might have been available. Secondly self-report tests tend to be affected by responses reflecting social desirability. However Kenny has shown that social desirability has only a small effect on just one scale of this measure and in addition the assurance to student subjects of complete confidentiality should ensure a reasonable level of honesty in responses. Finally most studies using the PAQ have used just one scale for both parents. This should be
sufficient for the present study as other measures will be used concurrently and there has to be a limit to the number of questionnaires a subject can reasonably be expected to complete at a time. Overall the strengths of the PAQ outweigh its limitations. It is a measure of attachment which more than adequately fulfils the methodological requirements of this study and is an appropriate measure.

INVENTORY OF PARENT AND PEER ATTACHMENT (IPPA)

Theoretical basis
Armsden and Greenberg (1987) developed their self-report measure, the IPPA, from an assumption derived from attachment theory that, as cognitive development proceeds, internalized parental attachment figures play an increasingly important role as a source of continuing psychological stability and emotional well-being (Lopez and Gover, 1993.) They designed their measure to tap the internal working model of attachment figures

by assessing (1) the positive affective/cognitive experience of trust in the accessibility and responsiveness of attachment figures and (2) the negative affective/cognitive experiences of anger and/or hopelessness resulting from unresponsive or inconsistently responsive attachment figures. (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987, p. 431.)

As their research was also addressing the significance of peer support and encouragement, their instrument asked for separate responses for relationships with mother, with father and with close friends.

Focus of measures
The IPPA consists of Trust, Communication and Alienation sub-scales. Trust items reflect mutual respect and understanding, Communication items assess the level of spoken communication and Alienation items reflect feelings of anger and isolation. Each item is a statement about the relationship which reflects trust, anger etc. and the subject indicates whether each item is almost always true, often true, sometimes true, seldom true or never true, which is then scored as a Likert 5 point scale. There are parallel scales for each parent consisting of 28 items and a Peer scale of 25 items.
**Psychometric properties**

The IPPA is homogeneous in its focus on attachment. The three parallel scales are presented separately and consecutively. The Trust and Communication sub-scales have to be scored positively to measure attachment, while the Alienation sub-scale is scored negatively.

To test for internal reliability the authors calculated Cronbach's coefficient alpha for each sub-scale. On the Parent measure alpha was .91 for the Trust factor, .91 for the Communication factor and .86 for the Alienation factor. For the Peer scale, the alpha coefficients were .91, .87 and .72 respectively. Testing for external reliability, they reported three-week test-retest reliability as .93 for Parent attachment and .86 for Peer attachment measures.

To test for concurrent validity Armsden and Greenberg, like Kenny, also used the Moos Family Environment Scale, but they calculated correlations with separate FES scales against a single attachment score. Concentrating only on parental attachment, they found that FES Cohesion and FES Expressiveness were significantly correlated with attachment with coefficients of .56 and .52 respectively, (p < .001.) FES Conflict was negatively correlated with attachment with a coefficient of -.36 (p < .001.) There was also a strong correlation between parental attachment and “parental utilization” which was a measure of the tendency to seek out parents for support , r = .62 and r = .60 (p < .001) for mothers and fathers respectively. Armsden (1986a, 1986b) also reported that strength of attachment to parents and, to a lesser extent, peers is associated with self-reported tendencies toward the use of more problem-solving coping strategies relative to emotion-managing efforts in stressful situations. Among early and middle adolescents parental attachment was found to be associated with lesser hopelessness, less externally oriented locus of control and with greater self-management (coping) skills (Armsden et al., 1987; Lewis et al., 1987). In addition IPPA parent and peer attachment scores have been found to be significant predictors of self-esteem, life satisfaction, depression and anxiety, and resentment and alienation (Lopez and Gover, 1993). Thus there is a significant body of research indicating that the IPPA has good concurrent and predictive validity.
Use in subsequent research

The IPPA has been used in a variety of subsequent studies. Specifically investigating the adolescent separation-individuation issue (Josselson, 1980, 1988; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985), Quintana and Lapsley (1990) wanted to see if the indices of connection and individuality could be integrated into a single, positively related construct. Their subjects were 18 and 19 year old freshmen undergraduates. They used the IPPA, Benjamin's measure of family differentiation, two measures of parenting style and two measures of ego identity. A positive relationship between attachment to parents and differentiation from them ($r = 0.42, p > 0.05$) suggested that adolescents maintained both a sense of communication and trust with parents while seeking a more differentiated relationship with them. Taking all their measures together, there were indications that adolescent ego development was better facilitated by attachment in the context of family differentiation than by attachment processes alone, separation processes alone or parenting style.

Lapsley et al. (1990) used the IPPA in an investigation of the relationship between late adolescent parental attachment, identity and adjustment to college. They calculated instrument reliabilities and found alpha coefficients of .77, .85 and .58 for the Trust, Communication and Alienation sub-scales respectively for the parental attachment scale. The first two were considered to have adequate reliability. Also using the IPPA, de Jong (1992) measured attachment in three groups of undergraduates: those who had a history of suicide attempts or plans, a group who were currently depressed and a control group. She confirmed her hypothesis that students with a history of suicidality exhibited the lowest security of attachment to their parents, although there were no significant differences between the groups for levels of peer attachment.

Additionally the IPPA has been used to investigate attachment and early adolescent depression (Armsden et al., 1991), well-being and school adjustment (Cotterell, 1992) adolescent self-perception of strengths (Williams and McGee, 1991) and conduct problems and depressive problems in early adolescent boys (Capaldi, 1992). Lyddon et al. (1993) and Lopez and Gover (1993) both review the use of the IPPA, praising its psychometric properties and promoting its usefulness. However they also
recommend using the scales separately. The latter authors also report that convergent validity between the IPPA and the PAQ has been established.

**Subjects on which test has been standardized**
The IPPA was standardized on students ranging from 16 - 21 years, 75% of whom were Caucasian. Females scored higher than males on Peer attachment (p < .0001) but there was no significant difference for Parental attachment. No differences were found on Attachment scores between Caucasians and non-Caucasians nor between those subjects living at the parental home and those living away from home (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Scores were not found to be significantly related to socio-economic status among a sample of 400 eighteen to twenty year olds (Armsden, 1986a). However, in the same study negligible but significant positive correlations were obtained between attachment and parent's education level.

Although most subsequent studies have been undertaken in the United States, Nada Raja et al. (1992) conducted a study using a shortened version of the IPPA in New Zealand, where their subjects were a cohort of 935 fifteen year-olds, who were part of a longitudinal medical and psychological study in which they had been participants since the age of 3 years. They reported that the intercorrelations between all the scales were positive and significant at p < 0.01. The strongest correlations were between the communication and trust scores which were r = .67 for parental attachment and r = .68 for peer attachment. Overall the breadth of subject samples who have already been successfully tested on the IPPA would indicate that this measure would be suitable for and relevant to British students in F.E.

**The advantages and disadvantages of using the IPPA in the present research**
Like the PAQ, the IPPA was developed directly from attachment theory and so is theoretically consistent with the current research. However, by focusing on trust, communication and alienation it could provide additional information about adolescent attachment to parents, both quantitative and qualitative. My clinical introduction demonstrates that each of these three aspects of attachment are relevant to students describing their parental relationships. These elements of attachment in ongoing
relationships may well be affected by counselling and the IPPA could be used before and after to measure change. This instrument also provides the additional opportunity to compare effects on parental and peer attachment and to examine attachment to mother and father separately. The trust and communication scales provide quantitative scores on a continuum of strong to weak attachment and the alienation scale gives the negative score. Another advantage of using the IPPA would be the opportunity to try to replicate the findings of Lapsley et al. (1990) who were also using this measure to correlate attachment with adjustment to college. Although their subject population differs from the present one, their study is otherwise comparable in many ways to the first part of the present study.

The psychometric properties of the IPPA are considered to be very good and it has been widely used. It has been given to subjects from different cultural backgrounds and standardized on the age-group relevant to the present study. It is easy to administer.

The disadvantages of using the IPPA are similar to those for using the PAQ. Again this is a self-report measure with the same inherent weaknesses. Armsden and Greenberg have not, as far as can be ascertained, assessed whether the responses to their measure reflect social desirability, but their subjects do respond across the range from secure to insecure attachment, suggesting that they are willing to admit to attachment at both extremes. It is a long and repetitive test but the introduction of a peer scale may ignite the interest of the subjects. Overall the advantages of using this test easily outweigh the disadvantages.

HAZAN AND SHAVER'S MEASURE OF ATTACHMENT

This measure contrasts with the PAQ and the IPPA both in its focus and method. Its purpose is to categorize attachment style without particular reference to parents.

Theoretical basis
Hazan and Shaver (1987, 1990) used attachment theory as developed by Bowlby as
a coherent framework by which to understand love, loneliness and grief at different points in the life cycle. They attempted to conceptualize the romantic love experience as a continuity of the relationship experience of infancy and childhood and suggested that adult attachments could be categorized according to Ainsworth et al.'s classifications, i.e. secure attachment, insecure avoidant and insecure anxious/ambivalent. In using their Adult Attachment Interview Main, Kaplan and Cassidy (1985) had discussed how the working model of attachment developed in infancy tends to persist into adulthood. Hazan and Shaver suggested that working models can be viewed as basically self-perpetuating because they represent an established cognitive system that predisposes the individual toward interpreting experiences in ways which are consistent with those models. Thus their measure developed from a theoretical viewpoint consistent with that of the present research.

**Method of measuring attachment**

Hazan and Shaver's measure requires their subjects to choose one of three brief paragraphs that best describes their feelings. Each paragraph represents and describes a different style of attachment as follows:

1. I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me. *(SECURE TYPE)*

2. I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being. *(AVOIDANT TYPE)*

3. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner does not really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to get very close to my partner, and this sometimes scares people away. *(ANXIOUS / AMBITALENT TYPE)*

Thus this measure provides a categorization of attachment style, not a quantitative measure.

This measure was initially published in a newspaper alongside other questionnaires, which elicited additional information about the respondent's love relationships. The
respondents ranged in age from 14 to 82 years, with a mean of 36 years.

**Psychometric properties**

This measure is homogeneous, focusing entirely on attachment feelings and requiring a single response.

Although Hazan and Shaver (1987, 1990) do not report any external reliability data themselves, Pistole (1989b) found that a one-week test-retest analysis of the categorical data produced acceptable consistency (Lyddon et al., 1993). The consistency which is most striking is the similarity of the proportions of respondents choosing each of the attachment style statements. In their first study Hazan and Shaver (1987) found that 56% classified themselves as secure, 25% avoidant and 19% anxious/ambivalent. This distribution of attachment categorization is very similar to proportions reported in American studies of infant-mother attachment studies. These were summarized by Campos et al. (1983) as 62% secure, 23% avoidant and 15% anxious/ambivalent. Hazan and Shaver argued that the similarity in distribution suggested that "the subjects' choices among the alternatives were non-random and may have been determined by some of the same kinds of forces that affect the attachment styles of infants and children," (1987, p. 514). This consistency in proportional distribution was repeated in further studies and Hazan and Shaver (1990) summarize their findings as follows: 51% to 56% for secure attachment, 23% to 28% for avoidant attachment and 19% to 21% for anxious/ambivalent attachment. Thus there is evidence suggesting both reliability and concurrent validity.

To investigate construct validity Shaver and Hazan (1987) extracted 13 item-statements out of the attachment style paragraphs and tested them independently. Factor analysis on the results yielded three factors which they termed *comfort with closeness*, *concern about insufficient closeness* and *discomfort with closeness*. Subsequent analyses of variance showed that 12 out of the 13 statements differentiated among the attachment styles in the predicted way. In another study, Hazan and Shaver (1990) used their attachment measure to study relations between attachment type and work orientation. They found that the securely attached tended to approach their work with confidence,
relatively unconcerned with fears of failure and did not let work interfere with their love relationships. In contrast, the anxious/ambivalent respondents reported that love concerns did interfere with their work performance and they feared rejection for poor performance. Avoidant respondents were found to use work to avoid social interaction. Thus the authors have provided data which suggests that their measure has reasonable validity.

Use in subsequent research.

Independent researchers have used the Hazan and Shaver measure in their own studies and they have also obtained similar distributions of self-classification. They include Feeney & Noller (1990) in the United States, who considered attachment style as a predictor of adult romantic relationships, Levy & Davis (1988) in Israel, who compared attachment and lovestyles, and Mikulincer, Florian & Tolmasz (1990) in Australia, who looked at fear of personal death in relation to attachment style.

In their overall review and assessment of different attachment measures, Lyddon et al. (1993) reported that the Hazan and Shaver measure had been shown to have adequate reliability and validity and they also concluded that it was a practical measure for use in counselling practice and research.

Subjects on which test has been standardized

Although Hazan and Shaver (1987, 1990) drew the majority of their data from large samples of newspaper readers who responded to their published questionnaires, in their first study they also gave the test to 108 undergraduates with a mean age of 18 years and found that their results were highly similar to their newspaper respondents, (secure 56% - newspaper 56%, avoidant 23% - newspaper 25%, and anxious/ambivalent 20% - newspaper 19%). However, the other questionnaires given at the same time showed that these mainly younger subjects had naturally experienced love relationships of shorter duration.

The subjects for the present study will range from 16 to 20 years and so will include subjects some of whom will have even less experience of romantic relationships on
which to base their response to this measure. In addition students from Asian and middle-Eastern family backgrounds, particularly the females, may have had no opportunity at all to have a relationship with a member of the opposite gender. However this measure of choosing one of three styles that best categorize romantic relationship can be widened to categorize relationships with close friends, hopefully without altering its validity. Theoretically, if an attachment style is truly an internalized working model then it ought to extend to the way an individual views and responds to all his or her relationships. However this would require a change of wording to the avoidant and the anxious/ambivalent paragraphs so that they would be pertinent to all the subjects. The secure paragraph can remain unchanged. The changes are as follows:

2. I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being. *(AVOIDANT TYPE)*

3. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner does not really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to get very close to my partner, and this sometimes scares people away. *(ANXIOUS/AMBIVALENT TYPE)*

to become:

2. I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely,
   difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often,
   friends want to get closer than I feel comfortable being. *(AVOIDANT TYPE)*

3. I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my friends
don't really like me and won't want to stay with me. I want to get really close to my friends,
   and this sometimes scares people away. *(ANXIOUS/AMBIVALENT TYPE)*

(The bold typeface is not used in the test - it is used here to highlight the changes.)

Although these changes may reduce the intensity of the statements because they no longer refer to the intimacy of a love relationship, clinical experience of adolescents’ perceptions of their friendships suggests that a similar strength of feeling towards friends is experienced, especially for girls. Relying on the underpinning theory that
attachment styles remain stable and affect all forms of attachment, these statements should still describe and discriminate between different types of feelings about friendships to which adolescents can relate, and so choose, to classify themselves into the different attachment categories. However, this revision of the measure may produce a gender difference which was not demonstrated in studies using the original version.

The advantages and disadvantage of using the Hazan & Shaver measure of attachment in the present research
This measure has developed from a very similar theoretical basis to the present research and could provide a quick and easy method of categorizing an individual’s attachment style. Hazan and Shaver’s original version has good psychometric properties. Although the proposed revised version focuses specifically on close friendships, it may well reflect parental attachment. This is only a crude measure, providing limited information, but it would be interesting to find whether the distribution of style of attachment for a sample of F.E. students with a wide cultural mix is similar to the other samples and to the parent-infant measures. A limitation in using this version, focusing specifically on close friendships rather than love relationships, is the lack of other reliability and validity studies and this must be kept in mind when considering findings.

This measure might also prove to be a useful indicator for counsellors. Given near the beginning of a counselling relationship, it can reflect a client’s present perception of relationships and help the counsellor to focus and explore further. Any change in attachment style choices after short-term counselling would also be extremely interesting.

SUMMARY OF ATTACHMENT MEASURE SELECTION
The three measures described above fit the overall requirements of the present research. They have all been developed from attachment theory which is entirely consistent with the assumptions on which the present research is based and they are also consistent with one another. All the measures have been used in a variety of
research and there is substantial satisfactory evidence supporting reliability and validity. There is further evidence to show that all of these tests would be suitable for the proposed F.E. student subjects. In considering how they each measure attachment, differences between the tests can be seen. While the PAQ measures adolescent perception of the affective quality of the parental relationship, parental provision of support and the fostering of autonomy, the IPPA focuses on trust, communication and alienation between adolescents and their parents. All or some of these aspects of the parent-adolescent attachment relationship may affect an adolescent's general psychosocial well-being and their successful adjustment to new life situations. As these questionnaires do not appear to overlap and they can provide different quantitative information which could be compared and contrasted, they can be given consecutively to gain a large amount of information about parental attachment as perceived by adolescents. The Hazan and Shaver measure, while quite different in format and intention, can provide a simple categorization of attachment style, which is not measured by the questionnaires. There are no obvious contra-indications of giving this measure on the same occasion as the others. High correlations between relevant scales of the questionnaires and correlations between those who classify themselves as being securely attached on Hazan and Shaver together with high attachment scores on the PAQ and the IPPA would produce further evidence for the validity of the measures. The possible disadvantage of using all these tests together may be found in the subjects' inability to concentrate for the length of time required to complete all the tests and to give well-considered responses.

A further requirement of this study was that measures of attachment would need to be suitable for giving before and after a series of counselling sessions to provide "outcome" data. All of these tests have been used in test-retest studies to establish reliability and no problems in repeating the measure after one, two or three weeks was reported. Therefore, it can be assumed that these tests can be given before and after counselling separated by several weeks without detriment. As these measures have been demonstrated to be stable, any significant changes after counselling may at least in part be attributable to the intervention.
Overall these three measures of attachment are suitable for the study, with their strengths outweighing their limitations. Between them they should provide a large amount of compatible information about adolescents' perceptions of their parental attachments.
Chapter 8

DEVELOPING THE ADJUSTMENT TO COLLEGE QUESTIONNAIRE

While there were appropriate questionnaires available to measure the attachment relationship between adolescents and their parents, finding a way to measure adolescent psycho-social development was less straightforward. The research literature indicated that several investigators in the United States (Allen et al., 1990; Lapsley et al., 1989; Lapsley et al., 1990; Kenny and Donaldson, 1992) had used a scale developed by Baker and Siryk (1984, 1986) which measured students' adjustment to college. Underlying this scale was the assumption that the college experience, for United States' undergraduates, was both multifaceted and demanding and so would require coping responses, which were termed "adjustments." As the experience of joining a college and adjusting to new educational and social requirements could be seen as somewhat analogous to Ainsworth's "strange situation", this measure was investigated.

Baker and Siryk (1984) developed four scales to reflect the different areas requiring adjustment by the students. These became the academic, social, personal-emotional and general subscales, which, added together, produced a Full scale measure of adjustment. The scales were made up of 52 statements which had to be rated on a nine-point continuum ranging from "Applies very closely to me" to "Doesn't apply to me at all." The academic subscale consisted of items which evaluated students' attitudes to their academic goals and academic work. The social subscale reflected the demands that are made on students in a residential college community and the items evaluated participation in social activities, making new relationships, coping with "lonesomeness for home" (homesickness) and dormitory life. The personal-emotional subscale items concentrated on the psychological and physical pressures of the college experience and included items such as: "I have been feeling tense and nervous lately" and "I haven't been sleeping very well." The general subscale consisted of items that did not fit into the other three scales, such as relating to the
environment, the institution or "goal commitment." Results of the first study using this instrument indicated that the Full scale was a reliable measure and that there were significant correlations between some of the subscales and other independent indicators of adjustment. For example, the higher the freshman student scored on the general subscale, the less likely she or he was to discontinue (drop out of) education after the first year. The higher the student scored on the personal-emotional scale, the less likely s/he was to be known at the Psychological Services Centre. The higher the student scored on the academic subscale, the higher s/he was likely to attain in grade point average and more likely to be elected to an academic honorary society and so forth. Thus the subscales were producing a measure which correlated with behavioural events which occurred later in the student's college life.

In a subsequent study Baker and Siryk (1986) gave in-depth interviews to students who had been tested on a revised version of the scale and found that the subscale scores and the pattern of the scores were confirmed by the students in interview to reflect the ways they were feeling about different aspects of adjustment to college, when completing the scale. However, the researchers acknowledged that it would be preferable to have an interviewer who had no knowledge of the test results and was not biased in favour of the test! It was also noted that some students would score high on some subscales and low on others, (such as being socially well-adjusted but academically poorly adjusted) which accurately reflected their feelings but gave an ambiguous full scale score. However, confirming the earlier findings, there was a significant difference between the attrition rate for the well-adjusted and what they refer to as the "less well-adjusted" students; a significantly higher proportion of the less well adjusted had dropped out of college by the end of the eighth semester. There was also an indication that the interview intervention led to higher adjustment scores when the subjects were re-tested on all except the academic subscale. Professor Baker and his colleagues have continued to develop and extend their Student Adaptation to College Questionnaire (SACQ) (Baker & Siryk, 1989; Baker & Schultz, 1992, 1993).

Reasons for developing a new scale
In the United States the SACQ has been acknowledged as a reliable and valid research
instrument and has been used in a number of studies investigating parental attachment/separation issues, using adjustment to college as indicative of general psycho-social adjustment, adaptability and well-being (Allen et al., 1990; Lapsley et al., 1989; Kenny and Donaldson, 1992.) However, their scale was developed and standardized for United States undergraduates, who were academically above average and who were residing at college. In contrast, the research population for the present study would be British sixteen to twenty-year olds, the majority of whom would be living at home with at least one parent and travelling to college four days per week. Some would be studying vocational courses, others academic courses, and they would range across the spectrum of academic ability. Thus many of the statement items used in the SACQ would not be relevant to the present proposed population and an alternative measure would have to be found.

Although British tests were already available to test self-esteem and levels of depression in adolescents, a search revealed that there was no tests which would measure how well a student was adjusting to the specific demands of college or would reflect the difficulties being experienced there. Consequently, it was decided that a new specific measure would have to be developed for this study. As well as providing a measure of psycho-social well-being against which to correlate adolescent-parent attachment, it would also provide a clinical tool which could be used in assessing whether a Further Education student could be helped by counselling intervention.

Before definitely deciding to construct a British scale equivalent to the SACQ for Further Education students, other methods for measuring students' adjustment to and performance at college were considered. A suggestion was made that students could be rated by their lecturers or tutors to provide objective measures. However, teaching staff, already over-stretched by work, were reluctant to rate students until well into the academic year and inter-rater reliability across a wide range of staff would be difficult to establish. Peer-rating had been used by Kobak and Sceery (1988) as a way of measuring psychosocial behaviour and adjustment, but this could be influenced by the social pressures of friendship and again inter-rater reliability could create a problem. Both these methods were rejected.
There were four positive advantages to developing a Self-report measure similar to the SACQ. Firstly, such a measure, not involving teachers, peers or parents, would be the most likely way of encouraging student participation and could also be used for pre- and post-counselling research. Secondly Baker and Siryk had already established their test's usefulness and versatility and their work suggests a format which could be adapted to apply to British Further Education students. Thirdly, it would be easy to administer. Finally, and most importantly, each individual student would have to consider his or her experiences of adjustment to college, before responding and this would raise awareness of adjustment behaviour and any problems being encountered. If, by the assurance of confidentiality, the student can be encouraged to respond honestly, then the true subjective response will be a valuable measure. The weaknesses of self-report measures are that the subject is tempted to answer in a way considered to be socially desirable, in this case to impress the researcher that they are "good" students, and that he or she may also be deceiving himself or herself about being a well-adjusted student to protect self-esteem, etc. These would be borne in mind.

**Developing the measure**

Once a self-report scale to measure students' adaptation to Further Education College had been decided upon, the measure had to be developed. Since students would be assessing aspects of their own adjustment to college life, for the measure to be relevant and meaningful to them it would need to address issues that they viewed pertinent to that adaptation. The first stage in developing the self-report measure would be to interview students to find out what they considered to be indicators of adjustment to college. These interviews would provide the relevant issues and the appropriate language and terminology to which other students could easily relate and respond.

**Exploratory interviews**

When preparing to interview students for their perspectives on adjustment to college, the diversity of the research population had to be considered. Students on vocational courses might well have different experiences from those on academic courses. Some would be facing end of year exams, whereas others would be tested by continuous
assessment. Students based on one campus had access to different facilities from those on the other campus. Students coming to college straight from school at sixteen would have different transition problems to eighteen year olds who had spent a year or two working, before returning to education. Gender and cultural differences would also need to be taken into account. Clinical experience had already shown that Asian female students, whose family restricted their social life outside college, relied on college to provide their social life whereas other students could enjoy a social life outside college hours. While the majority of students were living at home, a small percentage were living independently for the first time and this would again colour their adjustment to college. Thus the diversity of the population and the differences in their college experiences would have to be taken into consideration in developing a measure of adjustment that would be relevant for all the sixteen to twenty year olds. (Although some college classes had mature as well as adolescent students, it was decided that mature students would be excluded from the study as they would be introducing additional variables irrelevant to the main experimental hypotheses.) It was decided to interview as wide a range of students as possible from both college campus'.

Rather than individual audio-taped interviews, groups of three students were interviewed together. This had several advantages. Firstly, as the interviewer was myself, a woman aged over 40 and a member of college staff, (although not previously known to any of the interviewees), I thought that the students would feel more comfortable and less inhibited in small groups. Secondly, although I would need to explore their attitudes and views, if a discussion between them got underway, I would be able to keep my intervention and influence to a minimum. Thirdly, similarities and differences within the group could be explored. Before each interview, the aim of the interview was explained, the confidentiality of the interview material was defined and permission for the tape recording was obtained.

**Selecting the interviewees**
The researcher approached college lecturers from a selection of academic and vocational courses on the two campus' and was invited into class to ask if their
students would agree to be interviewed about themselves in college. Most were enthusiastic, but where they showed reluctance, they were not interviewed. Some groups of three were established friends, who volunteered to be interviewed together. In other classes, there were more students than interview time and so lots were drawn to choose the interviewees. Some of these students were “acquaintances” but knew little about one another apart from attending the same class.

All the interviews took place in a separate room in college, with the interviewees sitting around a table together with the interviewer. The tape recorder was placed on the table. The interviews, which were conducted during February, the second term of the academic year, lasted between twenty and forty minutes.

In total there were 11 interviews, involving 32 students. (One interview had four students, but two of them were over 20 years and so their contributions were discarded.)

**Interview content - choosing themes from which to develop scales**

Overall the interviewer was struck by the similarities between the different interviews. Although the groups of students differed in their interests, intellectual abilities and cultural backgrounds, their views about adjustment to college and the issues that they raised were remarkably consistent. The possibility of constructing a questionnaire to measure adjustment to college which would not be affected by between-student differences appeared promising.

The audio-tapes of the interviews were transcribed and examined for themes. Ten out of the eleven groups began by describing how they had got to know fellow students and made friends as the first step of adjusting to college. They developed discussions into how feeling socially comfortable or uncomfortable affected their lives at college. (The eleventh group discussed this later during their interview.) Social aspects of college adjustment became an obvious theme for the questionnaire.

Some groups drifted naturally into talking about their academic work, how hard or
easy they were finding it and whether they were keeping up-to-date with assignments. Others needed to be prompted to consider this aspect of college life, but they all commented that academic work at college was different from that at school and adaptations had been necessary for success. Many cited examples of other students in their classes who had not been prepared to work and had left (dropped out of) college. The academic theme would need to be included in a questionnaire about adjustment. Both the Social and Academic themes had been included in the SACQ.

With the personal-emotional scale of the SACQ in mind, the interviewer attempted to introduce discussion about adjustment to college causing nervousness, sleeplessness or eating disorders. Some individuals reported very minor disturbances with students talking about eating more or less, increased social smoking, etc. but it did not appear to be a fruitful line of inquiry. Direct questions about disturbed sleep drew more responses of students staying asleep in the mornings if they did not have to get up to attend college until 11 a.m. or later. As students did not initiate issues around this theme and did not acknowledge physical ailments in relation to adjusting to college, the theme was discarded.

However a theme of personal "responsibility" was introduced and discussed by quite a few of the groups. Becoming responsible for oneself in a number of ways and no longer relying heavily on parents and teachers seemed to be an acknowledged indicator of adjusting to the requirements of college. Since psychologists such as Noller and Callan (1991) emphasize the importance of the transfer of responsibility from parent on to child during adolescence, this aspect of adjustment seemed very relevant to the overall research and so important to include in an adjustment to college questionnaire.

Some interviews included discussion about coming from schools which drew pupils from a narrow band of the population, to college with a very wide cultural, age and academic mix. Some students talked about coming from exclusively Asian schools, while others had come from single sex institutions. Others had returned to education from a year or more at work. Despite their different experiences before coming to
college, these students gave similar examples of their endeavours to fit socially into college life and to cope with the new academic requirements. Social adjustment and academic adjustment would be relevant to all new students, whatever their background, and questionnaire items could be devised that would not be culturally biased.

The General scale of the SACQ explored attitudes about goal-direction and commitment to the institution but these were not pertinent to F.E. students in relation to their adjustment to college. For example, the SACQ general included items such as "I expect to stay at (college) for a bachelor's degree." Such commitment was not relevant to the interviewees, who discussed this college as hopefully being a short transitional stage between the longer experience of school and the future experience of either higher education or employment. Measuring goal-direction was likely to be difficult because the differences between the students' aspirations would make it hard to devise individual items which would be equally relevant to all of them. Thus developing a General scale similar to that of the SACQ was inappropriate for F.E. students. However, a few general issues did emerge repeatedly, such as the necessity of finding the way round college in a geographical sense and the indicator that students dropped out of courses if they could not adjust. These could not logically be assigned to the social, academic or responsibility themes, but I decided that they could be included as additional general items if they were reported by the students as being indicative of adjustment.

With the social, academic and responsibility themes in mind, the transcripts were more closely examined to look for representative items that could provide measures of adjustment within each theme or scale.

**Developing item-statements**

The transcripts were re-examined and recurring issues were extracted. Almost all of these could be assigned to the social, academic or responsibility themes. Some extracts from interviews are quoted below to demonstrate how ideas were extracted and developed into item-statements, which could be used as measures of adjustment.
The Social Scale

In this first extract, the students were discussing how they knew that they were fitting into college.

S2 ...You start to get to know people - get to know faces - and because I'm taking other classes, you get to know people all around. I think the most important is getting to know people in your class.

A mmm?

S2 If you don't have like a relationship, even if it's a small one with people in class then you're lost.

A Right- so that's really important. So...relationships in class...that's sort of vital? So how..?

S1 Yeah, it is. I mean well especially when you do a lot of project work and discussion in class. If you don't know who's in your class, it's hard to discuss things. It's hard to talk out loud if you think: "I don't know anyone." If you know anyone, even know the faces...

S3 (interrupting) Apart from that you feel nervous when you have to do presentations in front of the class when you don't know anyone.

Later in the same interview, the students are asked if there are other signs of adjusting to college.

S1 ...When you are in the canteen and you're socializing there, if you know a group of people you feel comfortable, more, to sit down. If you know one or two and you sit down and you're in a group and you don't know them then you feel a bit uncomfortable and they are all talking and you aren't
Especially in the canteen. You see all the groups in there and you're walking around and you do feel a bit of a wa...you do see some people...The initial walking in on your own, it's like everyone is watching you. There are clumps of people around the tables...a kind of pressure on you.

A  So when you are first walking in and you don't know anybody- that's a definite sign. How....when does that sort of change? Do you recognize that change?

S1  You do- yeah. When you become one of those at the table....

Interruption as they all laugh!

S1  ...'Cause when you first start at college and you...the main sign is you start to know people in your class and you go for your break with other people in your class and they sit down at table...And they sit down with their friends and you sit down with your friends and everyone starts getting to know each other a bit better. When you see their friends again around college, you can say "hello." Even if you don't know them too well you can say "Hello". See them in the canteen and you go and sit next to them to talk to and you become more into the groups.

A  So does that feel a sort of indicator then?

S2  When you know you can belong to quite a few of the tables if you wanted to.

These social themes are repeated in the other interviews. Most of them stress the importance of getting to know people and making friends as soon as students arrive in college, because it is a major factor towards successful adjustment.

The following group interacted differently from the first group, in that they were less inclined to enter into discussion with one another and expected questions from the interviewer. However, the content around social issues was very similar. The interview began as follows:

A  What I'd like you to talk about is how you first felt when you came to (this) college - and how you felt you were fitting in here. So begin where you like.

S19  Well, when I first came here I was sort of scared because I didn't think there'd
be any Asian people in my group or course because from my background I'd been told that not a lot of Asian people become journalists. So I was pretty scared - and that I'd have no friends and I'd be by myself. But when I came I found that there were people in my group and I was happier. I did pretty well, got to know a few people. I like the college now.

S20 When I came to college, I just wanted to change. I was at an all girls' school before and I wanted to come to a mixed college.

A So did you choose to come to a mixed college?

S20 Yes - I thought it was better.

A How are you finding that?

S20 It's OK. It's OK. Even when I started, I knew I'd get on, 'cause I'm a people's person.

A You're a "people's person"?

S20 Yes

S21 When I first came to this college I wasn't scared because I'd been to so many other different colleges. I knew what to expect and I made friends pretty easily as well.

From these excerpts there may arise concern that the students are trying to please the interviewer and impress her with their positive attitudes. However, later in the interview S20 is quite frank about academic difficulties that she is experiencing and she expresses her anger about a lecturer who is always "putting her down."

In another group, a student who has been experiencing family difficulties, discusses the problems in copying up work she has missed and she indirectly comments on the social difficulties she is encountering.

S29 When I was at school I had the help of my teachers and like friends. I knew everybody. I had been there a few years. But here, you can't rely on anybody else. It's yourself. I'm the one who has to catch up with the work - no-one else is going to help me.

A Was that different in school? Explain how it was different in school?

S29 In school with my friends- we will sort of get to know each other but it will
take time - but at school I knew everybody and the friends which were with me - we actually - we were going to get the work done [tape becomes unclear]... I can copy it.

A So it was easier to copy up?

S29 They helped then. Basically it was easier.

Further on in the interview the students are asked about making friends in college.

S29 Being absent- sort of- because I'm not here much - I can't. Because I'm not here I can't fit into the group - so - it's OK, but I get [voice fades and tape inaudible.]

This student was clearly depressed and struggling at college as well as at home. At the end of the interview she asked about counselling in college and she was told this could be arranged.

All the ideas relating to social adjustment were taken from the transcripts and listed. The following examples came from the extracts quoted above.

The most important thing is getting to know people in class
You feel nervous when you have to do presentations in front of class
You feel comfortable sitting down with a group
You feel uncomfortable if they are all talking and you aren't part of it
(You know you are fitting in) when you know you can belong to quite a few tables
Pretty scared that I'd have no friends
I made friends pretty easily
You can't rely on anyone else
But at school I knew everybody...
I can't fit into the group.

Many of the ideas about friends, getting to know people and belonging to groups were found in most of the interviews. Keeping closely to the students' language, item-statements were constructed from the above, taking into consideration the following:
a) that the statement should contain only a single idea
b) that the statement could be rated on a five point scale
c) that the statement should reflect "adjustment" in one direction and non-adjustment in the other. (Some statements could only be rated unambiguously if they were written in a negative form.)
d) appropriateness for students from diverse cultural backgrounds. (Items about college social life extending into the evenings were excluded because responses could reflect cultural restrictions rather than lack of social adjustment.)
e) applicability to students from diverse courses. (In some courses there is a strong emphasis on group work which was reflected in the interviews. However, a statement about working in groups would have less relevance to students on courses of hairdressing or electronic engineering.)

Examples of the fully developed item statement follow. Some of these are in a negative form as explained in c) above. Others are negative to make the subject consider each item separately and so not be tempted to respond habitually with the same rating for each item.

I do not have any friends among the students in my class.
I do not feel part of a group.
I feel comfortable joining a group of students who are sitting together.
I am friendly with students who are in classes other than my own.
I feel nervous asking a question in class.
It is difficult to make friends in college.
I can ask for help from other people in my class.

The academic scale
Surprisingly, for interviews in an academic institution, there was considerably less discussion about academic issues than other matters. This may have been due to the group situation, where the students felt either in competition with one another or else reluctant to appear either too keen or too able or else not "clever" enough. Students who considered themselves to be of equal ability to the others in their interview group
and with a reasonable expectation of passing their course were the ones most able to talk about their experiences of adjustment. The disadvantage of this interviewing procedure was that the interviewer considered it inappropriate to explore the difficulties hinted at by an individual in the group situation. Nevertheless, the interviews still provided sufficient material for the questionnaire.

The following excerpt is taken from the interview with S4, S5 and S6 who were three female friends studying for A-levels. Their voices sound very similar on the tape, so the transcript does not record which of them is speaking. They initiated this part of the discussion by suggesting that students need to adjust to what one of them termed "the different work level."

A Oh? Tell me about this work level.
S It's increased a lot - a big step from what they wanted from us at GCSE to what's expected at A-level. It's a major gap - got no help in between. Like (it's) up to you to make the transitional step.
S Nobody helped us when we first began.
S No
S "This is A-level: that was GCSE. - You should sort the difference out yourself."
A So there is quite a bit of sorting yourself out?
S Yeah
A When do you reckon you feel sort of sorted out...that you've actually adjusted to that?
S I don't think you ever do (laughs)
S I think they think that if you get your work in on time you feel sort of sorted out. You feel I'm in such a mess (I'll never get) finished.

Laughter from all of them makes the words inaudible.
S .....other melodramatic things.
A Was it difficult getting your pieces of work in to start with?
S Yeah
S It was difficult to begin with. It was more difficult. We used to get such low marks and we used to think why are we getting them because we were still in GCSE mode.
GCSE mode- yes.

And we couldn't just get out of that.

How did you feel about these low marks?

Oh terrible. Self-confidence- I mean...down.

Down definitely.

Because you like...because high school most of us - it wasn't that big classes and here it was like you meet people who are so much like readier than you- and you sit there thinking "Oh my G-d!"

Other interviewees expressed their disappointments in getting low marks for their early assignments until they adjusted to the system and the work level. Handing assignments in at deadlines was another recurring theme. One of the students in group S25, S26 and S27 opened their interview as follows:

What I'd like you to tell me about is - How do you feel you are getting on being a student here?

Quite well! I've done all my assignments - I've kept up with my assignments- except for the next one which I'll get in.

The interview with students S10, S11 and S12 exemplified previous contrasting experiences of education. This excerpt continued from a discussion comparing college with school.

In school because you've got such a strict schedule to stick to - you know where you are going and what you've got to do. The teachers tell you what homework you've got to do. Whereas down here you have to depend on yourself. You have to organize yourself to know what homework has to be in when.

Yeah

...and because you know you've got so much work as- well- you tend to - Oh, I won't do homework, it's not due till next week.

I just go home.

Is it easy to push yourselves? To motivate yourself?

Pause
S10 Not compared to school. I feel I need someone to always tell me. (Tape inaudible.)

A Is it difficult for you as well?

S12 Maybe it's difficult - you need someone pushing you- specially as I took a couple of years off.

A Right

S12 So I'm getting used to getting back to it.

S12 speaks very quietly and it is difficult to hear the tape. The interviewer's notes record that he has had a difficulty with regular attendance.

A And did the staff push you about that? Sounds like they don't hassle you about coming in.

S11 The staff - they do to an extent. But they are also lenient to an extent. It's not like school. School was very strict on that sort of stuff. The staff are more lenient. some are more lenient than others. Like if you don't hand in assignments - you're dead!

Laughter

S11 Others - OK you hand it in next lesson.

A If they are really strict and you're dead, what do they do?

S11 Oh, it's not like school. School they'd give you a detention.

A Mmmm

S11 Here they don't have that. They just have a really bad go at you. Because you're meant to be like mature - meant to be an adult-to-adult basis, so they feel that's enough.

He goes on to explain the embarrassment of him having a go at me again, in front of everybody in the class.

The interviewer tries to gauge contrasting staff behaviour and its effect on the student.

A If they are more lenient, how do you respond to that?

S11 What I found last year was that they are lenient, but in the end it comes back down to you, because at the end of the year, when it comes to exam entry, they say, "You didn't hand in these assignments, therefore I'm not entering you for your exam." And that won't hit you at the time, but because I learnt from last year, I'm not doing it now.
An interview group on a vocational course shows contrasting attitudes and commitment to work.

A And so do you find it difficult to hand your work in on time?

S19 No

S20 She doesn't

S21 I don't. Because my friends are all in lessons and instead of sitting around, I just go and sit in the library, do my work. I find it all right to hand in. Because when I go home, my Mum has all the housework under control. I don't have any worries about home, so I spend all my time studying.

A Is it different for either of you

S19 No. It's more or less the same.

S20 It's just that I can't be bothered. Sometimes I can't be bothered to do the homework. I don't want to give it in. I don't want to do it. I've got this thing. If I'm not interested in something, I just block it out...completely. It goes on in my head - I just don't want to know. That's how I feel, if I don't want to know about it - I just block it off.

S20 seemed to be expressing a number of difficulties. She complained in another part of the interview about not understanding some of the teachers and having a particularly bad relationship with one of them. She was the sort of student that the developing questionnaire should pick out as measuring low on adjustment to college, particularly in the academic scale, if it is to be a useful clinical tool.

However, when deciding on item statements, it would be vital to exclude any items which could be perceived as flippant but with which many students might identify. For example, "Sometimes I can't be bothered to do my work." might seem familiar to almost all subjects, even the most well-adjusted, and therefore would not be a reliable measure. By avoiding superficial and casual language in the items, the respondents would be constrained to make serious rating judgements about their performance.

In trying to develop a measure of academic adjustment, it was important to avoid measuring academic success. Although that is an indicator of adjustment, there are students who are well adjusted to college and are working at the top of their academic
potential but are only just scraping through their courses. The following academic item-statements were developed from the transcripts reproduced above, using the same guide-lines as for the social scale.

I cannot keep to dead-lines for handing in assignments.
When I have an assignment marked, I am generally disappointed.
If I have free time at college I usually get my work done.
I have a poor relationship with one or more of my teachers.
I am behind with my assignments.
When I have a piece of work marked, I am usually satisfied with myself.

Although some pairs of items are very similar, there is a subtle difference. Getting behind with assignments is a more significant cause for concern than missing deadlines, but both indicate problems.

The Responsibility Scale
This scale was suggested by the interview material. Many of the students explained that they had taken on greater responsibility for their lives since joining college. The following group of students were explaining that college gave them freedom and the opportunity to “bunk”.

S5 Well, here we do, but at school we don’t.
S6 Yeah, that’s true.
S5 We have all this freedom - it’s up to you.
S6 Getting used to that - no-one telling you where to go
S4 I suppose it’s really good. because it’s like.. mmmm.. It’s like a step before going to university. It’s like in between 6th form or school. This is sort of like you’re on your way, sort of thing. You’re given the freedom - yeh - you’re given responsibilities.
A So you are given responsibility. What sort of responsibility do you think you’ve got?
S5 Coming to college.
S4 Going to your lessons, getting your work done.
S6 Exactly - up to you.
S4 Obviously, the lecturers do push us. But it is not as much as... it's your responsibility. Now, you're an adult now.... placing more responsibility. Giving us more awareness of what it's going to be like at university -
S5 Yeah
S6 Up to you
The tape becomes unclear because the girls are laughing. The interviewer's notes show that "using initiative" is introduced.
A Can you explain?
S5/6 We just have everything handed to us at school.
A And now?
Laughter
S We're left to our own devices.
S4 Yeah, exactly.
S5 Got a project to research - you go and do the research. Before you used to get it all typed out - or hand-outs or they'd give you some sort of hint - or tell you something like: "Oh look at this case".
S6 - or do it for you.
A So it's actually quite ... harder ... and so you are using your initiative. You are finding your own way around. You are responsible for not bunking.
Laughter
A You also said something about "time management and loads."
(This must have been masked by the laughter.)
S6 All of a sudden you get all these essays and pieces at once - and it's up to you to sort of do them. To organize yourself.
S5 To organize yourself - yeah.

Getting into college on time in the morning was a problem introduced by a few groups. For S7, S8 and S9 it led into a general discussion about taking responsibility.
S9 Yeah, I came from a 6th form school. A big difference is I have to wake up really early because it takes over an hour.
A Do you decide that you are going to come in for two hours.
Sometimes I wake up at eight o'clock. I know that I'm not. There's no way of making it on time and there's no point me trying because they won't let me in anyway.

Is that normal - that you are not allowed into classes late?

Yes - because no way, I'm not going in. My timetable is 9 to 11 and 3 to 5 - so if I miss 9, there is no point in coming in early, so I stay asleep until 1pm.

Any hassle from home? Do they not know or not worry?

More or less they leave my studies to me. They don't know too much, not really educated.

So at home they don't know - so it's entirely your responsibility?

There's no-one else.

What's the difference? Is it entirely your responsibility? (to S7 and S8)

Well, my Mum's pretty educated with a Ph D and that and she knows about university and wants me to go. She keeps tabs on what I do. Not all the time because I tell her...

There's a discrepancy between families. How are yours? (to S8)

I felt pushed into doing it. I may not have come here but my Mum and Dad probably want me to go to university more than I do.

Is that different from when you were at school?

Yeah, 'cause now if I'm ill or something- they say it's up to me whether I want to go in or not. I don't have to ask their permission. So it's a bit more responsibility on me. I like it that way.

And do you like the timetable and that sort of thing that's here?

Yeah - it's alright

Yeah

You don't seem very sure.

You have a lot of free time on the timetable.

Yeah - It's just like....
A  *How do you cope with all the free time?*

S  *Homework*

A  *So you do your homework in it?*

S  *- unless I go into (town) and go shopping.*

A  *So you can do that. (To another student) You are saying something different.*

S  *I don't normally do work in my free time. I just sit around with my mates.*

In choosing items to measure responsibility for self in relation to college, those issues which might reflect family different family expectations of adolescent responsibility were avoided. The chosen items focused on taking personal responsibility as a student. Additionally, the statements had to be as relevant to those students living independently as to those living in parental homes. From the transcripts reproduced above, the following item- statements were constructed.

- How well I do at college is entirely my own responsibility.
- Even if I feel unwell, I usually decide to come to college.
- If I have free time at college, I usually get my work done.
- I rarely miss a lesson.

**Structuring the questionnaire**

The interviews provided approximately 120 item statements which could be fairly evenly assigned to the social, academic or responsibility scales, with just a few items being more general and not falling into any of those categories. Initially 15 items were chosen from each category, some being very similar. The inclusion of similar items would provide a measure of within scale reliability.

It was decided that the questionnaire should start with some general items, which would focus the subject on his or her experience of this particular college, rather than education in general, and would also include the idea of adjustment to something new. A number of interviewees had talked about having to learn their way around college, which for most subjects would be a larger institution than any previously attended. Others had mentioned learning to adjust to a college time-table which was far less full
and less structured than the school week. Thus the following two item-statements were chosen to begin the questionnaire:

I know my way around college very well.
I am used to my college time-table.

To conclude the questionnaire, it was decided to include general statements which focused directly on adjustment to college and the likelihood of "dropping out." These would help to indicate whether the items from the social, academic and responsibility scales were also actually measuring specific aspects of adjustment to college. Statistical tests of correlation and factor analysis for pilot studies would indicate the validity of the questionnaire.

Between the opening items and the concluding two, the main body of the questionnaire was constructed from 15 items each from the social, academic and responsibility scales and an additional item was included from the social scale so that there would be 50 items in all. Some statements were rephrased to become negatives because that made them easier to rate. Others were phrased as negative to provide variety, so that subjects would have to consider each individual item and would not be able to work their way through the questionnaire responding with the same rating throughout. The items from the different scales were given in a mixed order to sustain the respondents' interest and to ensure that similar questions were not too close to one another.

The Likert-type Rating Scale.
A Likert-type rating scale was chosen to measure the student's assessment of his or her experience or feelings about being at college. For each item-statement the respondent was required to circle one number from 1 - 5 to indicate as follows:

1  Strongly disagree
2  Disagree
3  Neither agree nor disagree
4  Agree
5  Strongly agree
This method of rating is familiar to students and requires little explanation. It was hoped that students would feel able to indicate their level of agreement to statements given by other students, without feeling persecuted or judged and would so feel able to answer honestly. A 5-point scale was considered sufficient and would be consistent with the measures of attachment, which would be in the same initial package of questionnaires. As well as keeping the method of response simple for the subjects, it was hoped that this consistency would also assist in the analysis and understanding of the results.

The scale was arranged so that a higher score on the adjustment questionnaire would indicate a higher level of adjustment to college. (This is consistent with the attachment questionnaires too.) Scores for negative items would be reversed for the scoring.

INITIAL PILOT STUDIES

Testing for content validity

Although the item-statements had been developed from the interviews with students, I had assigned them to the social, academic and responsibility scales in an entirely subjective manner. To see whether other psychologists would agree with my classifications, the initial list of 50 item-statements were shown to nine professionally qualified psychologists and family therapists. It was explained that these items were the basis for a questionnaire to measure adjustment to college for 16 - 20 year olds. They were asked to assign each statement to one of the four following categories: social, academic, responsibility or general and they were also asked to point out any ambiguities. They worked independently.

The nine professionals showed considerable agreement in their assignments of items to particular scales. For 13 items there was total agreement with the original assignments. For 29 items there was majority agreement, with just two of these items being assigned to scales other than the original. The remaining 8 items were assigned to joint scales. The resulting distribution was as follows:
The academic dimension was reflected least in the statements, which was not surprising as this topic had been least discussed in the interviews. It was not possible to find any other issues reflecting the academic area from the interview material, but I decided against manufacturing academic items which might not reflect the student way of thinking and would go against the original principle of developing the questionnaire out of the students' discussions. The questionnaire did not need an equal number of items from each scale to be a valid measure of adjustment to college. Factor analysis of the items on results from a large number of subjects would eventually give a better indication of which items cluster together to create a cohesive scale.

In addition the professionals orally expressed their opinions that the questionnaire items were all relevant, that they covered the areas of behaviour which could be regarded as requiring adaptation when a young person changes from school or work to college life and that the individual items could all be rated on a five-point scale. They also considered that the questionnaire was straightforward and that student subjects would be able to recognize its aim. If the students were motivated to respond honestly, their ratings to the range of individual items should measure adjustment to college. Thus, their overall assessment suggested that the newly developed questionnaire was homogeneous and that it had both face validity and content validity (Barker, Pistrang & Elliott, 1994).
**Piloting the item-statements**

The questionnaire consisting of 50 items was then piloted on twelve first year A-level psychology students and seven second year A-level psychology students in their third and final terms respectively. The questionnaire was administered by their teacher and they completed it anonymously. They were asked to point out any ambiguities or items to which they had difficulty in responding. All of the subjects responded to all of the items on the Likert-type scale and some suggested just minor improvements to the wording of three statements.

The results were encouraging. Individual questionnaires showed a consistency in response between similar items. Out of a maximum possible score of 250, the first year scores ranged from 125 - 192 and the second years ranged from 162 - 217. (See Appendix 8.1) A Mann-Whitney U-test showed that there was no significant difference between the scores of the two groups (U1 =29, U2 =55; p> 0.05 two-tailed.)

If the questionnaire was measuring adjustment to college, then the scores would indicate that the first year students ranged from the lowest score of 125 which is on the midline between good adjustment and non-adjustment to scores of 190 and 192 indicating very good adjustment to college. The second year students ranged from good adjustment at 162 to extremely good adjustment at 217. The psychology teacher commented that this would be compatible with her subjective assessment of the students within the two groups. The questionnaire appeared in good enough shape to proceed to the formal testing of its reliability and validity.

(A copy of the questionnaire is to be found in Appendix 10.1, pp. 458-460, where it is entitled "Questionnaire for College Students".)
Chapter 9

A RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY STUDY OF
THE ADJUSTMENT TO COLLEGE QUESTIONNAIRE (ADCOLL)

Aim of the study
The aim of this investigation was to assess the psychometric qualities of the newly developed 50-item Adjustment to College Questionnaire (AdColl) as follows:
Test-retest reliability - whether the questionnaire produces similar results each time it is used on the same subjects under similar conditions.
Internal reliability - whether an individual responds consistently to the different items within the questionnaire.
Validity - whether the questionnaire is actually measuring adjustment to college.

Method
Subjects were selected from across the whole population of full-time 16-20 year old students in a particular college, to represent the breadth of the academically and culturally diverse population. Each subject individually completed the AdColl and was retested on it two weeks later, to test for external reliability. Immediately after the retest the subject was interviewed about his or her adjustment to college by the researcher, who had not looked at the AdColl responses. Interviews of all subjects were audio-tape recorded and given to an independent rater. This rater, who had no sight of the questionnaires and who did not know any of the subjects, rated each subject on a 1-5 scale to indicate her assessment of individual adjustment to college. A statistical correlation between the AdColl score and the independently rated interview score would indicate a level of validity. Rust and Golombok (1992) call this "criterion related validity," while Barker, Pistrang and Elliott (1994) refer to it as "concurrent criterion validity."

Subjects
The subjects were 20 full-time students, of whom 11 were female and 9 male. They
ranged in age from 16 to 20 years and the courses they were studying included A-levels, Business and Finance, Catering, Health and Social Care, Nursery Nursing, Computing and Art & Design. Their cultural family groups were proportionally representative of the different groups in college and included Asian, Afro-Caribbean, Far Eastern, Middle-Eastern and one mixed Mexican-English as well as native UK.

The subjects had been systematically selected from the college alphabetical records. Every fiftieth student name was taken, but if that student was over 20 years or not on a full-time course, then the next student's name was used. Initially every one of these students was sent a letter (see example : Appendix 9.1), via college internal post, and asked to meet the researcher. They were offered a choice of time and location on both of the college sites. Unfortunately only 5 out of a possible 50 responded. Some letters were returned unclaimed because the students had left college before the ends of their courses. The variety of their reasons for leaving included finding the course unsuitable, being asked to leave because of poor attendance or for major disciplinary breaches, suffering from depression and finding paid employment. As this part of the investigation had been started in May, the examination season made it impossible to trace many students and only 9 could complete the test, retest and interview. The college term began again in early September and, to allow time for the students to settle after the long vacation, letters were sent again in October to those students who had not previously responded but had re-enrolled for the second year of their course. This time tear-off reply slips were included and telephone numbers requested. Eventually, of the 29 subjects who were asked to attend two appointments, 11 more completed all parts of the investigation. Although I should have liked another five to ten subjects for this part of the study, the time-consuming paradigm of selecting more students, contacting them, testing them and then waiting for them to reappear for the retest and interview two weeks later was likely to delay and so jeopardise the completion of the next, major part of the study. I decided that this sample of twenty would be just sufficient.

**Procedure**

This took place in the Counselling Rooms on both college sites.
The Initial Test

At the first appointment, the researcher explained to the subject that she was carrying out research into students' experiences at college. She further explained that she wanted him or her to fill out a questionnaire, the contents of which would remain confidential to herself inside college and would not be passed on to teachers, parents or other college staff. Every student agreed. (It may be assumed that students who were reluctant to participate either had not replied or had failed to keep appointments!)

Students were then seated at a table or desk and given the AdColl to complete. They were just told to follow the written instructions. The researcher remained in the room, but sat away from the subject so as not to be intrusive. When the subject had completed the AdColl, he or she marked it with his/her initials and date of birth so that it could later be paired with the retest questionnaire. The researcher then explained that she would like to see the subject once more in two weeks time to complete a second part of the research. This further appointment would take between twenty and thirty minutes. A date was made and the venue for the appointment arranged. (The first group of subjects made a note of their own appointments, but they were not very reliable and, when they forgot or got distracted, they had to be chased up. Therefore, the second group of students were given written appointment slips and some were reminded by telephone the evening before their second appointment.)

The Retest

The returning subject was seated and asked to fill in the AdColl again. Subjects who asked why they had to fill it in again were told that an explanation would be given at the end of the session and they were asked to fill in the questionnaire as it applied to them today.

The Interview

The researcher then explained that she would now like to interview him/her about his/her experiences at college and audio-tape that interview. On the tape the student would only be known by a research number and date of birth, but would not be
identified by name. The tape would only be heard by the researcher and a colleague, who was not known to the student or vice versa. The contents of the tape would be strictly confidential to the research and would not be used for any other purpose. The student was then asked to read the "College Student Research" letter and to fill in the "Tape-recording of Interview - Research Consent Form". (See Appendix 9.2)

The subject was interviewed according to the protocol. (See Appendix 9.3) When the interview was completed, the researcher explained that purpose of the research and asked the student not to discuss this in detail with other students, because they might in time be asked to participate in the research too.

The tape recorded interviews were given to the independent rater, who was a professionally qualified but non-practising student counsellor and who was also a lecturer in further education. The nature of her present work ensured that she had not met and was not likely to meet any of the subjects in this study. She was given written instructions for rating the interviewed subjects as follows:

"HOW TO RATE THE TAPED INTERVIEWS

Each student interview begins with the student's subject number and ends with that number. The first student is number 34.

Please rate how well you think each student is doing at college:-
1 - very poorly adjusted
2 - below average adjustment
3 - neither poorly adjusted nor well adjusted
4 - well-adjusted
5 - very well-adjusted

Rate them A - academically, S - socially and R - in taking responsibility for self.

Please give an overall score - How well adjusted is this young person to becoming an achieving student?
Is it possible for you to give separate ratings for
1) How you would objectively rate this student
2) How this student seems to rate him/herself.

Results

Although the subjects had been difficult to pin down to appointments, the ones who attended all filled in the questionnaire without querying any of the items. None of them seemed to experience any difficulty and all but one appeared happy to participate and said they were willing to return. However the second appointment was completely forgotten by some, or became inconvenient for a variety of reasons including a college course visit, unexpected examination leave, illness and an extra driving lesson. Of the twenty students who returned for the second appointment all were retested on the AdColl and all were interviewed. None of them expressed any reluctance to fill in the questionnaire and none of them expressed any difficulty about doing so.

Range of scores

The total scores for each subject are shown in Table 9.4 (Appendix 9.4). As the AdColl consisted of 50 items, the range of possible scores was from 50 - 250. For the twenty subjects, scores on the initial test ranged from 158 - 220 (Mean = 184.5; S.D. = 16.10) and on the retest from 157 - 220 (Mean = 182.2; Standard Deviation = 15.79.) It was reasonable that these students scored in the top half of the range in a measure of adjustment to college because the nine tested in May had all managed to stay at college to complete the academic year and the eleven tested in October had all returned for their second year and thus were demonstrating at least average adjustment.

The highest scoring subject, S53 scored a total of 220 on both occasions, although responses to individual items were not identical. Of the two subjects who scored a total of 157 on the retest, one had scored 160 on the initial test and the other 168. The greatest difference between test and retest was for S44 who scored 203 and 174 respectively, giving a difference of 29. For the remainder of the subjects the test-retest difference was 15 or less. (See Scattergram in Appendix 9.5.)
Reliability

For test-retest reliability, the correlation coefficient was calculated with the Pearson product-moment formula. Correlating the total scores obtained on the initial test with those obtained on the retest for each subject the coefficient was calculated to be $r = 0.7530$, ($p < .0001$). As Barker et al. (1994) suggested that a correlation over 0.70 measured an acceptable level of reliability, this result suggested that although only 20 subjects were tested, their responses to the AdColl remained fairly stable over two weeks and that the questionnaire could be described as having reasonably good external reliability.

To measure internal reliability the Split Half method was used. To produce an estimate of reliability for the whole questionnaire, the AdColl was divided into two halves, odd-numbered items and even-numbered items. The Pearson product-moment coefficient was calculated between the total scores for the two halves of the initial test on the AdColl, $r = 0.7762$, ($p < .0001$) and for the retest, $r = 0.8274$, ($p < .0001$). Using the Spearman-Brown formula (Rust & Golombok, 1992, p.165) calculations produced a coefficient of $r = 0.874$ for the initial test and $r = 0.906$ for the retest. Again Rust & Golombok suggested that a coefficient 0.70 and above would demonstrate reliability for this sort of questionnaire. Thus the high correlation coefficients obtained in this small study suggested that the AdColl showed good internal consistency. A larger study would provide the opportunity to confirm this finding.

Validity

The rater produced a total of six ratings for each subject interview. (See Appendix 9.6.) As requested she rated each subject academically, socially and for taking responsibility. She also gave them each an overall rating of adjustment, a rating for how the subject rated him/herself and a subjective rating of how she, as a staff member, might rate the student interviewed as fulfilling his or her potential at college.

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1To cover any inappropriate use of parametric statistics, Spearman’s Rank correlations were also calculated throughout. These correlations were a little lower, but still within the acceptable levels for reliability and validity. The Pearson correlations are cited throughout for consistency.
Although requested to rate them on a 1 to 5 scale ranging from very poorly adjusted to very well adjusted, she found it very difficult to make distinctions between them as she rated most to be well-adjusted. Where she could make small distinctions, she chose to rate them between scores and so used a scale 2, 2/3, 3, 3/4, 4, 4/5, 5. So that these rating could be used in a statistical calculation, I asked whether 2/3 could be measured as 2.5, 3/4 as 3.5 and so on and she confirmed that this would be consistent with her ratings.

It is most appropriate to compare these ratings with the AdColl retest scores because the interviews were recorded immediately afterwards. Lowest ratings of 2 and 3 were given to S36 who scored only 157 on the AdColl retest. Some of the highest ratings of 4/5 and 5 were given to S39, S41, S42 and S43 who scored 181, 215, 185 and 198 respectively. However S34 who received high social and responsibility ratings scored only 170 while S53, who scored 4 on most categories, scored the highest at 220.

Correlation coefficients to test validity were calculated using the Pearson product-moment formula. Correlating the total AdColl retest score with the sum of the academic, responsibility and social ratings resulted in $r = 0.5250 \ (p< 0.017)$. For correlating the AdColl score with the overall rating of the interview, $r = 0.4607 \ (p< 0.041)$ and for correlating the AdColl score with the rater's subjective rating $r = 0.4333 \ (p< 0.056)$. Barker et al. (1994) suggested that correlation values over 0.30 are at an acceptable level for validity with values of 0.50 being considered as good. Thus, although the number of subjects was small, these results suggested that the questionnaire showed a reasonably good level of criterion related validity. (Interestingly, the students' self-rating scores gave the lowest correlation rate of $r = 0.3480 \ (p< 0.133)$ and these ratings appeared slightly higher than the rater's own subjective evaluations of the students.)

There were insufficient subjects to do a factor analysis at this stage of the study.
Discussion

The range of total scores on the AdColl, extending from just above average adjustment to being very well adjusted, was what would have been expected from students who had completed the first year of their course and were beginning the second year. The time of the year that the study was undertaken and the method of sampling both made it less likely that more poorly adjusted students would be included. As already stated a number of the less adjusted had already left college and could not therefore be tested. In addition for this study students were contacted by name and so their identity, course and sometimes even the name of their tutor were known to the researcher. Students still at college who were not performing well or were feeling ill-adjusted to the requirements of student life may well have felt reluctant about meeting an adult researcher and talking about their student experiences, whatever was stated about complete confidentiality in the letter inviting them to attend an appointment. Different methods of sampling and ways of ensuring confidentiality would have to be found for the next major part of the study. A system of ensuring that the researcher does not know his or her identity would give a subject a greater feeling of security that information about him or her would be kept confidential and would make him or her more likely to respond truthfully. It would also be more useful to conduct the study once students have settled into college but before those poorly adjusted have actually dropped out or been asked to leave.

Perhaps individual subjects did respond more positively on the AdColl to demonstrate a higher than real level of adjustment to college, either because they were giving the more socially acceptable responses or because they unconsciously held a rose-tinted view of their own adjustment. However they did not give extreme responses and they did respond consistently. The correlation coefficients obtained for the external reliability and internal consistency investigations were all above 0.7 and very satisfactory although some caution must be exercised because of the small number of subjects tested. Nevertheless, the AdColl was considered to have sufficient psychometric qualities of reliability for its continued use in the next part of the study which would have more subjects.
The psychometric properties for validity were also encouraging. The highest correlation coefficient \( r = 0.5250 \) was obtained by correlating the total score on the AdColl with the sum of the independent ratings for academic, social and responsibility areas of adjustment as elicited in the interview. Although the correlation was good for validity, it was to be viewed with caution because of the small numbers and the nature of the Pearson formula which can be affected by a few extreme cases. The correlation coefficients for the overall rating and the rater's subjective ratings \( r = 0.4607 \) and \( r = 0.4333 \) again suggested a satisfactory level of validity. However, the task was a very difficult one for the independent rater. All her information came from the audio-tapes and she did not have the interviewer's advantages of assessing the nonverbal communication or posing questions that would have helped her to evaluate each student subject. Additionally almost all the subjects fell into the limited range of being well adjusted and it was very difficult to distinguish differences of adjustment between them. To test the validity of this instrument it would have been much more useful to have had subjects from across the whole range from very poorly adjusted to very well adjusted. However, for these subjects, there were no major differences between the ratings from the interviews and total responses on the AdColl. Despite the limitations of this validation study, the AdColl demonstrated that it was to some extent actually measuring adjustment to college. Although many students self-rated themselves as being better adjusted to college than other ratings demonstrated, they did not appear to be responding unrealistically higher on the AdColl than they were found to be during the probing interview.

Conclusions

Despite the limitations of this study, some inferences could be drawn. The Adjustment to College Questionnaire had been shown to have reasonable levels of external reliability and internal consistency. The level of correlation between AdColl scores and the independent interview ratings also suggested that the questionnaire had acceptable criterion validity in measuring adjustment to college. This gave sufficient encouragement to make a decision to use the AdColl in exactly this form for the next part of the research.
SECTION III:

A QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY
PROCEDURE FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

Once the attachment and adjustment measures were ready, the questionnaire packs could be assembled and the study could proceed.

QUESTIONNAIRE MATERIALS

So that a number of students could be tested simultaneously the Adjustment to College Questionnaire (AdColl) together with the three attachment measures (PAQ, IPPA & Hazan & Shaver) were put together with a personal information page to form a self-report set of questionnaires. An example can be found in Appendix 10.1.

First page requiring personal information

The first page was designed to indicate the confidentiality of the research and to settle the subject's concentration by requiring straightforward responses to personal information such as gender, date of birth, ethnicity, academic status and some family circumstances.

Question 4 enquiring about ethnic groups used exactly the same format as that used on the college enrolment form and so this method of ethnic categorization was already familiar to each student. Question 5 asking the number of GCSE passes was to indicate a level of academic achievement to date.

As well as trying to elicit as much information as possible about the status of a subject's relationship with each natural parent, Questions 8 - 13 were designed to acknowledge that individual students would have a wide range of different parental circumstances and to indicate that the questionnaires following were likely to be relevant to all respondents. It also encouraged subjects to consider which actual parent they were answering about for the IPPA, rather than blithely substituting step-parents.
and guardians for natural parents, without indication.

The sequential ordering of the questionnaires

The Hazan and Shaver model of attachment measure, requiring just a choice between three statements about feelings, was considered to be the measure most likely to be affected by filling in other questionnaires. As the PAQ and IPPA specifically target different aspects of attachment and even the AdColl asks about friends in college, the prior answering of any of these questionnaires could affect an initial spontaneous response to the Hazan and Shaver statements. Consequently every set of questionnaires had the Hazan and Shaver measure on the second page. The order of the three statements indicating different attachment status was randomized to counteract any order effects. Thus there were three different lay-outs of this measure with each of the statements in the first, second and third positions.

Since the PAQ and the IPPA each measure aspects of attachment and responding to the first could affect subsequent responses on the second, these were arranged so that half the questionnaire sets had the PAQ first and the other had the IPPA first. To further separate the effects of answering two parental attachment questionnaires the AdColl was placed between the them and so this was the fourth part of the questionnaire for every set. Balancing the order of the attachment measures meant that there was six different sets of questionnaires.

The Final Page

The final page was designed firstly to encourage students to look back through the set of questionnaires checking for missed pages and missed questions. Secondly it asked for permission to contact the student again for interview, explaining the confidential procedure. Retesting on the questionnaires was not mentioned as the students were likely to think it tedious, having only just completed them, and would be less likely to consent to further contact.

Piloting the set of measures

The whole set of self-report questionnaires in this form was piloted on three individual
student subjects. They each reported that they understood all the written instructions and the questions and that they encountered no problems in responding. They took between twenty-two and thirty-five minutes to complete a set of questionnaires. This indicated that the test material was in an appropriate form and of suitable length.

SELECTING A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF THE COLLEGE POPULATION

As each student within college was assigned to just one tutor group which met weekly for an hour with their personal tutor, these meetings seemed to offer an equal opportunity of approaching every full-time 16 - 20 year old student in college, without approaching anyone twice. Having obtained permission from the Principal, the Heads of Faculty and the Programme Managers to approach all the college tutors, letters were sent to over 50 tutors briefly explaining the research and asking for an opportunity to attend their tutor groups so that their students could be asked to participate. (See letter in Appendix 10.2.)

Eventually 26 separate tutor groups provided a total of 315 subjects aged 16 - 20 years. (Approximately ten mature students, who as members of the tutor groups filled in the questionnaires, were immediately excluded from the sample because of age.) In each tutor group, every student who attended on the day of my visit participated in the study by responding to the set of questionnaires. Thus there was no self-selection by the attending students. However some students rarely attended their tutorial. Perhaps some of them saw it as a waste of time while others were reluctant to attend because their tutor might reprimand them about late assignments or poor attendance. Thus it was possible that some of the least well-adjusted were missing from their tutorial session and so were not part of the sample. The attitude of the tutors to their students attending tutorials also varied quite considerably. Some tutors demanded and got almost 100% attendance. Others were very undemanding and seemed happy to have only about 50% attendance! Luckily I was not aware of this great variation when I was arranging my appointments so this did not affect my selection. The size of the subject groups responding to the questionnaires ranged from 7 to 17 students.
Two independent members of staff, one programme manager and the counselling coordinator, both inspected the final list of tutor groups, when there was still the opportunity to make changes, and agreed that the sample included groups from all the programme areas in college and also represented the range of academic course levels. The subjects were studying on the following courses: GCSE, A-Level, engineering, child care, health and social care, catering, media, design & display, computing, business & finance, business administration, legal secretary and leisure & tourism. The level of the courses was not easy to measure because further education seemed to be functioning with a number of not quite parallel systems but the sample included courses at the GNVQ intermediate and advanced stages, NVQ levels 2 and 3, B Tec Firsts and Btec Nationals (first and second years) and GCSE and A-levels (first and second years.) The sample appeared to represent the breadth of the college curriculum and all academic levels.

In addition the tutor groups were representative of the groups to which the college counselling clients belong. During visits to two tutor groups, two students made it known to me quietly at the end of the session that they were attending college counselling with my colleagues. There were probably more such students who did not make themselves known. At the beginning of my research I went into two separate tutor groups and unexpectedly found my own clients. After that I was more careful to alert my clients if I was going to visit their tutor group. I did not specifically target groups where my clients were members but where the tutor did respond positively to my routine contact I did postpone my visiting session until the six counselling sessions germane to the next part of the research study had been completed so that the experimental paradigm was not affected. This affected three tutor groups.

SUBJECTS

The subjects were 315 Further Education students, (137 males, 175 females and 3 students who did not indicate gender.) They were aged from 16 to 20 years (Mean = 17.02; SD = 0.97) Their ethnic backgrounds were as follows: 123 (39%) UK, 102 (32%) Indian, 23 (7%) Pakistani, 16 (5%) Caribbean, 12 (4%) Black African, 6 (3%)
East African, 6 (2%) European, 5 (2%) Other Asian, 3 (1%) Bangladeshi, 2 (1%) Chinese, 2 (1%) Irish, 2 (1%) Other Black, 4 (1%) Other White and 9 (3%) specified other. This is illustrated in Chart 10.3. Of this sample 67% were first year students, 26% were second years, 6% were in their third year and there was one student in his/her fourth and another in a fifth year at college. The number of GCSE passes gained with grades A - C ranged from 0 - 12, (Mean = 3.32, SD = 3.19) (See Chart 10.4.) The subjects were drawn from a wide range of academic and vocational F.E. courses.

The family circumstances of the sample were as follows. 98% stated that their natural mothers were alive (3 subjects did not respond) and 93% that their natural fathers were alive (7 failing to respond.) Two students indicated that both parents had died. (The PAQ and IPPA for parents for these two subjects were excluded from the statistical analysis.) 68% responded that their natural mother and their natural father were married to each other and living together. For 16%, mother and father were divorced and living separately. 2% responded that mother and father had never married but were living together. 7% indicated other situations, such as parents being divorced but living at the same address. (For the remaining 8% a parent was widowed.) The majority of the subjects were living at a parental home as follows: 64% were living with both parents, 23% were living with their mothers and 4% were living with their fathers. The remaining 9% were living with other family members, with friend(s) or alone.

Gauging the socio-economic status of the families from parents’ occupation/job titles was more difficult. However they could be loosely categorized as follows: occupations requiring professional training, top managerial positions, own businesses (fathers 8%, mothers 14%), middle managers and skilled workers (fathers 28%, mothers 12%) semi-skilled workers (fathers 41%, mothers 31%) and unskilled workers (fathers 23%, mothers 34%). In addition 22% of mothers were described as “housewife.” Responses indicated that 79% of fathers were currently in paid employment (34 nil responses) as were 65% of mothers (12 nil responses.) Overall the responses indicated that the subjects’ families represented a wide cross-section of
Chart 10.3
The ethnic origins of the 315 subjects of the Questionnaire Study

- Bangladeshi
- Chinese
- East African
- Irish
- European
- Other Asian
- African
- Pakistani
- Indian
- UK

Any Other
Other White

Chart 10.4
The number of GCSE passes achieved

GCSEPASS
Percent
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
Missing 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
20 10 0
the community including both middle and working classes.

DETAILS OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The testing took place between mid-November and mid-February. By mid-November the students had had ample time to settle into the academic year and there were few examinations during this period. Completing the testing by mid-February meant that retesting and interviewing a small control group for the next part of the study could be completed before the run-up to the examination period.

All testing took place by prior appointment at the normal tutorial time and venue. To control for procedural differences across the 26 tutor groups, a standardized introduction was used.

"I am here today to ask you to take part in a research study to find out about you, individual students in Further Education. I am interested in your experiences as students at college, your friends and family. This would involve you in spending between twenty and thirty minutes now, filling out a set of questionnaires. All the responses on these questionnaires will be entirely confidential to me for the research and will not be given to your teachers or other members of college or to parents or anyone else involved with you. I will not be asking for your names - but instead I will give you a personal number - a research number.

"That number might be to your advantage. It will be like a lottery ticket. Because I cannot afford to pay each of 300 students participating in this study, I have decided to offer 5 x £10 prizes to encourage you to fill in the questionnaires carefully without missing out questions. When all 300 students have filled in sets of questionnaires, the numbers of everyone who has completed all the questions - I repeat all the questions - will be put into a hat. The five numbers which are picked out will each win £10. I will then contact the tutors who will keep the lists that match the research numbers to names and they can give out the £10 cash prizes. (If you do not wish to take part in the lottery, for whatever reason, please still do take part in
the research. I just won't include your number.)

(I included the last sentence because I did not want any students who held strong religious beliefs forbidding the participation in gambling and lotteries to exclude themselves.)

"If you are willing to take part I will ask you to fill in the questionnaires without talking and without looking at your neighbours. Some people may not want even a close friend to see what they are answering, so please respect one another's privacy.

"The most important instruction is that you fill in every question as HONESTLY as you can. You must answer every question. After the first pages, you only have to circle numbers.

After you have finished I can explain how I have organized this research and tell you more about it.

Do you have any questions? Will you participate?"

After the students indicated that they would participate cloakroom tickets were distributed to each of them. The tickets gave them their individual Research Numbers and also acted as lottery tickets. All the subjects were seated at either desks or tables with sufficient room between individuals to ensure privacy. The sets of questionnaires were randomly distributed and some additional instructions were given.

"Please put your research number on each page. - at the top right - where it says Research No. When you fill in your date of birth, please put the right year - not 1995!!

"One of the questionnaires asks specifically about your relationship with each of your parents - I realize that some of you may have lost contact with one or both of your
parents. If, for example, you have never had contact with your natural father- and have had no other step-father, or adopted father- leave this blank- but put at the top of that questionnaire your age when you last saw your father or "never knew him" if that is so. If you have a relationship with two fathers, please answer about your natural father first. I can give you an extra sheet to ask about your additional father. The same instructions goes for mothers! If you don't understand anything - please ask me. I'll be discreet!

"Please answer what is true for you today. Your honest immediate response will be the most helpful to me. Are there any questions?

"Please work at your own pace - it is not a race. Start now - and keep going!"

**Full student participation**

Lottery type prizes were offered because previous experience with students, including the reliability-validity study on the AdColl, suggested that many would require an incentive to concentrate for thirty minutes or so on a form-filling exercise of no direct benefit to themselves and to answer questions that could make them feel uncomfortable. Even if the students looked bored at the start of the introduction they all sat up and took notice at the mention of the £10 prizes. Most of their questions inquired as to when the lottery would be drawn and how they would be informed. Others checked on the confidentiality of the research and that the tutor would have the list of student names and research/lottery numbers but no access to the questionnaires and that I would have their numbers but not their names and I would divulge no information. All seemed satisfied with the research procedure. Everyone agreed to participate although I repeated that there was no compulsion to do so. Peer pressure must have been a factor which encouraged some to participate and also the presence of their tutor in many classes. (Some tutors left me with their group straight after registration, some waited until the students began on the questionnaires and others stayed throughout. A few tutors decided that if I was coming they did not need to attend at all and they left me to fill in a registration sheet. For these tutors the students filled in their names alongside a list of their research numbers and the list was
put into a sealed envelope in front of the students and sent to the tutors for future reference.)

The ability of the students to settle to the task of responding to the questionnaires varied considerably between the groups. While groups of second year students settled down immediately, the larger groups with younger students doing the more basic courses started by chatting between themselves and had to be reminded that their responses needed to be their own and not helped by their neighbour. However all the groups settled eventually so that all questionnaires were completed by subjects working individually in silence. Individuals did ask me over if they did not understand a question which I then explained quietly to them. A few also requested additional copies of the IPPA so that they could respond for their step-parent. Only two subjects said that they would prefer not to answer questions about their relationships with their parents because it would cause too much pain at that time but both of them were willing to fill in the AdColl. While the great majority of the students were able to complete their set of questionnaires within thirty-five minutes there were a few who took over forty-five minutes.

For the first four groups of subjects, everyone waited fairly quietly until the last person had finished and then the sets of questionnaires were collected in. I explained briefly about the research and reminded them about the availability of counselling in college but most of the students were restless and anxious to leave. When I looked at the questionnaires afterwards, I found that some subjects had omitted items of personal information such as gender while others, on the IPPA, had failed to mark whether they were responding for their natural mother, step-mother etc. For all subsequent groups I collected in the set of questionnaires for each subject and just glanced through to check that the personal information form was complete and that the IPPA parents had been specified. I asked them to complete these omissions but not any missed questionnaire items. If the tutors had not specified that their students should stay until the end of the hour, the subjects were allowed to leave quietly. This had three advantages. Firstly the slower subjects were left in peace to complete their questionnaires without the peer pressure of feeling that everyone was waiting for them.
Secondly subjects could talk to me individually afterwards for debriefing and some were able to ask about counselling for themselves. Finally I was able to thank each subject personally for his or her time and co-operation. Although many of them had been dismayed at the size of the questionnaire pack and the length of time and concentration needed to complete it, almost every subject appeared to take the research seriously and to do their best. I was pleasantly surprised!

After all the tutor groups had participated, the lottery was drawn and five subjects each received £10 via their tutors.
Chapter 11

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF ADCOLL
PRODUCING A 27 ITEM QUESTIONNAIRE

Before proceeding to analyse all the results for the Questionnaire Study, the data for the Adjustment to College Questionnaire (AdColl) was examined separately. The data sample was large enough to perform a factor analysis, which might further support the validity of the newly developed questionnaire. If separate clusters of items on the AdColl could be shown to be measuring those aspects of adjustment to college that were designed as the different scales in the construction of the questionnaire, this would suggest that the questionnaire had construct validity (Barker et al., 1994).

A factor analysis using the SPSS package was carried out on the items of AdColl to examine the structure of the questionnaire. More specifically it was used to find out whether the three themes representing social adjustment, academic adjustment and adjustment to responsibility, which had been assumed in the construction, were borne out in the pattern of correlations between questionnaire items for the sample of students. (N = 315)

In factor analysis each factor extracted can be defined as the construct which accounts for the correlation or relationship between the items. Ideally each item should only correlate (or load) onto one factor, so that each factor (subscale of AdColl) is only measuring one distinct concept. Before factors can be identified and interpreted, they must be rotated to find the simple structure of the correlation matrix. Varimax aims at a simple structure while keeping the factor axes orthogonal and Kline (1994) suggests that Varimax is the most efficient procedure. The advantage of orthogonal rotation is that the factors are uncorrelated and the factor loadings are equivalent to the values of the actual factors. Kline also recommends using Direct Oblimin for oblique rotation where factors may be correlated.
The raw data for the AdColl (with scores reversed for relevant items) satisfied the basic requirements for factor analysis (Kline, 1994). The sample was sufficiently large (N = 315) and representative of the student population. The minimum 2:1 ratio of subjects to variables was easily exceeded being approximately 6:1 subjects to the variables which were the 50 questionnaire items.

A Principal Components Analysis was carried out for the 50 items of the AdColl. This produced 15 factors with Eigenvalues above 1.0. The three highest factors with Eigenvalues over 2.0 together accounted for 36.1 % of the total variance.

However there was a problem with proceeding further with rotations because the Determinant of the Correlation Matrix = .00000001. Kinnear and Gray (1995, p.221) state that a determinant smaller than 0.00001 suggests that the matrix could be suffering from multicollinearity or singularity. They explain that the former occurs where the variables are very highly (though imperfectly) correlated; the latter arises when some of the variables are exact linear functions of others in the battery, as when the variable C is constructed by adding together the subjects' scores on variables A and B. They direct that if multicollinearity or singularity are present then it is necessary to drop some of the variables from the analysis.

Although some similar items had been included in the AdColl questionnaire to check whether subjects were responding reliably and to discourage just socially desirable responses, none of the between item correlations were above 0.64 and only a handful were above 0.5. Multicollinearity did not seem to be the problem. However, an examination of the correlation matrix for the 50 items revealed that some items had negligible correlations with other items on the questionnaire and thus were not contributing to any underlying factors measured by the inventory. It was decided to exclude items which made a negligible contribution to the final selection by constraining the factor analysis to a three factor solution with a minimal factor loading for each item. Kline (1994, p.52) suggested that items with factor loadings of above 0.3 accounting for 9% of the variance could be considered as significant and sufficient for including items in a questionnaire. Kinnear & Gray (1995) suggested that loadings
should be above 0.5, accounting for 25% of the variance. I decided to aim for items with factor loadings above 0.5 if this would produce sufficient items for the questionnaire to be a good measure. However, as the size of loadings does vary slightly depending on the number and actual items in a factor analysis, all items loading above 0.45 were included in the next analysis so that potentially good items would not be lost. The Varimax rotation for three factors converged in six iterations. 18 items were dropped.

A Principal Components analysis of the 32 items satisfied all the statistical requirements and again yielded three factors. Varimax and Direct Oblimin rotations were conducted and both produced the same 27 items, in the same groupings, with factor loadings above 0.5. The other 5 items were discarded. If a factor analysis of these 27 items was satisfactory, this could provide a good measure of adjustment to college.

**Factor analysis of 27 items of AdColl**

A Principal Components Analysis produced 5 factors with eigenvalues above 1.0 accounting for a total of 52% of the variance. Having reduced the number of items from 50 to 27, the Determinant of Correlation Matrix = 0.0000681, which was now satisfactory. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and the Bartlett test of Sphericity were also both found to be within satisfactory limits (KMO = 0.842; Bartlett test of Sphericity = 2726.323, p <0.000005) indicating that factor analysis was an appropriate tool to explore the intercorrelations between the items of the questionnaire and that rotational analysis could proceed.

On a scree plot of the eigenvalues (see Appendix 11.1) the curve began to flatten out at the fourth and fifth factors which suggested that three factors should be used for the Varimax and Direct Oblimin rotations. These three factors accounted for 43.5% of the total variance.

The Varimax converged in 5 iterations. (See Appendix 11.2 for the Rotated Factor Matrix.) The three factors all had items with factor loadings above 0.5, as shown in
Tables 11.3, 11.4 and 11.5.

Factor 1 accounting for 22.6% of the total variance had 10 items which mainly referred to friendships and social interactions and so this factor could be easily interpreted as social adjustment. None of the items loaded significantly on either of the other two factors which suggested that these 10 items could form a clear scale to measure social adjustment.

Table 11.3 Factor 1 - Social Adjustment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q07</td>
<td>It is difficult to make friends in college.*</td>
<td>.756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q21</td>
<td>I feel part of college.</td>
<td>.708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q48</td>
<td>I feel confident in my relationships with class-mates.</td>
<td>.688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q31</td>
<td>I enjoy the social life in college.</td>
<td>.688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q12</td>
<td>I do not feel part of a group.*</td>
<td>.681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q46</td>
<td>I feel I can make conversation with anyone else in college.</td>
<td>.614</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q15</td>
<td>People greet me when I enter class.</td>
<td>.574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q37</td>
<td>I do not have any friends among the students in my class.*</td>
<td>.570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q50</td>
<td>I have adjusted well to being a student at this college.</td>
<td>.559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q43</td>
<td>I feel comfortable joining a group of students who are sitting together.</td>
<td>.508</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Items which are reverse scored. Percentage of total variance explained = 22.6%.

Factor 2 accounting for 13.7% of the total variance had 11 items which reflected aspects of understanding, settling down to and completing college work. (See Table 11.4) This factor was labelled adjustment to work. Although all of these items had negligible loadings on Factor 1, four items did have loadings above 0.3 on Factor 3. However as these items (Qs 16, 40, 13 & 34) all loaded highly on to Factor 2 they were retained as items to measure adjustment to work. Factor 3 accounting for 7.2% of the total variance had 6 items covering attendance and punctuality. Again these had negligible loadings on the other two factors. Because the routine and requirements of college attendance are so different from that of school, students when interviewed explained how they had to adjust to taking responsibility for actually getting to college and then into classes which were often timetabled inconveniently across the week. For
example, if Friday's classes were just between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m. then attendance would require a good deal of self-discipline. Thus these items reflecting different aspects of attendance do comprise another independent factor of adjustment to college, labelled attendance.

Table 11.4  Factor 2 - Adjustment to work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q06</td>
<td>I am coping with the amount of college work to be done.</td>
<td>.722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q25</td>
<td>I understand almost all of my academic work.</td>
<td>.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q16</td>
<td>I have a good working routine.</td>
<td>.639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q40</td>
<td>I am behind with my assignments.*</td>
<td>.628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q13</td>
<td>I cannot keep to deadlines for handing in assignments.*</td>
<td>.586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q35</td>
<td>Often I don't understand what the lecturer has been talking about.*</td>
<td>.567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q30</td>
<td>When I have a piece of work marked, I am usually satisfied with myself.</td>
<td>.553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q23</td>
<td>I find it easy to concentrate on my work.</td>
<td>.553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q34</td>
<td>I manage my time well.</td>
<td>.535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q17</td>
<td>When I have an assignment marked, I am generally disappointed.*</td>
<td>.525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q04</td>
<td>I find it very difficult to settle down to studying.*</td>
<td>.520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Items which are reverse scored. Percentage of total variance explained = 13.7%.

Table 11.5  Factor 3 - Attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item No.</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q36</td>
<td>I rarely miss a lesson</td>
<td>.777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q42</td>
<td>Although I am in college, I don't always go to my classes.*</td>
<td>.703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q24</td>
<td>I need pressure from my teachers to make me attend lessons.*</td>
<td>.611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q20</td>
<td>I do not attend lessons that I do not like.*</td>
<td>.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q08</td>
<td>I am rarely late for class.</td>
<td>.590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q09</td>
<td>Even if I feel unwell, I usually decide to come to college.</td>
<td>.573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Items reverse scored. Percentage of total variance explained = 7.2%.

A Direct Oblimin oblique rotational analysis was conducted for three factors on the same 27 AdColl items to see if the factors were themselves correlated. The Oblimin
converged in 8 iterations. The Structure matrix (see Appendix 11.6) confirmed the findings of the Varimax in that the items loaded onto the three factors with exactly the same 10 items grouping as a social factor, 11 items as a work factor and 6 items as an attendance factor. All the items again had factor loadings above 0.5 on their main factor. However, in the Oblimin matrix the 11 work items are listed as Factor 1 and the 10 social items as Factor 2. The Factor Correlation Matrix shown in Table 11.7 showed that there was a negligible correlation between the factors labelled social adjustment and attendance and only small positive correlations between work adjustment and attendance (0.27486) and work adjustment and social adjustment (0.20334). Thus there was no significant correlation between the factors.

Table 11.7 Factor Correlation Matrix produced by Direct Oblimin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Work adjustment</td>
<td>Factor 1</td>
<td>Social Adjustment</td>
<td>Attendance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 1 - work</td>
<td>1.00000</td>
<td>0.20334</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 2 - social</td>
<td>0.20334</td>
<td>1.00000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factor 3 - attendance</td>
<td>0.27486</td>
<td>0.05808</td>
<td>1.00000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, factor analyses of this 27 item AdColl demonstrated an underlying simple structure based on the three factors which were fairly close to the original assumptions about the questionnaire. Social adjustment seemed to be a straightforward measure as had been envisaged. The original concept of academic adjustment was relabelled as adjustment to work because the items contributing to the factor included understanding the work, getting down to it, getting it finished and having it marked. Since the questionnaire needed to be relevant to students on vocational courses as well as academic ones this revised interpretation of the factor also seemed to be logical. The original concept of adjustment to responsibility was found to be too broad an interpretation because the items forming the third factor almost all focused on attendance. The items specifically focusing on responsibility for own education did not correlate with the other items which loaded on this factor. Fortunately some external validity for this finding could be found in the interviews of the 16 subjects.
who were retested as controls for the second part of the research. (These subjects all scored below the 25th percentile on their initial test.) When asked whether they had any personal responsibility in or towards college the majority of these students responded negatively. However, when pressed, they volunteered that they could take responsibility for getting themselves to classes on time rather than being tempted to stay socializing with friends in the refectory or generally "bunking off." The issue of class attendance is of major concern to college lecturers and tutors because failure to attend regularly is one of the major recognized problems leading to student failure and drop-out. A selection of items is necessary to get a true picture of attendance because, for example, while some students will agree that they need pressure from the teacher to make them attend others will deny that but admit that they often use the excuse of being unwell to stay away from college. Others can truly answer that they always attend college (perhaps to socialize) but often do not actually get into their lessons. Thus attendance is a reasonable interpretation of the third aspect of adjustment to college. To summarize, the three factors yielded from this 27 item AdColl have been interpreted as adjustment to work, social adjustment and adjustment to college class attendance.

Summary and conclusion
From the original 50 item AdColl 23 items were dropped because they did not correlate sufficiently highly with other items. Factor analysis of the remaining 27 item questionnaire demonstrated a structure of three independent factors which could be identified as social adjustment, work adjustment and attendance. Each of the items loaded significantly on to their main factor and this strongly suggested that they could provide three independent subscales, with 10 items measuring social adjustment, 11 items measuring adjustment to work and 6 items measuring adjustment to attending college. The three scales together would measure overall adjustment to college.

RELIABILITY & VALIDITY FOR THE 27 ITEM ADCOLL

Having established that a 27 item AdColl had a better structure than the 50 item questionnaire, it was necessary to check that the psychometric properties of reliability
and validity, established in the original study, were retained for the revised 27 item version. In addition evidence was required to support the assumption that the items produced by the factor analysis as loading onto the three factors actually did form scales which measured social adjustment, adjustment to work and attendance. The original reliability and validity study for the 50 item AdColl provided the necessary data. (See Chapter 9.)

Reliability

To test reliability the 27 items were extracted from the initial test and retest of the twenty subjects. For test-retest reliability, the correlation coefficient was again calculated using the Pearson product-moment formula. Correlating the mean scores for the 27 items on the initial test with the mean scores for the 27 items on the retest for each subject, the coefficient was calculated to be $r = 0.8249$, ($p < .0001$). This correlation coefficient was even higher than that found for the 50 item AdColl and could be considered as establishing good test-retest reliability over two weeks (Barker et al., 1994).

Validity

To reassess validity, the independent ratings of the interviews for the twenty subjects were correlated with their mean scores on the retest, because the interviews had taken place immediately after the retests. Again correlation coefficients were calculated using the Pearson product-moment formula and Spearman's Rho. Correlating the mean score for the 27 retest items with the sum of the academic, social and responsibility ratings resulted in $r = 0.5544$ ($p < 0.011$). For correlating the mean score with the overall interview rating $r = 0.5497$ ($p < 0.012$) and correlating the mean score with the rater's subjective rating $r = 0.5361$ ($p < 0.015$). These correlations, all above 0.5, suggested that the 27 item AdColl did have good criterion validity (Barker et al., 1994).

$^1$The Spearman's Rho coefficients were slightly lower than the Pearson coefficients but none of the differences was greater than 0.07 and all the correlations were significant with $p < .05$. Pearson is again quoted for consistency.
The construct validity of the three subscales could be partly assessed by using the original interview ratings. The independent rater had been instructed to rate the students academically, socially and in taking responsibility for themselves. The social rating could be correlated with the mean scores for the 10 items which loaded on the social factor and the academic rating could be correlated with the mean scores for the 11 items which loaded on the factor labelled adjustment to work. However, the third rating assessing responsibility for self could not be used to establish validity for the attendance scale. Nevertheless the correlations were all calculated for comparison. Table 11.8 shows the correlation coefficients calculated by Pearson's product-moment correlation and by Spearman's Rho.

| Table 11.8 Correlation coefficients for interview ratings and AdColl subscales |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                                  | Independent ratings of interviews | Academic | Social | Responsibility |
| 11 AdColl work items r = .6598 (p = .002) | r = .1789 (p = .450) | r = .2756 (p = .240) |
| ρ = .5890 (p = .006) | ρ = .0842 (p = .724) | ρ = .2573 (p = .273) |
| 10 AdColl social items r = .1240 (p = .602) | r = .4080 (p = .074) | r = .2463 (p = .295) |
| ρ = .1439 (p = .545) | ρ = .4531 (p = .045) | ρ = .3120 (p = .180) |
| 6 AdColl attendance items r = .4830 (p = .031) | r = .1404 (p = .555) | r = .0678 (p = .776) |
| ρ = .3412 (p = .141) | ρ = -.0515 (p = .829) | ρ = -.0889 (p = .709) |
| r = correlation coefficient calculated by Pearson product-moment |
| ρ = correlation coefficient calculated by Spearman's Rho. |

From Table 11.8 the correlations calculated between the mean scores on the 11 items reflecting work and the independent academic ratings of the interviews (r = 0.6598; ρ = 0.5890) were highly significant beyond the 1% level of probability. This high correlation strongly suggested that the 11 work related items on AdColl did measure adjustment to work and supported the construct validity for the adjustment to work subscale of the questionnaire. The correlations between the mean scores for the ten social items and the social ratings of the interviews were r = 0.4080; ρ = 0.4531. Barker et al., 1995 suggest that a correlation above 0.3 is an acceptable level for validity. Additionally the independent social ratings did not correlate significantly
with either the work items or the attendance items, nor did the social items correlate with the Academic or responsibility ratings. This pattern of results was encouraging and suggested that the 10 social items were measuring social adjustment. The correlations between the 6 attendance items and the social and responsibility ratings were low. Interestingly the correlation between these attendance items and the academic ratings just reached significance for the Pearson calculation \( r = 0.4830; \rho = 0.3412 \). This was consistent with the findings of the oblique factor analysis for the results of the sample of 315 subjects where there was a small positive correlation between attendance and adjustment to work.

As all these correlations were conducted on only twenty subjects the results must be treated with caution. In addition there was no rating for attendance so the assumed attendance scale could not be tested for validity at this stage. However there was good support for the construct validity of the work scale and reasonable support for the validity of the social scale. Further evidence regarding the validity of the subscales would become available in the form of interviews of the subjects acting as controls for the counselling clients in Section V of the research.

**Summary & conclusion**

Reworking the data for the original reliability and validity study for the AdColl using just the 27 items indicated by the factor analysis suggested that this shorter version of the questionnaire had even better reliability and retained good overall criterion validity. There was also evidence of good construct validity for the adjustment to work 11 item subscale and reasonable validity for the social adjustment 10 item subscale. This all suggested that 27 item AdColl (AdColl27) could be used with reasonable confidence in the overall analysis of the research data for the Questionnaire study and subsequent research.
Sample sizes for the different measures

315 students were given sets of questionnaires and all 315 responded to the AdColl. Of these, 302 subjects responded to the IPPA for Mothers. (Responses for step-mothers were not used for the statistical analyses because there was no indication as to whether this relationship was relatively new or whether this person was still part of the family and other such confounding effects of family structure.) 264 subjects responded to the IPPA for Fathers. (Again responses for step-fathers were excluded. One subject responding for her step-father wrote "I hate my father" and responded "1" to every question, even where "5" would have been the appropriate negative response.) 311 students responded to the IPPA for Peers. There were also 311 responses to the PAQ, with two subjects explaining that they preferred not to respond because of recent emotional upset with their parents. Two of these 311 had responded for parents who had both died some years earlier and these were excluded from the analysis. The remaining 309 responses to the PAQ where there was contact with at least one natural or adopted parent were included because the research aimed to explore general parental attachment as interpreted by the respondents, whatever the present constitution of their families. (When standardizing the test, Kenny's (1987) sample included students whose parents had been divorced and/or widowed.) 312 subjects responded to the Hazan and Shaver measure of attachment.

Preliminary analyses

All statistical analyses were performed using SPSS. All tests were two-tailed unless specifically stated in the text. As factor analysis had shown that 27 items of AdColl provided an appropriate measure of adjustment to college and it was also shown that these 27 items constituted a reliable and valid measure, this selection of items was named AdColl27 and was used throughout the analysis. Means and Standard Deviations were calculated for the whole scales and the subscales of AdColl27 and for
the four attachment questionnaires: PAQ, IPPA for Mothers, IPPA for Fathers and IPPA for Peers. (See Table 12.1)

**Adjustment to College Questionnaire**
The mean score for the full scale of AdColl27 (\(M = 97.08, SD = 12.72\)) showed that the average students in this sample scored above an imaginary mid-line of being neither well nor badly adjusted to college and tended towards being well adjusted. This is more easily illustrated by the average mean item (AIM) of 3.63 (SD = 0.39) corresponding to the Likert scale, with 1 representing very poor adjustment and 5 very good adjustment. The range of actual scores was wide, demonstrating that the scale was capable of measuring the poorly adjusted (58 is equivalent to an average item mean of 2.15) to very well adjusted students where the top score of 125 would be equivalent to an average item mean of 4.63. On the Social adjustment subscale the average item mean was even higher (AIM = 3.81, SD = 0.60) whereas on the Adjustment to Work scale the item mean was lower (AIM = 3.35, SD = 0.60.)

**Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ)**
Mean Scores on the PAQ were a little lower than those found by the Kenny and her researchers testing United States college students (Kenny, 1990; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991; Kenny & Hart, 1992), but this could be explained by the many differences between the U.S. students and the present sample. Looking again at the average item means, with the Likert scale ranging from very poor attachment (1) to very good attachment (5), the full scale (AIM = 3.52, SD = 0.64) demonstrated positive attachment above the mid-line and tending towards good. The range of scores was very wide with students responding from very poor attachment (85 is equivalent to AIM = 1.57) to a score of 258 (AIM = 4.78) representing very good parental attachment. The Affective quality of the parental relationship was rated a little higher (AIM = 3.70, SD = 0.74) than ratings for parents providing Emotional Support, (AIM = 3.36, SD = 0.70.)

**Inventory of Parental and Peer Attachment (IPPA)**
Scores for the full scales of the three IPPA measures for Fathers, for Mothers and for
TABLE 12.1
Means and Standard Deviations for College Students on Measures of Adjustment to College and Attachment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>potential range</th>
<th>actual range</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>Average item</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdColl 27</td>
<td>27-135</td>
<td>58-125</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>97.08</td>
<td>12.72</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>0.39</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjust.</td>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>19-50</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>37.85</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjust. to Work</td>
<td>11-55</td>
<td>17-53</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>36.72</td>
<td>6.76</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Adj.</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>8-30</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>22.51</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>0.77</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attachment (PAQ)</td>
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<td>309</td>
<td>190.95</td>
<td>35.72</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>0.64</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Quality</td>
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<td>38-135</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>99.07</td>
<td>20.28</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>0.74</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
<td>14-70</td>
<td>18-68</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>48.44</td>
<td>10.41</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>13-65</td>
<td>15-63</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>43.43</td>
<td>9.16</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Mothers</td>
<td>25-125</td>
<td>25-125</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>90.96</td>
<td>19.95</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>0.80</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10-50</td>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>302</td>
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<td>8.33</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>9-45</td>
<td>9-45</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>30.35</td>
<td>8.37</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>0.94</td>
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<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>21.59</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Fathers</td>
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<td>26-125</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>82.19</td>
<td>22.39</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>0.90</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>35.94</td>
<td>9.67</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>9-45</td>
<td>9-45</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>25.76</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>20.49</td>
<td>5.87</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Peers</td>
<td>25-125</td>
<td>54-125</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>98.14</td>
<td>15.44</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
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<td>17-50</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>41.60</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>8-40</td>
<td>12-40</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>30.86</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>7-35</td>
<td>10-35</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>25.68</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Peers were calculated by reverse scoring the Alienation subscale and adding its scores to the Trust and the Communication Subscales. This procedure was used by others (de Jong, 1992; Blustein et al., 1991; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994). Hence the Alienation subscale is renamed "(non) Alienation" in Table 12.1 and all subsequent tables because, in line with all other scores, the higher score indicates more positive attachment.

The mean score for IPPA for Mothers (M = 90.96, SD = 19.95) was a little lower than found for U.S. students (de Jong, 1992, Blustein et al, 1991; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994) but the average item mean of 3.64 showed positive attachment to mothers tending towards good attachment. The full potential range was used. The highest AIM of 3.89 (SD = 0.85) was on the Trust subscale and the lowest was on the Communication subscale (AIM = 3.37, SD = 0.94.) The mean score for IPPA for Fathers (M = 82.19, SD = 22.39) was also lower than that found for U.S. student samples. The full scale average item mean was above the imaginary mid-line indicating just positive attachment to fathers (AIM = 3.30, SD = 0.90) but the Communication subscale mean did fall below the mid-line (AIM = 2.88, SD = 1.00). The mean score for IPPA for Peers was consistent with that found for U.S. students (de Jong, 1992) (M = 98.14, SD = 15.44) and showed positive good attachment to peers. Trust for Peers was particularly high (AIM = 4.19, SD = 0.66).

As the three IPPA measures all had 25 equivalent items, related t-tests\(^1\) were used to compare the means. The differences between them were all highly significant. For the 258 subjects who completed IPPAs for both parents, there was a significant correlation\(^2\) \( r = 0.449 \) (p<.0001) between Mothers (M = 90.96, SD = 19.95) and Fathers (M = 82.19, SD = 22.39), but also a highly significant difference between them, \((t = 6.04, \text{ d.f.} = 257, p<.0001)\). This suggests that these subjects are more positively attached to their mothers than to their fathers. The three subscales of Trust,

\(^1\)Parametric assumptions were almost all met. Although the IPPA for Peers data was positively skewed, the samples were large and of equal size which should adequately compensate for the violation (Kinnear & Gray, 1995).

\(^2\)Using the Pearson Product-Moment formula
Communication and non-Alienation compared for Mothers and Fathers were also highly correlated \((r = 0.444, r = 0.401 \text{ and } r = 0.499 \text{ respectively, all at } p < .0001)\) and significantly different \((t = 4.55, p < .0001; t = 7.60, p < .0001 \text{ and } t = 3.34, p < .001)\), with attachment to mothers the higher on each subscale. IPPA for peers \((M = 98.14, SD = 15.4)\) was significantly correlated with the scores for mothers \((r = 0.154, p = .008, n = 301)\), but the high level of significance was due more to the large sample size, rather than the correlation itself which was small. There was no significant correlations between the IPPA scores for peers and for fathers, \((r = 0.062, p = .318, n = 264)\). Again there were highly significant differences between scores for peers and mothers \((t = 5.54, d.f. = 300, p < .0001)\) and between peers and fathers \((t = 10.20, d.f. = 263, p < .0001)\). Thus across the whole sample, attachment to peers measured much higher than attachment to either parent.

**Correlations between the PAQ and the IPPAs**

To investigate whether these attachment questionnaires were measuring the same constructs, correlations were performed using the Pearson formula. The results showed very highly significant correlations between the full-scale measures as follows: PAQ and IPPA for Mothers \((r = 0.7797, p < .0001, n = 299)\), PAQ and IPPA for Fathers \((r = 0.6479, p < .0001, n = 263)\) and PAQ and IPPA for Peers \((r = 0.2069, p < .0001, n = 306)\). The very high correlations between the PAQ and the two IPPAs for parents confirmed the convergent validity of these questionnaires reported by Lopez and Gover (1993) and also showed that the subjects in this study were responding consistently. However the correlations were not so high as to indicate identical measures and did demonstrate that they were tapping different aspects of attachment. The three subscales of the PAQ were also highly correlated with the full-scale parental IPPAs, with correlations at 0.50 or above, and these subscales were all significantly correlated with the IPPA subscales, with the lowest being between PAQ Emotional Support and IPPA Alienation from Father \((r = 0.3407, p < .0001, n = 263)\). The lower correlations with the IPPA for Peers were to be expected. While PAQ Emotional Support was significantly correlated with all the IPPA Peers subscales, Fostering Autonomy was not associated with Peer Trust or Communication nor was PAQ Affect associated with Peer Communication.
Hazan & Shaver Attachment measure

Of the 312 subjects who responded to the Hazan and Shaver attachment measure, 243 ticked the statement representing Secure attachment, 41 ticked the statement representing Avoidant attachment and 28 ticked the statement representing Ambivalent attachment. Although the percentage ticking the secure statement was much higher than those found by other investigators (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; 1990) and the avoidant and ambivalent responses were lower, the proportions were in the right direction with the secure respondents being the largest group followed by the avoidants and then the ambivalents. As the Hazan and Shaver measure was structured differently from the other questionnaire measures its statistical analysis was performed and reported separately. (see pp. 194 - 196)

Gender differences

Means and Standard Deviations on the full scales and subscales were calculated separately for males and females, as shown in Table 12.2. Where parametric assumptions regarding the data could be met, independent t-tests were used to compare the scores, otherwise the Mann-Whitney U-test was used. No significant differences between male and female subjects were found on AdColl27 and indeed the means for the full scale were identical (males: M = 97.00, SD = 12.96; females: M = 97.00, SD = 12.62) and the means for the subscales were all very close.

There were no significant gender differences for parental attachment on the full-scale PAQ, or on the Affective Quality or Emotional Support subscales. However the males scored significantly higher on the subscale of Fostering Autonomy, (t = 2.16, d.f. = 303.97, p< .05). These results differed from Kenny's (1990; 1994) studies with 18 - 22 year old undergraduate subjects, where there was no significant difference on the Fostering Autonomy subscale. Perhaps this issue of independence is more relevant to students in further education who are still living at home. However Kenny did report a gender difference on the Emotional Support sub-scale with females describing their parents as providing higher levels of support than males.

On the IPPA for Mothers there were two significant gender differences. The males
TABLE 12.2  
Means, Standard Deviations and Gender Comparisons of College Students on Measures of Adjustment to College and Attachment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>potential range</th>
<th>----Males-----</th>
<th>----Females-----</th>
<th>Comparison t-test (2-tail)</th>
<th>Mann-Wh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdColl 27</td>
<td>27-135</td>
<td>97.00</td>
<td>12.96</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>97.00</td>
</tr>
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<td>Social Adjust.</td>
<td>10-50</td>
<td>38.36</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>37.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adjust. to Work</td>
<td>11-55</td>
<td>36.52</td>
<td>7.03</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>36.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Adj</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>22.12</td>
<td>4.88</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>22.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment (PAQ)</td>
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<td>194.38</td>
<td>28.82</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>188.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Quality</td>
<td>27-135</td>
<td>101.05</td>
<td>16.71</td>
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<td>97.62</td>
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<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
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<td>8.81</td>
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<td>47.41</td>
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<td>Emotional Support</td>
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<td>133</td>
<td>43.65</td>
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<td>IPPA for Mothers</td>
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<td>15.66</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>89.32</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.55</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>38.07</td>
</tr>
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<td>30.44</td>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>30.27</td>
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<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>6-30</td>
<td>22.47</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>20.98</td>
</tr>
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<td>IPPA for Fathers</td>
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<td>115</td>
<td>79.71</td>
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<td>8.74</td>
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<td>26.56</td>
<td>9.07</td>
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<td>25.07</td>
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<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>6-30</td>
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<td>5.51</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>19.56</td>
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<td>IPPA for Peers</td>
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<td>16.07</td>
<td>135</td>
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</tr>
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<td>25.39</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>25.90</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05,  **p<.01,  ***p<.001,  ****p<.0001 (2-tailed)  
Gender Comparisons - Independent t-test used where parametric assumptions satisfied, otherwise Mann-Whitney U-test used and z scores given because Us have large values.
scored significantly higher than the females for the Trust subscale, \( t = 2.35, \text{d.f.} = 293.23, p< .05 \) and on the Alienation subscale \( t = 2.46, \text{d.f.} = 296.25, p<.05 \). The IPPA for Fathers demonstrated a significant gender difference for the full scale, again with the males having the more positive relationship. Although the differences between males and females was not significant for the Trust and Communication subscales, the Alienation subscale again showed a significant difference \( t = 2.87, \text{d.f.}= 259, p<.01 \), with the males having the more positive relationship with their fathers. Thus the male students were more trusting of their mothers and reported less hostility or resentment in the relationships with both mothers and fathers. However the IPPA for Peers showed contrasting results. On the full scale there was a highly significant gender difference (Mann-Whitney, \( z =4.36, p<.0001 \)) with the females \( (M = 101.54, \text{SD} = 14.10) \) having the more positive relationship than the males, \( (M = 93.91, \text{SD} = 16.07) \). The Trust and Communication subscales for Peers showed the same pattern of significant differences \( t = 3.43, \text{d.f.} = 306, p<.001 \) and \( t = 6.20, \text{d.f.} = 306, p<.0001 \) respectively) with the females indicating higher levels of attachment to peers. However there was no significant difference on the Alienation subscale. The results on the IPPA for Peers were consistent with research by Armsden & Greenberg (1987), Nada Raja (1992) and de Jong (1992) who all found that females scored significantly higher than males on Peer attachment, although they did not report any gender differences in parental attachment.

**Differences between ethnic groups**

Fourteen different ethnic origin categories were available on the Personal Information Form and there were respondents for all of them. (See Chart 10.3 for ethnic distribution.) However only the UK \( (n= 123) \) and the Indian group \( (n= 102) \) were sufficiently large on their own for statistical analysis. Some groups were very small, such as the Chinese \( (n= 2) \) and did not obviously group with others. Statistical comparisons between all these groups would have been misleading and meaningless. Three major ethnic groups could be identified as follows: 1) White UK and Irish; 2) Asian sub-continent - referred to by the students themselves as "Asian" - consisting of the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups, and 3) Black students consisting of the Black African, Caribbean and Other Black groups. These three large groups were
statistically compared using one-way analysis of variance (and using the Kruskal-Wallis test where parametric assumptions could not be met) and all other groups were excluded from this part of the analysis.

There were no significant differences between the three ethnic groupings on AdColl27 (F = 0.115, d.f. = 2, p = .892) or any of its subscales.

However, there was a significant difference between the ethnic groupings on the full scale PAQ (F = 3.69, d.f. = 2, p<.05) with Tukey HSD test showing that the White UK group (M = 197.24, n = 125) was demonstrating significantly more positive attachment to parents than the Asian group (M = 185.02, n = 130). The Black group fell between and was not significantly different from either of the others, (M = 190.30, n = 27). There were no significant differences for the subscale measuring the Affective qualities of the parental relationship or for the Emotional Support provided by parents, but there was a highly significant difference between ethnic groups for parents Fostering of Autonomy, (F = 9.74, d.f. = 2, p<.0005) Again the Tukey test showed the significant difference to be between the White students (M = 51.55) and the Asian students (M = 45.91), with the Black students scoring between them (M = 48.48). This difference in the Fostering of Autonomy probably accounted for a substantial part of the full-scale PAQ difference, which may be reflecting cultural differences (with Asian parents imposing more cultural restrictions) rather than attachment differences. As there were no significant differences between the ethnic groups on IPPAs for Mothers or for Fathers, nor on any of the subscales, there does not seem to be any substantial evidence of general parental attachment differences.

For the IPPA for Peers the only significant difference was on the Trust subscale ($\chi^2 = 7.146$, d.f. = 2, p<.05) where Black students reported less trust in their peer relationships than White students.

Thus overall there were no significant differences between ethnic groups for the adjustment to college or for the parental attachment measures apart from the Fostering of Autonomy subscale and, largely because of that, the full-scale PAQ. The only
other difference was on the Trust subscale on IPPA for Peers.

**Gender and ethnicity interactions**

Table 12.3 shows the Group Means for subjects classified according to gender and membership of the three large ethnic groupings described above. Analysis of variance was used to measure the interactions between gender and ethnic origin. Again, no significant differences were found for AdColl27 or for any of its subscales.

However there were significant differences on the full scale PAQ and for all its subscales. On the full PAQ the interactions were significant ($F = 4.77, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.01$) with female Asians scoring considerably lower than others groups ($M = 177.50, n = 76$). This group reported their parental attachment to be lower than any of the male groups and also lower than the White female or Black female groups. Similarly on the Fostering Autonomy scale the interactions were significantly different ($F = 4.69, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.01$) with the Asian females scoring lowest but less so on the affective quality of the parental relationship ($F = 3.12, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.05$). Parents providing emotional support also demonstrated significant gender/ethnicity interaction effects, ($F = 4.94, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.01$) but these displayed a different pattern. Whilst the White female group reported the highest support ($M = 45.65, n=66$) the lowest score by the female Asian group ($M = 41.49, n=76$) was hardly different from the male White group ($M = 41.81, n=59$). These results will be discussed in the next chapter.

Although the IPPA for Mothers had not shown any differences between ethnic groups alone, there were significant gender x ethnicity interaction effects. On the full scale IPPA for Mothers ($F = 4.06, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.05$) the Black males reported the highest attachment to their mothers ($M = 101.00, n=9$) while the Black females reported the lowest ($M = 84.47, n=17$), with the Asian females scoring at a similarly low level, ($M = 85.07, n=74$). As the groups of Black students are small in number, these results should be treated with caution. Nevertheless, this pattern was repeated for the subscales of Trust ($F = 4.31, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.05$) and for Communication ($F = 4.40, \text{d.f.}=2, p<.05$) but the difference was not significant for the Alienation scale.
TABLE 12.3
Group Means and Comparisons for measures of Adjustment to College and Attachment for subjects grouped according to Gender and membership of major Ethnic Groupings
(Female groups in bold italics - group sample size in brackets.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Gender /Ethnic Interaction F score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>38.11</td>
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<td>25.85</td>
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<td>0.593</td>
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</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ****p < .0001 (2-tailed)
The full scale IPPA for Fathers did not show any significant gender x ethnicity effects despite the main gender effect reported earlier and nor did any of its subscales.

Gender x ethnicity effects were found for the IPPA for Peers. On the full scale (F = 3.56, d.f. = 2, p< .05) with White females (M = 104.20, n = 66) reporting the highest attachment to their peers and Black males (M = 85.44, n = 9) by far the lowest. The pattern of results is similar for the Trust scale (F = 3.28, d.f. = 2, p< .05) and for Communication (F = 4.23, d.f. = 2, p< .05), where all the females report higher communication with their peers than the males but with the Black males (M = 24.00, n = 9) communicating less than the Asian males (M = 29.76, n = 55.) However there were no significant effects on the Alienation scale where all six groups were extremely similar ranging from just M = 25.11 (Black males) to M = 25.85 (Asian males.)

Despite some significant differences between the six groups on different measures of attachment, there was no clear pattern to demonstrate that one group scored consistently higher or lower than the others. Perhaps the clearest result, worthy of further discussion, was the generally significantly lower scores for the Asian females for general parental attachment.

Age
Statistical analyses were conducted to explore the effects of age as the independent variable. The five year groups of students aged 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 years were compared on all the adjustment and attachment questionnaires and subscales using both parametric and non-parametric analysis of variance. No significant differences were found.

Academic ability
The number of GCSE passes already achieved at grades A-C had been chosen as a crude measure of academic ability. Subjects had gained from 0 to 12 passes, (M = 3.317, SD = 3.185, Median = 2). (See Chart 10.4) To examine whether there were any differences between students who were more or less academically able regarding both adjustment to college and attachment, median-split comparisons were made.
Using independent t-tests and Mann-Whitney U-tests as appropriate, comparisons between subjects with 2 or fewer passes and those with 3 or more passes produced no significant differences. Using the UK Government's standard of 5 GCSE passes, comparisons between subjects with 4 or fewer passes and those with 5 or more passes also produced no significant differences. Kruskal Wallis analyses of variance were also performed for all the scales and subscales of adjustment and attachment and again there were no significant differences. Thus, there was no evidence to suggest that academic ability was a critical factor for good adjustment or attachment.

Family circumstances
A number of family circumstances were examined in relation to adjustment to college and attachment. Subjects reported the marital status of their parents as follows: natural parents married to each other and living together (n = 214), natural parents divorced and living separately (n = 51), never married but living together (n= 2), a parent who had died (n = 24) and "other" circumstances (n= 22). For comparison of these five groups of subjects on the adjustment and attachment scales and subscales parametric tests were inappropriate. Kruskal Wallis analyses of variance showed no significant differences. As the group with parents "never married but living together" only had two subjects and the "other circumstances" group had very varied situations, comparisons between the three remaining groups were made on the scales and subscales of AdColl27, of PAQ and on the IPPA for Peers. No significant differences were found. For the IPPA for Mothers and the IPPA for Fathers, the students with parents living together and those with divorced parents living separately were compared using Mann-Whitney U-tests. Subjects with divorced parents scored significantly lower than the others on the full-scale IPPA for Fathers (z = 2.26, p< .05), its Trust subscale, (z = 2.13, p< .05) and the Alienation subscale, (z = 2.51, p< .05.) The difference on the Communication subscale for fathers was not significant nor were there significant differences on the IPPA for Mothers or any of its subscales. As the majority of subjects from divorced homes lived with their mothers (the figures are below), it is perhaps not surprising that their attachment relationships to their fathers were lower than that for students whose parents were together. Family factors past and present may be affecting their relationships causing hostility, guilt and
resentment as picked up on the Alienation subscale as well as a lack of trust. However, their parents' marital status does not appear to affect a subjects' adjustment to college or peer attachment.

The majority of subjects were living at home with both their parents (n = 201) with the next largest groups living with their mothers (n = 55) or mothers and step-fathers (n = 18). Only a few lived with their father (n = 10) or father and step-mother (n = 3). Some lived with other family members (n = 11) and only 5 lived independently. Analysis of variance comparing combinations of groups did not produce any significant differences on any of the adjustment or attachment variables.

**Socio-economic circumstances**

223 subjects reported that their fathers were in paid employment and 58 reported that fathers were unemployed. Comparisons between the groups on all adjustment and attachment measure failed to yield any significant differences between them. 198 of the subjects' mothers were in paid employment and 105 were not. Again comparisons were all non-significant.

However, the measure intended to assess the socioeconomic status of students' families did produce some interesting results. Students were asked to state their mother's and their father's occupation or job. Unfortunately the responses given were imprecise which meant that using a standardized social class measure was not possible. Instead the responses were subjectively and crudely rated as follows: 1 = occupations requiring professional training, top managerial positions, own businesses, 2 = middle managers and skilled workers, 3 = semi-skilled workers, and 4 = unskilled workers. In addition, for mothers, 5 = housewife. As this is not a standardized measure the results must be treated with caution. The Spearman's rank correlation to test the association between mother's occupation rating and father's occupation rating showed that there was a significant correlation (r = .2595, n = 191, p < .0005). The large size of the sample exaggerates the level of significance of the correlation where this factor accounts for approximately 6% of the variance. This suggests that the measures together may give some indication of a family's socioeconomic status but not too much reliance can be
placed upon it. Fathers' and mothers' occupational ratings and their association with the adolescents' adjustment to college and attachments will be presented separately.

Table 12.4 gives the means of the scores for attachment and adjustment measures grouped according to fathers' occupational ratings. Using analysis of variance to compare the four different occupational categories for fathers' occupations on adolescents' adjustment to college, there was a significant difference between groups ($F = 3.28$, d.f. = 239, $p < .05$) for adjustment to Attendance. Tukey's HSD test showed that the significant difference was between the highest scores with fathers working in group 3 and the lowest with fathers' occupations in group 2. There were several significant differences for parental attachment measures. On the full scale PAQ, $F = 4.46$, d.f. = 238, $p < .01$, with group 4 scoring considerably lower than the other groups and significantly lower than group 3. The pattern was repeated on all the PAQ subscales with group 4 scoring the lowest, but only the lowest and highest scores being significantly different from one another. On IPPA for Mothers the full scale showed a significant difference between groups ($F = 5.23$, d.f. = 233, $p < .01$) with group 4 still scoring lowest on this full scale and on all the subtests, but again Tukey's HSD test showed that the significant difference was only between the highest (group 3) and the lowest scores, (group 4.) There were no significant differences between these groups categorized by fathers' occupations on either the IPPA for Fathers or for Peers. Overall group 4 who had fathers in unskilled occupations did tend to score lower than other groups on all measures but otherwise there were no real differences between groups of students whose fathers were semi-skilled workers, skilled workers and managers or those whose jobs required professional training.

Again Mothers' occupational categories (see Table 12.5) did not produce any significant differences for AdColl27, but there were some significant differences on the attachment scales. For the full scale PAQ there were significant differences between the groups ($F = 4.41$, d.f. = 226, $p < .01$) with group 3, mothers in semi-skilled occupations, the highest scoring group and group 1, professional and top managers, the lowest scoring. Group 3 were significantly higher than group 1 and group 4. The Affective relationship scales repeated this pattern. The Fostering Autonomy subscales
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>d.f.</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>F Probability</th>
<th>Kruskal-Wallis χ²</th>
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</thead>
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<td>96.97</td>
<td>99.07</td>
<td>94.56</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>.09</td>
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<td>38.65</td>
<td>38.07</td>
<td>37.52</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td></td>
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<td>238</td>
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<td>48.53</td>
<td>50.99</td>
<td>44.46</td>
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<td>44.75</td>
<td>40.81</td>
<td>3.02</td>
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<td>88.04</td>
<td>95.82</td>
<td>83.29</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>5.23</td>
<td>.002**</td>
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<td>39.55</td>
<td>37.69</td>
<td>40.87</td>
<td>35.69</td>
<td>4.99</td>
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<td>19.79</td>
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<td>24.54</td>
<td>0.70</td>
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<td>99.41</td>
<td>96.72</td>
<td>98.28</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>1.34</td>
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<td>42.53</td>
<td>40.82</td>
<td>41.83</td>
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*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ****p < .0001 (2-tailed)

Occupational Ratings: 1 Occupations requiring professional training, top managerial positions, own businesses. 2 Middle managers and skilled workers 3 Semi-skilled workers 4 Unskilled workers

Comparisons were calculated using One Way Analysis of Variance. Where there was no homogeneity of variance the Kruskal Wallis nonparametric test was used.
### Table 12.5
Means and Comparisons for measures of Adjustment to College and Attachment for groups of subjects categorized according to their Mothers' Occupations/Jobs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Occupational ratings</th>
<th>F Ratio</th>
<th>F Probability</th>
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<td>Social Adjustment</td>
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<td>0.46 0.76</td>
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<tr>
<td>Attachment (PAQ)</td>
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<td>Affective Quality</td>
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<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
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<td>6.45 0.001****</td>
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<td>Emotional Support</td>
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<td>IPPA for Mothers</td>
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<td>2.33 0.057</td>
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<td>31.22 38.17 37.60 34.25 34.53</td>
<td>2.73 0.03*</td>
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<td>1.62 0.17</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18.96 21.33 21.23 20.01 18.68</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPPA for Peers</td>
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<td>0.48 0.75</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>41.97 42.19 42.20 41.55 42.68</td>
<td>0.17 0.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>30.74 31.07 30.76 30.92 31.68</td>
<td>0.09 0.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>25.94 27.56 26.57 24.69 26.36</td>
<td>2.93 0.02*</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ****p < .0001 (2-tailed)

**Occupational Ratings:**
1. Occupations requiring professional training, top managerial positions, own businesses.
2. Middle managers and skilled workers
3. Semi-skilled workers
4. Unskilled workers
5. Housewives

Comparisons were calculated using One Way Analysis of Variance. (There was homogeneity of variance for all comparison groups except one, where the difference between the groups was not statistically significant.)
produced the most significant effects ($F = 6.45$, d.f. = 226, p<.0001) with Group 5, where mothers were housewives, scoring lowest on autonomy, and groups 2 and 3 where mothers were in semi-skilled and skilled occupations scoring the highest. Where mothers were likely to be at home when students returned from college or had weekdays without college attendance, these subjects were likely to report lower independence than students with more opportunity to fend for themselves. The comparisons between groups for the IPPA for mothers was close to but did not achieve significance. On the IPPA for fathers, the only significant difference was on the trust scale where the significant difference was between groups 1 and 3. IPPA Peers also produced one significant result on the Alienation scale with the only significant difference being between groups 2 and 4. Looking at the mean scores for these groups categorized according to mothers' level of occupation, there was no obviously discernible pattern. These results will be further discussed in the next chapter.

**TESTING HYPOTHESES**

**Correlating attachment and adjustment to college measures.**

One of the main aims of the present study was to explore whether the positive associations between parental attachment and adjustment to college found for the U.S. students could be found for the more diverse sample of UK further education students. Pearson Product Moment correlations\(^3\) were performed between all the attachment and adjustment measures. (See Table 12.6)

The full scale adjustment to college measure AdColl27 correlated significantly with all the attachment measures, although the very high level of significance was probably exaggerated because the sample size was large. The correlation coefficient between AdColl27 and the full scale PAQ ($r = 0.3536$, n= 309, p<.0001) suggested a strong positive association between overall adjustment and parental attachment. This was consistent with the initial research by Kenny (1987), who found that first year students

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\(^3\)To cover any inappropriate use of parametric statistics, Spearmans Rank correlations were also calculated throughout. The size of each correlation was very close to that of the Pearson, which is quoted throughout for consistency.
### TABLE 12.6
Correlations between Adjustment to College Measure (AdColl 27) and its Subscales and Attachment Measures and their Subscales

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<td>Affective Quality</td>
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<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
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<td>.1796**</td>
<td>.0550</td>
<td>.2211****</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
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<td>.3872****</td>
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<td>.2931****</td>
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<td>.3294****</td>
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</tr>
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<td>.3521****</td>
<td>.1722**</td>
<td>.3876****</td>
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<td>.3215***</td>
<td>.1885***</td>
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<td>.1949***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.1160</td>
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<td>.1988***</td>
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<td>.0540</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.2194****</td>
<td>.2578****</td>
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<td>.3490****</td>
<td>.1466**</td>
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<td>.3354****</td>
<td>.1300*</td>
<td>.0069</td>
</tr>
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<td>.0328</td>
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<td>.1787**</td>
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<td>.8386****</td>
<td>.6271****</td>
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<td>.3111****</td>
<td>.0724</td>
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<td>.4313****</td>
<td>.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Adj.</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations calculated by Pearson Product Moment - 2-tailed significance
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ****p < .0001
who had entered a selective and highly prestigious university reported high parental attachment, and her later studies showing positive adaptation associated with parental attachment, as measured on the PAQ (Kenny, 1990; 1994). Of the subscales, parents providing Emotional Support was the most highly correlated with AdColl27 ($r = 0.3857$, $n = 309$, $p < .0001$). Fostering Autonomy produced the lowest correlation ($r = 0.1796$, $n = 309$, $p < .01$) suggesting that this aspect of attachment was less associated with adjustment than either Emotional support or the Affective quality of the relationship.

The IPPAs for Mothers and for Fathers also showed highly significant correlations, with Mothers consistently producing higher correlation coefficients on the comparative subscales. For Mothers the full scale provided the highest correlation with AdColl27 ($r = 0.3542$, $n = 302$, $p < .0001$). Similarly for Fathers the overall combination of subscales provided the highest correlation, ($r = 0.3102$, $n = 264$, $p < .0001$) with the Trust subscale producing the lowest, but still significant, correlation ($r = 0.2920$, $p < .0001$). The strong positive associations between attachment for each parent with adjustment to college is consistent with the findings by Armsden & Greenberg (1987), that adolescents with highly secure parental attachment appeared to be very well adjusted, and with subsequent research using the IPPA. This ranged from showing that positive parental attachment was associated with positive adaptive behaviour at school in New Zealand (Nada Raja et al, 1992) and associated with positive commitment to career development for college seniors (Blustein et al., 1991).

Adjustment to college also correlated significantly with attachment to peers although the correlation coefficient between AdColl27 and IPPA for Peers was lower than for parents. (As the size of correlation was small, the significance level was treated with caution.) These results were consistent with those of Nada Raja et al., who reported that psychological well-being in early adolescence was more strongly associated with the perceived level of attachment to parents rather than to peers. In the present study, the highest correlation was on the Alienation subscale ($r = 0.2763$, $n = 311$, $p < .0001$) suggesting that students with least anger and resentment towards their peers were the better adjusted to college.
Attachment and Social Adjustment

Looking at the Social Adjustment subscale, not surprisingly peer attachment showed the highest associations. All the correlations were highly significant at the p<.0001 level with full scale IPPA for Peers producing the highest (r = 0.3490, n = 311, p<.0001).

The association between social adjustment and parental attachment varied. On the PAQ Emotional Support was correlated with social adjustment (r = 0.2663, n= 309, p<.0001), whereas parental Fostering of Autonomy did not produce a significant correlation (r = 0.0550, n.s.) Correlations between social adjustment and the IPPAs for Mothers and for Fathers were almost all statistically significant, again because of the sample size, but the correlation coefficients were not particularly large.

Attachment and Adjustment to Work

In contrast, Adjustment to Work at college showed stronger positive association with the measures of parental attachment, which all had correlations that were significant at the level p<.0001. More pertinently the correlation coefficients were all larger than 0.3, except for the PAQ Fostering Autonomy and the IPPA for Fathers Alienation subscales. Adjustment to work was less strongly associated with Peer attachment, the highest correlation being on the Alienation scale (r= 0.1787, n= 311, p<.01).

Attachment and Adjustment to Attendance.

Learning to attend college lessons which can be sparsely spread across four days in a week seemed to require some adjustment for adolescents who were previously used to school discipline requiring complete attendance. Adjustment to Attendance was positively associated with some but not all measures of parental attachment. The PAQ produced a significant correlation for the Affective Quality (r = 0.2455, n= 309, p<.0001) suggesting that positive feelings between parents and adolescents is associated with good attendance whereas the association between Fostering Autonomy and Attendance was not significant (r = 0.0962, n= 309, n.s.). Attachment to Mothers was also significantly correlated with Attendance on all measures. However, Attendance was not generally significantly associated with the full-scale or subscale
Comparisons between the "more adjusted" and the "less adjusted"
Additional calculations were performed to further investigate the statistical association between adjustment to college and attachment. Subjects were grouped according to their performance on AdColl27 so that those scoring at the median of 97.00 or above were the "more adjusted" and those scoring 96.00 and below were the "less adjusted". Using independent t-tests, (all parametric assumptions being met,) these two groups were compared on all the attachment scales. The results are shown on Table 12.7. The t-tests showed that for 9 out of the 12 scales there were highly significant differences between the two groups (at p<.0001) with the "more adjusted" having higher mean scores than the "less adjusted," i.e. more adjusted students reported higher levels of attachment to both parents and peers. The t-tests were repeated using a cut-off measure at the 25th percentile to compare the most poorly adjusted students with the remainder. Again all the t-tests were significant showing that the poorly adjusted students scored significantly lower on all the attachment scales than the remainder of the subjects, except on one measure, PAQ Fostering Autonomy, where, though scoring lower, the difference was not significant (t = 1.71, d.f. = 307, n.s.) Comparing these t-test results with the Pearson correlation coefficients provided good evidence to suggest that the correlations coefficients were an indication of truly important association between attachment and adjustment and not just the result of statistical error.

The same tests were performed on the subscales for Social adjustment, Adjustment to Work and Adjustment to Attendance. These results are also shown on Table 12.7. For the Work subscale using the median to divide the more adjusted from the less adjusted, comparisons between the two groups showed significant differences at the p<.0001 level on all the parental attachment scales apart from PAQ Fostering Autonomy, with p<.01. On the peer measure there were significant differences for Alienation and the full scale (t = 2.69, d.f. = 309, p<.01 and t = 2.05, d.f. = 309, p<.05 respectively) but the Trust and Communication scales did not show significant differences. (On every scale the mean score for attachment was higher for the more
### TABLE 12.7
Median-split t-tests comparing the "more adjusted" with the "less adjusted" on AdColl27 and its sub-scales for each attachment measure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Attachment (PAQ)</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>4.87****</td>
<td>2.17*</td>
<td>5.27****</td>
<td>2.92**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Quality</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>5.03****</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>5.44****</td>
<td>3.71****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>2.03*</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>2.88**</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>5.55****</td>
<td>3.79****</td>
<td>5.14****</td>
<td>2.08*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Mothers</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>3.98****</td>
<td>2.49*</td>
<td>5.08****</td>
<td>2.19*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>2.89**</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>4.07****</td>
<td>2.06*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
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<td>4.67****</td>
<td>2.86**</td>
<td>5.06****</td>
<td>2.16*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>3.01**</td>
<td>2.25*</td>
<td>4.52****</td>
<td>1.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Fathers</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>4.71****</td>
<td>2.73**</td>
<td>4.75****</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>3.70****</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>4.63****</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>4.70****</td>
<td>3.08**</td>
<td>4.38****</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>4.45****</td>
<td>2.58**</td>
<td>3.41**</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Peers</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>4.20****</td>
<td>5.75****</td>
<td>2.05*</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
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<td>3.59****</td>
<td>5.27****</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>2.97**</td>
<td>4.89****</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>4.47****</td>
<td>4.25****</td>
<td>2.69**</td>
<td>0.74</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Calculated by independent t-tests. Where parametric assumptions could not be met the Mann-Whitney U test was used and U scores were converted into z scores because the values were large. For each adjustment-attachment calculation, the z-value and the t-value was found to be very close, giving an almost identical value for p. For comparability the t-value is quoted throughout.

2-tailed significance
*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ****p < .0001

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adjusted to work than the less adjusted. This evidence from the t-tests strongly supported the highly significant correlation coefficients between adjustment to work and parental attachment and the differing degrees of correlation for work adjustment and different aspects of peer attachment.

Using the same median split to divide the more socially adjusted from the less socially adjusted, comparisons on the attachment measures were made again. The most significant differences, all at the p<.0001 level, were on Peer attachment which is where the strongest correlations were found for social adjustment. Again the level of significant difference between the more and less socially adjusted on parental attachment measures reflected the strength of the Pearson correlation coefficient between that measure and social adjustment.

The same procedure was repeated for Adjustment to Attendance. For this scale the correlations with attachment were smaller and the fewer significant differences between the more adjusted and less adjusted students reflected this. Perhaps because this scale consisted of only 6 items and therefore had only a small potential range of scores it was statistically less easy to demonstrate the association between Attendance Adjustment and attachment.

Overall these comparisons strongly supported the size of correlation calculated by the Pearson Product Moment tests and indicated that they did give a true measure of association between attachment and adjustment.

**Hazan & Shaver attachment categories and adjustment to college**

One-way analysis of variance was again used to compare the subjects, as categorized by the Hazan and Shaver measure into secure, anxious avoidant and anxious ambivalent attachment, on the adjustment scale and subscales. As shown in Table 12.8, for the full scale AdColl27 there was a significant difference (F = 6.25, d.f. = 2, 309; p<.01) between the securely attached group (M = 98.40, SD = 12.22) and the lower scoring anxious avoidant group (M = 91.32, SD = 13.46). There were no significant differences between the attachment categories for either adjustment to work.
Table 12.8
Table showing groups of subjects categorized by the Hazan and Shaver’s attachment measure, their mean scores on the adjustment questionnaire and other attachment measures and F-ratios produced by one way analysis of variance to compare groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Secure</th>
<th>Avoidant</th>
<th>Ambivalent</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AdColl27</strong></td>
<td>98.40</td>
<td>12.22</td>
<td>(243)</td>
<td>91.32</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Social adj</strong></td>
<td>38.86</td>
<td>5.68</td>
<td>33.68</td>
<td>6.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Work adj</strong></td>
<td>37.23</td>
<td>6.71</td>
<td>34.61</td>
<td>6.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attendance</strong></td>
<td>22.32</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>23.02</td>
<td>4.73</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>PAQ</strong></td>
<td>197.04</td>
<td>32.87</td>
<td>(239)</td>
<td>170.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affect</strong></td>
<td>102.16</td>
<td>19.07</td>
<td>88.68</td>
<td>20.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Autonomy</strong></td>
<td>49.83</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>44.65</td>
<td>11.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Emot'l supp't</strong></td>
<td>45.05</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>36.95</td>
<td>10.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPPA Moth</strong></td>
<td>93.25</td>
<td>19.13</td>
<td>(235)</td>
<td>82.16</td>
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<td><strong>Trust</strong></td>
<td>39.70</td>
<td>8.28</td>
<td>36.92</td>
<td>7.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commun'n</strong></td>
<td>31.23</td>
<td>7.92</td>
<td>26.54</td>
<td>9.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alien'n</strong></td>
<td>22.32</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>18.70</td>
<td>5.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPPA Fath</strong></td>
<td>85.49</td>
<td>21.31</td>
<td>(206)</td>
<td>68.75</td>
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<td>37.31</td>
<td>9.34</td>
<td>30.38</td>
<td>10.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commun'n</strong></td>
<td>26.97</td>
<td>8.67</td>
<td>20.75</td>
<td>8.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alien'n</strong></td>
<td>21.29</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>17.63</td>
<td>6.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPPA Peers</strong></td>
<td>100.91</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>(241)</td>
<td>88.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trust</strong></td>
<td>42.89</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>36.85</td>
<td>8.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commun'n</strong></td>
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<td>6.04</td>
<td>27.55</td>
<td>8.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alien'n</strong></td>
<td>26.46</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>23.65</td>
<td>4.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001, **** p<.0001

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or attendance, but the Tukey-HSD test showed that there was a highly significant difference for social adjustment where the secure group scored significantly higher than both the avoidant and the ambivalent groups (F = 15.84, d.f. = 2, 309; p < .00001).

(Interestingly the Hazan & Shaver measure also showed that subjects who indicated the "secure" statement scored significantly higher on all the measures of parental attachment than those indicating the "avoidant" or "ambivalent" statements, apart from the Trust and Communication scales of the IPPA for Mothers, where the score was only significantly different from the lower of the other two. On the IPPA for Peers, the secure group was significantly higher than the other two on all but the Communication scale. See Table 12.8.)

Summary of findings regarding Hypothesis I

The first hypothesis in the present research was that:

Adolescent students who are securely attached to their parents (as measured by attachment questionnaires) will show good adjustment to life and study at F.E. college (as measured by an adjustment to college questionnaire.)

The strong positive associations between all the different questionnaire measures of attachment and the composite measure of adjustment to college, AdColl27, found both by correlation coefficient and by high- and low-scoring group comparisons, gave substantial support to the hypothesis. Out of the adjustment subscales, Adjustment to Work, a self-report measure of adjustment to study, produced the highest correlations with parental attachment, all of which were highly significant beyond the p < .0001 level. Since academic or vocational work could be seen as one of the primary purposes of joining a college, this type of adjustment was also of prime importance.

Attendance adjustment, which itself was highly correlated with Adjustment to work (r = 0.4313, n=315, p < .0001) was associated with the general perception of parental attachment as measured by the PAQ, by the affective quality of the parental relationship and by the provision of emotional support. However the association between parental fostering of autonomy and attendance was not significant, perhaps
because the students who responded that parents encouraged autonomy perceived
themselves as having the freedom not to attend lessons if they so chose, without
feeling guilty. The Attachment relationship with Mother was positively associated
with attendance, perhaps because mothers were responsible, vigilant or just enthusiastic
about their son or daughter attending college. Perhaps surprisingly attachment to
fathers was not similarly associated with college attendance.

Social adjustment was associated with some but not all aspects of parental attachment.
The strongest associations were with attachment to father and with parents generally
being seen to provide emotional support. The association between social adjustment
and attachment to mothers was significant but less so. However, it was only in
contrast to the highly significant associations between adjustment to work and parental
attachment that the same associations for social and attendance adjustment appeared
weak. Looked at individually they too provided support for the hypotheses that
adolescent students who reported positive aspects of parental attachment also reported
positive adjustment to life at college. The implications for this will be further
discussed in the next chapter.

TESTING HYPOTHESIS II

Many researchers exploring both parental attachment (Kenny 1987, 1994) and the
separation-individuation processes (Blustein et al., 1991; Rice, 1992) have reported
gender differences. They have suggested that parental attachment is more critical for
females than for males in affecting successful adaptation to different stages of their
college careers. The second hypothesis to be examined in the present study was that:
**Female students will show a more marked association between attachment to
parents and adjustment to F. E. College than male students.**

Mean scores and standard deviations for males and females were compared for all
adjustment and attachment measures and reported in the preliminary analyses. To
recap briefly there were no significant gender differences for AdColl27. For the PAQ
the only significant difference was on the Fostering Autonomy subscale where the
males scored higher than the females. On the IPPA there were gender differences on
the Alienation scales for both Mothers and Fathers, with males having the more positive relationship for both scales. Only on the IPPA for Peers was there a highly significant difference with females showing the more positive attachment.

The Pearson Product Moment correlation⁴ was again calculated between all measures of adjustment and attachment but this time males and females were treated separately. Table 12.9 shows the correlations with the males in normal type and the corresponding correlations for females beneath in bold italics.

Looking at the composite measure of adjustment to college AdColl27 and its association with attachment, the correlation coefficients for males were higher than that for females on all the general parental attachment measures of PAQ. Kenny and Donaldson (1991) had found a strong association between Emotional Support and college adjustment for females but not for males. However in the present results a significant correlation was found for both females and males and the correlation coefficient for the males was the larger. On the IPPA for Mothers again all the correlation coefficients for the males were higher except on Communication where females had the higher association. On the IPPA for Fathers the males again produced higher correlation coefficients on all scales except for Alienation. Even on the IPPA for Peers the men produced higher correlation coefficients, except again on Alienation, although the females actual scores were significantly higher showing that they reported a higher level of attachment to their peers.

Calculations were performed to test for differences between the male and the female correlations. The results are shown in Table 12.10. There was no instance of significant difference to indicate that females had a significantly higher correlation than the males meaning that they had a stronger association between adjustment and attachment. To the contrary there were a handful of significant differences at the 5% level of probability which indicated that the men had the stronger association between adjustment and attachment than the women. This was mainly for social adjustment

⁴Again Spearman's Rank correlations were calculated throughout and the size of correlations were very similar to those calculated by the Pearson Product-Moment method.
TABLE 12.9
Correlations between Adjustment to College and Attachment measures for Male Subjects and for Female Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>AdColl 27</th>
<th>Social Adjust</th>
<th>Work Adjust.</th>
<th>Attendance Adj</th>
<th>n</th>
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<td>0.4421****</td>
<td>0.3108****</td>
<td>0.3913****</td>
<td>0.2502**</td>
<td>133</td>
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<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.4040****</td>
<td>0.2051**</td>
<td>173</td>
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<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
<td>0.4232****</td>
<td>0.2659**</td>
<td>0.3804****</td>
<td>0.2681**</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>0.349****</td>
<td>0.0550</td>
<td>0.4178****</td>
<td>0.2484**</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Quality</td>
<td>0.3253****</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.4040****</td>
<td>0.2051**</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
<td>0.349****</td>
<td>0.0550</td>
<td>0.4178****</td>
<td>0.2484**</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>0.3253****</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.4040****</td>
<td>0.2051**</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment (PAQ)</td>
<td>0.4421****</td>
<td>0.3108****</td>
<td>0.3913****</td>
<td>0.2502**</td>
<td>133</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affective Quality</td>
<td>0.3253****</td>
<td>0.0801</td>
<td>0.4040****</td>
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<td>173</td>
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<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
<td>0.4232****</td>
<td>0.2659**</td>
<td>0.3804****</td>
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<td>133</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>0.349****</td>
<td>0.0550</td>
<td>0.4178****</td>
<td>0.2484**</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>0.349****</td>
<td>0.0550</td>
<td>0.4178****</td>
<td>0.2484**</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Mothers</td>
<td>0.3916****</td>
<td>0.3259****</td>
<td>0.3790****</td>
<td>0.1080</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>0.3514****</td>
<td>0.0621</td>
<td>0.4214****</td>
<td>0.2815****</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.3221****</td>
<td>0.2623**</td>
<td>0.3239****</td>
<td>0.0792</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.3221****</td>
<td>0.2623**</td>
<td>0.3239****</td>
<td>0.0792</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.3916****</td>
<td>0.3259****</td>
<td>0.3790****</td>
<td>0.1080</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Fathers</td>
<td>0.3511****</td>
<td>0.2394**</td>
<td>0.3704****</td>
<td>0.1336</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>0.2790****</td>
<td>0.1552</td>
<td>0.3133****</td>
<td>0.0933</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.2740**</td>
<td>0.1419</td>
<td>0.2805**</td>
<td>0.1700</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.2740**</td>
<td>0.1419</td>
<td>0.2805**</td>
<td>0.1700</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.2696**</td>
<td>0.2266*</td>
<td>0.2691**</td>
<td>0.0764</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.2696**</td>
<td>0.2266*</td>
<td>0.2691**</td>
<td>0.0764</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Peers</td>
<td>0.3317****</td>
<td>0.3729****</td>
<td>0.2177*</td>
<td>0.1337</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>0.2260**</td>
<td>0.3924****</td>
<td>0.0780</td>
<td>-0.0481</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.3290****</td>
<td>0.3760****</td>
<td>0.2484**</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.3290****</td>
<td>0.3760****</td>
<td>0.2484**</td>
<td>0.0787</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.2026*</td>
<td>0.1878*</td>
<td>0.1255</td>
<td>0.1390</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.2026*</td>
<td>0.1878*</td>
<td>0.1255</td>
<td>0.1390</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdColl 27</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.6928****</td>
<td>0.8655****</td>
<td>0.6030****</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjust.</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.6709****</td>
<td>0.8156****</td>
<td>0.6546****</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjust. to Work</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.4244****</td>
<td>0.0660</td>
<td>0.137</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Adj.</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td>0.2347**</td>
<td>0.0914</td>
<td>0.175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations calculated by Pearson Product Moment - 2-tailed significance
*p< .05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

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TABLE 12.10
z-scores calculated for comparisons between the male and the female correlations for each pair of Adjustment to College and Attachment measure (i.e. the correlations in Table 12.9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attachment (PAQ)</td>
<td>1.157</td>
<td>2.067*</td>
<td>0.154</td>
<td>0.403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affective Quality</td>
<td>0.926</td>
<td>1.852</td>
<td>0.412</td>
<td>0.189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster Autonomy</td>
<td>0.763</td>
<td>1.389</td>
<td>-0.412</td>
<td>0.480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Support</td>
<td>0.515</td>
<td>1.407</td>
<td>-0.360</td>
<td>0.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Mothers</td>
<td>0.397</td>
<td>2.349*</td>
<td>-0.407</td>
<td>1.510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>0.187</td>
<td>2.129*</td>
<td>0.390</td>
<td>-1.807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.434</td>
<td>1.391</td>
<td>1.094</td>
<td>1.527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.568</td>
<td>2.333*</td>
<td>0.483</td>
<td>0.950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Fathers</td>
<td>0.611</td>
<td>0.706</td>
<td>0.492</td>
<td>0.348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>0.087</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>0.436</td>
<td>0.690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>1.475</td>
<td>1.197</td>
<td>1.483</td>
<td>0.595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>0.389</td>
<td>0.167</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA for Peers</td>
<td>0.982</td>
<td>0.207</td>
<td>1.190</td>
<td>0.741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>1.569</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>2.112*</td>
<td>0.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>1.095</td>
<td>0.431</td>
<td>1.302</td>
<td>0.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alienation</td>
<td>1.302</td>
<td>1.690</td>
<td>0.888</td>
<td>0.440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

z scores calculated as follows: \( \frac{Z_{r1} - Z_{r2}}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{N_1 - 3} + \frac{1}{N_2 - 3}}} \)

where \( N_1 \) = subjects in correlation 1 and \( N_2 \) = subjects in correlation 2

2-tailed level of significance - * \( p < .05 \)
which, was more strongly associated with general attachment to parents, (full-scale PAQ) and attachment to mothers, (full-scale IPPA for Mothers and the subscales of Trust and Alienation.) Thus the present results do not support the hypothesis that females have a stronger association between parental attachment and adjustment to college than males. Overall, for both males and females, good parental attachment was highly associated with good adjustment to college - and the reverse i.e. that poor parental attachment relationships was associated with poor adjustment to college.

Multiple regressions to analyse the relationship of parental attachment to adjustment
Regression methods were used to explore the predictive values of the measures of parental attachment (the independent variables) on the measure of adjustment to college (the dependent variable). Multiple regressions were performed separately for males and females to examine whether parental attachment would be a better predictor of adjustment to college for females than for males. Using step-wise analysis, preliminary calculations showed that including peer attachment measures with the parental measures resulted in the exclusion of some of the effects of the parental contributions. Kinnear & Gray (1995) explain that the addition of each independent variable can completely change the apparent contribution of the other regressors to the variance of scores on the dependent variable (p. 181). As parental attachment was the focus of this part of the investigation, the peer measures were not entered into the following regressions.

Using the stepwise procedure in SPSS, the multiple regression was calculated with AdColl27 as the dependent variable and PAQ, IPPA for mothers and IPPA for fathers as the independent variables. Calculations were done separately for men and for women. Table 12.11 shows that the independent parental attachment variables accounted for 24% of the total variance for AdColl27 (Adjusted $R^2 = .240$) for the males students and for 11% of the total variance of AdColl27 for the female students, (Adjusted $R^2 = .107$). For the males the significant predictor of the AdColl27 score was the PAQ, $\beta = .497, T = 5.972, p<.00001$ with IPPA for mothers and for fathers being non-significant. For the females the only significant predictor was IPPA for
TABLE 12.11

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis predicting Adjustment to College (AdColl27)

**MALE STUDENTS (N= 110)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAQ</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.497</td>
<td>5.97</td>
<td>.0000****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IPPA - mother)</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>.3612 ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IPPA - father)</td>
<td>.069</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>.4991 ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = 0.240  F (1,109) = 35.664  Signif F = 0.0000

**FEMALE STUDENTS (N = 142)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPPA -Mother</td>
<td>.107</td>
<td>.336</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>.0000****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IPPA -Father)</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>.0548 ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(PAQ)</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>.1792 ns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = 0.107  F (1,141) = 17.998  Signif F = 0.0000

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

TABLE 12.12

Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis predicting Adjustment to College (AdColl27) using the subscales as the independent variables

**MALE STUDENTS (N= 110)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAQ Affect</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>.475</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>.0064**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAQ Support</td>
<td>.261</td>
<td>.294</td>
<td>2.70</td>
<td>.0080**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(other subscales not significant predictors)

R² = 0.261  F (2, 108) = 20.442  Signif F = .0000

**FEMALE STUDENTS (N = 142)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PAQ Support</td>
<td>.166</td>
<td>.415</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>.0000****</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(other subscales not significant predictors)

R² = 0.166  F (1,141) = 29.321  Signif F = .0000

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001

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mothers, $\beta = .336$, $T = 4.241$, $p<.00001$. Thus, as the Pearson correlations had suggested, there was a difference between the males and females but contrary to my original hypothesis, parental attachment was a stronger predictor of adjustment to college for males than for females.

Further multiple regressions were calculated with AdColl27 as the dependent variable but with the nine subscales (PAQ: Affective Qualities of the relationship, Fostering of Independence, Emotional Support; IPPAs for both mothers and fathers: Trust, Communication and Alienation) as the independent variables. Table 12.12 shows that using the nine separate variables increases the predictive power with the attachment subscale variables accounting for 26% of the total variance for the males (Adjusted $R^2 = .261$) and for 17% of the total variance for the females (Adjusted $R^2 = .166$). For the males the affective quality of the parental relationship (PAQ Affect) and the emotional support available from parents (PAQ Support) contribute fairly equally ($\beta = .294$, $T = 2.78$, $p=.0064$ and $\beta = .286$, $T = 2.70$, $p=.0080$, respectively) to predicting adjustment to college. For the females parental emotional support (PAQ Support) is the only significant predictor contributing to 17% of the total variance, ($\beta = .415$, $T = 5.42$, $p<.00001$). So when the subscales are used independently the general perception of parents and in particular their emotional support is significant for both males and females, although the quality of the relationship(s) is also important to the males.

Taking the subscales of AdColl27 separately more multiple regressions were calculated using the same nine parental attachment subscales as the independent variables. See Table 12.13. For Social adjustment, again a gender difference was evident. For males 20% of the variance was predicted by the parental attachment measures but for females it was only 4%. For each of them only one subscale was significant above the $p<.05$ level, i.e. parental emotional support for the males (PAQ Support) ($\beta = .308$, $T = 5.27$, $p<.00001$) and not being alienated from their fathers for the females, (IPPA Father Alienation) ($\beta = .217$, $T = 2.64$, $p<.0093$).

Out of all the criteria, parental attachment was most salient for Adjustment to Work:
TABLE 12.13
Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis assessing the Relationship between Adjustment to College and Parental Attachment using the subscales as the independent variables

**MALE STUDENTS (N= 110)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social adjust. PAQ Support</td>
<td>.196</td>
<td>.308</td>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>.0000****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .196  F (1,109) = 27.755  Signif. F = 0.0000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
<th>Step 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>β</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work adjust PAQ Affect</td>
<td>.445</td>
<td>.342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Commun. --</td>
<td>.229</td>
<td>.427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Trust .256 -- --</td>
<td>-.285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .256  F (3,107) = 13.612  Signif. F = 0.0000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance PAQ Affect</td>
<td>.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .041  F (1,109) = 5.729  Signif. F = 0.0184

**FEMALE STUDENTS (N = 142)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted R²</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social adjust. Father Alien'n</td>
<td>.040</td>
<td>.217</td>
<td>2.638</td>
<td>.0093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .040  F (1,141) = 6.958  Signif. F = 0.0093

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work adjust. PAQ Support</td>
<td>.424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Comm .197 --</td>
<td>.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .197  F(2,140) = 18.453  Signif. F = 0.0000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance Mother Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .096  F (1,141) = 16.074  Signif. F = 0.0001

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001
the attachment subscales accounted for 26% of the variance for the males and 20% for the females. For the males three predictors were significant: the affective quality of the relationship (PAQ Affect), Communication with father (IPPA) and the Trust relationship with father (IPPA), which contrasted with the two significant predictors for the females: parental support (PAQ Support) and Communication with mothers (IPPA). This gender difference for work adjustment provided some support for hypotheses raised in discussion by Rice (1992) when considering the findings of his longitudinal study that men might benefit from secure relationships with their fathers before going away to college, whereas for women parental relationships remained consistently associated with social and emotional wellbeing, though different parents were important at different times.

Adjustment to Attendance was the only criterion where parental attachment subscales contributed to a larger amount of the total variance for females than for males, 10% and 4% respectively. For males parental support was the only significant predictor and only at the p<.05 level, whereas for females the trust relationship with mother was highly significant (β = .320, T = 4.01, p<.0001). This subscale provided the only support for my second hypothesis that female students would provide a more marked association between parental attachment and adjustment than male students.

Overall the multiple regressions showed a consistency for male students in that all aspects of their adjustment to college scores could be significantly predicted by their scores on PAQ measuring perceived parental positive affective relationships and parental support, without specifying a particular parent. On adjustment to work, the relationship with father was also salient. Contrary to my hypothesis, parental attachment was a less strong predictor for the females. For social adjustment it was very small. The females also showed less consistency, with different aspects of parental attachment being more significant for different aspects of adjustment.

Perhaps the most interesting result from these multiple regression analyses is that Adjustment to Work is the only measure where a substantial proportion of the variance in the scores can be explained by different aspects of the parental relationship. This
applies both to the males, where it accounts for about one quarter of the variance, and for the females, accounting for one fifth of the variance. The results and their relevance will be discussed in the next chapter.

**Multiple regressions to analyse the relationship of peer attachment to adjustment**

Multiple regressions were performed separately to explore the predictive values of the peer attachment measures (the independent variable) on adjustment to college (the dependent variable.) Table 12.14 shows that the full-scale IPPA for Peers accounted for 10% of the variance of adjustment for males (Adjusted $R^2 = .103$) and only 4% of the variance for the females (Adjusted $R^2 = .046$.) These percentages for peer attachment are lower than those for parental attachment. However, when calculating the regressions by using the three subscales as three independent variables, while the male percentage stays the same, with Trust being the significant predictor, the result for females changes considerably. The Peer Alienation scale, where a high score represents a lack of guilt and resentment in the relationship with peers, contributes 11% of the variance (Adjusted $R^2 = .111$) and is highly significant.

Table 12.15 shows the results of calculating the regressions using each of the adjustment subscales in turn as the dependent variable. For males Peer Trust is the significant predictor for both social adjustment (accounting for 14% of the variance, Adjusted $R^2 = .135$) and work adjustment (accounting for only 6% of the variance, Adjusted $R^2 = .055$.) For females Peer Alienation is the significant predictor, accounting for 16% of the social adjustment variance (Adjusted $R^2 = .160$) but only 4% of the work adjustment variance. Peer attachment does not predict attendance for either gender. The differences in peer attachment between the genders will also be discussed in the next chapter.
TABLE 12.14
Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis assessing the Relationship between Adjustment to College and Peer Attachment for Male students and Female students

**MALE STUDENTS (N = 134)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AdColl27 IPPA -Peers</td>
<td>.103</td>
<td>.332</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>.0001****</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2 = .103$  $F (1,133) = 16.448$  Signif. F = 0.0001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AdColl27 Peer Trust</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>.329</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>.0001****</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2 = .102$  $F (1,133) = 16.149$  Signif. F = 0.0001

**FEMALE STUDENTS (N = 172)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AdColl27 IPPA -Peers</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.226</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>.0028**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2 = .046$  $F (1,171) = 9.207$  Signif. F = 0.0028

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AdColl27 Peer Alien'n</td>
<td>.111</td>
<td>.340</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>.0000****</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$R^2 = .111$  $F (1,171) = 22.385$  Signif. F = 0.0000

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ****p<.0001
TABLE 12.15
Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis assessing the Relationship between subscales of Adjustment to College and subscales of Peer Attachment for Male students and Female students

MALE STUDENTS (n = 134)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion Measure</th>
<th>Adjusted $R^2$</th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>$T$</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjust Peer Trust</td>
<td>.135</td>
<td>.376</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>.0000****</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscales not significant predictors)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2 = .135$ F (1,133) = 21.903</td>
<td>Signif. F = 0.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Social Adjust Peer Alien’n | .370 | .253 | 3.04 | .0028** |
| Peer Trust | .160 | -- | .215 | 2.59 | .0105* |
| (other subscale not significant predictor) |
| $R^2 = .160$ F (2,170) = 17.381 | Signif. F = 0.0000 |

FEMALE STUDENTS (N = 172)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Step 1</th>
<th>Step 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted $R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjust Peer Alien’n</td>
<td>.370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>.160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(other subscale not significant predictor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$R^2 = .160$ F (2,170) = 17.381</td>
<td>Signif. F = 0.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Work Adjust Peer Alien’n | .044 | .223 | 2.99 | .0032** |
| (other subscales not significant) |
| $R^2 = .044$ F (1,171) = 8.956 | Signif. F = 0.0032 |

Attendance | Subscales were not significant predictors

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ****p < .0001
Chapter 13

DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE STUDY

The research population
One of the primary aims of this research was to explore whether the associations between good parental attachment and good adjustment to college would be replicated in British students who had a wide range of academic ability and were from socioeconomically and ethnically diverse families. An investigation of the sample of 315 students demonstrated that they did exemplify the required diversity. The wide range of their academic achievement at GCSE level suggested that, while some would have no difficulty in gaining a place at university, the majority would not be accepted at highly selective institutions and many might not have the potential to reach higher education at all. Thus, academically, these students were quite different from the college student subjects studied by Armsden & Greenberg (1987), Kenny (1990), Lapsley et al. (1990) and others. Their family origins were also quite diverse, with a substantial representation from the Indian sub-continent. These students referred to themselves as Asian and, although the majority were born in Britain, their home culture did contrast with that of the British indigenous population. There were just enough Black students for them to form another group for statistical comparisons. Socioeconomic contrasts were also to be found among the subjects but the questions asking for parents' job description were inadequate for obtaining either levels of social class or family income. However, there was sufficient information to show that these subjects did not come predominantly from just one strata of society but from a wide range typical of an area of Greater London, which includes both upper middle class homes and working class estates. While some parents were unemployed, the majority were employed and represented a wide breadth of occupations from well-qualified professionals to unskilled workers. Thus the sample of subjects fulfilled the requirements of diversity called for by those such as Kenny (1990; 1994), Spencer et al. (1991) and Ryan et al. (1996), who hoped that their findings could be examined for a wider community of adolescents. Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein (1994) also
suggested that research was needed with students whose families were no longer intact and these too formed a good proportion of the present sample.

**AdColl27 measuring adjustment to college.**

AdColl27 was developed as a measure of psychosocial wellbeing, focusing on adjustment to college and appropriate for British students in F.E. Its reliability and validity has already been discussed and more evidence will be considered in Section V of this research, where 16 individuals from this sample of 315 were retested and then interviewed. The initial results suggested that AdColl27 had the capacity to measure a very wide range of adjustment experienced by the students and that the three subscales were focusing on different aspects of adjustment. Factor analysis had suggested that adjustment to work was associated with both social adjustment and attendance but that social adjustment and attendance were not associated. Further correlational statistics calculated separately for males and for females substantiated this.

Results further suggested that AdColl27 was not affected by gender or cultural differences. There were no significant differences between males and females for the full-scale or any of the subscale measures, nor were there any differences between the three large ethnic groupings. It had been considered that age might affect adjustment with the older and so presumably more mature students settling into work more easily and attending college more regularly, having developed a greater sense of commitment, but even comparing sixteen year olds with nineteen and twenty year olds did not produce significant differences on any of the subscales. Nor were there any differences between the higher or lower academic achievers as measured by their GCSE passes. Thus, there was no evidence to suggest that the more academically able were better adjusted to college.

Adjustment was also examined in relation to the students' family circumstances. As far as comparing intact families with those that had suffered divorce or the death of a parent, the only significant difference on AdColl27 was that students whose natural parents were married and living together reported better adjustment to attendance than
the others. Otherwise there were no differences between the different family types. Comparing adjustment for students with parents' different occupational levels also produced just one minor difference for attendance, which again suggested that socioeconomic level as far as it could be assessed was not a significant factor on the AdColl27 scales. Thus results indicated that AdColl27 was a stable and "culture-free" measure of adjustment to college. No particular group of students was significantly better or less well adjusted to college than any other group.

ATTACHMENT IN BRITISH ADOLESCENTS

Comparing F.E. students with U.S. college students
Although the three attachment measures, the PAQ, the IPPA and the Hazan and Shaver attachment category measure were all derived from attachment theory I had used them all with the understanding that, as well as being corroborative, they would focus on different though current aspects of the adolescent-parent relationship. It was also hoped that these results would be easily comparable with the United States research. The present subjects did report lower levels of attachment on the PAQ than Kenny's college students (Kenny, 1990; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991; Kenny & Hart, 1992) but they were quite similar to those reported by Kenny (1994) for students attending trade and technical schools who were probably more like the British students in further education than the students in the privileged universities. The wide range of responses and particularly those who reported very poor attachment suggested that the subjects did not feel constrained to give socially desirable responses. The very high correlations with responses to the IPPAs for fathers and for mothers also indicated a consistency in response.

Correspondingly the reported levels of attachment to mothers and to fathers as measured on the separate IPPAs were also a little lower than found for the U.S. college students, (de Jong, 1992; Blustein et al., 1991.) However these U.S. students had already proved themselves to be sufficiently well-adjusted to attain admission to good universities and if, as hypothesized, adjustment was associated with parental attachment then it might be assumed that a group of college students, already at
university, would show higher parental attachment than a whole student group prior to university selection. In a study to examine whether poor childhood emotional bonds with parents led to adult social competency deficits, Mallinckrodt (1992) had found a marked skew in the distribution of his data in the direction of favourable ratings, with undergraduates reporting good early parental attachment. Similarly university students might be assumed to show a positive skew for their IPPA scores towards mothers and fathers. In contrast, the slightly lower parental attachment mean scores obtained for further education students was likely to be representative of levels of attachment for the whole adolescent community, prior to university selection.

As already indicated, correlations between the PAQ and the IPPA for Mothers and the PAQ and the IPPA for Fathers were very highly significant for both male and female students. The majority of the subscales were also highly correlated. This suggested that they were corroborative but the correlation coefficients were not so high that they could be said to be identical measures. There were significant differences between the IPPAs for Mothers and for Fathers and these were decidedly different from the IPPA for Peers. As might have been expected correlation coefficients between attachment to peers and attachment to parents as measured by the PAQ were much lower than the coefficients for specific attachment to mothers and to fathers but they were still significant suggesting association between the two. Peer attachment was not significantly associated with attachment to father for either males or females, but it was significantly associated with attachment to mother for females. Thus, there was some evidence, particularly for the females, that the capacity to enjoy good attachment with mother was associated with good peer attachment.

Responses to the Hazan and Shaver measure placed a larger proportion of students in the secure attachment category than was previously found by those working with adolescents (Hazan & Shaver, 1987) or for infants in the "strange situation" tests (Campos et al., 1983). This difference may have been due to the word substitutions from "love partners" to "friends" in two of the statements, which were made to accommodate cultural requirements. This could have changed the focus of the relationship inquiry from attachment to the affiliation relationships of friendship which
are likely to have quite different bases, as discussed by Weiss (1986). Nevertheless 69 students, out of the 312 who responded, did admit to avoidant or anxious ambivalent relationships, disregarding any temptation to portray themselves as enjoying easy friendships, and, consistent with all previous findings, the avoidant group was larger than the anxious ambivalent group. Additionally those students who put themselves in the secure attachment category for the Hazan and Shaver measure scored statistically significantly higher than those in the avoidant and ambivalent groups for the full-scale PAQ and for all three full-scale forms of the IPPA. Thus the category measure was consistent with the questionnaire attachment measures.

The initial analysis of the responses to the attachment questionnaires and the Hazan & Shaver test indicated that the subjects were responding consistently and that the questionnaire results were just a little lower than the comparable scores for the United States college students, with good reason. However the gender differences reported by Kenny (1990; 1994) that females described their parents as providing greater emotional support than males were not supported by the present study. On the PAQ there was no significant gender difference for the amount of emotional support provided by parents, but there was a significant difference in the fostering of autonomy, where the females reported less parental encouragement of their independence. The females also reported a less trusting relationship with their mothers (as shown in the IPPA for Mothers subscale for Trust) and a greater amount of hostility and resentment in their relationship with both parents (both Alienation subscales) than the males. The more difficult relationships reported by the females in this study contrasted with those reported by students from the United States. Some of this difference may be accounted for by cultural differences which will be discussed below. The gender difference found for peer attachment where females scored significantly higher than males was consistent with previous findings by Armsden & Greenberg (1987), Nada Raja (1992) and de Jong (1992).

**Parental attachment in diverse ethnic groups**

Comparing the three major ethnic groupings, the most significant difference in parental attachment between them as measured by the PAQ could mainly be attributed to the
very significant difference on the subscale for Fostering Autonomy, where British white students reported that their parents encouraged their independence significantly more than the British Asian students. This was compatible with the way, in clinical experience, Asian students described the restrictions placed upon them by their families because of the way they might be regarded by the community if they broke cultural norms. For girls, in particular, an independent social life was impossible and some were also inhibited from getting part-time jobs outside the family business.

Analysis of variance confirmed that the Asian females scored lowest on the full-scale PAQ and all its subscales, which again reflected how Asian females, in counselling, perceived their parental relationships as being more negative than for their brothers or for their white peers. The present results were also consistent with the study by Shams & Williams (1995) who found that British Asian adolescents perceived more protection from their parents than the non-Asian adolescents but also that the British Asian girls perceived less parental care than the non-Asian girls. The British Asian adolescents of both sexes saw their parents as not liking them to make their own decisions and trying to control them; the British Asian girls were more likely to see their parents acting coldly towards them, not understanding them, not talking much to them nor praising them. Similarly in the present study, in relationships with their mothers measured by the IPPA, the Asian females together, with the Black females, had significantly lower scores than those for the white females and any of the male groups. This suggested that all aspects of their relationships with their mothers were less good and more stressful. However, the IPPA for Fathers did not show any significant “sex x gender” effects. The qualitative studies to follow may be able to explain the difficulties and differences which underlie these attachment relationships.

**Family circumstances and other diversity**

Attachment measures did not reflect any significant differences between age-groups nor between different levels of academic ability. Where subjects were categorized according to their natural parents’ marital status, the only significant differences were that those with divorced parents reported less good attachment to their fathers, with their relationships reflecting less trust and more alienation. This was understandable because most of the adolescents were living with their mothers and so possibly had
less opportunity to continue a regular relationship with father, which might also be perceived as disloyalty to mother. Parental marital status did not appear to be associated with difference in attachment to mothers or to peers.

**Group diversity and attachment**

Of all the variables affecting parental attachment only the interaction of gender and ethnicity appeared to be salient and this was only relevant to the PAQ and some measures of the IPPA for Mothers. Otherwise the parental attachment measures like the adjustment to college measure appeared to be stable and not likely to reflect different family circumstances. Older students did not show more or less attachment than younger students. Students with more GCSEs did not report more or less parental attachment that those with fewer GCSEs. Thus the measures of both adjustment to college and parental attachment seemed to be robust and independent. Any association between these two variables was not likely to be confounded by other factors.

**THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PARENTAL ATTACHMENT AND ADJUSTMENT TO COLLEGE**

Statistical analysis showed that there were highly significant correlations between parental attachment, as measured by the PAQ, the IPPA for mothers and the IPPA for fathers, and overall adjustment to college, as measured by the full-scale AdColl27. These findings were consistent with the previous research by Kenny (1987; 1990; 1994) Armsden & Greenberg (1987) and Blustein et al. (1991), all of whom showed that parental attachment was positively associated with student well-being and adjustment. Although association does not indicate causality, these findings also supported my principal hypothesis that adolescent students who are securely attached to their parents will show good adjustment to life and study at F.E. college. Additional statistical corroboration was found by comparing the more adjusted students with the less adjusted on all the attachment questionnaire scores. These results clearly indicated that the more adjusted had significantly more positive attachment relationships than the less adjusted. Thus, the results for this diverse sample of
students demonstrated that the association between attachment and adjustment found for the privileged, academically selected white students was also to be found in this much wider cross-section of the adolescent population from different ethnic backgrounds, a wider socioeconomic range and a broader range of academic achievement and potential. The association appeared to be robust.

Social adjustment and parental attachment

My literature review cited many findings of associations between parental attachment and psychosocial well-being found for different groups of adolescents investigated in a variety of ways. The findings for my present sample as a whole supported much of the earlier work. Looking at just one in detail, Kobak and Sceery (1988) found that the securely attached student group were more ego resilient than either the anxious avoidant or the anxious ambivalent groups. Rated by their peers, the secure group were reported to be able to modulate their negative feelings, were less anxious or hostile and were more socially competent. The avoidant group were lonelier and had less social support. They were rated as being higher in anxiety and hostility, although they considered themselves to be confident and self reliant. The ambivalent group were also rated as being highly anxious but they rated themselves as lacking in confidence and having more psychopathological symptoms. For comparison, my present sample were categorized into the same three groups by the modified version of the Hazan and Shaver measure. Despite the shortcomings of this crude measure, there were significant differences between the secure group and the two insecure groups on almost all of the attachment measures. The Alienation scales on the IPPAs measured hostility in relationships which was roughly comparable with the Kobak and Sceery measure. A higher score on an Alienation scale represented less guilt, resentment and anger in a relationship. The secure group had very significantly higher scores on the Alienation subscales for mothers, for fathers and for peers, than the two insecure groups. Conversely the insecurely attached reported a greater degree of Alienation in their relationships both with parents and peers, which was in line with Kobak and Sceery's results.

For all the general parental attachment measures on the PAQ, the secure group scored
significantly higher than the insecure groups. The avoidant group reported themselves as having the least emotional support provided by parents, which again was consistent with Kobak and Sceery's finding of self-reliance in their avoidant group. The ambivalent group self-rated themselves lower than the other two groups on the parental fostering of autonomy which too was consistent with Kobak and Sceery's finding that their ambivalent group was lacking in confidence. To compare the groups on social competence, the Social adjustment subscale of AdColl27 provided the nearest equivalent in the present study. Again there was a highly significant difference between the secure group and the avoidant and ambivalent groups, with the secure group scoring the highest and the avoidant group scoring lowest. Just as Kobak and Sceery found that securely attached students were rated as being more socially competent, so, in the present sample, the securely attached group rated themselves as being significantly more socially adjusted at college. Thus despite the shortcomings of the modified Hazan & Shaver measure and although the present results did not differentiate clearly between the two groups of insecurely attached students, the present study did produce a number of significant differences between the securely and the insecurely attached students consistent with the earlier research.

Also focusing on social competence, Mallinckrodt (1992) found that, for undergraduate subjects, the more responsive, warm and nurturing their parents were remembered to have been, the higher were the students' present levels of social self-efficacy. He suggested that counsellors and therapists should take account of early parental attachments when looking to help their clients to use social supports more effectively. Concentrating on current parental relationships in the present study, there was a moderate but significant association between social adjustment to college and reported attachment to mothers, to fathers and to parents in general. In particular the provision of emotional support was highly associated with social adjustment. (Gender effects will be considered in due course.) Thus the present work could be seen as being complementary to the earlier research in suggesting that the calibre of ongoing parental relationships is associated with social adjustment and social competence, even in the transitional stages between school and either higher education or adult employment, when the relevance of these relationships is not usually recognized by the adolescent.
Adjustment to work and parental attachment

Out of the three different subscales of adjustment, adjustment to work was the most consistent in being highly associated with all aspects of parental attachment. This subscale produced the highest correlations with each of the attachment subscales for parents. Since adjustment to work focused on items concerned with settling down to study, understanding work and handing in assignments, this area of adjustment most directly embodied one of the prime reasons for attending college, i.e. to learn and to gain qualifications. Ultimately positive adjustment to work was a requirement for achievement and so its highly significant association with the perception of parental relationships required further understanding. However, association did not indicate causality in either direction. Perhaps adolescents who settled and indicated that they would fulfill their potential at college stimulated good relationships with parents who could feel proud and to some extent glory in the success of their child (Noller & Callan, 1991). Perhaps the adolescent who had a secure relationship with his or her parents felt self-confident enough to take risks and make mistakes whilst learning and so was able to explore and achieve. Most likely the relationships were reflexive, working in both directions, so that success led to good relationships which resulted in increased confidence and further success; conversely, failure led to poor, criticizing relationships resulting in loss of confidence and further failure. In discussing adolescent identity formation from a family systems theoretical position, Campbell (1982) suggested that an adolescent needed feedback from his family to recognize changes in himself or herself. From a similar perspective Papini (1994) suggested that an adolescent needed to co-construct his or her identity together with his or her parents. The present findings suggested that the quality of ongoing parent-adolescent interactions affect not just the higher level psychological tasks of identity formation but also the more mundane daily activities related to working at college and the likelihood of achieving academic or vocational potential. A secure parental base from which to explore and take academic risks (Josselson, 1980) may be a vital factor for positive adjustment and achievement. How this occurs may become more evident from interview data which will be analysed in Section V.
Adjustment to attendance and attachment

Although adjustment to attendance was highly correlated with adjustment to work, the associations between attendance and aspects of parental attachment were less consistent. The highest association was with the quality of parental relationships. Perhaps students who attended the majority of their lessons punctually and so were fulfilling general parental expectations, that sons and daughter going to college do actually attend lessons, felt at ease with their consciences and could project good feelings when reporting the quality of their parental relationships. Students who were not attending regularly either because, for example, they had not completed expected assignments or because a social gathering was too good to miss, would feel guilty and might project negative feelings on to their parents. Conversely those feeling angry with their parents might act out and decide not to attend as an expression of defiance. Support for this might be found in the small but significant correlations between adjustment to attendance and the Alienation scales for both mother and father IPPAs. Additionally those enjoying good relationships might not want to upset their parents by poor attendance which might result in a letter of complaint from college. Rada Naja et al. (1992), studying fifteen year olds in New Zealand, found that low perceived attachment to parents was associated with greater problems of conduct and inattention among other deficits. Perhaps adjustment to attendance for F.E. students is also some measure of their conduct and maturity in conforming to college rules. Lecturers and tutors appear to regard non-attendance as the single most significant disciplinary issue.

My only explanation for the positive associations for the IPPA for mothers but not for fathers is that mothers were more likely to know whether their adolescent was attending because there was significantly more communication and higher levels of trust reported for mothers than fathers. Adjustment to attendance was the one AdColl27 measure that did not correlate significantly with attachment to peers for the fullscale IPPA. The interview data might provide further explanation for the findings. Overall attendance was shown to be associated with general parental attachment and attachment to mothers.
The nature of the association between attachment and adjustment

The three different aspects of psychosocial adjustment and wellbeing varied in their associations with different measures of attachment. Attendance, reflecting conduct and commitment to the institution and its rules, was associated with the affective quality of parental relationships, the availability of emotional support from parents and with all aspects of attachment to mothers. However, in comparison with the others, this factor of adjustment showed the least strong association with attachment. Interestingly, there was no significant association between the parental fostering of autonomy and attendance, possibly because those adolescents who felt free to make their own decisions also felt free to decide whether or not to attend classes. None of the other research literature focusing on adjustment to college that I have come across so far looks specifically at class or tutorial attendance, but as it was found to be a factor in AdColl27 and as college lecturers and tutors recognize its significance, it may be helpful to investigate further. The interview data and information from counselling sessions may lead to better understanding of the attachment/attendance association.

Social adjustment, reflecting sociability and social competence, was highly associated with peer attachment, as was expected, but it was also significantly associated with parents providing emotional support and having good attachment to mother and to father. Where Kobak and Sceery (1988) had shown that students who had secure attachment in childhood were more socially competent at college than the insecure, the present results were complementary in that students who perceived their ongoing parental relationships to reflect secure attachment were also more socially adjusted at college. The importance of the social aspects of college life had been highlighted by the students who were originally interviewed before the development of the Adjustment to College Questionnaire - the original AdColl. Making new friends and being able to give and take social support, which has generally considered to be a measure of psychosocial wellbeing (Mallinckrodt, 1992) was associated with ongoing parental attachment. Perhaps there is reflexivity between comfortable relationships with parents and social relationships in the new environment of college. A timetable with long gaps between lessons can be filled with social interaction or else it can be perceived as having long and lonely stretches to be endured. The student possessing
self confidence in a social college environment, where the ability to socialize easily is generally accepted as desirable, will fare better than the student who feels unloved and is yearning for a friendship.

Adjustment to work, embodying the preparation for study and achievement, was the most highly associated with all aspects of parental attachment and less associated with peer attachment. For this diverse sample of adolescents positive relationships with parents came together with the ability to settle and concentrate on work and to hand in assignments, when success or failure would be judged. Handing in an assignment at college may be perceived as more daunting than handing in school homework. The assignment is likely to have taken a number of hours or even weeks to complete and may count towards the mark for a final qualification. The student lacking in self-confidence or fearing failure and its consequences may delay judgment with a series of excuses. Some prefer to drop out rather than to be seen as failures or less able than their peers. A student feeling insecure may be concerned that bad marks would increase tensions at home and may try to keep them secret, with the accompanying anxiety. Conversely good marks may go unrecognized and unappreciated by parents, whom the student had hoped to please, and without this recognition all personal satisfaction becomes worthless. Good parental relationships can help to keep the work in perspective. Just as Josselson (1980) described adolescence as repeating the individuation of the infant, so the adolescent in the transitional world of FE college still wants parental approval as well as independence. In terms of attachment theory the securely attached adolescent can go out to explore in the knowledge that there will be somewhere safe to return for comfort if things go wrong. Blustein et al. (1991) described the process as “emotional refuelling” to promote growth and development. The adolescent who is unsure of parental support or approval may lack the confidence to make mistakes, make new friends or make new commitments and must keep looking back to see if parents are taking an interest. The adolescent who feels secure can make new adjustments from a secure base with a view to fulfilling his or her potential.
GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ATTACHMENT AND ADJUSTMENT

Attachment for males as well as females at a time of transition

Although both clinical experience and evidence from the literature (e.g. Kenny, 1990; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994) led to the hypothesis that female students would show a more marked association between attachment to parents and adjustment to F.E. college than male students, the present results showed that the male students also showed a significant association between parental attachment and adjustment. Contrary to expectations, in comparing the multiple regression analysis for the males and females, where full-scale attachment measures were used, parental attachment accounted for a greater percentage of the variance of general adjustment to college for males (24%) than for females (11%). Thus the attachment/adjustment association was more marked for the men, rather than absent as found by others such as Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein (1994). There were however some gender difference because for the males the PAQ representing general parental attachment was the significant predictor of adjustment whereas for females attachment to mother was highly significant.

Multiple regressions using the attachment subscales again showed that attachment accounted for a greater percentage of the adjustment variable for males (26%) than for females (17%). Analysis indicated that for females parental emotional support was a highly significant predictor of adjustment whereas for males the quality of the parental relationship and their emotional support contributed almost equally. That parental emotional support was particularly significant for females was consistent with findings by Kenny (1990). However, as the previous studies with male undergraduate subjects had not found correlations between attachment and adjustment for men, some explanation was needed.

Research with younger subjects could provide some clarification of the attachment-adjustment effect. In a longitudinal study with twelve year olds Papini and Roggman (1992) found that attachments to parents rose significantly in a time of transition. They showed that attachments to mother and to father became more significantly
associated with feelings of self-worth, competence and good conduct at the time when the children had just moved to a new school. Approximately seven months before the change of school the children showed positive but not significant correlations between parental attachment and the different measures of development. Similarly, approximately nine months into the new school the only significant correlation was between conduct and attachment to mother. However, in the intervening period during the first two months of being at their new school, the children showed strong and significant correlations between their parental attachments and a wide variety of developmental measures. As attachment theory would predict, the attachment behaviour was activated at a time of transition, when the children were exploring a strange new situation with all the accompanying fears and with the need for secure attachments to provide confidence. Another study with eighth-grade children produced an unexpected result for Kenny et al. (1993). Because their previous work with undergraduates had not shown association between attachment and adjustment for males they were surprised to find that there was a stronger association between attachment security and measures of self for boys than for girls. The researchers did not give much significance to this finding but a possible explanation could be due to the timing of their study. They reported that their tests were administered in the autumn, which was probably at the beginning of the school year when the boys were yet to settle and were still triggering attachment behaviour. These different findings of attachment at a time of transition could explain the present results.

A stage of transition is a fitting description of further education. No sooner are the students settled than they have to start exploring the possibilities for moving again into higher education or employment. For example, the student arriving to do a two-year A-level course has to start thinking about university choices before the first year is over because university application forms have to be completed at the beginning of the second year. Students on vocational courses have to go out of college on work experience in preparation for employment. Thus the college provides a transitional experience with the accompanying stress. It would therefore follow that attachment behaviour will be triggered in male students as well as females and this could explain their marked association between attachment and adjustment to college. Counsellors
in further education often work with students who do not fulfill their potential to achieve because they are not emotionally ready to move on. Perhaps these students have poor parental attachment and no secure base.

**Attachment for young women**

Although the attachment-adjustment association was present for both males and females, the present study also produced some gender differences which were consistent with earlier findings. Rice's (1992) longitudinal study focused on adjustment to college and separation-individuation rather than attachment but his findings and discussion are relevant to the present study. For college students in their freshman year his results suggested that daughters who experienced angry relations with their mother and perhaps disengaged relations with their father might be at risk for adjustment difficulties. Daughters managed better in the personal and social arena if they could depend on their fathers and had positive feelings towards their mothers. For females in the present study not being alienated from father was the significant predictor of social adjustment. There were also significant associations between non-alienation from father and all factors of adjustment and between non-alienation with mother and adjustment to work and attendance. Also for females good communication with mother and a trusting relationship with mother were significant predictors of work and attendance respectively; work and attendance were highly correlated with all aspects of attachment to mother. Thus the results were consistent with Rice's findings for women and the significance of their parental relationships.

While this study investigated 16 - 20 year olds, another recent study found a specific association for older females between attachment to mother and adjustment. Investigating the career exploration and the career selection behaviour for community college students with a mean age of 23 years, Ryan et al. (1996) found that for the women a combination of attachment to mother together with being in a non-dysfunctional family accounted for 17% of the variance for a measure of career search-efficacy. Thus there was slowly increasing research evidence to support the large body of theoretical literature by Gilligan and her colleagues (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et al., 1989) and the women working at the Stone Centre (Rich, 1989; Stern,
1989; Surrey, 1991) who all emphasized the importance of the mother-daughter relationship for the healthy psychosocial development of the daughter. The present research also contributes to evidence that all relationships are important to women. The Peer Alienation measure was a significant predictor for women's social adjustment and adjustment to work. This suggests that when women are experiencing good relationships with their peers and not harbouring feelings of resentment, guilt or hostility then they will be better able to work. How female students are affected by their peer relationships may be further explored in the interviews.

**The association between attachment and adjustment for men.**

The present results for the males students also showed significant association between aspects of parental attachment and adjustment to college and, in particular, adjustment to work. Parental support was a predictor of social adjustment and attendance while trust and communication with father were significant predictors of the ability to settle down to study and prepare to fulfill academic or vocational potential.

My initial concern when reviewing the literature was that, in contrast to the focus on women's development, there was far less research regarding adolescent men and their relationships. Perhaps studies focusing on them would also find an association between parental relationships and their healthy development. A return through the literature produced a small amount of additional evidence consistent with my findings. In the study by Ryan et al. (1966) mentioned above, they also found that for the men attachment to mother was a significant predictor of career search behaviour, accounting for 9% of the variance of the measure of career search efficacy. The relationship between fathers and their adolescent sons has been particularly observed. Grotevant and Cooper's (1985) investigation of adolescents interacting with their parents in a planning task led them to suggest that boys who were encouraged and supported by their fathers scored highly on identity formation measures but they were not affected by other family relationships. (In contrast girls were affected by all their family relationships.) Poole and Gelder (1985) also found that in regard to decision-making boys reported that they were more influenced by their fathers, while girls consulted their mothers more. A study undertaken in India by Bhushan and Shirali
(1992) concluded that negative communication and emotional distance particularly between fathers and sons would lead to problems with the sons growing up to be unsure of themselves, dissatisfied with their own competence and still wishing for paternal approval. In a longitudinal study on divorce Wallerstein and Blakeslee (1990) interviewed children and their parents who were going through divorce and followed them up, re-interviewing in depth after one, five and ten years. The authors expressed astonishment that boys during adolescence experienced an intense, rising need for their fathers, even ten years after the divorce, and particularly in middle and late adolescence. Their study clearly found that the overall psychological adjustment of boys was strongly linked to father-son relationships, whether or not the mother had remarried. Perhaps it was also important for the adolescent son to be able to identify with his father and have him as a role-model.

The relationship and the kind of person the father is makes the difference. When the father-son relationship is poor, the boy may suffer low self-esteem, poor marks at school, weak aspirations and rejection. When the father-son relationship is good, where the father is regarded as moral and competent and the boy feels wanted and accepted by his father, the boy's psychological health is likely to be good. (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1990, p. 278)

Thus, from a variety of sources, evidence consistent with my findings can be found to suggest that adolescent males develop more positively when their parents are emotionally available and supportive to them and when they can communicate with and trust their fathers.

The difficulty in reviewing past research exploring adolescent-parent relationships is that the findings that girls have closer relationships with their parents, in that they communicate and disclose more than their brothers (Noller & Bagi, 1985; Noller, 1994; Smilansky, 1991), tends to distract from the value of the relationship between the adolescent males and their parents. In addition the importance of the parental relationships for men might fluctuate during adolescence. Although Rice (1992) did not find any parental relationship influences on adjustment for the male freshmen, he did find that third year male students who reported less anger and resentment in relation to their fathers also reported better emotional adjustment. He concluded that relations between fathers and sons gained importance over the two years and this
influenced their college adjustment and he hypothesized that prior to important developmental transitions, men benefit from secure, minimally conflictual relations with fathers. He suggested that once through the transition the young man could use alternative resources, such as friends, to help with adjustment challenges. In contrast he suggested that for women there was a consistent correlation between parental relationships and emotional and social well-being, with the importance of mother and father varying at different times. (pp 211.) My earlier argument that attachment behaviour was triggered by the stress of transition could also be relevant to Rice's findings for the men. His third year students may have been approaching final assessments and examinations or else preparing for their next career moves, having to explore career possibilities and make choices. Such stress would increase their need for attachment and lessen their perception of separation. His suggestion that his male freshman had already profited from secure relationships with their father was also consistent with my results showing that for a diverse group of 16 - 20 year old pre-university males parental attachment was associated with adjustment.

Perhaps male attachment behaviour only becomes evident at times of transition or anxiety, whereas female attachment and the importance of relationships for them is always active. Perhaps the father-son relationship is more salient to the younger adolescent in the period leading up to leaving home. The following studies including interviews of male students concerning their parental relationships could lead to an increased understanding of these relationships. Additionally, focusing on parental relationships in counselling sessions for males as well as females could be worthwhile from a therapeutic as well as a research perspective.

BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

The first hypothesis that adolescent students who were securely attached to their parents would show good adjustment to life and study at FE college was very strongly supported by the self-report questionnaires from an ethnically and socio-economically diverse population. The findings were consistent with previous research and fitted well with attachment theory. Further research might explain whether parental
attachment and psychosocial wellbeing have reflexive effects on one another or whether early attachment and ongoing secure relationships are causative by nature.

The second hypothesis that female students would show a more marked association between attachment to parents and adjustment to college than male students was not supported. The attachment-adjustment association was highly significant for both males and females and possibly stronger for the males in the present sample. It was argued that male attachment behaviour is triggered particularly in times of transition or anxiety, whereas it is always present for women. Middle and late adolescence might also be a significant period when sons particularly need encouragement and approval from their fathers. The next part of the study with its qualitative material might aid the understanding of similarities and differences between the relationships with parents for adolescent males and those for females.
SECTION IV:

A COUNSELLING STUDY
Chapter 14

THE COUNSELLING STUDY:
INTRODUCTION, METHOD, SUBJECTS & PROCEDURE

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 provide the background for this study. An account has been given of previous studies which demonstrated a strong association between college adjustment and parental attachment (Kenny, 1987; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Kobak & Sceery, 1988) and further research in this area with U.S. undergraduates (Kenny & Donaldson, 1991; Rice, 1992; Mallinckrodt, 1992; Holmbeck & Wandrei, 1993; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994) which suggested that college counsellors should pay attention to parental attachment in their therapeutic work.

In a college of further education students may be referred to the counselling service by their tutors or lecturers because their work is falling behind the required standard, their attendance is poor or their behaviour is causing concern and/or “personal problems” have been revealed or are suspected. Some students refer themselves because they recognize that they need help either to sort out an immediate crisis or a long-term problem. My experience suggested that most of these adolescents had more difficulty in adjusting to college than the general population of students and that their problems were most obvious in their inability to keep up with the work and in poor attendance. The content of the counselling sessions with these students, particularly when they were talking about their families, also suggested that they had poorer parental attachments than the general population of students. The present study aimed to test these hypotheses both quantitatively, by comparing attachment and adjustment scores, and qualitatively, by analysing the content of the counselling sessions for clients. For qualitative comparison, an interview study to explore college adjustment and parental attachment in “control” students, who may have benefitted from help but did not attend the counselling service, will be described in the next section.

The present study also aimed to explore whether including a specific focus on parental
relationships when counselling late adolescent further education students was therapeutic and beneficial to their well-being.

To repeat the specific hypotheses:

III Adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service will be less well adjusted to college life and study than the general population of students.

IV Adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service will be less securely attached to their parents than the general population of students.

V By focusing on the adolescent-parent relationship, counselling will raise the scores of both measures of attachment to parents and the measure of adjustment to college, suggesting more secure parental attachment and better adjustment to college.

Method
This part of the research was to be conducted whilst the Questionnaire study was also in progress. To test Hypothesis III, students coming for counselling help could be asked to complete the Adjustment to College Questionnaire and their scores could be compared with the scores of the general sample of students participating in the Questionnaire Study. Similarly, to test Hypothesis IV, counselling clients could also complete the attachment questionnaires and their scores could again be compared with that of the general sample. Ideally, for the measures to be comparable, prospective clients who approached the counselling service for help could complete the whole set of questionnaires as given to the research subjects in the Questionnaire study. However, I was concerned that students coming for help were frequently in distress, unsure about counselling as a helpful process and sometimes reluctant to keep an appointment arranged by a tutor. Getting them to fill in a set of questionnaires at the time of initial contact could be inappropriate or off-putting, so a procedure which took into account the needs of the clients as well as the parameters of the research was needed.
To maximize the number of subjects available for the study it was decided that every student, aged 16 to 20 years, who made an appointment with me in my employment as college counsellor would be eligible initially as a subject in this study. However their immediate anxieties and problems would need to be contained and a counselling relationship established before the research questionnaire could be given. Additionally the student would be assessed for suitability because, for example, a student whose parent was very ill or had recently died ought not to be given questionnaires on parental attachment.

Ideally, to test Hypothesis V, parental attachment and adjustment to college would be measured before counselling began and then repeated at the conclusion of the parent-focused counselling, so that the responses could be compared. The questionnaire pack was suitable for all the required measurements and the results were not likely to be affected by rehearsal. The hypothesis predicted that both adjustment and attachment would be affected by the counselling and both scores would increase. To confirm that the improved scores were due to the counselling intervention, rather than natural rehabilitation over time, a control group of comparable students would receive no counselling, but be tested and retested with the same time interval between the two.

To ensure that the counselling had some sort of uniformity and comparability a protocol was needed. The parental focus would have to be used alongside the issues brought by the client because an adolescent who was upset about a love relationship or a difficult teacher was not likely to return to a counsellor who was only interested in talking about parents. The counsellor could ask about parental relationships past and present during the session and encourage the client to think about them. However, adolescents would also need opportunities to bring their own issues, concentrate on their current crises and make their own links between these issues and parental attachment, if the interventions were to be helpful.

Bearing this in mind, the aim of the protocol was to introduce the opportunity for the adolescent client to consider the relationships with his or her parents from the first session. The client might see an immediate relevance of the relationship(s) to
presenting or underlying problems and want to talk about them in that session. However, for the majority of clients, this would just be an introduction which could be explored in later sessions as the client became more receptive, or even reintroduced the theme of parental relationships himself or herself. In second and subsequent sessions the client would be given time to choose the issues on which to focus but if he or she had not mentioned parental relationships or presented the opportunity to talk about them within the first half-hour of the session, then the counsellor would do so. Attachment issues should be brought up from session to session, particularly if the client appeared to be working on a relationship. However, ethical considerations and the client's well-being were to be paramount. If talking about parental relationships was clearly not in the client's interest and/or was likely to be detrimental to the counselling relationship, then the protocol would not be followed. The protocol can be found in Appendix 14.1.

The most obvious disadvantage from the outset was that I had to undertake all roles as researcher, questionnaire giver and counsellor. Although I was promised a receptionist who would be able to give out the questionnaire as part of the research, as well as providing immediate client containment and helping with administration, a sudden economic crisis in the institution resulted in this post being frozen and no-one being employed. I was concerned that, as counsellor, giving my clients the pack of questionnaires would affect our therapeutic relationship and might also affect the way in which they responded. Under the circumstances the best alternative was to devise a procedure which would minimize the interactions. I would have to give the pack of questionnaires to the counselling clients myself, but they could complete it either at home or in the library and return it later or at the next session. However, responding to this pack of questionnaires would need at least 25 minutes concentration and therefore required commitment, which might well deter a depressed or angry client from returning for another session, even if they found the first one helpful. Aware that it would be difficult to get clients in this age group to commit themselves to sufficient sessions for inclusion in the counselling outcome study, I did not want to alienate any potential clients. Counselling experience suggested that a client who returned for a planned second session was showing some commitment to the work and
if he or she was willing to make a contract to attend further sessions, filling in a questionnaire at the end of the second session might be perceived positively, or at least not inhibit further contact. Although filling in the questionnaire after the second session would mean that the baseline measurement would actually take place after two sessions, this was the best compromise for unsatisfactory research circumstances dictated by the field.

In our college practice, unlike the mature students, the sixteen to twenty year olds rarely attended as many as six sessions. However, less than six sessions appeared to be inadequate for addressing parental attachment in any depth if I wanted to be able to measure change. Consequently I decided to risk getting insufficient students by adopting the following research paradigm:

- **a** Assessment session & second session
- **b** Initial test on set of questionnaires
- **c** Third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth/final sessions
- **d** Retest on set of questionnaires

Those students requiring more than eight sessions would still be retested after the eighth session so that results between subjects would be comparable. I hoped that students who felt that six or seven sessions were sufficient might be persuaded to attend all eight session and continue to work on their relationships.

Another concern was that my commitment to the theory that adjustment to college was affected by parental attachment would affect the counselling itself, with me putting too much emphasis on the parental relationship. However, my clinical supervisor, who was not involved in this research but was aware of my research bias, would meet me weekly and keep my clients' interests and the therapeutic part of the counsellor-client relationship uppermost and under close supervision. She would ensure that I addressed all relevant issues and did not put undue weight on the parental relationships. I would also check myself as I wrote up each counselling session.

My normal counselling practice was to write short notes immediately after a
counselling session and then to write detailed, lengthy process notes within the next 48 hours. I considered that my memory for the exact words, nuances, body language and the feelings in the session were reasonably accurate. I decided to use this method to record the counselling sessions rather than taping them, because students were notoriously concerned about confidentiality and most were ambivalent about seeing a college counsellor at all. Any idea of having their session taped would inhibit them and although they might feel pressured into agreeing on the first occasion, they might be reluctant to return. In addition, if they were to discuss their inhibitions with their peers, they might dissuade other needy students from using the service.¹

While the pre-counselling and post-counselling questionnaire results would give quantitative data for testing the hypotheses, the process notes from the counselling sessions would produce qualitative data which would show whether focusing on parental relationships and attachments was helpful to clients. It might indicate significant interventions or the ways in which clients link information and feelings to change their perceptions to understand earlier attachments and/or improve ongoing relationships.

**Subjects**

**Counselling clients**

Of the new clients in the appropriate age group who came to see me for at least two counselling sessions between late October 1995 and early May 1996, 15 completed the set of questionnaires and returned them to me. Table 14.2 gives details of their gender, age, ethnic origin and level of academic achievement. The few males in comparison to females is typical of the proportion of males who use the counselling service for more than one appointment. The questionnaire results from these subjects was used to test hypotheses III and IV.

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¹Even only 18 months later the public knowledge and acceptance of counselling has increased and I believe that taping college counselling sessions would now be acceptable to more students. Also with taped sessions being increasingly used in training, my work colleagues would also be less concerned about my recording for research purposes affecting the general perception of the college service.
### TABLE 14.2

**Personal and academic details of 15 counselling clients**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject No.</th>
<th>Subject Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>Course</th>
<th>GCSE passes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5027*</td>
<td>Baljit</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Business Admin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5037*</td>
<td>Carrie</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>Health/Social care</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5031</td>
<td>Philippa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>Nursery nurse</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5061*</td>
<td>Merryl</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>Business Admin</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5065*</td>
<td>Suri</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Media Studies</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6067</td>
<td>Rupinder</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>GCSEs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5074</td>
<td>Mina</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>Business Admin</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6054*</td>
<td>Zanda</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>GCSEs</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5091*</td>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>Secretarial</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6061*</td>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>A levels</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5094</td>
<td>Suzanne</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Legal Secretary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5120</td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>Health/Social care</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5123</td>
<td>Jem</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>Business &amp; Finance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5124*</td>
<td>Julietta</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Beauty Therapist</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5103</td>
<td>H.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>B Tec National IT</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of these subjects nine participated in at least six additional counselling sessions according to the protocol and eight of them completed the questionnaires after their eighth session and returned them to me. (These subjects are marked with an asterisk on Table 14.2) The pre- and post-counselling questionnaire scores for these eight clients were compared to test Hypothesis V.

#### Selecting the Control subjects

Also to test hypothesis V control subjects would have to be tested on the set of questionnaires and retested some weeks later without receiving counselling intervention. The test - retest interval would be between 8 and 12 weeks, equivalent to the time interval between test and retest for the counselling clients to have their additional six counselling sessions, allowing for vacations, outside work placements and illness.

Any subjects who participated in the Questionnaire study and agreed to be recontacted could be recalled and retested as controls. They would also be interviewed about their
adjustment to college and parental and peer attachments and this would form the Interview Study and become Section V of the research. However, finding subjects for the earlier studies had already demonstrated the difficulties of persuading students to spend their valuable social or sleeping time to help with research and then getting them to keep appointments. As an incentive for participation, once subjects had been selected, they would be sent a letter offering them £4 to participate in a session that would last about an hour. (See Appendix 14.3 for example of letter.)

As it was hypothesized that the counselling clients would be poorly adjusted students, it was decided that poorly adjusted controls would be the most appropriate for comparison. However, to keep within the 8 - 12 week retest interval, the control subjects had to be selected before the whole of the Questionnaire Study had been completed. Consequently the Adjustment to College Questionnaire for the first 138 subjects were scored and calculations were performed. (At this stage of the study all 50 items were used.)

Analysis at this stage showed:
N = 138, Mean = 182.24, SD = 20.34, Minimum score = 114, Maximum score = 224, 25%ile = 168, 50%ile = 183, 75%ile = 198.2

28 of these subjects had scored below the 25th percentile but about a third of them had indicated that they did not want further contact. As it was likely that some students would have already dropped out of college or been excluded and others might now decide that they did not want to be interviewed, it was decided that to choose a lower cut-off for selecting poorly adjusted students might result in insufficient subjects. Consequently the 25th percentile score of 168 was taken as the cut-off and every subject scoring 167 or less was contacted via their tutor.

This criterion fortunately provided the right number of subjects. As anticipated there

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2 For N = 315: Mean = 180.08, SD = 20.76, Minimum score = 109, Maximum score = 228, 25%ile = 166, 50%ile = 180, 75%ile = 195.
were problems in recalling the students for retest and interview. Out of the 64 subjects scoring below 168 (from the total sample of 315), 22 had indicated that they did not want to be recontacted. Keeping to the anonymity contract, all contact had to take place through tutors and this relied on their co-operation and efficiency as well as the students attending their tutorial to receive my letter (which they did less than the better adjusted). In addition approximately 15 of these students had left college. I was originally aiming for 15 subjects but, as 16 students replied and kept their appointment, I retested and interviewed all of them.

The control subjects
To some extent this was a self-selected sample because each subject had to respond to my further contact and then manage to keep a mutually convenient appointment within my time span. It is probable that most of the least adjusted were not included either because they had already left college or because they did not get round to responding or they did not want to be interviewed anyway.

TABLE 14.4
Personal and academic details of 16 students scoring 167 or below on the 50 item Adjustment to College Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject No.</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Ethnic Origin</th>
<th>GCSE passes</th>
<th>AdColl50 total score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S68</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S82</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S83</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Caribb/UK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S193</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S196</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S225</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S229</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S230</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S236</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Blk African</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S260</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>UK/S.African</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S267</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S298</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S316</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S359</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>144</td>
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<tr>
<td>S374</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>White UK</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

238
Of the 16 subjects who made up this sample, 10 were female and 6 were male. Their mean age was 17.06 years and GCSEs (grades A-C) mean was 3.44 passes. Table 14.4 shows that they were broadly representative of the 315 subjects who participated in the questionnaire study and who had a mean age of 17.02 years and GCSEs mean of 3.32 passes. Only the spread of courses was a little disappointing, with subjects from leisure studies and engineering, for example, failing to respond.

**Procedure**

**For counselling clients**

Any student aged 16 to 20 years who came to me for a counselling appointment was considered as a potential research subject until proved otherwise. At the first session a standard assessment was made and the protocol was followed unless contra-indicated. In the second session the protocol was followed again and at the end of the session the client was asked to fill in the set of questionnaires, with a brief explanation about the research. The questionnaires were returned before or at the third session and counselling continued according to the protocol. After the eighth session clients were asked to respond to the questionnaires again. Some clients did this at home, but some did this as part of the Questionnaire study. (I had delayed testing their tutor groups until they had received their eighth counselling session.) Although their research participation was complete, some subjects continued in counselling.

**For control subjects**

Each subject was individually retested on the whole set of questionnaires before being interviewed. The retest took place in a Counselling Room, with the subject sitting at a desk and the researcher remaining in the room but sitting away from the subject. (The interview procedure will be described in the Section V.)
Chapter 15

THE COUNSELLING STUDY:
QUANTITATIVE RESULTS, ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

Adjustment to college
To test Hypothesis III, comparisons were made on AdColl27 between the large, general sample of college students from the Questionnaire Study (n = 315) and the students who attended the counselling service for two sessions and then completed the set of questionnaires, (n = 15). As the first sample was much larger than the second and their variances were unequal, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was used. The same test was used to compare the controls (n = 16), on their initial test, with the counselling clients, to see if the clients were different from the selected group of poorly adjusted controls. (As the controls were part of the Questionnaire study sample, the two have not been compared.)

Table 15.1 shows the means and standard deviations for each group as well as the z scores and 2-tail probabilities calculated by the Mann-Whitney. On AdColl27 the counselling clients (M = 92.47, SD = 18.37) score lower than the general body of students (M = 97.08, SD = 12.72) but this difference is not significant, (z = 1.3093, p = 0.1904). Selected as poorly adjusted students, the control group (M = 81.93, SD = 5.26) score even lower than the counselling clients, but the difference between them is not significant, (z = 1.7817, p = 0.0748). The same pattern of scores is repeated for the Social Adjustment scale and for the Adjustment to Work scale. However, on Adjustment to Attendance, the counselling clients score slightly higher than the general Questionnaire group. The difference between these two is not significant but there is a significant difference between the lower scoring controls and the counselling clients (z = 2.5213, p<.05).

The non-significant differences on AdColl27 between the general sample of students and the counselling clients show that Hypothesis III must be rejected, as the clients are
TABLE 15.1

Means, Standard Deviations and Comparisons between General Sample of College Students, Counselling Clients and Control Group of Poorly Adjusted Students for Initial Test on AdColl27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p (2 tail)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AdColl27 - all 27 items</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corrected for ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>97.08</td>
<td>12.72</td>
<td>1.3093</td>
<td>0.1904 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>92.47</td>
<td>18.37</td>
<td>1.7817</td>
<td>0.0748 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>81.93</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AdColl27 Social Adjustment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corrected for ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>37.85</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>1.1570</td>
<td>0.2473 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35.40</td>
<td>8.22</td>
<td>0.8927</td>
<td>0.3720 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33.56</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AdColl27 Adjustment to work</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corrected for ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>36.72</td>
<td>6.76</td>
<td>1.5750</td>
<td>0.1153 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33.93</td>
<td>8.89</td>
<td>1.0513</td>
<td>0.2931 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30.13</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AdColl27 Adjustment to Attendance</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Corrected for ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>22.51</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>0.6316</td>
<td>0.5276 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.13</td>
<td>5.46</td>
<td>2.5213</td>
<td>0.0117*sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18.25</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qu Study Ss = Questionnaire Study Subjects, Cllg Clients = Counselling Clients.

Comparisons between groups calculated by Mann-Whitney test. z scores used because of large Questionnaire study sample and used throughout for consistency.

* p < .05, ns = not significant
not significantly less well-adjusted to college on these measures. However, the clients were tested after they had had two counselling sessions and this together with other factors will be discussed below.

Although the counselling clients score a little higher on the full-scale AdColl27 and all the sub-scales than the controls, the differences between them are only significant on Attendance. The clients who have made some commitment to trying to tackle their problems have significantly better attendance than the poorly adjusted controls who have not sought help, \( z = 2.5212, p<.05 \). However there is no significant difference between the two groups on social adjustment or adjustment to work, suggesting some justification for comparing the clients and controls qualitatively.

**Parental Attachment**

Means and standard deviations were calculated for the same three groups of subjects on initial testing of the FAQ, the IPPA for Mothers and the IPPA for Fathers. For comparisons between the groups, although for some pairs the parametric assumptions for the independent t-test were fulfilled, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was used throughout for consistency. As this is the more cautious statistical test, an error of accepting the hypothesis caused by random variables is less likely to occur. (Independent t-tests were performed for all the pairs and for all significant differences quoted below, the more powerful t-tests show a higher level of significance.)

Analysis of the FAQ scores are shown in Table 15.2. For the full-scale test and the subscales of the affective quality of the relationship, fostering autonomy and the giving of emotional support, the general Questionnaire subject group scored the highest and the counselling clients scored the lowest. On this measure which requires responses to “parents” without specifying one or both, only the subscale of emotional support shows a significant difference \( z = 2.3244, p<.05 \), with the counselling clients responding that they receive significantly less support from their parents than the general population of students.

Table 15.3 shows the analysis of the IPPA for Mothers scores. On the full-scale test
## TABLE 15.2

Means, Standard Deviations and Comparisons between General Sample of College Students, Counselling Clients and Control Group of Poorly Adjusted Students for Initial Test on the PAQ.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p (2-tail)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAQ - all 54 items</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>190.95</td>
<td>35.72</td>
<td>1.8926</td>
<td>0.0584 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>168.47</td>
<td>44.00</td>
<td>0.3360</td>
<td>0.7369 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>176.69</td>
<td>37.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAQ - Affective quality of relationship</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>99.07</td>
<td>29.28</td>
<td>1.7149</td>
<td>0.0864 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>87.40</td>
<td>24.40</td>
<td>0.1779</td>
<td>0.8588 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>91.31</td>
<td>23.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAQ - Fostering Autonomy</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>48.44</td>
<td>10.40</td>
<td>1.6125</td>
<td>0.1069 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>43.13</td>
<td>12.20</td>
<td>0.7128</td>
<td>0.4760 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>46.81</td>
<td>10.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAQ - Emotional Support</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>43.43</td>
<td>9.16</td>
<td>2.3244</td>
<td>0.0201*sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.93</td>
<td>9.60</td>
<td>0.5149</td>
<td>0.4255 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38.56</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qu Study Ss = Questionnaire Study Subjects, Cllg Clients = Counselling Clients

Comparisons between groups calculated by Mann-Whitney test. z scores used because of large Questionnaire study sample and quoted throughout for consistency.

* p < .05, ns = not significant
TABLE 15.3
Means, Standard Deviations and Comparisons between General Sample of College Students, Counselling Clients and Control Group of Poorly Adjusted Students for Initial Test on IPPA for Mothers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA for Mothers</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>90.96</td>
<td>19.98</td>
<td>2.5157</td>
<td>0.0119* sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>77.40</td>
<td>21.59</td>
<td>0.1384</td>
<td>0.8899 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>79.56</td>
<td>24.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA Mothers - Trust</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>39.01</td>
<td>8.39</td>
<td>1.6757</td>
<td>0.0938 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34.47</td>
<td>10.58</td>
<td>0.0198</td>
<td>0.9842 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34.06</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA Mothers - Communication</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>30.35</td>
<td>8.37</td>
<td>2.4898</td>
<td>0.0128* sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.13</td>
<td>7.60</td>
<td>0.2379</td>
<td>0.8119 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25.56</td>
<td>9.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA Mothers - Alienation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>21.59</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>2.3767</td>
<td>0.0175* sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17.80</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>0.8524</td>
<td>0.3940 ns</td>
</tr>
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<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.94</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qu Study Ss = Questionnaire Study Subjects, Cllg Clients = Counselling Clients

Comparisons between groups calculated by Mann-Whitney test. z scores used because of large Questionnaire study sample and quoted throughout for consistency.

* p < .05, ns = not significant
the counselling client group score (M = 77.40, SD = 21.59) is significantly lower than the general Questionnaire group (M = 90.96, SD = 19.98) at z = 2.5157, (p = 0.0119). There is no significant difference between the counselling client group and the control group. On the Trust subscale the counselling client and control groups are very similar and lower than the Questionnaire group, but the difference between the client group and the Questionnaire group is not significant. However there are significant differences on the Communication and Alienation subscales. Both the counselling client and the control groups indicate that they communicate less with their mothers than the Questionnaire group and the difference between the clients and the questionnaire group is significant at well above the 5% level, (z = 2.4898, p = 0.0128.) On the Alienation scale, the counselling clients score lowest and the difference between them and the Questionnaire group is significant, (z = 2.3767, p<.05) suggesting that the counselling client group have more hostile, rejection and guilt feelings in their relationships with their mothers than the general population. These significant differences between the Questionnaire group and the counselling client group on the IPPA measuring attachment to mother support the hypothesis that adolescents seeking help from the counselling service are less attached to their parents.

Further support is found in analysing the data from the IPPA for Fathers, shown in Table 15.4. For the full scale and all the subscales the Questionnaire study subjects score higher showing more positive attachment to their fathers than the counselling clients and the differences are all statistically significant. On the full-scale IPPA, the counselling clients report less attachment to their fathers than the Questionnaire group, with a difference at the 1% level of significance, (z = 3.0375, p<.01). The difference between clients and controls is not significant. An equally significant difference is found on the Trust subscale with counselling clients reporting less trust in the relationship with their fathers than the general Questionnaire group. Again the Communication and Alienation subscales show significantly less attachment to fathers for the counselling client group than for the general Questionnaire group, although the difference is less marked and at the 5% level of significance. On all these subscales the Control group have mean scores higher than the counselling client group but none of the differences between them are statistically significant.
TABLE 15.4

Means, Standard Deviations and Comparisons between General Sample of College Students, Counselling Clients and Control Group of Poorly Adjusted Students for Initial Test on IPPA for Fathers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA for Fathers</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>82.19</td>
<td>22.39</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.0575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clg Clients</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>61.31</td>
<td>22.66</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.3162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>73.56</td>
<td>22.35</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA Fathers - Trust</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>35.94</td>
<td>9.97</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3.0787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clg Clients</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26.08</td>
<td>11.24</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.4272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31.50</td>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA Fathers - Communication</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>25.76</td>
<td>8.89</td>
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<td>2.5712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>19.15</td>
<td>7.65</td>
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<td>1.2097</td>
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<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
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<td>23.06</td>
<td>9.09</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPPA Fathers - Alienation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>20.48</td>
<td>5.87</td>
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<td>2.3815</td>
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<td>1.1450</td>
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<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qu Study Ss = Questionnaire Study Subjects, Clg Clients = Counselling Clients
Comparisons between groups calculated by Mann-Whitney test. z scores used because of large Questionnaire study sample and quoted throughout for consistency.

** p < .01, * p < .05, ns = not significant
**TABLE 15.5**

Means, Standard Deviations and Comparisons between General Sample of College Students, Counselling Clients and Control Group of Poorly Adjusted Students for Initial Test on IPPA for Peers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>z</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPPA for Peers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>98.14</td>
<td>15.44</td>
<td>0.3086</td>
<td>0.7576 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>96.53</td>
<td>16.40</td>
<td>0.4353</td>
<td>0.6634 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>99.81</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPPA Peers - Trust</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>41.60</td>
<td>6.97</td>
<td>0.3344</td>
<td>0.7381 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40.80</td>
<td>7.90</td>
<td>0.2577</td>
<td>0.7966 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>IPPA Peers - Communication</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
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<td>30.86</td>
<td>6.46</td>
<td>0.9986</td>
<td>0.3180 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32.53</td>
<td>6.51</td>
<td>0.2781</td>
<td>0.7809 ns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31.31</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IPPA Peers - Alienation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qu Study Ss</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>25.68</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>2.3011</td>
<td>0.0214* sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cllg Clients</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.20</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>2.2333</td>
<td>0.0255* sig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26.50</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Qu Study Ss = Questionnaire Study Subjects, Cllg Clients = Counselling Clients

Comparisons between groups calculated by Mann-Whitney test. z scores used because of large Questionnaire study sample and quoted throughout for consistency.

* p < .05, ns = not significant
Overall the data for these three measures of attachment to parents indicate that the counselling clients report less attachment to their parents, particularly on the separate IPPA measures, than the general college sample. These together with the PAQ subscale on emotional support all support Hypothesis IV that adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service are less securely attached to their parents than the general population of students.

Peer attachment

The Data from the IPPA for Peers was analysed in the same way and the results are shown in Table 15.5. On the full-scale measure of peer attachment, the control group have the highest mean scores and the counselling clients the lowest, but the scores are all very close and there are no significant differences between the groups. The same pattern of very close mean scores is shown for the Trust subscale. On the Communication subscale the counselling clients group report slightly more positive communication with their peers with the Questionnaire group having the lowest mean score, but again there are no significant differences between the groups.

The Alienation subscale does show significant differences. The counselling client group with the lowest mean score (M = 23.50, SD = 3.57) report more alienation in the relationship with their the peers than the questionnaire group, (M = 25.68, SD = 4.54) or the similarly scoring control group (M = 26.50, SD = 3.67.) Thus the counselling clients report significantly more rejection, hostility and guilt in their relationships with their peers than the other groups.

The Hazan and Shaver forced-choice measure of attachment style

Although the Hazan and Shaver measure provides very limited data the test was given to all the subjects and the results can be analysed using non-parametric tests. Table 15.6 shows the frequencies of each statement choice for each group of subjects.

As the data is nominal any differences between the general Questionnaire group and the client group could be compared using the non-parametric Chi-square test.
TABLE 15.6
The frequency of Hazan & Shaver statement choices for the general sample of college students, the counselling clients and the controls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>secure</th>
<th>anxious-avoidant</th>
<th>anxious-ambivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qu. study Ss</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clg clients</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial test</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retest</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial test</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retest</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However as the client sample is small and the cells for anxious-avoidant and anxious-ambivalent attachment would not be large enough to fulfill test requirements (Kinnamon & Gray, 1995) the sums for the two anxious measures indicating insecure attachment were added together for the statistical analysis. This became a 2x2 contingency table with the Questionnaire group and the client group of 15 subjects on the initial test being compared on secure vs. insecure attachment. The difference between the groups is significant ($\chi^2 = 5.83$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.0158$) with a larger proportion of the client group selecting insecure attachment statements than the general student group. (However these results must be treated with caution because the client sample is small resulting in an expected value of less than 5 in one cell.)

A comparable calculation was performed to compare the initial selections of secure versus insecure attachment for the control group and the client group. The difference between them is not quite significant ($\chi^2 = 3.28$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.0701$) with half of the clients selecting an insecure attachment statement, but only 3 out of the 13 controls selecting insecure attachment. (Again one cell has an expected value of less than 5 so the result must be treated with caution.)

Although both the Hazan & Shaver measure and the statistical analysis are crude, the
results are consistent with the findings of the more detailed attachment questionnaire measures. Again support is given for the hypothesis that the students who ask for counselling help have poorer attachments than the general student population. There is no statistically significant difference between the client group and the poorly adjusted control group.

COMPARING CLIENTS' SCORES BEFORE AND AFTER COUNSELLING SESSIONS

It was hypothesized that counselling clients' scores on measures of adjustment to college and parental attachment would improve after counselling sessions which focused in part on parental relationships, (Hypothesis V). Only 8 out of the original 15 counselling clients fulfilled all the requirements of this study by attending a total of eight counselling sessions and then completing and returning the set of questionnaires. Of the seven who did not complete the counselling study, 3 felt that fewer sessions were required and they all completed their courses successfully. One left because neither he nor his teachers considered the course suitable for him and he found a job instead. One student who had been sent away by her parents decided to return to live with them and another was sent away by her parents when they became aware of the unsavoury and dangerous company she was keeping. Infuriatingly the final client did attend all the counselling sessions, many of which focused on his poor relationship with his father, but even after reminders with notes through college, letters to his home and a telephone call he failed to return his second questionnaire! Out of the 8 remaining, only 5 were able to complete the IPPA for Fathers.

Scores of measures tested after the second counselling session were compared with scores tested after the eighth counselling session. The non-parametric Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks test was used because the data did not fulfill the parametric test requirements.

Table 15.7 shows the means and standard deviations for the initial test and the retest on each measure and Z scores calculated for each pair of results by the Wilcoxon.
### TABLE 15.7

Means, Standard Deviations and Comparisons between initial test scores and post-counselling scores on adjustment and attachment measures for 8 counselling clients. Z scores calculated by Wilcoxon Matched Pairs Signed-Ranks test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Initial test</th>
<th>2nd test</th>
<th>z score</th>
<th>p (2-tail)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdColl27</td>
<td>93.50</td>
<td>22.12</td>
<td>93.86</td>
<td>14.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjust</td>
<td>34.86</td>
<td>9.72</td>
<td>35.63</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjust. Work</td>
<td>34.86</td>
<td>9.08</td>
<td>35.63</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td>23.75</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>22.63</td>
<td>4.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attach. PAQ</td>
<td>175.25</td>
<td>43.84</td>
<td>178.50</td>
<td>34.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect. qual.</td>
<td>91.25</td>
<td>22.21</td>
<td>94.50</td>
<td>16.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fost. Auton’y</td>
<td>44.25</td>
<td>13.68</td>
<td>45.38</td>
<td>12.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emot’l supp’t</td>
<td>39.75</td>
<td>11.13</td>
<td>38.63</td>
<td>9.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA Mother</td>
<td>79.25</td>
<td>21.68</td>
<td>84.63</td>
<td>16.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>35.38</td>
<td>10.30</td>
<td>37.38</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic’n</td>
<td>26.38</td>
<td>8.23</td>
<td>26.88</td>
<td>7.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alien.</td>
<td>17.50</td>
<td>6.19</td>
<td>20.38</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA Father</td>
<td>67.20</td>
<td>32.32</td>
<td>72.40</td>
<td>25.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>28.40</td>
<td>13.05</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>10.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic’n</td>
<td>22.80</td>
<td>11.19</td>
<td>22.80</td>
<td>7.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alien.</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>8.63</td>
<td>16.60</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA Peers</td>
<td>99.13</td>
<td>13.62</td>
<td>96.50</td>
<td>9.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>42.25</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>41.38</td>
<td>5.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic’n</td>
<td>34.00</td>
<td>5.56</td>
<td>30.25</td>
<td>4.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alien.</td>
<td>22.86</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>24.88</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjustment to college
For all the adjustment to college measured by AdColl27 the 8 clients as a group show almost no difference between their initial test after two counselling sessions and their retest after eight (i.e. six more) sessions. There are no significant differences on the full-scale or the subscales. By just looking at the means, considering the lower scores of the controls (Table 15.1) and considering the non-significant differences between the general population sample and the 15 clients (Table 15.1), this client group of 8 as a whole do not appear to be much less adjusted to college than the general sample. Looking at the individual responses to counselling in the qualitative part of this study may help to understand the effects of the intervention for each subject. Nevertheless as a group the counselling did not increase their AdColl27 scores.

Parental attachment
On the FAQ the counselling client group shows a very small increase in the mean score between the initial test and the retest, but this difference is not significant. Of the subscales, the mean score for the affective quality of the parental relationship increases slightly, but fostering autonomy remains level and the perception of emotional support dips slightly. None of the differences are statistically significant. Reasons for the lack of effect will be discussed below. Again investigating the qualitative data may help to understand what effect if any the counselling has had on individuals.

The IPPA for Mothers shows that mean score for the client group increases slightly on the retest, but the difference is not significant. The Trust and Communication subscales also fail to show any increase after counselling. However, the Alienation subscale does produce the one significant difference at the 5% level, (z = 2.0304, p <.05) with the mean score rising from 17.50 (SD = 6.19) to 20.38 (SD = 4.17). This retest mean score is almost as high as the general Questionnaire group score, (Mean = 21.59, SD = 5.40). Between the initial test and the retest these clients as a group report significantly less alienation in the relationship with their mothers and this may be due to the counselling intervention.
Unfortunately only 5 clients were able to complete the IPPA for Fathers. One subject’s father had died, another subject has never known his father and the third has not seen her father for several years. With such a small group statistically significant differences are very difficult to obtain. On the full-scale measure the attachment to fathers was reported to increase from a mean of 67.20, (SD = 32.32) which indicates a very broad range for so few subjects, to a mean score of 72.40 (SD = 25.16) but the difference is not significant. Trust for father increased from 28.40 (SD = 11.19) to 33.00 (SD = 10.44) but although this is getting close to the general college group mean score of 35.94 (SD = 9.97) the increase is not statistically significant, (z = 1.3484, p = 0.1175) There were no increases in scores for the Communication or alienation scales. Thus the data on the IPPA for fathers does not support Hypothesis V.

Overall the attachment scores do not demonstrate an increase after the counselling intervention. The only real support for Hypothesis V is the Alienation subscale for mothers which does increase significantly. These results will be further discussed in the next section.

Peer attachment
There was no prior hypothesis about the effects of counselling on peer relationships. On the full-scale IPPA for Peers, the mean score for the client group falls slightly on the retest but this is not a significant difference. Similarly the group mean scores are a little lower on the retest for the Trust and Communication subscales too. Only on the Alienation scale, indicating hostility and rejection in the relationship, does the mean score slightly increase. None of the differences are significant. There is no statistical evidence that the counselling intervention has affected peer attachment scores.
COMPARING CONTROL GROUP SCORES ON AN INITIAL TEST AND A RETEST AFTER 8 - 12 WEEKS WITHOUT COUNSELLING INTERVENTION

An initial premise was that students were referred to the counselling service because they were under-performing at college and therefore students who were poorly adjusted but not receiving counselling help would be suitable controls for this study. The implied hypothesis for the Control group was that no increases on adjustment and attachment scores should occur between the initial test and the retest. The non-parametric Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks test was used again for consistency within the study, so that the results for the control group can be compared with those for the client group.

Adjustment to college

As can be seen on Table 15.8 the control group mean score does increase substantially from the initial test (M = 81.93, SD = 5.26) to the retest (M = 87.69) and this is significant at the 1% level, (z = 3.1806, p <.01). The mean score on the Social adjustment subscale increases too but the difference does not quite reach statistical significance. The Adjustment to Work mean score also rises significantly (z = 2.5558, p<.05). Only the adjustment to Attendance score remains at the same level. As the initial scores on AdColl27 for this group were very low compared with the general student population, some regression towards the mean score for the retest was a standard psychological expectation. Nevertheless the increases on the full scale and on Adjustment to Work are substantial and it will be helpful to explore individual reasons for this in the Interview Study.

These increases in adjustment to college over time have occurred for this group of 16, who were partly self-selected from a group of 64 possible subjects scoring below the 25th percentile on the initial test of AdColl50. Some out of the original cohort of 64 had dropped out of college or been asked to leave, others did not want to participate further in the research. Therefore this resulting control group have sufficient motivation to remain at college and are willing to be retested and interviewed. Those unwilling to engage in further research may be aware of a deteriorating situation which
### TABLE 15.8

Means, standard deviations and Comparisons between initial test scores and retest scores after an interval of 8 - 12 weeks without counselling intervention for 16 poorly adjusted controls. Z scores calculated by Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed-Ranks test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Initial test</th>
<th>2nd test</th>
<th>z score</th>
<th>p (2-tail)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AdColl27</td>
<td>81.93</td>
<td>5.26</td>
<td>87.69</td>
<td>6.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Adjust</td>
<td>33.56</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>36.44</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjust. Work</td>
<td>30.13</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>33.06</td>
<td>3.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td>18.25</td>
<td>2.91</td>
<td>18.19</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attach. PAQ</td>
<td>176.69</td>
<td>37.81</td>
<td>177.00</td>
<td>41.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affect. qual.</td>
<td>91.31</td>
<td>23.25</td>
<td>92.13</td>
<td>24.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fost. Auton'y</td>
<td>46.81</td>
<td>10.21</td>
<td>44.44</td>
<td>11.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emot'l supp't</td>
<td>38.56</td>
<td>7.11</td>
<td>40.44</td>
<td>8.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA Mother</td>
<td>79.56</td>
<td>24.54</td>
<td>86.00</td>
<td>23.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>34.06</td>
<td>10.96</td>
<td>36.44</td>
<td>10.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic'n</td>
<td>25.56</td>
<td>9.03</td>
<td>28.81</td>
<td>8.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alien.</td>
<td>19.94</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td>20.75</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA Father</td>
<td>73.56</td>
<td>22.35</td>
<td>75.63</td>
<td>21.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>31.50</td>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>33.44</td>
<td>10.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic'n</td>
<td>23.06</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>24.38</td>
<td>8.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alien.</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>5.62</td>
<td>17.81</td>
<td>5.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPPA Peers</td>
<td>99.81</td>
<td>12.70</td>
<td>98.06</td>
<td>17.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>40.81</td>
<td>7.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communic'n</td>
<td>31.31</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>31.81</td>
<td>6.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(non) Alien.</td>
<td>26.50</td>
<td>3.67</td>
<td>25.43</td>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
they do not want to be tested on or talk about. Their non-participation means that the "control group" does not fully represent the poorly adjusted students whose adjustment to college scores, if tested, would not have increased over the 8 - 12 week period. Other comparisons between the attributes of the control group and those of the client group will be discussed below.

Comparing the control group with the remaining 8 counselling clients for their retests on AdColl27, again using the Mann-Whitney U test, produces the same pattern of results as their comparisons on the initial test. There are no significant differences between them for the full-scale test, for Social Adjustment or Adjustment to Work but there is still a difference ($z = 2.2489, p = 0.0245$) on Attendance, with the counselling clients scoring higher.

**Parental attachment**

On the FAQ, the control group show almost no changes in mean scores between the initial test and the retest. There are no significant differences and their level of parental attachment to appears to be stable. In comparison with the client group, the controls' means score for emotional support increased slightly, while the client group's decreased slightly, but this difference should be treated with caution. Otherwise the two groups responded at very similar levels and Mann-Whitney comparisons between the 8 clients and the sixteen controls on the retests shows no significant differences between them.

On the IPPA for Mothers the control group shows increased mean scores between the initial test and the retest that are significantly different for the full scale test, and for the Trust and Communication subscales. (See Table 15.8) Only the Alienation subscale mean score remains at the same level. One explanation for the increased scores on this attachment to mother measure may be differences in the experimental situation between the initial test and the retest. On the initial test each subject was anonymous as part of a tutor group and their questionnaires could not be individually linked to them. However, for the retest, each subject was tested individually which meant that although I did not ask their name, the whole process may have felt less
anonymous. Additionally I was to interview them afterwards and with that in mind it may have felt disloyal to be negative about their own mother and then to talk about their relationship with me, the interviewer, probably correctly perceived as a mother-type person. Other reasons for the increased scores might be found in the Interview Study.

Interestingly the control and clients groups show different patterns of changes between the initial test and retest. The only mean score not to increase for the controls is the Alienation score and yet this is the only one to increase for the client group. Despite the increases, comparing the 8 clients with the 16 controls on the retest, there were again no significant differences between them.

On the IPPA for fathers the control group's mean scores increased slightly for the full-scale test and the Trust and Communication subscales. The increase on the Trust scale was significant at the 5% level, ($z = 1.9879, p < .05$). However the mean score on the Alienation subscale fell slightly, but this was not a statistically significant difference. Compared to these controls the five counselling clients' mean scores did increase by a greater amount on the full-scale and the Trust subscale. The effects of counselling may have been clearer if the client sample had been larger.

Over the three measures the control group did show some increase in parental attachment, particularly for attachment to mother over the eight to twelve week period. Perhaps the Interview study will give some insight into individual circumstances which will explain the changes in the parental relationships.

**Peer attachment**

On the IPPA for Peers the control group shows almost no differences between the initial test and the retest. Comparing the controls with the clients, the two groups are very similar except on the Alienation subscale. This scale, indicating hostility and rejection in peer relationships, is the only attachment subscale where the controls and clients differ significantly on the initial tests and the clients do increase their mean score on the retest. Using Mann-Whitney tests, comparing just the 8 clients with the
16 controls on their initial tests there is a significant difference between them with the controls scoring lower, \( z = 2.2484, p < .05 \). Comparing them on the retests, the difference between them is not significant, \( z = 0.5833, p = 0.5597 \). With a larger client sample the increase of score after counselling may have become significant for this aspect of the relationship. Otherwise the controls and clients appear very similar.

**DISCUSSION OF QUANTITATIVE RESULTS CONCERNING HYPOTHESES III, IV AND V**

**Hypothesis III**
As there are no statistically significant differences on the AdColl27 data between the counselling clients and the sample of 315 general college students, the present results do not support the third hypothesis, that adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service are less well adjusted to college life than the general population. However the group means for the full scale AdColl27 and for the adjustment to work and social adjustment subscales are lower than the means for the general student sample and there are several reasons which suggest that, under different research conditions, the hypothesis might be supported.

Firstly, the initial counselling client group was small, consisting of only 15 students. This was partly due to institutional limitations because the clients were seen during my part-time employment as a college counsellor. Of those students who came for counselling and were assessed as suitable for the study, only those who attended for a second planned session were given the set of questionnaires, which excluded those who attended just one session and those who used the service intermittently at times of crisis. These excluded potential subjects may well have been less adjusted to college than those able to commit themselves to and attend a second counselling session. A larger group of subjects would also have been statistically more likely to show a significant difference.

A second factor that may have affected the measured level of adjustment to college was the giving of the initial test to the counselling clients after their second
counselling session. The original reason for this procedure was to avoid frightening away potential clients before they could fully engage in the counselling as I had the dual role of counsellor and researcher. However, where the client was well engaged in the therapeutic experience after two sessions, this may already have positively affected adjustment to college, making the response to the initial test on AdColl27 higher than would have been found if the test had been given before the first counselling session. Alongside this, there may have been an additional incentive for clients to please their new counsellor, putting adjustment to college in a positively enhanced perspective, rather than acknowledging the true level of difficulties with friends, work or attendance. Attendance, where the client group mean was slightly higher than the general student group on the initial test, tends to be a fluctuating behaviour for poorly adjusted students which may well have been positively reinforced by a couple of counselling sessions. Yet another effect of testing after the second session could be that the measurement is artificially enhanced by the relief and initial euphoria experienced at the beginning of the counselling relationship. My clinical hunch, with no research to support it, is that clients may feel particularly good at the beginning of the counselling relationship because they feel relieved that their anxieties are being contained and that their problems are being acknowledged empathically. These immediate positive feelings may dissipate as the problems are explored and confronted and the deeper work of counselling continues. Testing clients after a second session may have coincided with the timing of the over-inflated peak of well-being, before the trough, and not truly reflect their level of adjustment to college when first approaching the counselling service.

While considering whether the students attending the counselling service are less well adjusted than other students it is relevant to compare them to the controls. The controls were selected from students scoring below the 25th percentile on the original 50 item AdColl so that they would be poorly adjusted subjects. Although the counselling clients do have higher mean scores than the controls on the full scale and all the subscales, the differences between them are only significant on the Attendance subscale. As far as work and social adjustment, it could be argued that the counselling clients are not really different from the poorly adjusted students.
Further research addressing all the limitations of the present study is needed before Hypothesis III can be totally rejected. When evaluating their Student Adjustment to College Questionnaire, Baker and Siryk (1984) reported some evidence that the higher that students scored on adjustment to college, the less likely they were to be known to the college Psychological Services Centre. The following qualitative part of this study, which will look at the eight clients who completed at least eight counselling sessions, might give some in-depth indication of their individual differences in adjustment to college, including their initial sessions when first approaching the counsellor for help. However, as far as the quantitative evidence is concerned the counselling client group is not significantly less adjusted than the general student population.

Hypothesis IV
In contrast, the attachment data from the PAQ and the IPPAs for Mother and for Father all provide evidence to support the fourth hypothesis, that adolescent students who seek help from the counselling service are less securely attached to their parents than the general population of students. On the full-scale PAQ the counselling client group mean score is much lower than the general sample of students and only just misses being a statistically significant result, \( z = 1.7149, p = 0.0584 \) on a two tailed test. However, as the original hypothesis predicted that the client group would be less attached than the general student population it could be argued that a one-tailed test would be appropriate which would mean that the difference is significant. Following the same argument the difference between the two groups on the PAQ subscale measuring the affective quality of the parental relationships is also significant on a one-tailed test, \( z = 1.7149, p < .05 \). Although the subscale for Fostering Autonomy does not produce any group differences, the subscale measuring the subjects' perception of Emotional Support from their parents produces a very clearly significant difference (significant even in a two-tailed test), with the client group indicating that they perceive less support from their parents. Kenny (1990) also found that Emotional Support was a significant factor for her high achieving, middle class women students, whose well-being and performance were associated with the availability of their parents in times of need throughout their years at college. Similarly, my own
findings from the sample of 315 general students (see Chapter 13) also indicate that parental emotional support is a significant predictor of adjustment to college. Perhaps it is when students are facing problems and realize that they have no parental support, or available attachment figure, that they turn for outside help. An alternative explanation for the significantly lower report of parental support from the client group is that the counselling in its early stages (again the initial test was after two sessions) highlights the lack of parental support. Whatever the interaction between the two, the results from the PAQ support the fourth hypothesis and particularly suggest that adolescents seeking counselling perceive less emotional support from their parents than the general adolescent population.

The data for the IPPA for Mothers indicates that the adolescents who seek counselling are significantly less attached to their mothers than the general population. Significant differences on the Communication and Alienation subscales suggest that the client group talk less meaningfully with their mothers and have relationships more likely to be characterized by feelings of guilt, hostility and resentment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Rice (1992) found that female students experiencing angry relationships with their mothers have more problems with social adjustment than other students. Again the data does not show whether students ask for counselling because they are experiencing problems and they have poor attachment to their mothers or whether the two sessions of counselling, with a female counsellor focusing on parental relationships, highlight problems in the relationship with mother. Perhaps the exploration of the counselling sessions in the qualitative study will help in the understanding of the attachment relationships to mothers.

Results from the IPPA for Fathers produce even more highly significant differences with the counselling client group reporting much less attachment to their fathers than the general population sample. The client group's relationships with their fathers is less trusting, less communicative and more hostile. Considering the mean score of 61.31 for the client group out of a possible range of 25 - 125, indicates that the clients are not just much lower that the general student population (M = 82.19) but have responded negatively about the relationship with father. Again the qualitative
study may show whether the negative feelings about father are longstanding attachment problems already troubling the adolescent or new perspectives uncovered by counselling. The poorly adjusted control group who had not sought counselling help scored higher than the client group on the full-scale IPPA for Fathers and on all the subscales, but not significantly so.

A number of researchers have indicated the importance of good attachment to father for the healthy psychological development of adolescent males (e.g.: Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Bhushan & Shirali, 1992), while Rice (1992) showed that daughters who were either disengaged from their fathers or had hostile relationships with them experienced adjustment difficulties at college. In new, anxiety-provoking situations, of which adjusting to further education is an example, a good attachment relationship with father may provide the confidence needed for making new friends and feeling able to cope with the work. It is a “strange situation” for adolescents and those requiring counselling help are particularly lacking in their attachment to father. Papini et al. (1991) suggested that strong attachment to parents provide the child with a buffer from the anxiety and feelings of depression that may accompany transitions in early adolescence. The present data suggests that attachment to parents may also be a buffer for anxieties and difficulties encountered in the transition from middle to late adolescence. When parents are not available help is sought elsewhere.

Other attachment differences between the client group and the general student group

The adapted version of the Hazan and Shaver forced-choice measure of attachment style used in this study specifies relationships with friends. Although this very simple test was even further debased in the statistical analysis by comparing the frequencies of students choosing the statement representing secure attachment with those choosing either of the descriptions of insecure attachment, there was a significant difference with a greater proportion of the client group indicating insecure attachment. With half of the client group indicating insecure attachment, this test does not seem to be affected by a desire to please the counsellor. These results are consistent with the questionnaire findings that the client group were less securely attached than the general
population.

On the IPPA for Peers, analysis of the results show that on the Alienation subscale the client group score significantly lower than either the general student sample or the control group. In their relationships with peers, the clients report a greater amount of guilt, anger and resentment. As Kobak and Sceery (1988) found, poor attachment relationships with parents is associated with poor social adjustment and this would logically affect peer relationships. Interestingly this client group do not report a less trusting or communicative relationship with peers than the other groups but the Alienation subscale measures their sensitivities about how friends perceive them and make them feel. Thus there is some evidence that the client group are more alienated from their peers than the general student group in addition to being less attached to their parents. This association also supports Mallinckrodt (1992) whose research suggested that clients' inability to use social support is partly determined by earlier parental relationships and that counsellors should provide an especially responsive interpersonal environment to compensate for the effects of others' earlier (i.e. parental) failure to respond.

**Hypothesis V**

This counselling outcome study attempting to compare the pre- and post-counselling levels of adjustment to college and attachment has a number of weaknesses which will be discussed. The major limitation is the very small number of clients, attending all eight sessions and returning all the completed questionnaires. Some of the reasons for this have already been raised but I should also include the characteristics of this client group who are often difficult to engage in regular counselling because they are notoriously unreliable, often preferring a “quick fix” to any sustained work, and reluctant to find out whether counselling could be helpful to them, fearful of being perceived as “mad” or “sad.” Nevertheless, despite the small numbers, the study does provide some useful data and can suggest areas for further research.

**Adjustment to college**

Contrary to prediction there were no significant increases in adjustment to college for
the counselling clients between their tests after the second and the eighth counselling sessions. The most obvious explanation would be that the counselling intervention was not helpful to them. However, I am reluctant to accept that because, as well as being the biased researcher-cum-counsellor, I am also aware that seven out of the eight clients initially came for help because they felt they were failing their courses, not attending or were contemplating "dropping-out" and, with the counselling support, six out of the eight actually managed to complete their courses successfully. It is therefore reasonable to consider other possible explanations for the quantitative results. Again, as discussed for Hypotheses III and IV, not testing adjustment to college before the counselling began was a disadvantage. College work was often a presenting issue which was addressed in the first two sessions, alongside the parental relationships, and is likely to have been positively affected by the counselling. Thus the initial AdColl27 did not give a true baseline against which the retest after eight sessions could be judged. Similarly on this initial test the clients were still engaging with me and were probably trying to please me, as well as feeling happier with anxieties more contained, so their AdColl27 scores and particularly their attendance scores were possibly inflated. In contrast the retest may have been differently affected. After six more counselling sessions, extending over at least eight weeks, the clients were less anxious about pleasing me and some might even have deflated their scores because they felt concerned that they might lose the counselling help if the scores indicated that they were now functioning very well. Four of the clients continued in counselling well beyond the end of the study because they needed considerably more help. Thus the retest at the end of the eighth session was not at a stage when the counselling was finished and some of the clients may have indicated better results had they been tested when they individually concluded the counselling.

There were also additional external variables that might have affected the AdColl27 retest scores. For example, one client had just completed an unsatisfactory work placement experience which had shattered her confidence about the college course the week before the retest. The analysis of the qualitative data for these clients may give further indication as to why the AdColl27 scores were not raised. Out of the original 15 counselling clients to complete the initial tests, two did not complete the further six
sessions because the sessions had been helpful and they did not want further
counselling and they also completed their courses successfully. Unfortunately I did
not have the opportunity to retest them. Yet another explanation for the lack of
increase in the AdColl27 scores is that they were hardly below the level for the
general population on their initial test. Almost all eight would have to have improved
their scores to have obtained significant results.

In contrast, and again contrary to prediction, the control group of sixteen did
significantly increase their full-scale AdColl27 score and their adjustment to work
subscale score over the eight to twelve week period without counselling intervention.
The qualitative data in the Interview Study in the next section may indicate why
individual scores increased but here I will focus just on possible explanations for the
group. Firstly this group was selected as having scores below the 25th percentile and
there is the common psychological expectation that extreme scores will regress towards
the mean on retesting, which in this case means increasing scores. Secondly, of the
68 subjects scoring below the 25th percentile, this group of sixteen were the ones who
had not already dropped out or been asked to leave and were motivated sufficiently
to answer a note, keep the research appointment and be willing to talk frankly about
themselves. Thus these controls were likely to be self-motivated about raising their
adjustment to college scores or reporting that this had happened. (These points are
also indications that suggest that these “controls” were not really well-matched with
the counselling clients and that using potential clients would have produced a more
suitable control group.)

Although this group had no counselling intervention it is very likely that they were
experiencing intervention from their academic staff. Their low AdColl27 scores on
the initial test would be reflecting poor attendance or adjustment to work which would
eventually attract the attention of tutors who would want to remedy the situation either
by encouragement and support or by taking disciplinary measures to enforce
attendance and ensure that assignments were completed. Such measures are less likely
to have been taken on the counselling clients, because in most cases tutors had
themselves referred the student to counselling and then stood back allowing the
counsellor to get on with the therapeutic work - even "going easy" on the client. Students who decided not to avail themselves of counselling help and were not responding to carrot or stick from their tutors will have dropped out and not be part of the Control group, so their decreasing scores could not be measured. Students who were aware they were failing might also be very reluctant to expose their failings to the researcher. Consequently the control group is a somewhat distorted representative of the poorly adjusted students, who may well have experienced intervention of different kinds and were not very well-matched with the counselling clients. Nevertheless this group of students made very interesting subjects for the interview study, as will be seen.

Finally the social desirability factor might have affected the retest for the controls more than the initial test. As mentioned earlier, the initial tests were strictly anonymous and completed as part of a tutor group, whereas the retests were administered individually, just like the counselling subjects, knowing that I would be able to link their questionnaires to them, even if I did not know their names. They were also about to be interviewed. The only contra-indication of this social desirability effect is that the controls did not inflate their levels of attendance.

Thus there are possible explanations for the failure of the client group to increase their AdColl27 scores after six more counselling sessions and other explanations why the control group did improve over the same period without counselling intervention. The two sets of explanations do not appear to contradict one another. Whether these explanations fit the individual cases will be seen in the qualitative analyses. Meanwhile, for the present study there is no evidence to support the part of Hypothesis V which predicted that focusing on the adolescent parent-relationship would raise the scores for adjustment to college.

**Parental attachment**
Disappointingly there was only one significant increase in the parental attachment scores for the client group after counselling which included a focus on parental relationships. This was the improvement in the Alienation subscale in the IPPA for
Mothers, which meant that the clients were reporting a less hostile, angry or resentful relationship with mother. There were small increases in the full-scale mean and the Trust subscale which might statistically have shown as significant in a larger sample. In fact similar sized increases for the control group, which was twice as large, were significant. Again the small size of the sample for the client group makes it hard to show significant improvement quantitatively. Nevertheless since seven of the clients were living with their mothers and the eighth was increasingly in contact with hers the counselling may well have been having a positive effect for most of them, which was not negated by the need to deflate scores to ensure counselling would continue. The analysis of the counselling sessions might indicate any particular interventions which affected relationships with mothers. Again, the lack of anonymity for the control group just on the retest might cause them to answer more positively about their mothers as they were about to discuss their relationships with me, another mother-type figure as mentioned previously. This effect would remain constant over both tests for the client group.

The client group of just five subjects on the IPPA for Fathers renders quantitative comparisons for pre- and post-counselling scores almost meaningless, especially with the large standard deviations. Any more meaningful effects of counselling on the attachment relationships with fathers may be seen in the qualitative analysis.

As for the PAQ results, these too fail to show an increase after counselling. Disconcertingly the Emotional Support subscale group mean even falls slightly though not significantly. Perhaps the counselling relationship further highlights the lack of parental support and, by substituting, does not help the adolescent to avail him/herself of any help. Individual counselling may be less effective than family therapy in changing family dynamics where adolescents may want parental support but be unable to access it, but this discussion may be better left for the qualitative study. The full-scale PAQ mean and the subscale for the Affective Quality of the relationship do increase by a small amount after counselling while that of the control group barely changes.
Overall only the significant increase in the IPPA for Mothers Alienation subscale offers support for the hypothesis that counselling can increase parental attachment scores.

**Peer Attachment**

Surprisingly IPPA for Peer group means decrease from initial test to retest for both clients and controls. There is no obvious reason for this, but perhaps the qualitative studies will provide some explanations. Only the Alienation subscale did increase for the counselling clients, but this was not enough to be significant.

The Hazan & Shaver initial test and retest choices remained fairly stable. These results will be discussed alongside the qualitative material.

**Quantitative study conclusions**

To sum up, there was little quantitative support for Hypothesis V that by focusing on the adolescent-parent relationship, counselling would raise the scores of both attachment to parents and adjustment to college, suggesting more secure parental attachment and better adjustment to college. The small number of clients to complete the study made the quantitative significance very difficult to achieve. However there was no financial support to get more subjects by extending the study for a further year and the practical problem of being both researcher and counsellor was also confounding the results. That the Alienation subscale score on the IPPA for mothers did significantly increase suggests that further research along similar lines would be worthwhile.

Hypothesis III, that adolescent students who seek help from the college counselling service will be less well adjusted to college life and study than the general population of students, also failed to get support for a variety of reasons. Probably the most substantial of these was the testing of AdColl27 when the clients had already had two sessions and anxieties about dealing with college problems were feeling contained by the counsellor.
In contrast, there was considerable support for Hypothesis IV, that students who seek help from the counselling service will be less securely attached to their parents than the general population of students. This is consistent with the finding that adolescents in stages of transition are helped by having a secure base and the availability of parental support when things go wrong (Blustein et al., 1991; Papini & Roggman, 1992). Kenny et al. (1993) considered the possible impact of the cognitive process in attachment theory's internal working model on depressive symptoms for early adolescents. They suggested that the absence of sensitive and responsive caretaking may contribute to an internal working model of others as being not helpful or even hostile. Because efforts to obtain help in the past have not been responded to by sensitive caretakers, expectations for successfully accomplishing change may be low. Whether students seek help from the counselling service because their parents are emotionally unavailable or whether they are just in distress or depressed and do not recognize insecure parental attachments may become clearer in the analysis of the qualitative data.
Chapter 16

ANALYSIS OF THE COUNSELLING SESSIONS

This chapter examines the qualitative findings provided in the eight counselling sessions by the eight clients who attended these sessions and completed the questionnaires. The analysis includes the clients' perceptions of their adjustment to college and their attachment relationships to their parents and friends when they first came for counselling. It considers the changes that took place during the period of counselling and particular attention is paid to the focus on parents and to significant counselling interventions. The process material is examined for evidence of changing relationships and performance at college. Comparisons between clients are made to show the contrasting responses to the counselling protocol and evidence for different attachment styles is investigated.

Tables 16.1a and 16.1b present a summary of the counselling work for each client. Names and some family details have been changed to protect individual identity.

Adjustment to college.

The AdColl27 results for these clients showed that they were not statistically less adjusted to college than the general sample of college students but the qualitative data can explain the range of adjustment in these clients more fully. When these clients came individually for counselling help six out of the eight recognized that their problems were affecting their adjustment to or performance at college. Julietta, Sarah and Carrie had all been referred by their tutors because their work was flagging and their attendance was deteriorating. Carrie was also refusing to give an oral presentation because she was very shy, afraid that the other girls were “bitchy” and was convinced that she would have another panic attack. Whereas at school everyone knew about her brother’s “medical accident” which had rendered him severely disabled, this college was an uncomfortable new place, where she had not told anyone about her family circumstances. Merryl, who came for help with her eating problems, disclosed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLIENT</th>
<th>PRESENTING ISSUES</th>
<th>CLIENT FOCUS</th>
<th>PARENTAL FOCUS</th>
<th>ADJUSTMENT OUTCOME</th>
<th>ATTACHMENT OUTCOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BALJIT</td>
<td>Wanted to leave home - bad relationships with both parents</td>
<td>Arguments with father</td>
<td>Parents’ family histories</td>
<td>Did well on course. Success in part-time job.</td>
<td>Positive relat’ship with mother. No improvement with father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grandmother - as attachment figure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARRIE</td>
<td>Panic attacks</td>
<td>Brother’s medical accident</td>
<td>Abandonment by mother.</td>
<td>Passed her course</td>
<td>Began to establish relationship with mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother’s severe disability</td>
<td>Panic attacks</td>
<td>Dysfunctional family</td>
<td>Got part-time job</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERRYL</td>
<td>Eating problems</td>
<td>Eating diary details</td>
<td>Father - neglect &amp; abandonment by him</td>
<td>Passed course - ’tho work experience problems</td>
<td>Improved relat’ship with mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brother’s death</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother’s interest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Childhood poverty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURI</td>
<td>Sister’s breakdown</td>
<td>Arguments with both parents</td>
<td>Parents’ cultural expectations</td>
<td>Dropped out of college</td>
<td>Better understanding with mother. More entrenched position against father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bad relationships with both parents</td>
<td>Showdown with teacher</td>
<td>Family history</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 16.1a summarising the counselling work for each client**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLIENT</th>
<th>PRESENTING ISSUES</th>
<th>CLIENT FOCUS</th>
<th>PARENTAL FOCUS</th>
<th>ADJUSTMENT OUTCOME</th>
<th>ATTACHMENT OUTCOME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZANDA</td>
<td>Self-injury</td>
<td>Girl-friends</td>
<td>Mother's interest and strength to care</td>
<td>Failed GCSEs</td>
<td>Improved relationship with mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father’s death</td>
<td>Relationships with boys at college</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stopped self-injuring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEVEN</td>
<td>Failing at college</td>
<td>A-level work in detail</td>
<td>Rejection by father</td>
<td>Passed 3 A-levels very well</td>
<td>Independence from mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homosexuality</td>
<td>Disclosing homosexuality</td>
<td>Avoiding relationship with mother</td>
<td>Place at university</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Making friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SARAH</td>
<td>Parental pressure for her to break with fiancé affecting college work</td>
<td>Relationship with fiancé in detail</td>
<td>Family during childhood</td>
<td>Passed course</td>
<td>Improving relationship with father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arguments with parents - Envy of sister</td>
<td>Present parental relationships</td>
<td>Stopped trying to change fiancé</td>
<td>Parents and fiancé reconciled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JULIETTA</td>
<td>Failing college</td>
<td>Work and people at college</td>
<td>Father- good &amp; bad</td>
<td>Dropped out of college Increasing depression</td>
<td>Still avoiding mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not attending Depression</td>
<td>School experiences</td>
<td>Avoiding relationship with mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>Less &quot;split&quot; perception of father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 16.IB summarising the counselling work for each client**
her disappointment with her first few weeks at college because it was difficult to make friends and there was no social life. Steven, a second year A-level student, referred himself because he had not been doing his assignments and felt he had lost all motivation. Although his other major anxiety about disclosing his homosexuality needed to be addressed, his college work was a pressing concern because he planned to go to university the following year. Suri's past experience of dropping out of an A-level course the previous year had alerted her to the likelihood that her family problems would lead to another failure and this time she wanted to face those problems and affect change. She was already feeling anxious and her attendance was suffering. Thus, at the outset of counselling, all these students were conscious of problems at college affecting their adjustment and/or performance.

In contrast, Baljit, an Asian student, considered that she had settled into her business administration course very well this year. The previous year she had dropped out of another course suffering with depression which had eventually resulted in hospitalization. Her main concern now was that her parents were making life at home very difficult and that this would affect her work at college. Although Baljit's assessment of her adjustment to college appeared realistic as her college career progressed, Zanda, another Asian student, was almost certainly unrealistic in her self-appraisal. She did indeed have a good group of new friends but this was affecting her attendance at classes and her work was not going as well as she would like to have believed. There was a lot of pressure from her family for her to be academically successful and she was aiming to become a doctor. Responding to the family expectations she had to portray herself as a model student which is why her responses on AdColl27 were greatly exaggerated. She scored 131 out of a possible 135, which was well above the scores for the general student population (Mean = 190.96, SD = 35.72.) She was coping less well with her GCSE retake course than she was able to admit.

Thus Baljit was the only student in this group of eight who, when counselling commenced, appeared to have a healthy and stable adjustment to college.
Parental attachment

The questionnaire results indicated that the counselling clients were less attached to their parents than the general student population. Analysis of the early counselling sessions shows that all eight clients were dissatisfied with at least one of their parental relationships. Baljit, Suri and Sarah all considered that their parental relationships were their main problem and all of them wanted the situation to change. Baljit, a bouncy eighteen year old, who put on a happy social front, explained her problem early in the first session.

B Things have not been too good at home with my parents. My father has said it would be better if I got a flat and lived by myself. He has accused me of taking drugs and smoking and things like that - but I don't. But he gets my goat and then I answer back.

In the session, she spoke excitedly, hardly pausing for breath as she listed incidents of accusations from her father that she was behaving inappropriately for an Asian daughter. Father's rantings were mainly unfounded but his mistrust of her was not new. Even at school she was the only pupil who had to ask for a note from her teacher explaining that her lateness home was due to a class detention. Now she was arguing almost continually with both parents and she feared that this would affect her work at college, which was her only route to qualifications and independence. That was why she had come for counselling help.

Another Asian student, Suri, also had a very stressful relationship with her parents. She was the youngest of three sisters of whom the eldest had been sent away from home to live with relatives ten years earlier, because she had had an illicit boyfriend, and the middle sister was suffering from mental illness exacerbated by drug-taking at university. She wanted to focus on her parental relationships:

Suri My parents took it all out on me. They don't understand [that her sister is mentally ill] even when I explain.

A They always find it hard to understand?
Suri Yes. I don't feel like going home. Sometimes I physically tremble at the thought. I'm not eating - I can't face my mother's curries.

For Suri the curries also represented the Asian cultural expectations of daughters, which she was unable to stomach too.

Sarah, an eighteen year old from a white native UK family, was also arguing continually with her parents but the main cause of tension could be pinpointed. Almost a year earlier, at their engagement party, her inebriated fiancé had told her father and any listening family members that he had already slept with Sarah. Two weeks after a terrible row she and her fiancé had moved out to live together for 9 months. They had returned to their respective homes when she had accumulated debts, which her parents helped her to pay off, and then she enrolled in college to get some job qualifications. Now her parents were hostile towards her fiancé, who was ten years her senior, and their pressure on her to end the relationship was distressing.

The remaining five clients did not immediately connect their presenting problems with their parental relationships. Merryl's eating problem was her immediate concern, although she acknowledged that her mother had recently remarked that she was getting thinner. However Mum was on continual diet, having been about 21 stone when Merryl's brother was ill. It was very painful to have to talk about his death from cancer at the age of ten, when she was eight. She still cried for him most nights but Mum was not aware of how she felt. She had not thought much about her relationship with her mother although she had been upset when Mum's boyfriend had moved in. However, she was very aware of her anger towards her father.

M He left us. He wasn't interested in us. He went off with another woman. He met her - a hospital worker- when my brother was in hospital [dying.] He didn't take any notice of us. When my mother was at the hospital he used to leave us [Merryl and her older sister] with friends 'til 10.30 at night and we mightn't eat anything. Or he'd just go to the pub and leave us at friends and not pick us up at all.
She did not keep in contact with him any longer. However she volunteered stories about battles over food when father tried to make her and her brother eat. Food had always been a source of family conflict and tension.

Steven dismissed any connection between his present college problems and his parental relationships - or lack of them. His father had never been part of his life as there had only been a brief relationship between his parents and father had left mother when she was pregnant with Steven. Father and son had never met, even though they did not live far apart. Steven's anger and resentment were near the surface:

Stev I have [though of contacting him] but then I think: If I get to university and do well in my A-levels, then why should he get the pleasure, because he hasn't done anything to help me.

Mother had brought him up but they did not have a close relationship. He had an older sister and a younger brother, both with different fathers and much later he mentioned an even older sister, who had been brought up by other paternal grandparents. From the first counselling session it was clear that Steven had not experienced secure parental attachment.

Julietta, a black African student, considered that she was continually failing despite having a "wonderful" mother. Being angry with her father was a separate matter. He was still living in Africa, while the rest of the family were settled in the UK. He was probably trying to be a good parent but he was also womanizer, who had had a number of affairs although Julietta had never spoken about him in this way before. She had been most humiliated and appalled when a good school friend had confided that father had tried to proposition her. In contrast, mother was a truly wonderful person who worked very hard for her four children, of whom Julietta was the eldest. Julietta idolized her mother but found their relationship very uncomfortable.

For Carrie the relationships were reversed. Father was the caring and hard-working parent who devoted himself to the family and, in particular, to his severely disabled
son who needed round the clock care. Mother had walked out on the family when Carrie, the youngest of four children, was aged nine. At the beginning of the counselling relationship, Carrie found it difficult to know what to say. Although she could eventually talk about her brother and weep as she mourned for his complete loss of active life, she had to be slowly encouraged to think and talk about her parental relationships.

Prone to exaggeration, Zanda's perceptions of her parental attachment relationships were unclear. She had been referred by another counsellor because she was depressed and was regularly cutting her arm, when she felt upset or angry. At our first session she explained that she had been very close to her father, but that he had died when she was twelve. At the time she had blamed herself thinking that she must have been a bad person for him to leave her and she still did not like herself. As a child, the youngest of nine siblings, she had not been so close to mother but had been brought up by an older sister, who had left home to marry. After Father's death, Zanda had come to England with mother and three of her brothers and had attended school for the first time in her life. (Her spoken English was surprisingly good.) One of her brothers had assumed Father's role and was acting like a "tyrant", trying to get her to work hard at college and monitoring her social life. It was difficult to assess Zanda's present relationship with her mother. Initially she appeared as a weak and ailing widow who needed help and care from Zanda.

Thus, in the early sessions, the clients, when prompted, all spoke about difficulties with ongoing parental relationships and some reported histories suggesting longstanding insecure attachment relationships.

**Peer relationships**

Although the questionnaire results did not show a significant difference between the counselling client group and the general population sample or the control group on the overall peer attachment scores, there were significant differences on the Peer Alienation subscale, indicating that the counselling clients were more likely to experience guilt, hostility and resentment in their relationships with their peers. At the
initial assessment sessions only Baljit and Suri mentioned good relationships with friends. Each of them had friends both inside and outside college and Suri felt that her friends were understanding and supportive about her difficult parental relationships. Zanda's feelings about her friends were ambivalent. She had made good new friends at college compared with the difficulties she encountered changing schools at the age of fourteen but the following extract from our first session described her underlying feelings.

Z

*There was another new girl.... and they all chose her and wanted to be with her. I hated myself and decided that no-one liked me. I began to injure myself and I cried - but at home no-one liked me to complain. They all say 'Zanda, you haven't got any problems.' They don't listen to me. They don't know how I'm feeling inside. They expect me to be happy all the time and be 'Superwoman.' Even my friends here think I'm happy. I'm the one who makes jokes and makes them laugh - they don't want to know that I'm really unhappy.*

Carrie and Merryl both found it hard to make new friends at college, having left good friends at school. By declaring that their new fellow students were bitchy and unfriendly they were projecting hostility as a means of defence. Sarah was so wrapped up in her relationship with her fiancé that she really did not have time for anyone else. She was even scared that her flirting younger sister or her friends would entice him away.

In contrast, both Julietta and Steven had experienced long-term difficulties with peer relationships. Julietta's schooldays had been unsettled as the family moved back and forth between Africa and Europe, to avoid civil war and persecution. She did not settle very well into her first European school because her work was behind for her age and, as the only black girl, she suffered some racism. Her delight at returning to Africa soon turned to disappointment when she found her class-mates unwelcoming and the girls with whom she wanted to be friends rejected her. Then, just when she made a friend, she was taken back to Europe to start all over again. She felt that her siblings had coped better with the moves because they always seemed to make friends.
The friendship difficulty was repeating itself at college. She felt sure that her present class-mates would have conflicting interests and that there would be no common ground for her to make friends.

Steven presented himself as a rather old-fashioned lad, who might have looked more at home in the nineteen-fifties. Somehow it was not surprising to learn that in his schooldays he had been almost without any real friends at all. Even now, though he had been in college for over a year, he had only made one friend.

Stev  I have one good friend - not sexual or anything like that - but I talk to him.
A    So he's more of a good mate?
Stev  Yes- but I have not told him about being gay. But we do talk about things - our problems.
A    What sort of problems?
Stev  Well both of us felt that people didn't like us - didn't want us as friends - but just use us. Anyway that's the way I perceive it.
A    How do you mean use you?
Stev  Well - if their friends aren't around - then they talk to me - but otherwise they are not interested.

Steven resented the way he was treated but did not know how to set about making the friends that he wanted so much.

Thus, within this group of clients, there were some contrasting styles of peer attachment. Some were enjoying healthy friendships despite their problems with parents and/or college.

**Early changes**

Most of the clients talked about positive changes that had occurred after just one or two counselling sessions. Some attributed the changes directly to the counselling while others reported changes in the behaviour or attitude of others or themselves, without knowing quite why it had happened. Changes after the first two sessions are
particularly relevant to the research because the initial questionnaires were not given until after these sessions, as explained in Chapter 14.

Steven arrived promptly for his second session and could hardly wait to tell that he had completed five pieces of work during the week. Although the edge was taken off his enthusiasm because his teacher had accepted the work ungraciously and had refused to mark some because it was late, he now felt in a position to catch up. In another subject he had gained 84% in a test. The counselling had been helpful in containing his anxiety about his homosexuality and offering a safe place in which to talk. He was also encouraged by the offer of continuing support whilst he organized his work-load.

Talking about their problems in counselling seemed to give clients the confidence or impetus to then talk to their peers. Although very depressed during our second session, Julietta arrived for our third session in a much brighter mood. Her GP approved of the counselling and would keep an eye on her. She decided that the first two sessions may have helped because she found herself talking to other students in her classes and they were much more encouraging than she would have imagined. She was now even considering a career as an air stewardess and would research the necessary qualifications. Unfortunately, this session took place immediately before the Easter vacation and when counselling resumed after a three week break this positive attitude had not been maintained.

By our second session Carrie had also managed to tell some class-mates about her family circumstances. She too was surprised by their friendliness and supportiveness and, although she was still very scared about the oral presentation, I felt optimistic about our work. At the same stage, Merryl had begun an "eating diary" which was encouraging her to eat a little more and college felt a little better.

Ever dramatic Zanda reported at her second session that she did not cut herself during the week when particularly angry about a friend's rejection of her telephone call. Instead she had written down almost a page of her feelings for me, describing herself
as feeling ugly, blaming G-d for making her ugly and wanting to kill herself. Although she really did not want to hear any response from me about her outpourings, she did refrain from cutting throughout the length of our counselling relationship. Only once did she try to manipulate me into giving her an additional appointment when she was acting out hysterically, but she did not carry out her threat.

Interestingly all these early positive changes were in relation to presenting problems specifically expressed in the first session. Perhaps this was because the clients were confident that the counselling could support these changes and or this was their motivation for seeking help at the outset.

**Focusing on parental relationships**

The questionnaire data showed that for the client group as a whole the counselling did not significantly increase adjustment to college or parental attachment scores. Analysis of the individual cases shows that while for some clients following the protocol was unhelpful, for others it did lead to helpful understanding and positive change. The positive examples will be described first.

The therapeutic alliance with Merryl developed very slowly, because she was not naturally communicative. Her agenda was to focus on her eating diary and improved eating pattern. She also repeated the story of her brother’s death over and over again. When her parents were mentioned she could recognize her anger with her father but she had not thought much about her relationship with Mother. She could remember specific incidents with one or other parent and this led her to thinking about her deprived and hungry childhood. One session, in response to an observation that she had been quite an angry schoolgirl, she produced the following:

\[ \text{M} \]

\[ \text{Yes- I suppose so. You see what really made me angry was when people say now that I was spoilt. You see they just don’t know how it was for us when we were very poor and we had nothing. We had no food and we could starve for two days because my Dad had gone down the pub with our food-money and my Mum would be working all hours to try to get enough to look after us.} \]
We had it really tough. You would think that because of all that I would have turned out really bad - but I don't think I have - what with losing my brother and then my father walking out on us just then as my brother is dying. Other people don't have things like that. My mother sometimes says: "Do you think I have been a good mother to you?" And I say -"Yeah - you have been good - the only thing is that you don't play games with me." You see I really like board games and I'd like her to play.

I found this coherent narrative really moving. She had been able to express her bitterness and anger, putting her whole story together for the first time. She was also able to acknowledge that her mother was doing as good a job as she knew how. The board games, mentioned in earlier sessions, symbolized regret that hers was not the ideal family who could enjoy leisure time together. However, as the counselling progressed, so Merryl's relationship with her mother had improved. In our final session she was really pleased to report that her mother was proudly boasting to a neighbour about her being at college. Now she wanted to do well for her mother's sake as well as her own. Unfortunately for the research, this change in the relationship was not reflected in the questionnaire scores. Just before she was retested on the questionnaires she had a really bad work experience placement which knocked her confidence again.

Carrie, another reluctant talker, tried not to think about her mother. When the subject was raised she could tell the story of abandonment very briefly and with very little emotion. If she was angry then her feelings were repressed. She could just bring herself to admit that she was “upset” that when mother left home she still regularly visited her best friend who lived five doors away but never once came to see her or her siblings. Since her brother had come home from hospital Mum came three times a week to care for him, but Carrie did not have much of a relationship with her. When she talked about her brothers and sister it became apparent that the family had long been dysfunctional. Although the youngest, Carrie had taken over the role of being mother, trying hard to keep the warring members of her family happy, caring for her brother and selflessly babysitting for her nephews at great personal
inconvenience.

Carrie could eventually recognize that she felt permanently guilty. One day she was feeling anxious about not upsetting her violent, bullying older brother or her sister who both wanted her to babysit in their separate homes on the same evening. She surprised herself by lifting the phone to her mother for the first time ever and asking for advice. She did not know what had made her do it but mother had responded with a suggestion of ignoring her brother "who was an a******" and going to her sister. Somehow the relationship with mother improved so that mother even confided that she would be marrying in the summer.

Gaining some perspective about her role in the family Carrie actually found herself a Saturday job and joined a voluntary organization which gave her an opportunity to meet people socially.

A It sounds like a good way of getting out - but does that mean it is okay to enjoy yourself a bit? You otherwise hardly go out at all.

C That's what my mother says. She says that looking after Michael (her disabled brother) is her responsibility and my Dad's - but I'm the sister and I should go out and do things.

Carrie could see that mother was relieving her of the burden by acknowledging responsibility. At last she had permission to do things for herself.

Baljit needed no encouragement to talk about her parents. She wanted to explain their confrontations in detail and vent her anger over father's suspicions and accusations. He had once been a parent whom she feared and admired but now she had removed him from the pedestal and she was prepared to humiliate him by running off to her mother's younger brother. However, talking through the consequences of her plans helped her to reconsider and she began to realize that keeping calm would further her cause more effectively than acting out. While she struggled to keep calm in the face of father's provocations, the counselling also brought mother into focus. Until now
the mother-daughter relationship seemed insignificant, because mother was an unimportant person. Baljit's only vivid memory was her mother's violence towards her and the occasion when mother gave her a black eye which resulted in an investigation at school. However my interest in her family history proved to be a useful intervention because Baljit began talking to mother and discovered information which explained some of their family dynamics.

B     I have to tell you that I found out that my Mum had a terrible time with my Dad when she was first married. For the first three or four years he was violent and used to beat her. She had to stay. I wouldn't have done - but she did not have any choice. She didn't have anyone in this country. She couldn't go to her mother because everyone thought she had been married off very well because they had not expected it.

Her parents had married in India and it was not until the wedding day that mother found out that the woman she had always thought was her aunt was in fact her mother. Father too had been misled about the exact parentage of his bride until their marriage night, which may well have undermined their early relationship. (Later Baljit discovered that Father was so angry about being cheated that he refused to let Mother use her dowry or wear her wedding clothes.) Mother miscarried a baby and then had Baljit. Unfortunately the required boy baby never came. Those early years must have been very difficult and when mother failed to cope Baljit was sent to India to live with grandmother. She had good memories of her stay between the ages of four and eight years.

Coping with the new information made Baljit reconsider her attitudes towards her parents. She was surprised to find that she could sit and talk with mother about boyfriends and sex and was able to reassure her that she was not doing any of the things of which father was accusing her. Unfortunately father was not so easy to convince. Although their relationship remained difficult, the maturity that Baljit developed in reacting calmly to him stood her in good stead when she got herself a part-time job and found her supervisor acting unreasonably. At college too she dealt
maturely with a bully. Her college work flourished and she had excellent reports from her work placements.

**Trying to change parental relationships**

Suri's relationships with each parent were similar to Baljit's but the family dynamics were different and she was less able to use the understanding that she gained. Suri's mother suffered from chronic rheumatoid arthritis, but Suri preferred not to think about that because it made her feel guilty about her hostile feelings and unwillingness to be at her parents' beck and call. Unlike Baljit, Suri could not accept that Father was unlikely to change and, although she may have had more freedom than Baljit, she could not respond calmly or consistently as this extract shows:

*Suri* ...*My mother has been in hospital and my father got 'flu, so I nursed him like a good little daughter. He says he can't get used to my Western ways and ideas. Last night a colleague from the course phoned. I'm really please because our tutor has been away and I've been editing the magazine. And I said to Dad: "It's going really well - I'm like the editor. I've got it all together and people are coming to me to solve their problems and I've got it all in hand. May be I'll get a job as an editor one day." And then he said, slowly, "No, I don't think so!" I was so angry! Why does he have to knock my achievements? What I want is support.*

She remained as entrenched in her position as he was in his. She wanted parental support and approval, for without it she could not succeed, but she wanted it on her own terms like an English girl.

*Suri* *What I really need is to get the love from my parents - for them to say it - to want to share my dreams and encourage my ideas. But they won't. I just want to feel validated.*

Her plea was heartfelt, but she was battering on an a closed door. She wanted to make changes but she was resistant to looking at any perspective other than her own.
Her stories emphasized her view of her parents as being old-fashioned, narrow-minded and tightly bound to the Asian way of life. Just occasionally she could make concessions about her own behaviour:

Suri And I can't take criticism - I know - I've been told before and I can't even take the criticism that I can't take criticism!

Perhaps I too became a critical mother in the transference.

Sarah did not have to be prompted to talk about her parents because she saw them as the problem. Father was organized, efficient and good around the house, but also strict and stubborn. (Sarah rather wished that her fiancé could be more like Dad.) Mother tended to get up at midday, spending her time sewing and pursuing hobbies regularly until four in the morning because she was a "bit of a hermit crab." [I wondered if she were depressed.] Sarah and her mother argued constantly about household issues although Sarah felt that the main ploy was to get her to see less of her fiancé. Occasionally Sarah revealed her insecurities:

Sarah After Mum and I had another row, so I shouted and went upstairs to bed. I left my door open because I wanted her to come in and cuddle me. I left it open all night. I couldn't sleep. I haven't slept properly since I came home. But she looked in - but she didn't come in.

A And you really wanted a cuddle?

Sarah Yes - that's what she used to do. After a row she would make up - but not now..... ...But she did hang my Advent calendar up. My grandfather made it. I didn't know if she would for me. I knew she would for my sister - but not for me.

Sarah was envious of her sister who still had a very good relationship with mother, while her own relationship, always insecure, was in real jeopardy.

When speaking about her family Sarah's calm, moderate voice became staccato and
aggressive. I commented on the change. Somewhat surprised, she responded that she was always argumentative at home and was considered immature. Throughout the counselling she could respond to interventions and interpretations at a behavioural level, but she could not work at a deeper level to understand her relationships. She was particularly possessive in her relationship with her fiancé, keeping lists of where he was working each day and not wanting to go out with friends in case some girl tempted him away. Because he was particularly kind and loving when she had had a row with her parents, she had a vested interest in keeping the hostilities going. Despite her belief that the rift would never be healed because both parties were too stubborn, parents and fiancé did slowly resume a civil relationship. The focus on the parental relationship was possibly more helpful for me to understand Sarah, than for her directly.

Reluctance
While some clients were eager to talk about their parents in every session, some, like Steven, did not want to talk about parents at all. Following the research protocol I mentioned Mother with whom he lived. His older sister had had lots of arguments with Mother before she left home and Steven wanted to avoid that path.

Stev Well I haven't really talked to her about anything - no.
A Not even about your exam results? [His mock exam results were good.]
Stev Yes - I told her those and she was pleased.
A Uh -huh...... [pause]..... She appreciated those.
Stev Yes - but about the rest - I don't want to. No - it's not that I don't tell her - but I don't want to talk to her about things. It's that I want to be ... ...independent. I want to stand on my own feet and go off and be alone. I don't want to tell her things.

He was telling me quite clearly that he did not want her to be part of his life or follow my agenda!

He did not want to talk about his father either, although his resentment was festering.
Instead he spent much of each session talking negatively about his teachers, complaining that they weren't committed to teaching their students well but were only concerned about keeping their jobs. One session he became particularly vindictive about the principal, whom he had never met. I began to wonder whether he was displacing his anger and bitterness around his father and projecting it into people with the power to help him thrive or fail. On another session after he had denounced his GP as a racist who discriminated against white patients and did not give them sufficient time nor care, I ventured forth with a tentative link.

_A_ But you do find discrimination at the doctor's and you are angry with other authority figures. I was wondering if this linked to anything else in your life?

_S_ What do you mean?

_A_ Well- I was wondering if you had any thoughts about your father being an authority figure?

_Silence_

_A_ You said he owned his own business.

_S_ Yes he does - but I've never thought about him like that - as an authority figure before.

_A_ Have you thought about him?......You asked mother about him. Have you thought about getting in touch?

_S_ No. I don't want to be emotionally attached to him. [This expression came without any prompting- I have checked to be sure that I had not used it to him.]

This intervention did not succeed immediately in helping him make a link between his feelings about father and how he perceived and reacted to other men in power, but it did get him to express his anger about his father abandoning them and not giving them any support.

The one supportive figure in his life had been his godmother. She was a social worker who had been assigned to the family when he was a baby and, although now retired, she still took her duties seriously and obviously cared about his progress. His
attachment experience with her laid the foundation for our strong counselling relationship. My support, encouragement and approval of his academic progress was used \textit{in loco parentis}. He also grew more comfortable with his peers, began socializing with a small group and eventually confided in one of the girls that he was gay. He was relieved by her matter-of-fact acceptance.

Zanda was not ready to focus on the loss of her father. She could talk about his death but was not ready to think about how his absence might be affecting her now or how she felt about her brother taking his place. Sometimes she began sessions by stating that she did not want to talk about her family today. Instead she would talk incessantly about her hopes for a husband and about potential boyfriends at college. Occasionally she would chase a boy and then drop him because she feared that the next stage of a relationship would compromise her status as a "good Moslem daughter". Despite her initial reluctance to accept that Mother might be able to understand something of the problems of studying at college, as counselling progressed, her relationship with mother did improve. Perceptions of mother took on a new strength and she became recognized as the person who made the family meals and allowed Zanda to get on with her studies. Mother's expectations dropped from medicine to dentistry or even optics! Zanda even felt able to talk to her about suitable boys, although she probably omitted the "chat up and chase."

Perhaps the continuing focus on parents was least helpful for Julietta. Father was not in her everyday life and, although she declared that mother was a wonderful parent, she could not talk to her. An attempt to tell Mother that friends had suggested that she could be a model had led to a "put down" and, with very low self-esteem, Julietta did not want to risk further rejection.

\begin{quote}
I feel uncomfortable. I just can't. I know she is a good mother but... I do like to be with her - but sometimes I say stupid things - or I am being boring.
\end{quote}

When mother came home from her job of caring for an unappreciative disabled individual, she was tired. Julietta wanted to be able to talk to mother and express her
feelings but...

J  I just feel stupid. I know what I want - to have a good relationship - I like to be with her - but then I say something stupid - or I get angry. Sometimes when she comes home from work - I am really happy to see her - but she is tired and doesn't want to see me. There are two things. I get upset with what my brother said. I know I shouldn't - maybe he said it to upset me.

A  What did he say?

J  He said that she would prefer to be speaking with her friends than being with me.

Her fears become more obvious:

J  I know it is me. She is a really good mother and I love her very, very much. She is wonderful and I worry if anything was to happen (to her) what I would do. She is so important to me.

Having lost one parent, she was terrified of destroying the other. Perhaps Mother was equally scared. As Julietta became increasingly depressed or was angry, Mother kept the family calm by ordering her brothers and sister away and ensuring that Julietta was left alone. Perhaps their way of coping was to believe that all the problems resided with Julietta rather than acknowledging the pain, losses and upheaval that the whole family had experienced. Intellectually Julietta was able to understand this, but emotionally she could not move. She remained at fault and became more depressed and unable to attend her classes. Unlike Steven, Julietta had never experienced a secure relationship on which we could build. Our therapeutic relationship was slow to develop and possibly hindered by the parental focus which reinforced her feelings of being unworthy and incapable. [Fortunately she returned for more counselling six months later. At the time of writing we are focusing on our relationship and she is gaining confidence on her college courses though her self-esteem is low and she is still avoiding friendships because she fears rejection.]

Assessing the counselling as a whole

An overall assessment was made for each client. This took into account the way they
used the sessions to understand themselves and their relationships, changes in their own behaviour, reports of changes in others and the outcome of their performance in college. Merryl, Baljit and Steven all responded positively to the counselling and flourished.

Merryl was able to mourn for her brother and for her impoverished childhood with the memories of hunger and neglect. Whilst she was piecing together her life narrative, she was steadily increasing the content and variety of her diet. She could even ask mother to cook her special dishes - her symbolic emotional support. Food and eating were a metaphor for her well-being and the counselling was a nurturing process. As she filled out so she grew in confidence and began to take pride in her achievements. She passed her course, enrolled on a more advanced course and was last seen driving a car full of friends.

At first Baljit used the sessions to vent her anger with Father and assert her independence. However she then became fascinated by her ability to change and to take control. The intervention which encouraged her to find out more family history was most useful because it unlocked family secrets and gave her new perspectives and an understanding of the family dynamics. She did much of the work for herself, finding examples and using me as a sounding board. She learned how to cope with father but her relationship with mother became particularly rewarding. At college she did very well on her course.

For Steven it was the counselling relationship itself which provided the emotional support that he lacked. Although not reflected in the quantitative results, his life at college improved qualitatively and his A level results were even better than expected. His perspective on his peers also changed gradually as he revised his internal working model of others, when he dared to find that other students actually considered him worthy of friendship and that they could be trusted to keep confidences. Although his emotional attachment to mother probably did not change, their day to day relationship improved as they began to talk about his imminent departure for university. Father was best forgotten. [The counselling continued beyond the eight research sessions
until his A-level exams. After his first term at university Steven came back to visit. He was confident, happy and doing well.]

When Carrie first came to counselling she needed to mourn and acknowledge that her disabled brother would not recover but that her life would have to go on. However the main part of our work was to move the focus from this brother and onto the dysfunctional family and in particular their abandonment by mother. Since Carrie was so cheerfully dismissive of her non-maternal relationship with mother we might have been seduced into leaving the status quo and concentrating on her various panics and anxieties. As the research protocol kept re-introducing Mum into the sessions she was able to get in touch with feelings of wanting her mother to act like a “normal Mum”, to take on responsibilities and be supportive. She began to express her anger and frustration and made a little progress in kindling a relationship. Dad was too depressed himself to respond to her needs. Alongside the work on her relationship with mother, the attachment in the counselling relationship was valuable too. As a “good mother” I was able to acknowledge how much responsibility she had undertaken, how capable and caring she was and how heavy the load. She began to feel less guilty and confident enough to explore and try new experiences. She gained her college qualification and enrolled on the advanced course. [Counselling remains ongoing.]

From the perspective of a psychodynamic counsellor, working with Sarah was frustrating because she really did not try to understand her relationships. Although she could complain that she wanted a good relationship with her parents, maintaining a bad relationship ensured that her fiancé responded with kindness and concern. Nevertheless Sarah was enthusiastic about her appointments, always attending punctually and wanting to continue beyond the eight research sessions. The counselling worked for her at a behavioural level and she did begin to change her behaviour towards her fiancé as she learned that she couldn’t “train” him to be more like her Dad by constant “nagging.” The eventual reconciliation between her fiancé and her parents probably occurred despite Sarah, because co-operation and civility were to their advantage.
In contrast with Sarah, Suri was well able to work at depth. A summary of the counselling sessions (see Appendix 16.2) indicates how desperately she wanted her parental relationships to change but how few concessions she could make. She particularly wanted father's approval and support and became convinced that she could not succeed without it. When a disappointed and angry teacher took on the transference of her inflexible father, Suri decided that her teacher's opinion of her could never be redeemed and that she would rather give up the course than risk further knocks to her confidence and self-esteem.

However much Suri wanted to change, she needed her parents' help to do so. She would continue her battle because neither side could accept a compromise between the extremes of her parents' expectations of the traditional Asian daughter and her guilty desire to be an all-English career girl, free of family responsibilities. Although Suri did not make the changes she wanted, the counselling had some positive spin-offs. While nothing could change her relationship with Father, Suri did begin to appreciate her mother's suffering and stoicism regarding her illness and their relationship did start to improve. One of the more positive interventions was a comment that she was doing well at her part-time job in telephone market-research, where she was actually enjoying the competition and thriving - unlike education. Where she was not trying to get Father's approval, she was functioning well. [Suri did not complete her course but six months later she was holding down a full-time job.]

The work with Zanda was more difficult to assess. From the beginning, the relationship was sufficiently containing to bring the self-mutilating "cutting" to a halt. In addition the work on the relationship with her mother may have helped her establish that mother was a caring parent, capable of understanding and available to give support. In retrospect her blocking deflected my focus from the loss of her father. At college Zanda remained immature and much more concerned about socializing and chasing possible boyfriends than studying. I was ready to draw the counselling to an end after the eighth session, as I felt there was no more for her to gain for the present. However, she needed me to continue listening to her, even if she was unable to take in my comments. Perhaps telling me about possible relationships with wonderful
suitors helped her to reinforce a positive self-image, worthy of attention. Perhaps I provided a secure base to which she could run when the explorations ventured into dangerous territory. Sometimes she would worry that she was not working hard enough to pass her GCSEs, but most of the time she could fool herself that she worked such very long hours every night that all would be well. She wanted to appear the perfect student and daughter. Unfortunately she passed only one of her five GCSEs.

For Julietta the eight counselling sessions were only the very beginning of a therapeutic relationship. She had moved many times and had no real experience of a secure base or a truly trusting relationship. She idolized and clung to her mother who may have been a good provider, but who was not emotionally supportive, tending to be critical and undermining. The research protocol which kept re-introducing her parents was probably counter-productive because it roused her anger and resentment, which she then turned against herself. Establishing a trusting relationship was very slow. Although I always felt genuinely pleased to see Julietta and enjoyed our sessions, she remained uncomfortable and wary. As she became depressed she dropped out of classes and then felt so guilty that she could not get to her counselling appointment either. Those first eight sessions produced no real benefit or measurable change. [However, she re-enrolled the following year and walked back and forth around the counselling-room door to see whether I might notice and consider it worthwhile to invite her in! The counselling relationship now feels secure and Julietta is beginning to thrive at college.]

To summarize: focusing on just the eight research counselling sessions and using successful completion of their college course as an objective indicator of positive outcome, five clients (Baljit, Merryl, Carrie, Steven and Sarah) out of the eight did respond well to the counselling intervention. Changing relationships can also be used as a qualitative indicator of positive counselling outcome. Suggesting criteria for evaluating therapy, Gray (1994) submits:
The relationship with the therapist may be the crucible for change but it is when our clients report improved relationships in the outside world that we begin to know that they are truly helped by their affiliation with us. (Gray, 1994, p 135)

Specifically considering relationships with their mothers, all the clients except Sarah and Julietta gave positive examples of better communication with mother and a generally more comfortable relationship. Of the six who had spoken of difficult peer relationships in early sessions, all reported improvements which included making friends with people who initially appeared unwelcoming or even hostile. Thus there were relationship changes which took place during the counselling period, suggesting that the intervention was helpful. However there was no evidence of more positive relationships with fathers.

Evidence of different attachment styles
During the analysis of the counselling sessions it became apparent that while some of the clients had early experience of secure attachment, others had only experienced insecure attachments. The process material provided further evidence of the contrasting attachment styles. Would this qualitative material be consistent with the clients' self-appraisal on the modified Hazan and Shaver test?

Secure attachment style
Baljit, Merryl and Zanda all chose the secure attachment description for the Hazan and Shaver test on both the initial test and the retest. Their memories of their early histories all suggested that they may well each have had at least one secure relationship with a primary attachment figure who was consistently responsive to them during infancy. Baljit may have been securely attached to both parents in early infancy, but mother was unhappy in her marriage and was also trying to conceive a male child. When she was four years old, her parents sent her off to India where she found another attachment figure in her grandmother. This relationship assumed primary importance for Baljit and, even though she only saw her grandmother about once a year, this was sufficient to confirm her inner feelings of well-being. When our research counselling sessions were completed, Baljit requested that we continue to meet until her Easter trip to India, with one planned session afterwards. The visit to
grandmother enabled her to touch her security base and on, her return, Baljit felt comfortable and sufficiently independent to end our relationship. Bartholomew (1990) suggested that the securely attached adults feel comfortable with both intimacy and independence. With her ability to make friends and keep them and her new-found capacity to cope successfully with college and a demanding part-time job, Baljit was matching up to that description.

There is some debate in the attachment literature as to whether infants can be insecurely attached to one parent but securely attached to another (Feeney & Noller, 1996). Fox et al. (1991) carried out a meta-analysis of studies comparing attachment to each parent and concluded that, although there was a high correlation of attachment styles between parents, about 30% of infants were categorized as being securely attached to one parent and insecurely attached to the other. From her descriptions of her childhood, it seemed likely that Merryl was always securely attached to her mother, but avoidant towards her father. (Even when talking about father in a session she would physically move her body away.) However, during childhood, mother was responsive and provided security even if they were poverty-stricken. After father’s departure and her brother’s death Merryl even shared mother’s bed nightly for about three years where she felt safe and protected. Thus mother’s boyfriend’s arrival signified rejection, which was probably why the event was traumatic and she needed to go through the story several times in the counselling. The change in circumstances may well have led to feelings of insecurity which coincided with Merryl’s more aggressive behaviour at school. When she had to start college she felt bereft of mother’s support and there was no-one to buffer her anxieties about the strange new experience. She stopped eating and developed a number of ailments. These alerted mother’s attention and together with the impetus from the counselling Merryl was able to re-energize emotional support and re-establish the secure attachment so that she could flourish once more.

Zanda explained that it was normal in her home country for an older sister to become the primary carer for a baby sibling in a large family. Following this custom, Zanda was securely attached to her sister until the age of about nine, when the sister married
and went to live with her husband's family. With the subsequent family upheaval which included fleeing from war and concerns over father's illness it is likely that Zanda then had to vie for attention. As the youngest member of the family she was possibly spoilt and adored one minute and then ignored the next. This might have been the basis for the attention-seeking behaviour that she displayed so vividly in college, regularly and dramatically bursting into inconsolable tears. However when she established that mother was available and responsive to her, the emotional scenes subsided. Although she predicted that she would be in desperate need of counselling support if she failed her GCSEs, she never came for that help!

Thus, for these three clients, their reported histories and the relationship changes which took place during the period of counselling were consistent with their self-appraisal of secure attachment. Certainly by the end of the counselling each girl felt that her mother cared about her and was emotionally available to her. All three of them had a circle of good friends. Baljit and Merryl were comfortable with their independence, although Zanda was still dependent on her family and restricted by them.

Avoidant attachment
Holmes (1993) produced a clinical profile describing the typical anxious-avoidant individual. He characterized them as having experienced parenting that was either pushing away or just functional, as exhibiting abandonment as their core anxiety and as using splitting or denial as their defences. In therapy the transference was terror of contact and the counter-transference was anger or boredom. He suggested that the key therapeutic strategy might be acceptance of rage and that members of this group "associate close contact with pain and rejection and may experience interpretations as intrusive assaults, and so benefit from a more flexible and friendly therapeutic relationship." (p.154.)

The process material from Julietta's counselling sessions provided good evidence that she matched this profile. Although mother was reported to be a good provider, working hard for the family, she was unenthusiastic about spending time with Julietta and her parenting style could be described as functional. When Julietta thought about
her good parents, she split off the abandoning, womanizing part of father, who had let the family down. In the counselling, although I felt comfortable with her, I recognized Julietta's discomfort whilst she got to know me. Interestingly when expressing her inability to talk to mother she often worried that she would bore her mother, who would think her stupid, and she was terrified of being abandoned. (see quotes p. 290) Thus she fitted the profile quite closely. In addition, she was consistent in recognizing her attachment style in the modified Hazan and Shaver test, choosing the avoidant statement on both occasions.

Considering her insecure attachment in terms of Bartholomew's (1990) four group model of adult attachment, Julietta's model of herself was negative as was her model of others. This would put her in the "fearful of attachment category" suggesting that she was also socially avoidant. Certainly she was very wary of making friends and found it easier to state that there would be "no common ground" between herself and her class-mates. She preferred not to risk relationships where she might find herself rejected again.

Steven's profile had some similar features. When the counselling began he explained how he felt unwanted and disliked by his peers and how he had a long-term difficulty with making friends. At home he avoided too much communication with his mother because she tended to argue and he did not want to be thrown out like his sister. On the Kazan and Shaver test he had difficulty choosing between the two insecure statements and underlined parts of both statements which applied to him. Given Bartholomew and Horowitz' (1991) description of fearful avoidant attachment, he may well have chosen that. It reads:

I am somewhat uncomfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely or to depend on them. I sometimes worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.

When talking about his homosexuality he was able to confide his hopes:

*I want a long-term monogamous relationship.* Something when people are
caring of one another - loving and caring. Do you know what I mean if I say - like the equivalent of a heterosexual long-term partnership or marriage.

However he continued by expressing his fears of being beaten up by violent and aggressive males looking for a victim.

In the counselling, when he was ranting against his lazy, non-caring teachers and other authority figures who discriminated against him, I certainly found it hard to sit through his attacking rages, which were a great contrast with his usual meek and mild manner. However the sessions allowed him to release, acknowledge and express all these negative feelings. Until then his behaviour had been typical of individuals with avoidant-attachment as described by Feeney and Noller (1996.) He had not acknowledged his negative feelings and had controlled his feelings of anger or distress in order to reduce potential conflict with mother, his insensitive and possibly rejecting attachment figure.

Carrie, like Merryl, had probably experienced mixed parental attachment. Her early history suggests that she was always very close to her father and was probably securely attached to him. However, after Michael’s accident and with all that was involved in his home-care, Father became increasingly depressed and unavailable to her. When she became anxious she could no longer find comfort and safety with her primary attachment figure and her uncontained anxiety was vividly transformed into panic attacks. When she came to start college, there was no secure base for her. Her defensive reaction was to behave in the avoidant manner that she used towards mother, who now came 12 hours a week to care for Michael but with whom Carrie did not have a real relationship. She was not sure that mother wanted her or cared for her and it was better not to find out, than be rejected again. Using a similar working model, she decided that her new peer group of class-mates would be bitchy and that the teachers would be hostile, which made her first few weeks at college even more uncomfortable. However, she had experienced supportive friendships at school and the early counselling sessions provided sufficient containment to look again for comfortable peer relationships. Eventually she also dared to modify her behaviour.
towards mother. Carrie's responses to the Hazan and Shaver test were remarkably consistent from the research perspective. She chose the "avoidant" statement after the second counselling session but chose the "secure" statement after the eighth session.

Thus, for Julietta, Steven and Carrie, the material from their counselling sessions provides some clear evidence supporting their self-appraisals of their anxious-avoidant attachment styles. Since they all began counselling with negative internal working models of themselves, doubting their own worthiness, and of others, believing that other people would be unresponsive and unreliable towards them, they could be more specifically categorized as having "fearful-avoidant" attachment according to Bartholomew's model (Blain et al., 1993).

Categorizing Suri's attachment style from the process material was more difficult. On the first Hazan and Shaver test, when she felt that college was going well, she chose the "secure" statement, but by the eighth session she chose the "avoidant" statement. However her account of her behaviour at home towards her parents seemed to be more consistent with anxious-ambivalent attachment. Feeney and Noller (1996) describe anxious-ambivalent individuals as being very aware of negative feelings, focusing their attention in a hypervigilant way and displaying heightened expressions of fear and anger. These strategies are learned as a way of maintaining contact with inconsistent caregivers. As a child Suri cried constantly for attention until it became a family joke. As a late adolescent she picked up every hint of parental criticism and ranted angrily or cried bitterly. She certainly had a negative model of how others would respond to her, particularly authority figures such as parents, relatives and teachers and, eventually, her counsellor and the youth worker too. However her model of herself was possibly more positive for she felt that she could manage quite well on her own if only she did not have to be concerned with her family. She did need friends, but possibly not close attachments. Although she yearned for parental support, she was even more desperate to be allowed her independence and was happiest when allowed to prove herself. Considering Bartholomew's four category model again, Suri fitted best into the "dismissing-avoidant" category, emphasizing the importance of achievement and self-reliance for herself.
Anxious-ambivalent attachment

Sarah also chose different Hazan and Shaver attachment descriptions, selecting the “avoidant” statement after the second session and changing to the “anxious-ambivalent” statement after the eighth session. Evidence from the counselling sessions suggests more support for the latter category. Her early history of attachment was unclear, which was probably due to her enmeshed narrative style, but it was evident that she remained very envious of her younger sister, whom she feared would steal all her good attachment figures, first her parents and then her fiancé. Her angry attention-seeking behaviour at home suggested a need to maintain contact with an inconsistent caregiver. Mother, the “hermit crab” with her preference for solitude, may well have been the pre-occupied and inconsistent caregiver. Sarah would have developed an anxious-ambivalent style of attachment which she carried over into her relationship with her fiancé. Hazan and Shaver (1987) found that important love relationships for anxious-ambivalent individuals were most often “characterized by obsession and jealousy, desire for union and reciprocation, strong sexual attractions and emotional extreme,” (Feeney & Noller, 1996). Sarah’s relationship with her fiancé fitted this description like a glove. As she appeared to view herself negatively and worried about being less loveable than others, but had a model of others as being able to respond to and nurture her, she also fitted into Bartholomew’s “preoccupied” attachment category with overly dependent needs.

To summarize: evidence from the process material suggested that three of the clients (Baljit, Merryl and Zanda) had experience of secure parental attachment. Of the remainder, Carrie had experienced both secure attachment to father but avoidant attachment to mother. Using Bartholomew and Horowitz’s four-category model, Julietta and Steven were best described as “fearful-avoidant,” Suri as “dismissing-avoidant” and Sarah as “preoccupied”, equivalent to Hazan and Shaver’s anxious-ambivalent.

The interactions between the attachment styles and the counselling will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter 17

THE COUNSELLING STUDY:
DISCUSSION OF THE QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

In this chapter the counselling study will be evaluated and hypotheses III, IV and V will be reconsidered in the light of the qualitative findings. Theoretical and counselling implications will be discussed.

An evaluation of the counselling study

One aim of this study was to investigate whether the clients who attended the counselling service were less well adjusted to college and had less secure parental attachment than the general student population within the college. The other objective was to explore whether including a specific focus on parental relationships while counselling these clients would increase both their adjustment to college and their secure parental attachment. When planning this research study there were precedents in the research literature which provided direction for the quantitative measurement, but as qualitative counselling outcome research was a relatively new discipline, there were not many guidelines to follow. In a review of qualitative research methods in counselling psychology which was published whilst the present research was being completed, McLeod (1996) described how previously this methodology had been used primarily in a "discovery-oriented" or "heuristic manner" and he expressed doubts as to whether it would be equally applicable during a theory-testing phase of a research programme. On the other hand he argued that such methodology respects the complexity of the material and its goal is trying to understand the phenomena being studied. Sexton (1996) reviewing counselling outcome research also concluded that there was little published qualitative research and suggested that "studies which provide measures of change from more than one perspective are more likely to assess the presence of change and produce results that are more relevant to the practitioner" (p. 598). My aim had indeed been to combine the quantitative and qualitative perspectives but in the process of forging new
methodology, the study suffered a number of shortcomings.

With the main intention of using both the quantitative and qualitative information together, only the eight clients who completed both sets of questionnaires and attended eight counselling sessions qualified as subjects for testing hypothesis V. Unfortunately this was a very small subject group and this limitation had to be borne in mind when making inferences from the findings. In addition there was only one male client who fulfilled all the conditions. As it might be argued that gender is relevant when considering parental and peer relationships, this one male could only be viewed as an individual case and inferences regarding other male students could not be justified.

Another major limitation of this study was recognized from the outset: I was both counsellor and researcher. Obviously every counsellor hopes that his or her work will be effective and that each client will respond positively. As counsellor, my aim was that my clients would become better adjusted to college and have better relationships with their parents, even achieving rapprochement where a relationship had broken down in the past. As a researcher I tried to be objective about how well those aims had been met. Nevertheless despite the best of intentions it would be naïve not to recognize that researcher bias must have affected the qualitative results. With hindsight it would have been preferable to have tape recorded all the sessions and have had them objectively scored by other researchers. However, as I explained in the methodology section, tape-recording was problematical in the college setting when this study commenced and anyway I did not have the financial resources for transcripts or colleagues with time to undertake objective scoring. Instead I did my utmost to avoid bias, such as not scoring up the clients' questionnaires until after all the counselling sessions were completed, so as not to affect my counselling approach or focus. I wrote my notes on the counselling sessions conscientiously recording what had been communicated both verbally and non-verbally, aware that the record was for research as well as clinical purpose. In the long-run it would not be beneficial to clients if I reported that focusing on parental relationships was helpful if in reality it was not so. My integrity as counsellor and researcher would be questionable. By recording and reporting the qualitative material as accurately as possible I did find that for some
subjects the parental focus was unwelcome and even unhelpful and that for some the counselling was not particularly successful. Notwithstanding, when drawing inferences from the qualitative data, the likelihood of researcher bias must be acknowledged.

Comparing the counselling clients with the controls, the quantitative data provided evidence which challenged the hypothesis that the counselling would have positive effects on adjustment to college and attachment. On the initial questionnaires the only significant differences between clients and controls were on the Attendance to college subscale, where the controls scored lower, and on the Alienation subscale of the IPPA for Peers, where the clients scored significantly lower. After counselling the only significant change for the client group was on the Alienation subscale of the IPPA for Mothers, whereas the control group with no counselling intervention significantly improved their scores on the full-scale AdColl27 and its adjustment to Work subscale, on the full-scale IPPA for Mothers and its Trust and Communication subscales and on the Trust subscale of the IPPA for Fathers. While it must be accepted that the controls did improve whereas the clients did not, their comparability can be questioned. It would have been better if counselling clients had been individually paired with controls scoring similarly on adjustment and parental attachment and if they too had been potential clients. Other explanations for the controls improving without counselling intervention have been discussed in Chapter 15 and the interview material will be examined in Section V.

The focus of the present discussion is whether there were positive changes in the counselling clients detectable in the qualitative material and, if so, whether these changes could be linked by evidence to the counselling interventions, or would have occurred anyway, just by the student being in college and by having interactions with parents and peers. Regarding adjustment to college, reports of passing tests or modular exams and marks for assignments were good evidence of improving adjustment to work, reports on attendance spoke for themselves and descriptions of peer relationships at college indicated whether social adjustment was occurring. Where the clients managed to stay at college and actually gain the relevant qualifications, positive adjustment can be deemed to have been achieved.
Regarding attachment, reports of ongoing relationships gave an indication of any changes, positive or negative, that were occurring and might have been affected by counselling (Gray, 1994). However there can be no certainty that changes in adjustment or attachment were due to the counselling. The most that can be claimed is a possible association between the two because of the proximity in time or by links recounted by the client. Even then some caution must be exercised because the client will have invested time and effort in the counselling and will therefore have wanted it to be worthwhile and might also have wanted to please the counsellor by praising her effectiveness. Also the counsellor-client relationship does not occur in a vacuum. Family dynamics are ever changing and where parents are trying to cope with an adolescent son or daughter who is under-achieving at college they too might be trying to affect positive change while the counselling is in progress. They may suddenly have become aware that their child was nearly an adult and independently grown more willing to transform their relationship.

Thus the qualitative research has a number of important shortcomings which limits the level of implication that can be drawn regarding the counselling and its focus on parental attachment. Nevertheless the study does provide some very interesting material charting the progress of each individual and his or her immediate responses to the counselling interventions as well as changes that took place during the counselling period. Sometimes clients reported changes which were made by following strategies that had been developed during the previous counselling sessions. Claiming an association between the two would appear reasonable. On occasion a client would refer back to an earlier discussion or interpretation and expand on a changing attitude to a relationship or a different way of behaving. Again it would appear logical to associate the counselling with the change even though there can never be proof of causation. By looking for the contiguities and bearing in mind all the limitations, some inferences and understanding can be drawn from the qualitative material.
Hypothesis III - less secure adjustment to college

The material from the early counselling sessions showed that seven out of the eight clients were experiencing adjustment problems that were affecting their academic performance and, for five of them, their social interactions too. Some came for help because they recognized that ongoing problems were being aggravated by the new stresses attached to attending college. Others feared that their problems would affect their performance at college or even their general well-being if nothing was done. Thus this qualitative material suggested more strongly than the quantitative material that these students were concerned about their adjustment or performance at college.

Suggestions in Chapter 15 that the quantitative data failed to yield significant results because the initial test took place after the second counselling session had some support. Many of the students did respond to the containment of their anxiety and the relief that their problems were being acknowledged at the beginning of the counselling relationship by committing themselves to regular attendance and starting to catch up on their assignments. In addition the results for this very small sample were skewed by one totally unrealistic client, Zanda, who was completely unable to acknowledge her failure to attend lessons and her academic shortcomings and who responded to AdColl27 with scores above those of the most well adjusted from the sample on the questionnaire study.

The process material also endorsed the theoretical assumption that a college of further education is a "strange situation" in the attachment theory sense. Although there is plenty of literature using this metaphor for students leaving home for university, (e.g. Kenny, 1987, 1990; Rice et al. 1995) and Papini and Roggman (1992) considered changing to high school to be a stressful transition period, I have not found any other published research concerning the transition of the 16-plus age-group who choose further education. Clients in the present study explained the strains of coming to college. Socially there were particular anxieties about looking foolish in front of potentially hostile peers. The academic challenges appeared more difficult because they were presented differently and lecturers were more distant than the familiar school-teachers. Non-attendance at class was an easy option, without immediate
repercussions, and a temptation that some could not avoid. Although not as dramatic a change as going away to university, F.E. College was a strange environment and it was also a place of transition. All the students except one, Steven, were on a one year course, and they all would have to make decisions about selecting more education or looking for employment within the year. Thus they should all have been exploring future options, dependent on their gaining the current qualifications. This added yet more anxiety to their already stressful situation.

**Hypothesis IV - less secure parental attachment**

With the quantitative data already supporting the hypothesis that clients attending the counselling service were less securely attached to their parents than the normal student population, the counselling material was able to add further confirmation. At the initial stages of counselling all the students divulged difficulties with ongoing parental relationships. Reported histories and the process within sessions suggested that four out of the eight clients did not have secure attachment to either parent. The remaining clients may have had secure relationships with at least one parent in the past but this was currently under strain. To give specific examples, Carrie's father had become emotionally unavailable to her since her brother's accident, Merryl's mother had become less responsive and more egocentric since her brother's death and Zanda's father had died, while her "attachment sister" was abroad. Trauma within the family had severely affected the attachment relationships so that these adolescents were unable to turn to their usual source of comfort and security when stressful situations arose. All these students were facing a stage of transition without an available attachment figure to buffer the anxiety of change (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Papini et al., 1991) so they came for outside help and support.

In Chapter 15 the issue was raised as to whether it was the stress of parental relationships and the lack of parental attention, affection and support which prompted the clients to attend the counselling service or whether the lack of parental support was only recognized as a deficit while the counselling was progressing. The material suggests that there were individual differences. Three of the clients (Baljit, Suri and Sarah) came for counselling specifically for help to improve their parental
relationships. They recognized that the strains of hostile relationships at home were affecting both their general well-being and their ability to concentrate and cope with the academic work at college. However, having dropped out of college the previous year, Baljit and Suri had already had time to consider their problems and become conscious of the impact of their changing parental relationships. In contrast, Sarah knew that she wanted changes in the relationships with her parents but, even after counselling, never quite understood her attachment needs. Three others (Carrie, Merryl and Zanda) began to recognize the significance of their parental attachments during the counselling period and this understanding helped them to identify their needs and attempt to re-establish a more positive relationship. The two others (Steven and Julietta) were less open to considering their insecure parental attachments. Perhaps their defences were necessary because parental support would not be available and, with new and challenging transitions still to face, they would need other strategies for managing their anxieties. The implications of different attachment styles for counselling practice will be discussed later in this chapter. Meanwhile the material from this limited sample would suggest that, at this stressful period of transition, anxieties manifest themselves as inabilities to adjust and cope with the new situations before the adolescents recognize that they really need their parents' help and the accompanying sense of security to get through the transitions successfully. Many also want their parents' approval and encouragement.

At present there are no comparable studies of counselling client cohorts in the research literature with which to compare these findings. However individual case examples have illustrated how adolescents who attend counselling centres for help with college problems at a time of transition need help to address their insecurities regarding their parental attachment. Rice and Cummins (1996) described an eighteen year old who went for counselling because she was having difficulty adjusting to her community college and making new friends. The counselling, including one family session, helped her to recognize that although both her parents felt emotionally distant, her father was more supportive than she thought and this helped to raise her self-esteem. This adolescent, like the clients in the present study, did not initially recognize that she needed parental care and support for the life taking place outside the home.
Hypothesis V - the effects of counselling on adjustment and attachment

Although between the second and eighth counselling sessions the quantitative data did not show significant group increases in the adjustment score and, out of all the possible parental attachment measures, only produced a significant increase for the mother Alienation subscale on the IPPA, the counselling records reveal more interesting information.

Some of the clients did describe definite positive changes in their lives at college which they attributed to the counselling. Some effects were reported in the early sessions. For example Carrie and Julietta found their peers less hostile when they dared to approach them, while Steven and Sarah both began to concentrate on their academic work. All these changes were sustained. Other reported improvements were more gradual. Steven began to visit the refectory for coffee with his class mates, establishing social contacts, and he eventually made two friends to whom he dared disclose his homosexuality. It might be argued that reducing his anxiety in the social context at college enabled him to concentrate unselfconsciously on his studies. Baljit, who was starting to bunk classes in rebellious mood, and Carrie, who was anxious about her brother, both increased attendance at classes and they began to work as they became aware of a link between commitment to counselling and commitment to college. Perhaps they wanted to please me.

As an objective overall indication of positive adjustment, five of the clients passed their qualifications successfully at the end of the academic year after they had all appeared to be concerned about failure and dropping out when they first came for help. Suri left college but was holding down a full-time job seven months later, which was probably indicative of her generally improved life adjustment. Julietta and Zanda remained struggling at the same educational stage of transition. For this very small sample, this material gives a clearer indication of some possible positive effects of counselling on college adjustment than the quantitative data.

The qualitative responses to the counselling interventions on the parental attachment relationships also produced interesting individual differences. Some researchers
conducting quantitative studies regarding adolescents and family influences have suggested that relationships with mothers and with fathers need to be considered simultaneously (Wagner et al., 1996) and other researchers, not initially expecting differences between parents, have reported that relationships with mothers and with fathers can be associated with differing degrees of influence on adolescents' self-esteem (Allen et al., 1994), social, academic and emotional adjustment (Rice, 1992) and their career-searching behaviour (Ryan et al., 1996). As attachment theory allows that individuals can have different types of attachment relationships with each parent (Bowlby, 1988; Feeney & Noller, 1996) and the clients in the present study did appear to have quite distinct attachment relationships with each parent, particularly as counselling progressed, the counselling effects on relationships with mothers and with fathers will be discussed separately.

Mothers and daughters

Focusing on the mother-daughter relationship for non-clinical samples of high-achieving U.S. female college students, Kenny (1990), in a quantitative study, and Gleason (1991), in a qualitative study, both showed that emotionally healthy and successful young women enjoyed warm, trusting and emotionally supportive relationships with their mothers. In the present client group, three of the girls recognized, from the outset of the counselling, that they had poor relationships with their parents and they wanted to improve them. Despite the differences in their cultural, academic and socio-economic backgrounds from the females in Gleason's study they articulated their needs for parental support, trust and approval in a very similar manner. As the counselling progressed these clients began to distinguish between their parents and all found the opportunity to develop a distinct relationship with their mothers. With the counselling conditions replicating attachment conditions (Pistole, 1989a), the counselling relationship was possibly experienced as a model relationship to follow. By regularly focusing on mother, they began to think about her differently and this possibly enabled them to consider themselves from her perspective. Also I hoped that by using illustrations from our client-counsellor relationship to clarify and confront their own emotions and behaviour, some of them would be able to modify their reactions and expectations towards mother, to become more receptive.
to her and to kindle an improving relationship. For a short time and at a behavioural level Sarah was able to do this. After discussing her aggressive and staccato way of talking about her mother to me, during that week she consciously modulated her tone in conversation which was probably the change which enabled them to sit down together, talking gently and carrying on with their domestic hobbies, sitting side by side.

Other clients were less conscious of their relationships with their mothers when the counselling began, but, when prompted to think about their relationships they recognized the coldness, distance and hostility between them. They too then talked about their need for emotional support and improved communication. The responses from their mothers varied widely. When a counselling intervention helped Merryl to understand that her mother's "nosiness" was really her interest in and care for her daughter, she appeared to begin to work at their relationship. This seventeen year old came from a family which would be sociologically categorized in the lowest socio-economic band, where poverty and unemployment were the norm, a part-time cleaning job mother's highest aspiration, and where she was the only family member to have stayed in education beyond the statutory school-leaving age. She was very different from the educated, upper middle class women in Gleason's study or the American girls at boarding school (Brown and Gilligan, 1992) who could talk with ease about their relationships; yet inarticulate Merryl, whose counselling sessions were punctuated with very long silences, began to talk to her mother about the relationship between them. Mother responded by wanting Merryl's opinion of her mothering - and their relationship flourished with Merryl growing internally confident, possibly more secure in the knowledge that mother not only loved her but was also proud of her.

Carrie was initially reluctant to think about her relationship with the mother who had abandoned her. It was easier to attribute her panic attacks to her brother's severe disablement and her concern that he might soon die. When she did begin to understand the dynamics of her dysfunctional family she tried to establish a relationship with mother. In the short-term this was successful and Carrie was able to start living life for herself, progressing at college and getting a job.
In contrast with Merryl and Carrie, Julietta was convinced that any shortcomings in her relationship with her mother were her own fault. Her self-esteem was very low and focusing on her mother just increased feelings of self-criticism and depression. She avoided this "wonderful" mother for fear of boring her or making her angry and, unconsciously, of being rejected by her. Despite her spoken praise for her mother during the sessions, the IPPA discriminated attachment to mother as low on both the first test and the retest, which was consistent with my assessment. As just establishing a therapeutic alliance was a slow and precarious process, probably undermined by the regular focus on mother, there was no secure counselling attachment from which to work. Julietta's attachment relationship with her mother was not helped by these eight counselling sessions.

How the clients described the changing relationships with their mothers during the counselling period provides a way of assessing the merits of focusing on the maternal relationship in every counselling session (Gray, 1994). Bearing in mind the limitations of this study, the process material suggests that for five out of the seven females relationships with mothers improved on several dimensions. (Steven will be discussed separately.) Baljit, Carrie, Merryl, Zanda and Suri all made an effort to spend more time with and to talk to their mothers. Their more positive approach brought forth rewarding responses. Feelings of hostility appeared to dissipate as they began to re-establish contact which was consistent with the significant increase in the Alienation score on the IPPA for Mothers. However, calming the negative feelings may have been easier than eliciting positive ones. Only Merryl and Zanda clearly reported that they had their mother's true support by the eighth counselling session. Sarah's relationship with her mother was more difficult to assess because it did not stabilize. At the beginning of counselling their relationship improved dramatically, but then ran back into difficulties. However, I felt that this may well have been due to the dynamics of Sarah's relationship with her fiancé which benefitted by arguments with mother. For Julietta alone, focusing on mother was unhelpful and possibly detrimental.
Fathers and daughters

All the girls, apart from Carrie and Zanda, were feeling hostile towards their fathers when they first came for counselling. Interestingly the effects of the interventions on these relationships appeared quite different from those with mothers. Both Baljit and Suri worked very hard to try to talk to their fathers, to gain their understanding and their approval. Both came up against cultural and emotional barriers that they could not transcend and their relationships did not improve. (The cultural aspects will be further discussed in the next section where a larger group of Asian females may provide further understanding of their particular problems.) Counselling might have helped these clients to understand their situation but, as their fathers remained rigid and controlling, changes could not be negotiated. Baljit coped better with her father’s non-trusting behaviour, perhaps because her family circumstances were easier, and her relationship with mother was improving. She also had a secure attachment to grandmother which had given her a secure inner working model. Suri remained desperate for support and approval from her father because she was less able to rely on her very ill mother. With her inner working model of avoidant attachment she was also resistant to change because her angry expectation, that father would not understand her and would not be supportive, produced provocative behaviour with self-fulfilling consequences.

Changes for Julietta could only occur by the altering of perspectives, since her father was abroad and contact was scarce. At the beginning of counselling she was splitting between her perception of the good providing father who had tried to build a new and beautiful home for his family and the violent and unfaithful father, who had all but abandoned them. Talking about what she knew of his childhood she tried to understand the contrasts in his behaviour, to make sense of what she had witnessed and to reconcile the extremes into a more realistic father. She became sad for the father she had lost and worried that she might never see him again. Although the focus on father could not improve the attachment relationship, it did give her the opportunity to grieve for his absence and acknowledge her loss.

Merryl could have re-established contact with her father had she so wanted. Her sister
had already done so. When the counselling began she repeated over and over the stories of father's abusive neglect and his final rejection. Life with him had been difficult but she could never forgive him for deserting when they most needed him. Never before having had the opportunity to talk about her anger she found the experience freeing and she became less aggressive towards others. At one stage in a counselling session she was able to remember an odd happy occasion with father, but any rapprochement would have been disloyalty to mother - and possibly to her brother's memory too. Once she had managed to express all her feelings, father was best forgotten. She did not need him because now she had a reliable mother. The counselling was perhaps therapeutic in enabling her to become independent of father.

Sarah's attachment to her father was again difficult to assess. She wanted to focus on the negative aspects of their present relationship but she occasionally gave anecdotes of her flirtations with him. When she compared her father and her fiancé, the latter fell short. From a psychodynamic perspective she was still trying to work through her Oedipal feelings, as yet unable to separate from her father and transfer her sexual feelings to another adult male (Laufer & Laufer, 1984). From an attachment perspective she needed her father's support and approval to accomplish this transition. She could not see that she was sabotaging her relationship with father in order to stimulate the attachment responses of her fiancé. Despite her disbelief that it could ever happen, some weeks after the eighth counselling session she came to report that a reconciliation between fiancé and parents had occurred. Unfortunately no follow up sessions were requested and so I was unable to find out whether the style of her attachment relationships changed or to see how she coped with the next changes in her life.

The effects of the parent-focused counselling on the female clients' relationships with their fathers were individual. For this very small sample no common themes became evident. Perhaps the additional qualitative material about females relationships with fathers in the interview study will give a broader picture and suggest counselling strategies to improve difficult relationships.
Steven - Successful transition without secure parental attachment

As Steven was the only male client to complete all the sessions and the questionnaires, the effects of counselling for him are best discussed as an individual case. Despite rejection by his father before he was even born and a cold, avoidant relationship with his mother, Steven had managed to pass six GCSEs, cope with the transition from school to college, academically if not socially, and do well in his first year of A-levels. His godmother/social worker had probably acted as an attachment figure, buffering his anxiety. However she retired and moved a considerable distance away, so becoming less available. At the beginning of his second year he came for help when his anxieties about his sexuality became overwhelming, coinciding with anxieties about the imminent move away from home to university and a resulting lack of motivation towards his work. Interestingly Rice (1992) hypothesized that, at periods prior to important developmental transitions, young men in particular benefit from secure, minimally conflictual relations with their fathers. Was it coincidence that before this major life-change and without the necessary father figure, Steven was looking for outside support? Perhaps not - but he made it quite clear that he did not want his father’s help now. He had managed without him so far and he did not want to look at their possible relationship in the counselling. What he wanted from counselling was what a son might expect from a father: ongoing support, approval and a secure base. He arrived each week with a list of academic worries, ensuring that he would not lose his entitlement to counselling and this new attachment relationship.

He also dismissed the possibility of changing the avoidant relationship with his mother. The counselling helped him to recognize this as adaptive behaviour, but he articulated that it was necessary to defend himself from being thrown out of home like his sister. The one positive aspect of the counselling focus on mother was that during this period he reported that their everyday interactions became increasingly civil and he occasionally talked about life from her perspective. In contrast, he was able to modify his avoidant behaviour towards his peers and he dared to make friends with some girls on his course. Overall the counselling did not appear to affect Steven’s attachment relationship with his mother, for he could not depend on her for emotional support or to contain his anxiety. Nevertheless he used counselling and other support
to progress successfully to university and through his first term. Thus his case provides a single illustration of an adolescent traversing a major stage of transition without secure parental attachment, with a counsellor partially and temporarily fulfilling the role of secure attachment figure.

Implications for student counselling
The qualitative material suggested that there might be an association between the individual client's way of responding to the counselling and his or her attachment style. Those clients who had experienced some form of secure attachment previously were more receptive to the counselling relationship than those whose attachment behaviour had been insecure. Baljit, Merryl and Zanda had all spoken about some calm periods in childhood with an available secure attachment figure which had probably allowed them to build an inner working model, based on the ready availability and responsiveness of their attachment figure and believing in their own self-worth, even in the absence of the attachment figure (Blain et al., 1993). However, changing family circumstances had caused their attachment figure to become unavailable and when they had to face the transitional situation of coming to college without their customary anxiety buffers, they were facing a crisis. For each of them the counselling relationship seemed to provide an immediate containment, acknowledging their pain and anxiety and then directing them towards their mothers who appeared willing and able to become dependable attachment figures.

In her discussion of the implications of individual attachment differences for counselling, Pistole (1989a) who based her theories on Sroufe’s (1988) attachment work, suggested that an individual with a secure attachment style comes for help in a crisis. The crisis can be stabilized with the help of short-term counselling work, by looking at the panic or depressive feelings as adaptive behaviour which has secured help, reframing it as transitional behaviour and redirecting the client back to his or her usual level of effective functioning. The counselling appeared to work like this for the securely attached students. Once they could understand the backgrounds to their anxieties, their maladaptive behaviour became unnecessary, (Baljit's angry acting out; Merryl's eating problems; Zanda's self-cutting.) As these clients had not yet attained
emotional independence from their parents, a return to their normal level of effective functioning relied on their willingness to avail themselves of parental support and on a parent being available. Fortunately, when they each felt able to approach their mother, they found that she was interested, caring and an available secure base.

For those with insecure attachment styles the parent-focused counselling evoked different responses. As Sarah was the only client who was categorized as having an anxious-ambivalent attachment style, no real inferences can be drawn from this single example but her way of responding does illustrate some contrasts with the more securely attached clients. Pistole described the anxious-ambivalent individual as being preoccupied with his or her partner and responding to a threat of separation by becoming disorganized or overwhelmed and unable to regulate the intense affect. Sarah really did fear that with parents and fiancé in confrontation she would be forced to choose between them and she did not want to separate from either. The counselling managed to contain her anxiety while she learned to modify her behaviour towards both parties but the changes were all at the behavioural level. Changing her inner working model was not so easy, possibly because mutually trusting, open relationships were not within her experience. She still needed to possess and control her fiancé and wanted other people to know the intimate details of their relationship so that they could confirm the attachment to her. It was probably the changing relationships between fiancé and parents outside the counselling which had beneficial effects. Perhaps family therapy would have provided a more helpful therapeutic environment for Sarah to express and explore her needs for trust and security with her parents, sister and fiancé and for her to understand their needs, enabling them all to effect change.

As well as responding differently from the securely attached, those categorized as having insecure-avoidant attachment responded to the counselling differently from one another. Although these individuals can be compared, the essence of the qualitative material for each of them must be individually discussed before the common theme can be extracted. Perhaps Julietta came the nearest to fulfilling the "fearful-avoidant" attachment category (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). She felt unworthy and
unlovable and she avoided everyone, fearing that if she approached and became
vulnerable she would be ultimately rejected. She came for counselling help out of
desperation because she could see herself failing again, but she remained convinced
that all the fault was her own and no-one would be able or want to help her.
Unfortunately my attempts to establish a trusting and secure counselling relationship
were probably undermined by the research protocol which introduced her parents
regularly into each weekly session. Theoretically this makes sense. If avoidant
attachment style is developed in infancy through unresponsive mothering and
“functional handling” (Holmes, 1993) and reinforced through childhood by parents
who do not show interest or support, then talking about these parents in the
counselling will only reinforce the adolescent’s low self-image. This focus may well
be useful after a good counselling relationship has developed, when the client begins
to feel valued, respected and develops some inner worth. Then, as Pistole (1989a)
suggested, the client’s avoidance can be confronted and she can come to understand
why this behaviour was adaptive and that it could be relinquished. However, Julietta
was not at this stage. She still feared rejection by the counsellor and was unable to
express her attachment related emotions. The counselling help would have been more
effective had it been less ambitious and just concerned with giving Julietta the
experience of a secure relationship.

Steven’s attachment working model also appeared to be “fearful-avoidant” but his life
coping mechanisms were slightly more advanced than Julietta’s. As described earlier,
although he still avoided or showed hostility towards parents, peers, teachers and other
authority figures, he had experienced a secure relationship with his godmother and she
was his anxiety buffer. When he referred himself for counselling he wanted the same
sort of help. He was also able to tell me that the research focus on parents was
unhelpful for him. Although the links between his feelings about his unresponsive and
rejecting parents and his hostility towards authority figures were useful for my
understanding of him, this was not the appropriate time for him to be working on
parental relationships. He might be in a better position to deal with feelings about
his parents when he has truly established a secure inner world based on his own self-
worth, regardless of them. This qualitative material indicated the primary importance

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of the counselling relationship and its attachment significance. It suggests that a parental focus at a time of major adolescent transition when the feature of the ongoing parental relationship is insecure attachment could be unhelpful and possibly detrimental.

Carrie was the third client that I categorized as fearful-avoidant, an attachment style that she had developed towards her mother and that she reverted to when her father became unavailable and she reached a stage of transition. Although she was uncomfortable in the early stages of our relationship, rather like Julietta, she did begin to trust. Focusing on her mother was helpful because it allowed her to express her hitherto repressed anger and rage. If I restricted myself just to the eight counselling research sessions I could report that the parental focus was very beneficial because Carrie turned to her mother for help and mother was willing to take over some of the family responsibilities and allow Carrie to begin to develop an independent life of her own. However, as the aim of this research is to usefully inform other student counsellors, I have to add the additional information which comes from the counselling which extended beyond the research remit. Carrie did conquer her panic attacks, but the next stage of transition brought accompanying depression. While her father remained unavailable, her mother continued to act like a rebellious teenager and was unable to offer appropriate mothering behaviour towards Carrie. The newly reinforced feelings of self-worth began to slip away again as she felt that her mother did not care after all and her avoidant defences were less effective. Again family therapy may have helped but Carrie rejected the offer. As for Steven, the counselling relationship did provide a sound anxiety buffer which enabled Carrie to adapt to college and get her qualification, but this was just the beginning of a long period of transition between school and the adult world of work. Her avoidant behaviour may have been maladaptive towards college staff and peers, but retaining it may have been helpful in relation to her mother. Again the parental interventions which focused on her inner working model might have been better left to a later stage in her development.

The eighth client, Suri, had been tentatively categorized as “avoidant-dismissing.” She
had positive feelings of independence and self-esteem but she did expect others to be able to provide the approval and affirmation that she so desperately needed. She appeared to be an adolescent example of Josselson’s (1980) infant stage of “rapprochement”, wanting to explore, knowing that her parents would applaud and provide a safe base for return in times of danger. Establishing the counselling relationship was easy and comfortable whilst I was perceived as affirming, but any confrontation was taken as criticism and finally she “rubbished” our work because her relationship with father could not change. Had mother’s medical condition been less debilitating, she might have responded to the overtures and given Suri more emotional support and stability, but her condition was painful and deteriorating and her daughter’s needs must have been secondary. The parental focus, which was Suri’s agenda too, only too painfully exposed their shortcomings towards her expectations. The focus on her part-time work where she was independent of her parents’ anxieties or ambitions probably led to the most helpful intervention. In an environment where she did not expect parental interest or support she was flourishing. Perhaps at this stage of transitional insecurity, where parents cannot provide appropriate support, looking elsewhere and providing anxiety containment and support may be the most help that counselling can give.

Considering together the five clients whom I categorized as having insecure attachment styles, the good counselling relationship appears to have been more helpful than the parental focus. The latter may have had the effect of disturbing well-held defences. Although such defences led to maladaptive behaviour which was detrimental to adjustment to college, perhaps handicapping peer relationships and aggravating difficulties in relation to tutors, teachers and other adults, the adolescent needed these defences to successfully get through this period of transition with its attendant anxieties. Understanding the attachment pattern was perhaps more useful for the counsellor, who could then respond appropriately, by becoming the temporary attachment figure and necessary anxiety buffer.
Major conclusions

The findings from the counselling study suggest that the eight clients were poorly adjusted to college. Furthermore some of these clients may well have dropped out of college or been asked to leave because of their deteriorating work and attendance if college counselling had not been available. Although other supportive factors cannot be ruled out, the counselling probably played some part in enabling five out of the eight to achieve their academic qualifications.

These findings also support the quantitative findings that, when the clients sought help, they were less securely attached to their parents than the normal population. It provides information to aid an understanding as to how the individual relationships developed and the effects on life at college and general well-being.

The qualitative information also appears to provide some understanding as to why hypothesis V was not supported by the quantitative data. It suggests that adolescents with some secure attachment experience and who still have a parent or other attachment figure willing and available to give emotional support, to buffer anxiety and to provide a secure base may well benefit from counselling which focuses on attachment relationships. Even if the breakdown of the secure attachment relationship occurred some years previously, the early positive attachment experience can be retrieved and, with more mature perspectives and understanding, the adolescent can re-attach or form a new attachment with resultant well-being.

However attempts to use a similar strategy for therapeutic work with insecurely attached adolescents is much less likely to be successful. Whilst working with an adolescent with an insecure attachment style, the counsellor should bear in mind that this attachment behaviour may still be functioning as a successful defence regarding a parent or other attachment figure, even though it is producing unfortunate consequences in other areas of his or her life. The findings from the present study suggest that the student counsellor's task is to become the buffer to help the adolescent withstand transitional anxieties and also to enable him or her to modify their behaviour and understanding of relationships with others, so that other external support can be
obtained, as suggested by Mallinckrodt (1992).

Understanding the attachment style and history of a client can be very helpful to the counsellor, even if it is not appropriate to communicate it to the client. Just helping the client to understand and modify their everyday behaviour in relationships may be sufficiently helpful. In the quantitative study the scores on the Alienation subscale for the IPPA for Mothers did increase significantly between the second and eighth counselling session which suggests that the hostility or resentment in their everyday relationships probably decreased. There was some consistent qualitative evidence from almost all the clients that their daily relationships with mothers had become less stressful, even if their mothers were unable to function as secure attachment figures. Since this counselling group had significantly lower scores on the Alienation subscale of the IPPA for Peers, some focus on peer relationships may have been similarly helpful.

In Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter, I gave some case examples from therapists working from different theoretical perspectives which illustrated the therapeutic benefits of an adolescent being helped to emotionally reconnect to a parent, (e.g. Haley, 1980; Kaplan et al., 1991; Rice & Cummins, 1996.) However individual case examples can be selected just to illustrate a “cherished belief” (Sexton, 1996). In the present study a cohort of clients were followed through counselling and all the cases were reported, without selection, even though some of the findings were contrary to theoretical expectations. As well as showing how attachment theory can be useful for understanding and helping adolescents, this material suggests that some of those with insecure parental attachment may not be ready to deal with their attachment issues until they have traversed some of the difficult transitional stages with their defences intact. This qualitative data has been useful for testing the research hypothesis and showing its limitations. Perhaps distinctions should be made when offering counselling help to adolescents according to their attachment needs. Suggestions for further research will be found in Chapter 22.
SECTION V:

AN INTERVIEW STUDY
Chapter 18

AN INTERVIEW STUDY:
RATIONALE & METHODOLOGY

The Rationale
In the research design for the counselling study a small sample of students, who were not receiving counselling, were to be tested and retested on the sets of questionnaires and compared with the students receiving counselling. However, in addition to supplying this quantitative data, these subjects could be a valuable resource for the research as a whole by providing qualitative information about their performance at college and their parental and peer relationships. They could explain the sorts of problems they were facing at college and whether they had looked to anyone else for help or support. They could also describe their relationships, perhaps providing some insights as to how the parental relationships have developed, whether they have been affected by separation or whether relationships have changed with the transition to college. While the quantitative data would measure the strength of the relationship between college adjustment and attachments, subjects could also be asked whether they perceived any ways in which their adjustment was affected by their relationships with parents or friends or, vice versa, that their performance at college had repercussions on these relationships. With a structure based on adjustment to college, the interview would provide an opportunity to explore the dynamics of how attachment and emotional well-being are associated in late adolescence.

As the overall purpose of this research is to inform counsellors and to find ways of helping adolescents who are having difficulty in fulfilling their potential, most valuable information might be gained from interviewing students who can be identified as adjusting poorly to college. If, as hypothesized, students who are securely attached to their parents show good adjustment to life and study at college, students at the other end of the adjustment continuum should describe poor parental attachment. Although in her first study, Kenny (1987) asked her high-achieving students to describe their
parental relationships all her subsequent research relied on questionnaire data. By interviewing students who are experiencing problems at college, they might be able to explore the sorts of help that they could use. If they perceive parental attachment to be a problem affecting their well-being, is it because they feel that their parents do not allow them independence, or because their parents rarely show affection, appreciation, approval or support? Are their arguments over issues of trust, or has communication broken down, resulting in relationships full of guilt or resentment? Clarifying the salient difficulties in parental relationships, may lead to insights as to how counselling can address the problems and offer the appropriate support.

Cultural differences can be found in the nature of adolescent-parent relationships and this has been evident in my clinical work. While British Asian students often complain that their parents have unreasonable expectations for them to succeed academically and to conform to specific social standards, the non-Asian students sometimes despair that their parents are not interested in them staying at college and would prefer them to get a job and leave home. In a recent questionnaire study, Shams and Williams (1995) found that British Asian adolescents perceived more parental protection than non-Asian adolescents and that British Asian girls perceived less parental care than non-Asian girls. Interviewing students from a culturally diverse sample would provide an opportunity to compare and contrast how these students perceive different aspects of their parental relationships and the sort of changes they might regard as helpful to them. Such information may assist in the planning of counselling intervention for future students, because to counsel adolescents appropriately, it may be necessary to have a good understanding of their cultural background.

The interview also offers the opportunity to compare and contrast gender differences in the kind of relationship an adolescent has with each parent. Some literature has highlighted the significance of the father-son relationship for the male adolescent (Grotevant & Cooper, 1985; Blustein et al., 1991; Bhushan & Shirali, 1992; Rice, 1992); others have stressed the importance of the mother-daughter relationship for young women (Rich, 1989; Stern, 1989; Surrey, 1991; Gleason, 1991). By examining
how students describe different aspects of their relationships it may be possible to infer whether some relationships are critical for good adjustment at the time of transition between school and the adult world. Comparing parental and peer relationships may also indicate whether good friendships can substitute for difficult or insecure attachment to parents. Finally analysis of the interviews may indicate whether it is meaningful to assign poorly adjusted students to secure and insecure attachment categories and whether this might be relevant and helpful for college counsellors.

Methodology and subject selection
The rationale, criteria and procedure for selecting the poorly adjusted students to be retested on the questionnaires and then interviewed for this study has been described in Chapter 14. Having both quantitative and qualitative data from these subjects afforded an additional opportunity to check the validity of both measures.

A semi-structured interview was selected as the best method for gathering the qualitative information. An interview guide ensured that all subjects would be asked key open questions in approximately the same order, to facilitate comparison, but with flexibility to follow up responses. The interview questions were prepared with reference to the areas covered by all four questionnaires: the Adjustment to College Questionnaire, the PAQ and the IPPAs for parents and for friends (see the protocol in Appendix 18.1) so that the qualitative and quantitative data could be integrated in due course (McLeod, 1994).

As the procedure of retest followed by interview was used effectively for the reliability and validity study of the AdColl (see Chapter 9), it was repeated. To recap: subjects were given individual appointments to attend the Counselling Room. Firstly the subject completed the questionnaires, while the researcher remained in the room, seated away from the subject. Then the interview procedure was explained and consent forms signed, followed by the interview itself which was audio-taped. At the conclusion the purpose of the research was explained in general terms and the availability of the counselling service was explained where appropriate. Subject details are presented in the next chapter.
Chapter 19

ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

The interviews provided information from sixteen adolescents whose initial scores on the Adjustment to College Questionnaire suggested that they had experienced some difficulties at college. Following the protocol they were invited to talk about their adjustment to college and their relationships with their parents and with peers and with any other individuals who were significant in their lives. From the wealth of information they produced, evidence was extracted of the interactions between adjustment to college and parental and peer attachment and other information relevant to the hypotheses of the overall research.

There were many individual differences. Some subjects were aware that their attachment relationships were affecting their ability to attend or to work at college, while others appeared never to have considered a connection. While some had thought quite deeply about their relationships with their parents, others had either taken them for granted or else repressed their feelings because they were painful. Whilst analysing the interviews the following questions were kept in mind:

1. Did the subject make any unprompted connections between their adjustment to college and their parental attachments?
2. Has the adjustment to college been affected by parental relationships?
3. Are there any signs of a changing parental relationship/attachment?
4. Does attachment theory have any relevance in the understanding of this student, his or her relationships and well-being?
5. Are mother-daughter or father-son relationships particularly significant?
6. How relevant are peer relationships?

As the interaction of gender and ethnicity produced some significant differences in the quantitative questionnaire study and as cultural differences appeared to be pertinent in the counselling study, the interviews have been grouped according to gender and
ethnicity to facilitate the search for common themes and contrasts. However, the subjects have been introduced individually, using a standard format of presenting a self-evaluation of adjustment to college followed by descriptions of relationships to parents and to peers. Although this material was in danger of appearing repetitious, its value lay in the fine detail which revealed the differences, as well as the similarities, between the individuals. It was from this detailed information that the histories of how parental relationships had developed could be understood and the evidence suggesting the different attachment styles could be pieced together. The important elements from each interview were recorded here so that they would be on record for discussion in the next chapter. Each subject has been presented fully, to guard against the temptation of just selecting examples to support the hypotheses.

Some quantitative data has been included alongside the interview material, so providing an opportunity to triangulate the information (McLeod, 1996). Table 19.1 showing the interviewees' questionnaire scores can be found in the Appendix 19.1. Personal and family details regarding individual subjects are presented in Table 19.2. In the analysis each student has been referred to by his or her research number. Pseudonyms were not invented because an actual name might have been attached by accident.

As each subject only agreed to a one-off interview, which was not a counselling session, care was taken not to open wounds. I was aware that the offer of therapeutic work was not likely to be taken up. This also meant that I could not check out my hunches because testing out my perceptions of an individual's relationships would involve making an interpretation that might disturb that adolescent's emotional equilibrium. Anyway, many of my interpretations were only formed during the analysis of the data, when I could also dwell on the transference and counter-transference feelings, but when I no longer had access to the individuals. This limitation was borne in mind whilst considering the information from the interviews.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>GCSEs</th>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Parental Marital Status</th>
<th>Mother's Occupation</th>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>S63</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>GCSEs</td>
<td>Married &amp; together</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Driving instructor</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>GCSEs</td>
<td>Married &amp; together</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>Divorced &amp; apart</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Baggage handler</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>British White/Caribbean</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Child Care</td>
<td>Married but living separately</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Care assistant</td>
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<tr>
<td>S193</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Asian Pakistani</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>A levels</td>
<td>Married, father abroad</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
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<tr>
<td>S196</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Asian(African)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A levels</td>
<td>About to divorce</td>
<td>Aircraft cleaner</td>
<td>Sub-postmaster</td>
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<tr>
<td>S225</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>British White</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>I.T (Basic)</td>
<td>Divorced &amp; apart</td>
<td>Was sales rep.</td>
<td>Butcher</td>
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<td>S229</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>British White</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>I.T.(Advanced)</td>
<td>Married, apart in week</td>
<td>Night nurse</td>
<td>Research engineer</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>British White</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>I.T.(Advanced)</td>
<td>Married &amp; together</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
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<tr>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Black African</td>
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<td>I.T.(Advanced)</td>
<td>Divorced, father abroad</td>
<td>Care assistant</td>
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<td>UK /Asian Afr.</td>
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<td>A levels</td>
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<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
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<td>Divorced &amp; apart</td>
<td>Catering manager</td>
<td>Builder</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Business Admin</td>
<td>Divorced &amp; apart</td>
<td>Classroom assistant</td>
<td>Park-keeper</td>
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Table 19.2 Personal Details of Interviewees
FOUR WHITE BRITISH FEMALE ADOLESCENTS

Four female interviewees, S82, S298, S359 and S374, were daughters of white British parents. All of them reported experiencing some problems at college and all but S359 thought that their difficulties had been serious at the time when they filled in their initial set of questionnaires. Some eight to twelve weeks later when they were interviewed, they each felt that their adjustment had improved for a variety of reasons. All of these young women described having enjoyed stable relationships with both of their natural parents during the early part of their childhoods, but problems between parents had developed for all of them. All but S298’s parents were now divorced and living separately. The girls’ relationships with their parents had developed in contrasting ways.

S298

Articulate eighteen year old S298 was defensive throughout her interview, putting on an assertive and independent front. Asked about her adjustment to college she responded that she didn’t need to make new friends at college because she was happy with the friends she had already. Her work had not been going well but was now improving because her mother had moved the computer to her own home. Although her AdColl27 score had improved since the initial test her adjustment to college score was still only just above the level of the 25th percentile compared with the sample of students who were the subjects for the Questionnaire Study.¹

S298 was living independently from her parents. Her story was that she had been thrown out of home after a stormy adolescence. She had been at the edge of the “drinks and drugs” scene, but after she had moved out “...it didn’t interest me any more. I wasn’t rebelling against my parents.” However as the interview developed there were many clues suggesting unhappiness and discontent in the family. Analysis of this adolescent’s account of the evening she was “thrown out” revealed that she really took advantage of father’s angry suggestion that she should leave home. This

¹Throughout this analysis the subjects’ questionnaire scores are compared with those of the whole sample of subjects used for the Questionnaire study. Questionnaire group scores are included at the bottom of Table 19.1 in Appendix 19.1.
appeared to be her way out of a home where she may well have been acting out the family tensions for a marriage that was failing. S could recognize a family pattern:

S Yes. If I were back at home now all I could see was me being - ummm- someone for my Mum to talk about with all the problems that she is having with P my brother (aged 15) now. It is just repeated problems but now I won't be there for her to talk about it.

A Right. So you see yourself very much - that if you were at home them you have to support your mother.

S Yes

A It is that way round?

S Because I never appear to my Mum that - like - I needed any support.

She could see that her brother was following her lead, and she could also see that her once sociable and easy-going mother was in need of support, which she was reluctant to provide. She was irritated by and angry with her mother - although when she was ill she phoned her mother for sympathy! She really did want the security, care and affection that mother was once able to provide but most of the time S298 denied these needs. Her score for the IPPA for Mothers was below the 25th percentile.

In contrast she idolised her father and was keen to impress him, as well as feeling angry towards him. Father was frequently away on business trips and family life had always been what she described as "pretty independent." Although she wrote on her questionnaire that her parents were "not living together as man and wife" she never referred to this in the interview and did not seem to associate her parents' marital problems as a source of her own problems. However, she did report the rivalry between her parents for her affection and they had now both helped her to set up home independently. Her IPPA for Fathers' score was in the average range.

When asked whether friends parents or friends were more important in her life:

S Neither. No-one is really that important. No-one is important.

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She adopted a stance of self-reliance and in the transference I was treated as mother. She was determined to show that she was independent, glad to have left home and doing well. Only near the end did she allow her defences to slip to reveal the needy individual.

In attachment terms her pattern of behaviour towards most people fitted closely with Bartholomew and Horowitz’ (1991) category of insecure avoidant-dismissing attachment. However she was still struggling with her Oedipal feelings towards her father and towards him she may have had anxious ambivalent attachment. Whatever her form of insecurity, her inner working model was affecting her ability to make good new relationships and without a secure parental base she was also having difficulty in adjusting successfully to college.

S374

This seventeen year old seemed to be lacking in self-confidence. She had been nervous about coming to college and found it difficult to adjust socially. She wasn't really enjoying her course, even now, but she was managing just to get pass grades and now she knew “a few more people.” Her AdColl27 had risen just four points from 86 to 90, again just reaching the 25th percentile level.

She did not make the connection between her adjustment to college and the recent disruption in her family life. She was living with her father with whom she had a shallow relationship which was reflected in the way she answered questions about him, briefly and without enthusiasm. However she was much more positive about her relationship with her mother. (Her questionnaire results were consistent with her descriptions of these relationships.) She explained that her parents had split up when she was aged eleven, and she had stayed with Mum while her older sister and brother had lived with Dad. Her brother and sister had now left home and, as mother and her boyfriend had moved a few miles away, before starting college S had also had to move to live with father. At this time Dad had been involved in a relationship, and so he was not much at home, expecting her to be independent, but over the past few weeks he had broken up with his girlfriend. A short excerpt from the interview gives
some clues about how the family changes affected her social relationships.

S I did not go out quite so much then. I would have preferred him to be around a bit more. But now I go out a lot so it is the other way round now.

A How has it come about that you are out more now?

S I always used to do a bit more college work... and friends who I used to hang around (with) got on my nerves a bit and I never used to go out and see them so much. That is probably why I did not go out so much.

A Have you changed your crowd?

S Well I still see them but I spend more time with my other friends.

A So you have changed your group of friends a bit. Was that the problem?

S I just don't see them. They changed - their attitude has changed as well. They are better. I get on with them alright.

S had lost her secure base and the daily contact with mother, to whom she was securely attached, just at the time when she was transferring to the semi-adult "strange" world of college. Father had not given her the support she needed. Her sudden insecurity had affected even her relationship with old friends for her attitude towards them changed too and she had become withdrawn. However, perhaps when father broke off his relationship, he took more of an interest in his daughter and this gave her renewed confidence with her friends, although she interpreted it as them changing.

Her life both at college and at home were improving slightly, (and her PAQ score rose 22 points) but when asked whether her parents or her friends were more important in her life she hesitated:

S About equal. I am paying more attention to my friend at the moment because she has gone through a loss. I am seeing her a lot and keeping her company and that - so I suppose at the moment she is like my main concern.

I felt that she was projecting into her best friend her own feelings and her need for
some care and attention. The change in parental availability for emotional support also seemed to be reflected in a series of illnesses.

S If I was someone outside I would think that I was a hypochondriac because I am always ill - nothing major.

She talked about stomach aches and "irritable bowel." Despite describing her life as "Okay at the moment", I felt that all was not well. She was missing the security of life at home with mother.

S82
Another seventeen year old, S82 was pleased to have the opportunity to talk about herself. Although she had experienced no real difficulties in settling into her Child Care course at college, she was having problems with the work. Asked whether things had changed at college since she had initially completed the questionnaires, she responded:

S I think- not so much changed - but I've realised where I am going wrong like. It was just - when I was filling in the questionnaire - like everything I wanted to say or what I felt I was doing wrong - was like coming out. And it made me realize what things I was doing wrong ... and things like that.

She was beginning to recognize that her adjustment to college was not as good as she had believed but she did not connect her problems with her parental relationships. Her AdColl27 score did improve 14 points between the test and the retest but 13 of these points were on social adjustment and she was still only just above the 25th percentile.

Like S374, her parents were divorced and she was splitting between her mother and her father. However S82 was living with mother whom she saw as over-protective and they were continually arguing. She idealized her relationship with father, who visited three times a week. Her quantitative questionnaire results were consistent with
her qualitative descriptions, with IPPA scores for mother below the 25th percentile and
IPPA scores for father above the 75th percentile. Her PAQ score had dropped 30
points between the initial test and retest, but it was still with the average range. Her
descriptions illustrated the contrasting relationships:

S  Well me and my Dad - you mean like - Me and my Dad - my feelings to my
      Dad are sort of ....really lovable. Like if I cry - he'll give me a big hug and
that- we'll sit there and talk and that. My Mum - like if I'm upset about
      something -Instead of saying something like "Are you alright?" It's like "What
are you in a mood you for? What you crying for? What are you upset for?"
      She's just like.....
A  So she's not quite as comforting
S  No - she can be sometimes. She's not all bad I don't want to show a ( tape
      unclear ) Mum. No. It's not so much that she doesn't care, it's just that she
doesn't understand most of the time - exactly what I'm going through.

She was the youngest of her mother's five children. Dad was the father of just the
three youngest.

S  ...I'm his little baby and his little princess - and things like that. Whereas
      Mum is sort of - I think that's what it is - My Dad treats me like a little baby
so he's more sort of loving and everything. My Mum's like - my Mum knows
      I'm a grown up and so she treats me like one and that. "I don't need to tell
you I love you. You know I love you."

She still seemed to be struggling with her Oedipal feelings and perhaps her way of
keeping Dad was to remain in an immature relationship with him. Mother, on the
other hand, seemed impatient for her to grow up.

Throughout the interview I felt that S82 had something that she wanted to disclose but
did not dare. There were some clues in the way she was reluctant to trust her friends
too, preferring to be a listener. When I was concluding the interview I asked how she
felt about talking to me.

S: It feels good - it does. It's not like - it's not so much a weight off my chest because talking to someone is a lot better than writing it down - But it's not like the work - it's easy to write down how I feel- not speak to someone how I feel rather than write it. But it seems- I can write it down - but I prefer to speak to someone- but I just haven't got the courage to speak to someone about it.

This response was not very coherent and yet it expressed her confusion and her need to be able to trust someone sufficiently to confide her secrets. I explained about counselling, but she did not come back to see me and I do not know if she referred herself elsewhere.

Although it was difficult to assign her to an attachment category, the interview evidence suggested that her inability to trust others, her lack of confidence in social situations and a possibly cold and partly rejecting mother fitted most closely with Feeney and Noller's (1996, p. 98) description of anxious-avoidant attachment towards her mother. Her attachment towards her father may have been better categorized as anxious-ambivalent.

S359

Although this sixteen year old also came from a home where parents had divorced, her subsequent parental relationships remained positive and this was reflected in her better ability to cope with disappointment regarding college.

Our interview was particularly relaxed and easy. S359 had decided that the legal secretarial course she had chosen was a mistake but she would make the most of it and she had already talked to her tutor about changing to a hospitality and catering course for the following year. Her assignments and her attendance had been poor at one point but she now sounded like a well-adjusted student. Her AdColl27 score rose 22 points on the retest, also placing her well within the normal range.
Turning to her family, S359 considered that she had a close relationship with both of her parents. They had been open about their separation when she was about eight years old, which was the time that father had an affair with a woman he has since married. S had shared the distress with her mother and older sister and they had regularly sat on the settee together and cried. Now life had moved on and mother had a boyfriend. S was open about her feelings:

S  It feels better because I don't feel like - guilty if I go out and leave her and that sort of thing. I feel better in that way that she has got her own life. But sometimes I feel she is a bit - I don't know - she can get a bit selfish when she wants to be with him and not with everybody else sometimes. This is just recently. I don't know. I think it is just because it has changed. I am not used to it.

Nevertheless Mum still had time to talk about college and to guide and encourage her to make her own decisions.

Her relationship with father, whom she saw weekly, was also good. She could confide in him too although they would not talk about the really personal feminine things that she would discuss with Mum. He took an interest in her future career too. This young woman was meticulous about giving me totally honest answers and trying not to exaggerate her relationships. She could admit that her parents' divorce had upset her and that she wished things had been better between them but she could accept the history. Asked about the feelings she had towards her parents she responded:

S  Feelings? I love them both and I talk to them and I respect them and I do listen to what they say to me. I don't always do what they say but...

S359 appeared to be securely attached to both her parents. Her questionnaire results portrayed the same picture with her PAQ and IPPA for parents all stable and scoring above the 75th percentile. As far as peer relationships were concerned she had four close friends on whom she could rely and a long-term serious relationship with a
boyfriend. Perhaps with the help of her supportive parents she had managed to overcome her initial disappointment with college and she was now a well-adjusted student.

A summary
These four young women appeared to support the hypothesis that adjustment to college was associated with parental attachment. S359 was the only positive example. Despite her parents' divorce she had managed to maintain secure attachment to both of them. Perhaps it was a secure internal working model together with parental support which enabled her to overcome her disappointment with college and to explore possibilities and plan for the following year. She contrasted with the three other young women. S374 may have been securely attached to her mother, but the loss of her secure base affected her adjustment to college and she needed support from father too. By mentioning her ill-health at the end of the interview, she indicated that at some level she was aware of her own insecurity. Both S82 and S298 had developed avoidant attachment working models. S298 was clearly avoidant-dismissing and she strove to be independent and deny her need for care and attention, although her ability to adjust to college both socially and with her work reflected her insecurities. S82 was probably more fearful-avoidant with a need to talk to someone but a difficulty in finding someone to trust. Although she did begin to socialize successfully at college, her work remained a problem and her attendance fell. In addition, the latter two girls were also both still working through Oedipal feelings in that they were still desperate for attention and affection from their fathers and feeling rivalrous towards their mothers.

A FEMALE STUDENT WHOSE FATHER IS BLACK CARIBBEAN AND WHOSE MOTHER IS WHITE BRITISH

Grouping individual students into mutually exclusive categories can be an artificial process. When a category has only one representative it is impossible to know whether some aspects of behaviour or attachment are culturally determined or affected.
This sixteen year old student, who like S82 was also on a Child Care course, scored 76 both on the initial test of AdColl27 and on the retest, which was well below the 25th percentile. She had had difficulty settling into her placement, she was behind with her assignments, her attendance was erratic and she was feeling socially insecure, as illustrated by the following:

S  
Oh yes. I sit with my friends and that but then you don't really know if they are talking about you behind your back. Because there have been many times I have been sitting there and they have been talking about people and then you think when you're not in: Are they talking about you?

Her home life had been unsettled for some years. From her confused and what Fonagy et al. (1991) might describe as incoherent narrative, her story might be summarized as follows: Until the age of eleven S83 and her older brother lived with both mother, who was White British, and father who was Black and had immigrated from Jamaica. Up until that time S82 regarded her mother as her primary attachment figure and felt very close to her. One day, without warning, after an argument with father, mother left. There was no contact with her for the next two and a half years, not even Christmas or Birthday cards. S and her brother continued to live with their father until mother resumed contact, found temporary accommodation nearby and the two teenagers went back to live with mother. That home was lost because of mother's relationship with a violent boyfriend and there was another move back to father. They had shuttled back and forth but now S was living with mother, while her brother who had become a criminal offender was given his own flat by social services.

Despite living in her home, S had very little daily contact with mother. She did her own cooking, laundry and housework. Mother was almost always out and S lived alone, mainly keeping to her bedroom. Her mother imposed no restrictions and would not be "fussed" if she took drugs. Although she kept her emotions well hidden, S described some of her feelings as she told her story:
I suppose I haven't forgiven her. Because when she left when she was - when I was about ten or eleven, I didn't forgive her for that. So I don't - What it was - she used to hang around with this other girl who was about - she was about seventeen, eighteen. I was with my Dad. I never saw her for about three years and so I feel like she treated her - this girl - more like a daughter than me.

S was angry about her abandonment and lacking in self-esteem and she had adopted the defence of avoiding her mother. Her IPPA for Mothers' score was also very low.

She perceived her father as strict and over-protective. She went to see him regularly, when he had finished working and was drinking in the pub. Most interaction took place when he had been drinking because otherwise he was uncommunicative. He would embarrass her by talking about personal things in front of her friends and would also issue warnings about drugs and alcohol. However, she kept repeating that father was doing his best and that he loved her and her brother. When asked to consider their relationship she responded that although he gave them money, he would never take them out. She would love him to take her to a theme park or even just for a drive. He had offered to take her to Jamaica but she thought that she would be left with grandmother as "he would be out anyway, so it would still not be like a holiday with him." She appeared to yearn for his attention but managed to defend herself against recognizing her deprivation. Her IPPA for fathers' score dropped from an average 86 on the initial test to 70 on the retest. The lower score was consistent with her description of their relationship.

She selected the "avoidant attachment" statement on the Hazan & Shaver test which seemed to accurately reflect the way she interacted with both parents and peers, unable to trust anyone. Although she did not connect her own lack of security and support to her difficulties in adjusting to college, she was able to recognize her brother's needs. Despite having his own flat and Income Support, he regularly returned to mother's home for food and to stay because "he can't survive on his own."
Summary
S83 probably most closely fitted the "avoidant-fearful" category of attachment. Without a secure base and parental support she was not adjusting to college and it seemed unlikely that she would actually gain her qualification. Interestingly her choice of a child care seemed to reflect her own needs.

Although no cultural influences can be drawn from a single case of an individual of mixed parentage, S83's history and her experiences contrast markedly with those of the British Asian students.

FIVE BRITISH ASIAN FEMALE ADOLESCENTS
This group of students appeared to be homogeneous. All the students lived with their natural parents who were married. Their parents considered education to be important and were equally concerned that cultural and family values should be upheld. All of these students had to cope with pressure to succeed academically and with restrictions to their social lives. Their resultant behaviour had repercussions on their relationships with parents.

The first student was particularly talkative and her descriptions of her parental relationships exemplify the typical pressures within Asian families.

S63
This sixteen year old, from a Sikh family, was retaking her GCSEs and had suffered from a variety of problems whilst trying to adjust to college. Initially she revelled in the freedom from school rules, spending all her time at college socializing with new "friends" and missing lessons. However, these friends soon rejected her and she suddenly realized that she had better work if she wanted to get to university. Particular encouragement came from her older brothers and sister. Despite her assurance that she was now a better student, her AdColl27 score fell from 75 to 74. Work and attendance may have improved while social adjustment fell, but she remained below the 25th percentile in adjustment to college.
When asked about her relationship with her mother, she was expansive:

S With my mum. I love her a lot and like I really care about her and stuff and she has been hurt a lot in the past so I try not to sort of like upset her or anything - but we are completely different like - wavelengths. She expects different things and I do different things because like -she was from India and she has got different values and stuff and she expects me to sort of like.... It's difficult because like I am in this country and I am expected to respect the Asian culture and stuff and then there is pressure from like the western side and stuff... and like it is really difficult because I don't know which way to go... because - like a lot of like- English girls they go out a lot and a lot of my mates do as well, even though they are Asian. They go out and they see boyfriends and stuff and they just do their own thing. And some of their parents know and some of them don't. But my parents are a lot like "Don't do that, don't do this, don't do that!" and like I am saying "My mates are doing it. Everyone else does it. How come I can't?" They say: "Well you ain't everyone else. You are our daughter and we want you to respect the way you are and stuff... and not be dragged down and get yourself pregnant or whatever". That's what they think.

Mother seemed greatly concerned about S getting pregnant, but although she regularly issued warnings she had never discussed sex, contraception or even periods. In fact they talked little and S did not think she could trust her mother. She admitted that she had been out with boys without her family really knowing but then acknowledged that they were probably turning a blind eye. Her IPPA for Mothers' score was well below the 25th percentile.

Her IPPA for Fathers was also very low. S63 did not respect her father. They argued and stopped talking for days.

S It is about me rebelling and stuff. - but all Asian girls do that. They feel
pressed but some of them are a lot into their culture and they want an arranged marriage and they want to do what their parents want but I want to marry who I want to marry, because arranged marriages and marriages of the families -like - the mothers-in-laws all get along and they sit down making their food or whatever and the father-in-laws go drinking and go out or whatever and like - I don't want that. I want to marry someone who I am in love with, who I can relate to. It is not them that is going to marry him it is me who is going to marry. I am going to have to live my life with this person and not my parents. They should have to respect that but they just can't understand it. I have never tried to explain it to them because it is just it is not worth it because I know what they think and I know they are never going to change.

However, Father would probably let her go to university and get a job before marriage. He also gave her money for college, although he tried to withhold it when she argued. She had a part-time job but she spent all her wages immediately on clothes or entertainment. She was both indulged and restricted.

For emotional support she might turn to her friends, but her old friends did not always have time. When asked to choose between parents and friends being more important in her life, she responded "my family".

Everyone really but just like - they do vex me a lot sometimes. I do care about them all - obviously if something happened to them I would be upset and stuff - like- I still don't understand them a lot of the time - but I can't stop loving them because they are still my family in the end. Because my brother says to me once he goes "You might think that your mates are your mates, yeah, but you wait when they backstab you majorly. You will find out the only people that really care about you - the only ones that will really be there for you - are your family." So I think that is true.

On the Hazan & Shaver test, although she selected the "secure" statement on the initial
test, her choice of the "anxious-ambivalent" statement on the retest appeared consistent with descriptions of her relationships. At college her new friends had grown fed up with her and were giving her the cold shoulder. Perhaps her emotional demands on them were too heavy and insistent. At home she appeared desperate for attention, but much of the time the family would ignore her transgressions. Her attachment was to her family as a whole, but no individual appeared to be giving the emotional support and consistency that she needed.

S68

Also sixteen years old and retaking her GCSEs, S68 reported a change in her adjustment to college between the initial questionnaire test and the retest. Previously she had not been making much of an effort, but after her parents attended a parents' evening at college, they began encouraging her to work. They expected less housework, and mother changed her work-shifts so that she could be at home more to supervise homework. She felt that she was now more committed to college, hoping to go to university like her older siblings, but although her AdColl27 score rose from 68 to 75, it was still below the 25th percentile compared with the population sample in the Questionnaire study.

S68 also reported an improvement in her parental relationships although the restrictions on her social life meant that her relationship with boys were clandestine. She could talk to her mother on selected issues, such as drugs, but she would not risk talking about boys or sex. She was even less confident in her relationship with her father and was concerned that he thought she was "stupid." Nevertheless, he had recently started to help her with her homework and she had managed to answer his questions correctly. As a family they had even sat down together at the table for the first time in ages. However, her PAQ score and her IPPA scores for both parents were all very low and failed to reflect the improvements S68 was trying to describe.

Asked about her closeness to her parents as a child she revealed:

S When I was younger I didn't really like either - it wasn't either (pause) (tape
unclear) What happened was - when I was younger I used to stay with my Gran. She wasn't really my Gran, she was my next door neighbour. 'Cause I have been living with her since I was very little. She was more of a mother to me than my own mother. You see I used to sleep there, eat there, and I used to be there all the time and so I am really close to my Gran.

Her relationship with this now 80 year old Asian neighbour remained very close and S could confide in her about things she wouldn't tell her mother. Gran had been a substitute attachment figure.

This subject presented a discrepancy between the way she described her improving adjustment to college and parental relationships and the low retest questionnaire results. The most likely explanation was that I was seen as an authority college figure, whom she wanted to impress. However her descriptions of improvement were vivid and varied and it was possible that changes were taking place at a behavioural level. Perhaps she was still feeling emotionally unsupported and unattached to her parents although intellectually she was beginning to recognize that they were concerned about her and willing to support her academically. (She was also battling with the guilty secret of her social life.)

Initially she selected the “avoidant” statement on the Hazan & Shaver test, while on the retest she chose the “secure” statement. This might be interpreted as support for positive change. Perhaps she was modifying her inner working model. She was aware that she wanted her parents’ attention and approval, which affected her well-being.

S193
S193 was uncomfortable in the interview and appeared irritated by many of the questions. She was enjoying her college social life but not her course. Her mother had pressured her into taking A levels which would lead to medical school, although she would have preferred computing. Her early assignments had received poor grades, but these were now improving with some help from her friends. There was the
additional incentive of imminent exams which she was scared of failing, especially as neither of her elder sisters had ever failed an exam. One of them was at university and the other would be going to medical school in the following year. Despite her additional effort her AdColl27 score had risen only 3 points to 84, which was still below the 25th percentile.

S's father worked abroad, visiting every few months, and so the family lived just with mother, who was a strictly religious Moslem. Again the restriction of not being allowed to socialize with boys put a strain on the mother-daughter relationship. She would talk to her mother about her college work but not about her personal life. She purposely avoided disagreements. Her middle sister had fought with mother over her independence, leaving home for a short time, and S felt that this had resulted in mother being tougher on her. She did want to improve her relationship with her mother and was trying harder to get along with her. Her elder sister seemed to have a better relationship and S was envious of friends who got on well with their mothers. When pressed her about how she might improve her relationship, she explained her reluctance:

S  Mmm - It could - I mean I could like - you know - but I don't really want - to really risk it - to end up in a big argument and for days we might not talk and everything so I don't want to bother really.
A  And are you doing things which Mum really would disapprove of?
S  Um, not at the moment. I have done things that she would really disapprove of.

So S was treading cautiously along the path paved by her sisters. If she played by mother's rules she would eventually get to university and gain her freedom, although she did not want to become a doctor. Her IPPA for Mother remained below the 25th percentile.

Her IPPA for Fathers' was also low. Father might be more lenient about her career choice, perhaps giving her the option of pharmacy, but otherwise he too was strict
and living with him too would be very difficult.

S193 did not seem to have or to seek a close attachment relationship to either of her parents. They provided for her and could show affection but, if she needed emotional support, she would turn to her eldest sister. She was following her sister’s example and avoiding parental conflict. Because she had recently moved her friends were new and she did not yet know them well enough to rely on them. Based on this limited evidence and the feelings I picked up during the interview, I would tentatively categorize her attachment model as “avoidant dismissing.”

Although the following student had a British White father and a South African-born Asian mother, she has been presented with the Asian students because her parents were both practising Moslems and, she was struggling with the same cultural restrictions as the other Asian students. Her relationships with her parents were very similar. Like S193, she lived predominantly with mother, because father worked abroad.

S260
This sixteen year old, the third of five children, was also studying for her A-levels. They had recently moved to England from the Middle East, for educational reasons. S was not doing well at college because she was spending time socializing with her new friends rather than attending lessons. Perhaps the imminent exams also encouraged her to make an effort and she raised her score a little from 85 to 90, bringing her within the 25th percentile.

Again the restriction of not associating with males meant that S260 could not openly discuss the social side of her life with her mother. She also kept quiet about her progress at college and had not told her mother about the open evening for parents. Comparing her parents, she felt that she could relate better to her father.

S He is probably a bit more open-minded and I don’t know - my Mum she tends to say "You do this and I don’t care whether you like it or not." My Dad, he takes us into consideration a bit more. But - my Mum she does as well - but,
you know, if you get into an argument with her - she forces it - like you have to.

She would have liked a better relationship with her mother but that would be impossible as mother would not be changing her religious views. Also:

S  Yes, because my Mum makes it more difficult. My Mum she tends to think more of herself. She is very private and she does not really show us as much as my Dad and stuff so...

S found it difficult to consider her mother as an individual with her own problems with which she might not want to burden her children. Instead S projected all the negative feelings about the religious restrictions onto her mother. As Father was absent it was easier to think of him as kindlier and less restrictive. There might also have been some unresolved Oedipal feelings lingering. The IPPA scores reflected her splitting between parents with mother's scores being low and father's scores coming well above the sample population mean. My hunch was that S260 had enjoyed secure attachment perhaps to mother as well as father when she was growing up and that with a secure inner working model she would succeed at college.

In many ways S260 and S193 had similar ways of behaving to their mother, but their attitudes towards their fathers were quite different as was their style of attachment.

The final Asian female student was another contrast.

S267
This seventeen year old from a Hindu family was more concerned with her boyfriend than with college. They had come to college together and she had not attempted to make other friends because she spent all her time with him, often missing lessons. She was not worried about doing badly at her A-levels because she had already decided that she would repeat the year. She had given up the idea of doing a law degree, but still thought she would go to university. Her AdColl27 scores of 85 and
84 reflected her poor adjustment to college.

Although she still lived in the parental home, she felt fairly independent of her parents. Her boyfriend supported her financially even though he too was a student and she had a Saturday job. Her parents may not have approved of the relationship, but both sets of parents had met and although they were not officially engaged it was understood that they would marry “after university.”

She reported a good relationship with her mother, in whom she had originally confided about her boyfriend. Mother had kept the secret from father. At the time of the interview mother had been in visiting family in India for three months and was soon to return. Her retest IPPA for Mother scored at the mean for the questionnaire population sample, so reflecting average attachment.

In contrast, she communicated little to her father.

S  There is nothing wrong with it. It is just that we don't talk. He just keeps to himself kind of person. It's OK. I don't need to talk to him and he doesn't need to talk to me, so it's OK.

When I pressed her for father's reaction to her relationship with her boyfriend:

S  Sometimes he says like you should have got married to someone or you should not be thinking about things at our age and little things - because he know I am not going to change my mind, he doesn't say anything to me. My Mum has explained it to him.

A  Right. Does he want you to change your mind?

S  No - really he doesn't want to talk about it because he thinks - in case of stupid things we are going to split up.

Meanwhile S267 preferred not to think too much about her relationship with Dad. Mum would support her in every way on her return. Not surprisingly her IPPA for
father's score was extremely low.

This young woman coped with the social restrictions quite differently from the others. She had declared her relationship openly, but now there was no turning back and she had to make the relationship work. Her mother had colluded with her. Father's misgivings and concern that the relationship would not last until marriage may have been well-grounded. S's description of her boyfriend was of an eighteen year old still retaking his GCSEs and unsure whether he wanted to do A-levels or a Business course. If they were to part without marrying, she will have lost her reputation in the eyes of the community and arranging another marriage would be difficult.

The attachment to her boyfriend was more relevant to her than the attachment to her parents. To maintain that relationship she would forgo her educational ambitions.

**Summary**

The common theme in the lives of all these British Asian young women was the importance they attributed to enjoying a social life with young men and having relationships without their parents knowing. This affected both their college lives, by emphasizing the social aspects to the detriment of class attendance and work, and also the relationships with their parents. The relationships from the parents' side were also ambivalent as they did not want to acknowledge that their daughters were associating with males at college because they did want them to get the educational qualifications so that they would get to university. Thus all these students were both poorly adjusted to college and having poor relationships with at least one parent, but this was at least partly due to the social factor. Over the eight to twelve weeks between testing and retesting on the questionnaires neither adjustment nor parental attachment really improved.

The everyday arguments about social lives and restrictions somewhat obscured the underlying attachment relationships and the girls' internal working models. Perhaps some of these were more clearly observed in their relationships with peers and by transference and counter-transference feelings in the interview. S63 gave a number
of indications of anxious-ambivalent attachment and S193's attitude suggested that she might be categorized as avoidant-dismissing. There was insufficient evidence to assign S68 to a category. The other two young women probably had experienced some secure attachment.

Despite the acknowledgement by these adolescents that their parents were strongly encouraging or pressurizing them into educational achievement, only S68 really connected her attitude to and achievement at college with her parental relationships.

THREE WHITE BRITISH MALE ADOLESCENTS

The following young men were all poorly adjusted students at the time they filled in the initial questionnaires but they had contrasting relationships with their parents.

S229
The interview with this twenty year old student of Information Technology was exhausting as it was often difficult to follow his train of thought. Having failed the previous year, he was retaking the second year of the course. He had settled down socially with a new group of friends but he was still having problems with his work. He complained about the course and the teachers but it was difficult to pin down the nature of his complaints or his expectations. Some of his frustration seemed to be around convincing his tutor that he really was working hard.

S
Yes, general yes - I mean this that actual unit I mean - there was one assignment, a couple of assignments, I put work into. And he actually said to me I think he said to me "You know you put a fair bit of work into these. But he thought I did it from last year I used the stuff from last year and I proved it because he has got all my assignments from last year.

A
Yes

S
So I think when he found out I actually re-done the whole assignment and even put more work in than last year. It shows I am trying.

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He was concerned that the teacher thought he was taking the easy route by copying the previous year's work. He desperately wanted his efforts to be appreciated. Some of the effort was reflected in the AdColl27 score retest which had risen from 84 to 93, coming to within the average range.

S229 had a difficult relationship with each of his parents and he described the relationship between them as also being under a great deal of strain. Loud argument seemed to be a feature of their household and this made studying at home very difficult. He felt that the tensions at home had partly contributed to his previous educational problems. His PAQ score was extremely low.

There seemed to be clear parallels between S's relationship with his authoritarian father and his behaviour towards his strict male tutor, suggesting transference. He wanted approval and recognition but his expectation was criticism. Father wanted him to achieve at college but did not show sufficient support. S also wanted to go to university but he felt discouraged.

S

I have not applied at the moment because I was not sure - I had a bit of a - I would not be able to afford it because - er- I am trying to speak to my dad but I could not speak to him. I was trying to bring up about a grant and whether I could get a grant on his salary and things like that and he goes "Don't bother me." - so I could not really speak to him. My mum said "Don't go to university" and all this because she said because I said "Well I might need help from my dad," so she said " Don't go to university then", So I could not really do anything - you know - but then - the best thing for me to do is just actually just see about grants - see if I can get one you know.

Lacking in confidence, he tried hard to improve the relationship with his reserved father. Occasionally Dad would discuss the sort of jobs available in his company and would give S help with his work, but his interest and patience were inconsistent and the relationship was unequal. He described his father as "the king sort of thing".
He cannot be talked down to. You can't comment on anything about him because he does everything right. Things like that, you know, you can't really say anything in that case.

His IPPA for father's score was just below the 25th percentile.

His IPPA for mother's score was even lower and reflected an even more difficult relationship. She had "chucked" him out the previous year and he had gone to stay with his best friend's parents, but she allowed him to return when he promised to be nice to his younger brother and to do the washing up. He described her behaviour as demanding, shouting over small unimportant issues such as a towel left lying on the floor. Eventually he revealed that mother came from Malaysia and that her shouting and screeching might be cultural and to do with her, rather than caused by him. He gave long examples, perhaps to reassure himself that her shouting was not his fault.

Despite these difficult relationships with his parents, S229 did have a girlfriend and some close male friends and his IPPA for peers' score was within the average range.

S229's heightened and constant awareness of criticism, together with the accompanying fear and anger which were obvious in the interview, fitted closely with models of anxious-ambivalent attachment (Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Feeney & Noller, 1996). As he slowly began to understand and cope with his parental relationships, so his work and possibly his confidence at college also began to improve.

S225

This seventeen year old was the slowest of all the interviewees to fill in the set of questionnaires. It was not surprising to find that he was struggling with his basic level computing course. He had not made many friends even six months into his course and his attendance was not good. He described himself as a "bit lazy" but it sounded as if he was unable to cope. His AdColl27 scores remained stable at 85 and 86, below the 25th percentile.
S225 was the youngest of three brothers and his parents were divorced when he was aged three. He lived with mother and father visited. His everyday relationship with mother included the typical complaints about his untidy room and being unable to get up in the mornings, but it was difficult to gauge the attachment between them. All his answers about her were superficial and this may have been a reflection of their relationship. His IPPA for Mothers score was around the 25th percentile, rising from 78 to 84.

He was more positive and forthcoming about his relationship with his father. He gave the impression that Dad visited about once per week, but it sounded as if he came to talk to mother rather than son. I wondered whether this young man was as reticent with his parents as he appeared in the interview.

A Do you talk to him about things?
S I talk to him about most things.
A About your personal life?
S Not that much.
A Not much. So you would not confide in him?
S I don't know
A More than your mum?
S Yes
A If you had a problem would you tell him about it?
S If it was massive I would.
A If it was massive you would.
S If it was just a little problem I could solve by myself I would do it by myself.
A Right. But if it were a massive one.
S Yes
A You would go to him?
S Yes.
A And does he ever talk about your college work?
S Yes he likes to know how I am getting on and everything.
A And does he talk about what you want to do afterwards your career?
He felt that his relationships with both parents were Okay. His IPPA for Father's score was around the mean for the sample population and his PAQ score was also within the average range.

However, my interpretation of his perception of good relationships was that they were more wishful thinking than reality. He claimed to have ten or so close friends in whom he could confide, but when asked the nature of the friendships, after much hesitation he suggested that he would ask their opinion if he were going to buy a car. His IPPA for Peers was low too.

Emotionally he was very flat. Possibly he was used to being neglected or ignored. On his academic progress so far he was unlikely to complete even this basic course. Perhaps some genuine and sustained interest from his father would boost his confidence and allow him to explore some career or job opportunities.

S230
This eighteen year old was relaxed and straightforward in his interview. He was in the second year of his I.T. course, but disappointed that it did not include graphic design, which he wanted to study. He blamed the wrong choice of course on poor careers advice, but his parents were encouraging him to complete the course rather than have wasted the time. Social adjustment had been easy and his attendance was good. Only the work was still causing him problems, but he felt that he could gain the qualification if he put his mind to it. His AdColl27 scores recorded some improvement rising from 87 to 96, which was well into the average range. S230 made his own connection between parental support and success at college.

Although his mother may have been his primary attachment figure in childhood, S230 talked more about his present relationship with his father. Father worked long hours, but S sometimes helped him out and earned some extra money. They would discuss his future career plans, with Dad gathering helpful information, and S had decided that
he would take up an apprenticeship in the following year. Their relationship sounded close and supportive. His future independence appeared well-planned too because his elder brothers had paved the way by moving out but living fairly close by and maintaining good parental relationships.

He had two older brothers aged thirty and twenty-five and he had considered their relationships with their parents as well as his own. He spoke about his relationship with his mother:

*S Yes. We - because my Dad is at work a lot of the time and Mum is a housewife, so every time I am at home she is mainly at home, so we talk - sort of about academic things with the school, what I am doing with my friends. But that's not as - my older brother has more feelings speaking with Mum but I am more of a one to keep to myself.*

He trusted his mother but he was more likely to bottle things up rather than confide in her. He would not really turn to his parents for emotional support, but was more likely to go to an older brother or a friend because they would have had similar experiences. Friendships were important to him but he did not want to risk conflicts there and again he tended to keep any irritations under control.

My impression was that S230 had a mature and comfortable relationship with both of his parents. His PAQ and IPPA scores were all consistent with this, with scores just above the mean scores for the sample of the college population. He appeared to have enjoyed secure attachment to both parents but was already beginning to become independent and to look towards his friends for support. Nevertheless he appreciated his parents' support and encouragement concerning his college work and his future career.

**Summary**
These three young men were experiencing quite different attitudes from their parents towards their educational ambitions. While S230 received support and encouragement,
S229 received inconsistent messages with some support but also impatience and criticism, while he craved approval. Both of them managed to improve their own attitudes and respond more positively to college. S225 appeared to be hardly acknowledged by either mother or father, despite his need for attention and support, with the result that he was not adjusting to college and was unlikely to succeed.

**ONE BLACK AFRICAN MALE ADOLESCENT**

The following student was the only interviewee with two black parents. Again this is only a single case and cannot represent all Black African students.

**S236**

This twenty year old was depressed and withdrawn. The interview was hard work because his answers were brief and it was difficult to establish a relationship. He had been at the college for four years. After achieving a B Tec First Certificate in Information Technology, equivalent to 4 GCSEs, he had progressed to the two year B Tec National Diploma course, but he had dropped out of the second year and was now repeating it. He had difficulty in making new friends and so he waited for others to approach him. His work might be going better then previously, but he was lacking confidence and self-esteem. He thought that his teachers would rate him higher than he rated himself. His AdColl27 score rose just four points from 77 to 81 and he was still well below the 25th percentile.

He was the second of five children. His parents were both born in Africa, but met and married in England. The family had lived in Canada for nine or ten years and returned to England when S was aged thirteen. Father returned to Africa three years previously and S had visited him for a two week holiday 18 months ago.

S236 lived with his mother who seemed to approve of him being in college and hoped he would go to university. However it did not sound as if they had discussed his plans and it transpired that they rarely talked about anything except what was on TV.

*So would you be likely to confide secrets to her or anything like that?*
S  Nope. She knows anyway.
A  She knows anyway. How does she know?
S  She can sort of tell.
A  What can she tell?
S  If I am hiding something, I am probably quiet and she can tell from that.
A  So she can tell if you are quiet that something is the matter or you are hiding something - and do you find you hide a lot from her?
S  Mmmm - No.
A  No. Are there things she would not trust you with or would be worried about?
S  Umm, yes - that left to myself I wouldn't look after myself properly.
A  So if left to yourself?
S  Yes, yes.
A  Um., and what sort of things might she be worried about if you were left to yourself?
S  If I was eating - that sort of thing.

Mum knew that he wouldn't get into drink or drugs because they would cost too much money. She obviously cared about his well-being and was aware of his moods. She also liked to do things for him before he had a chance to do them for himself, perhaps undermining his confidence. His IPPA for Mothers' score rose to well above the sample mean.

However, when I asked whether he would prefer his father to be with them in England, he was emphatic in saying "no." Eventually I managed to understand that his father would have high expectations which S felt he would be unable to fulfill. Although he might like to work in his father's business, he might prefer university. Somehow the choices sounded unrealistic. S said that he would trust his father and might confide in him, but I felt he was answering what he thought I wanted to hear. The very low score on the IPPA for fathers was probably a true measure of their attachment relationship.

S236 claimed that his good friends had gone to university so he saw them rarely. He
spent his spare time playing on the computer and watching television. His life appeared empty and lonely, yet he did not seem to have the motivation to make changes. On the IPPA for peers he scored well below the 25th percentile and he selected the "avoidant" attachment statement on the Hazan & Shaver test on both occasions.

My interpretation of S236's attachment models was that although his mother was caring and nurturing, their relationship was enmeshed. His teachers were also very keen to help and support him with the result that he felt stifled and unable to live up to the expectations of others. He was not achieving. Certainly his attachment behaviour was insecure, but he seemed to fit into two attachment categories: the anxious-ambivalent in regard to mother and teachers and avoidant-fearful in regard to father and peers.

TWO BRITISH ASIAN MALE ADOLESCENTS
The two following students both considered that they had parental support.

S316
This sixteen year old A-level student gave the impression that all was going well for him. He might have been nervous about coming to college at first but socially he had settled in easily.

S  Well - sort of like - you feel confident in approaching people that you know and you sometimes, you feel that you know you could really tell people something as well. I mean - like - if you approach someone you know they will not speak rudely to you - but as they normally would speak to say their brother - or something like that. So it is not like as if you will be treated bad, well I don't feel bad anyway.

There was a defensive edge to his assurances. He was able to admit that he was not confident about asking questions in class, fearing that his mates might think him "thick", nor had he quite got himself into the "right frame of mind" for his A-levels.
Attendance had been another problem area, as he had been missing his 9.00 a.m. classes, but his attitude was now more positive. Further investigation revealed that this change of attitude was being reinforced by a disciplinary contract, which meant that if he failed to attend he would be suspended or excluded. His AdColl27 score had risen from 81 to 89 with the help of the contact, but from his evasive responses I felt that his self-reporting responses were somewhat over-inflated. He talked about having 7 GCSEs, although initially he had responded that he had 6 GCSEs.

His relationship with both parents with whom he lived also sounded too good to be true.

S ... my parents want me to do well. But saying that, they don't put no pressure on me to do well. You know they say "Do all you have to do but make sure you get through" sort of thing. And that is not a sort of ultimatum, you know, it is just like telling me that, you know, they believe I can do it and they want me to do it. I know every parent wants their child to do their best, sort of thing, and that is what they are doing. But they don't put any pressure on me. They don't say "Oh if you don't do this, this will happen. If you don't do this, this will happen." I mean you know they are pretty cool about it.

He explained that his parents trusted him and that he had nothing to hide. He made his own curfews and he didn't go out at nights... but this did not bear scrutiny. (I wondered whether he was using drugs.) In a counselling session, I might have been confrontative but as this was an interview I just registered his mirroring of my language in slightly wrong contexts in his attempts to please. He would tell his parents everything, except possibly if he had a girlfriend, but he did not have one at the moment. His future career plans were to "go into acting". (I felt that he was skilled at acting "good son" and "good student" roles!) His parents would continue to support him. They were possibly lenient because of his disability. He had one leg shorter than the other, but although he had spent time in hospital he could not say much about his disability, which was not easily detectable.

He had a better relationship with his parents than his 19 year old brother did because
his brother tended to "snap very quickly" whereas he was a "chilled out sort of bloke." S316's questionnaire results were consistent with the descriptions of his relationships. His PAQ score, and his IPPA scores for both parents were all well above the 75th percentile level for the questionnaire study sample. He had secure attachment to both parents, although he really did not distinguish between them as individuals throughout the interview.

Although he claimed to have four or five close friends, he would turn to his parents rather than friends for emotional support. His responses about his friends suggested a wariness. His initial IPPA for peers score at an average level of 98 seemed to be more realistic than the retest score of 120, which was again above the 75th percentile.

Drawing inferences from this interview was not straightforward. S316 considered that he had very good relationships with his parents, but he also professed that he was a very good student and there was evidence to the contrary. Perhaps his internal working model was not as secure as he would like others to believe.

Whereas the last student did not differentiate between his parents, the next interviewee described two very distinct and contrasting relationships.

S196
This seventeen year old Moslem had attended this college the previous year to retake his GCSEs. He had passed only three out of five subjects and so must have had some good references from his teachers to allow him onto a 3 A-levels course, because the normal minimum requirement would be 4 GCSEs. He had settled well socially but some subjects were problematical. He had nearly quit the course recently because of family pressures, but friends had talked him into staying. His initial AdColl27 score was actually above the 25th percentile at 93, but he was part of this subject group because the selection had been based on the 50 items of the original AdColl and by some anomaly he had scored below the 25th percentile on that. On the retest he increased his score to 98 which was at the average level for the standard sample. However, his descriptions of his behaviour towards certain teachers suggested that
there were problems. While one teacher was reasonable, another did not answer questions or leave time for writing notes and if someone arrived late for a class she would not admit him. S angrily declared that he would not go to her class because of that, although he conceded that he would be the one to lose. His demeanour changed from calm to anger while describing this teacher and probably reflected variations in his classroom attitude and behaviour.

S196 lived at home with both parents and his older brother and sister. His parents, between whom there was a long-standing problem, were about to separate. His relationship with his mother was very good, while his relationship with father was almost nil.

S I get on with my Mum very well. I hardly ever speak to my Dad. Hardly ever maybe once a week, something like that.

He had a good and trusting relationship with his mother. She was interested in his cricket playing. He gossiped with her but would not confide everything, although he might hint about having a girlfriend. Asked about discussing his future career:

S Yes, always, always. What I want to do, set up a family, have three kids (laughs).

He hoped to go into business and would not apply for university. Reflecting his good relationship, his IPPA for Mothers score was around the 75th percentile level.

In contrast he rarely spoke to his father who lived separately from the rest of the family. Father would come home from work and go to his room where he ate and stayed until work the next morning. S's sister was the only member of the family to talk to him and she also cooked for him. He did not think that his father would know that he was at college and "I don't think he cares." When they were younger he and his brother used to spend week-ends and holidays in father's shop helping, but they only talked about work and he could remember no affection. Now he wanted his
father to move out of the family home because he contributed nothing. Mother was
the provider and S also worked hard at a fast-food restaurant four days per week.
(Neither his brother nor his sister had jobs.) Not surprisingly his IPPA for Fathers
score was very low.

During his childhood his paternal grandfather was the person who looked after him
and to whom he was the closest. While his parents were out working, his grandfather
acted as a substitute attachment figure, although he never lived with him. This
grandfather had died eleven years previously.

S's friends had recently been supportive and influential in his life. He had considered
leaving college and getting a job to bring more money into the family home, but his
friends persuaded him that A levels were worthwhile. He had one close female friend
and one very good male friend, "like a brother." His IPPA for peers score was
extremely high at the 99th percentile.

S196 had experienced secure attachment to his mother, while his grandfather had been
an additional anxiety buffer when he was younger. Although this student seemed to
be well adjusted to college, his academic achievement was not particularly good and
his behaviour towards some members of staff suggested splitting between the very
good and the very bad teachers which may have paralleled his relationships towards
his mother and his father. Perhaps this student's internal working model classified
others into the very good or the very bad with no-one falling in between. In the
family he had taken on the role of father, perhaps acting out his Oedipal feelings.

Summary
As there were only two British Asian males in this sample any inferences had to be
drawn with great caution. It was interesting to note that both of these young men felt
very well supported by at least one parent and that they felt confident that they were
achieving and would succeed at college. Although they both commented that their
parents might mildly disapprove of them having girlfriends, the social restrictions on
them were nothing like those encountered by their female counterparts. Asian
females frequently complained that the boys had an easier time and that they were treated differently by their parents. This was consistent with Shams & Williams' (1995) finding that British Asian fourteen and fifteen year old girls perceived themselves as receiving less parental care and more protection than Asian boys or their non-Asian counterparts, (although not all the differences were statistically significant.) These two young men had much better relationships with their mothers than any of the Asian females.

**Overall summary**

In comparing the different gender/culture groups, the Asian females appeared to have the most difficult and generally poor relationships with their parents, due to the pressures of and rebellion against the social restrictions. Although three of the five students improved their AdColl27 scores, the largest increase was just 5 points by S260 which only just took her above the 25th percentile. In contrast, the two Asian males felt themselves supported by at least one parent and were more self-confident about their ability to succeed academically. Although their AdColl27 scores did rise, the information from their interviews suggested that their self-esteem might be overinflated. They were struggling academically. For all the Asian students, the cultural issues affecting their parental relationships seemed to obscure the underlying attachment relationships.

The White British girls had all experienced marital problems between their parents and, apart from S359, they were emotionally "splitting" their attachment feelings towards their parents. S359's AdColl27 score improved dramatically, probably because she began to make the best of her college situation. S82 also improved socially. Otherwise there were small improvements on AdColl27 in parallel with small improvements in relationships with parents as reflected in the PAQ scores. S83, who was of mixed parentage, was probably most emotionally affected by her mother leaving home and her subsequent experiences which left her trusting nobody. She needed help but did not believe that anyone would give her support. She could not adjust to college and she was unlikely to succeed academically.
The three White males all had different styles of attachment which affected the ways they reacted to their difficulties at college. Securely attached S230 was able to ask for and use help from both parents and teachers and he was able to start adjusting and improving at college. Anxious ambivalent S229 continually asked for help and wanted attention and although he did receive support and even praise he was suspicious and remained lacking in confidence. Fearful-avoidant S225, like S83, felt unworthy and unable to ask for help and he remained unable to adjust to college. The one Black male, S236, had a very caring but over-protective mother and he too failed to adapt to college.

The implications of these finding for the research will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter 20

DISCUSSION: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE INTERVIEW STUDY

The aim of the present chapter is to consider different aspects of the information provided by the interviews in relation to the research hypotheses and the general research literature. After the limitations and advantages of the study have been discussed, the material regarding adjustment to college, attachment, the association between the two and the relevance of attachment style will be examined. Other information regarding specific parental relationships and cultural and gender factors which affect adolescents in their transition from school to the adult world will also be discussed.

Limitations of the study

Some of the limitations of this study were recognized from its inception. Firstly, the sample of 16 interviewees was small, consisting of just 5% of the original sample from the questionnaire study. This was the largest number which could be retested and interviewed within the allotted timespan but the proportional representation of the ethnic groups meant that there was only one black African male and one female of mixed black and UK parentage. This was a true reflection of the college population but the dearth of black students meant that they could not be compared and contrasted as a group with the British Asian and native UK adolescent groups.

Secondly all these subjects were self-selected in that only subjects who ticked “yes” to further contact on the final page of the first set of questionnaires were contacted again and only those who responded positively to the next approach were actually retested and interviewed. Those subjects who were reluctant to be interviewed may have offered quite different insights into the developmental process. Thirdly the interviewees were retested on the questionnaires immediately before the interview so that some of the content may have affected their responses. The questionnaires concerning parents may have heightened their awareness about these relationships.
However these disadvantages were the planned expense of obtaining adolescent interviewees who would talk freely about their difficulties both at college and at home and for whom there would be a complete set of questionnaire data.

The interview itself had limitations as to inquiring further into relationships and how they had developed because care had to be taken not to cause distress by jolting defences. Although all the interviewees were told about the college counselling service, it was considered unlikely that they would seek help at this stage. (Subjects responsive to the idea of counselling had attended after the initial questionnaires test.) Also despite the pre-planned structure of the interview, I did sometimes get less of a picture of the relationship with either mother or father if the subject was intent on telling me about the other. There was no opportunity to recontact the subject where more answers would have been helpful to the analysis. As these interviews took place before I had collected and analysed all the data for the quantitative study, I did not particularly focus on the association between attachment and adjustment to college or on mother-daughter or father-son relationships, which might have been useful. While this reduced the level of bias I may have brought to the interviews themselves, my expectation of an association between adjustment to college and attachment may have unintentionally affected the interpretation of this qualitative data and should be borne in mind.

Advantages of the interview study

The interviewees included individuals from the college's major ethnic groups, from different socioeconomic groups and with different levels of academic achievement. The research literature does not have much information about this type of non-clinical sample: adolescents who are having difficulties at college, sometimes affecting or reflecting their poor level of well-being, but who have not sought help from counselling or other psychological services. These subjects gave their personal accounts of their adjustment to college and their relationships and there was great diversity between them. As each interview followed the same basic structure, this facilitated comparison and contrast in the search for common themes, although, in the previous chapter, it was also necessary to record interesting individual detail. The
attachment literature (Holmes, 1993; Feeney & Noller, 1996) provided useful criteria by which different pieces of evidence from the narrative together with additional information from the interview process and transference could be used to assign many of the interviewees to attachment style categories.

One of the advantages of the interview study over the counselling study was that the subjects had no concerns over a past or future relationship with the researcher and so, with their anonymity assured, were more likely to give as honest a picture of themselves as they could. Out of all sixteen interviewees only one of them, S316, appeared out to impress and this became evident with the inconsistencies in his answers. In most cases, the subjects were very willing to discuss the difficulties they had encountered at college, to explain why they thought these difficulties had arisen and then to consider reasons for changes that had occurred since the initial questionnaire tests. It was possible to explore whether parental relationships were considered to have affected adjustment to college and also how poor performance at college affected daily interactions with parents. The subjects also volunteered their family histories. Although many were superficially similar, for example many parents were divorced, the differences in their family dynamics suggested how different types of attachment relationships had developed and changed with the family circumstances. This together with the inter-dynamics of the interview situation enabled me to ascribe subjects to attachment categories.

The interview study was also able to expand on the findings from the questionnaire study. While the questionnaires were able to measure the strength of attachment relationships, the interviews enabled the individuals to explore and assess the present importance of their attachment relationships in depth. Some adolescents were untroubled by a poor attachment relationship to one parent, while for others this was a source of unhappiness detrimental to their emotional well-being. During the interviews there was also an opportunity to clarify information and to make sense of inconsistencies, such as why some individuals had made considerable improvements at college or in their relationships over the two to three month period.
Triangulating the interviews with the quantitative data

The quantitative data for each subject was included alongside the interview analysis to investigate whether the questionnaire scores were consistent with each subject's responses. This triangulation of the data, comparing the qualitative with the quantitative, provides a check on the validity of both measures (McLeod, 1996). For almost all of the subjects the scores do appear to reflect how they perceive their progress at college and also how they describe their relationships. Of those showing an obvious inconsistency, S68 presents the greatest discrepancy because she reports a significant change in her relationships with both parents since the parents' evening at college two weeks earlier and yet her IPPA and PAQ scores remain very low. Perhaps she is reporting overt behavioural changes between her parents and herself while her unconscious attachment feelings remain unchanged. Since the internal working model of attachment for an infant develops slowly, based on repeated interactions from a caregiver over a long period (Fonagy et al., 1994) and this can be reinforced through childhood and adolescence, it is not surprising that her expectations of her parents and her assessment of their support and feelings, such as trust and alienation, remain unchanged.

For disparity on the AdColl27 scores only S359, who remains securely attached to both of her divorced parents, has a very great difference of 22 points between her initial test and retest. Her retest score in the average range seems to be consistent with how she describes her work and general adjustment at the time of the interview, so the first score might represent a time when college was not going well which she has managed to forget or repress. For S267, the Asian female with the boyfriend, the AdColl27 scores remain stable and low, which is consistent with her perception of her poor adjustment and need to retake the year. However her PAQ score rises 39 points and IPPA for mother rises by 17 points so that both of them come into the average range. These retest scores do reflect the good relationship with her mother that she describes in the interview, so the very low earlier scores might reflect a difficult time in the relationship, perhaps just after mother departed for India leaving S feeling insecure and unsupported. Apart from these three students all the scores appear to be consistent with the interview responses and for changes described by the
subjects between the times of test and retest. Since the IPPA and the PAQ are well-tested instruments this was to be expected. However for AdColl27 this is further confirmation of the validity and reliability of the new questionnaire.

Overall the advantages of this study outweigh the disadvantages. The interviews provide in-depth qualitative material, which is consistent with the quantitative measures, and which illustrates different types of interaction between parental relationships and adjustment to college reflecting cultural and gender differences. From this information some inferences and understanding of the association between attachment and psychological well-being can be drawn.

**Adjustment to college**

Apart from S359, all the students acknowledged in their interviews that they had been experiencing some difficulties at college at the time they responded to the initial questionnaires. Many of them had been able to overcome some of their difficulties or improve their performance in the ensuing eight to twelve week period. For some self-motivation was sufficient, because A level modular exams were imminent and they feared failure. One or two were encouraged by teaching staff and S316 had the imposition of a disciplinary contract to enforce his attendance and ensure he handed in some work. Some students, such as S68, S230 and S298 recognized that practical help and encouragement from their parents was having a positive affect on their college performance. In contrast, S82 felt encouraged when she was able to make friends. However, my interpretation of her progress was that she felt more secure with her peers when her father was at home and able to pay her attention and as she adapted to living with him. Although many members of this sample did show some improvement at college over time, only two or three of them gave the confident impression that they would continue to perform well enough to actually gain their qualifications. The quantitative data confirms that impression because only four of them scored within the average range on AdColl27, with the rest scoring just around the 25th percentile or below it. Some students had not managed to cope any better with college despite the time lapse and these included S83 and S225 whose home situations and attachment scores had also stayed low and stable.
Parental attachment

The majority of these students had experienced considerable difficulties in their relationship with at least one parent and only two of them (S359 and S230) were able to report good present relationships with both parents. The two recurring themes to which many of these adolescents attributed the attachment problems were the breakdown of their parents' marriage and/or the cultural social restrictions imposed on the Asian females by their parents.

To begin with the effects of marital breakdown, some adolescents spoke emotionally about having felt abandoned when one parent left the home and of that relationship remaining strained. Wallerstein and Blakeslee (1990) described the detrimental effects of divorce on children some ten and fifteen years after the parting which would be consistent with, for example, the damaging effects on S83 and her brother. Other students idealize the absent parent while quarrelling over everyday matters with the parent with whom they are living. One can only speculate as to whether this is a case of fantasizing that "the grass is always greener..." or whether they were still reworking through the adolescent stages of their Oedipal feelings in wanting an exclusive relationship with their opposite-sex parent and feeling rivalrous towards the same sex parent. There were six cases in which there was a definite split between levels of attachment to mother and attachment to father where the attachment to the opposite-sex parent was reported as considerably more positive.

The social restrictions placed on the Asian females by their parents had a detrimental effect on their relationships, usually with both parents, which seemed to obscure any past positive aspects of secure attachment. All the Asian girls in this sample were socializing with boys in a way which would offend their parents and all were feeling guilty. It is impossible to separate out the effects of the poor parental relationships which were affecting college performance from the effects of the social life itself which led to classes being missed and coursework getting behind or missing deadlines. The Asian boys were also possibly suffering the effects of the social life but, as their reputations would not suffer, they were not feeling guilty and they had less to hide in relationships with their parents. In contrast the non-Asians could have a social life
outside college and so this factor was much less likely to affect their college performance. S298 was the only non-Asian who reported that her parents' disapproval of her social life (on the edge of the drugs scene) affected their relationship.

Apart from these main themes, the other factors affecting parental attachments seemed to be individual. Few of these students associated their difficulties in adapting to college with the poor parental relationships which featured lack of support, the guilt which led to hostility or alienation, lack of trust and often the absence of affection. It was the older adolescents such as S229 and S298 who tended to make the connection. Was it the inability to understand that they had a problem which could be helped which kept these students from approaching the Counselling Service? Or was it the belief that others would not be able to help?

**Interpreting the interview data in terms of attachment style**

In their seminal work Kobak and Sceery (1988) described and contrasted the social behaviour of students who were categorized as being securely attached with those in the two anxiously attached groups. Having decided at the outset of the research to use an attachment theory framework and in the light of the differences found between clients based on attachment style in the counselling study, it is pertinent to explore whether attachment style is relevant to the understanding of the interview data. Some subjects' descriptions of their relationships can be quite easily classified as falling exclusively into one category. Here are the clearest examples.

**Secure attachment**

S230, the 18 year old male I.T. student whose parents were married, and S359, the 16 year old legal secretarial student whose parents had managed to keep supportive relationships despite their divorce, are both able to talk in a relaxed manner about their difficulties at college and about the ups and downs of family life. Their clear and coherent accounts are consistent with the narratives of securely attached individuals, as described by Main (1991) and Fonagy and his colleagues (Fonagy et al, 1991; 1994). S359 is also particularly able to acknowledge and accept her parents' imperfections. Both have warm relationships with each of their parents (Feeney &
Noller, 1996) and they have good friendships suggesting social competence, congruent with secure attachment (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Thus there are a variety of indications to suggest that these students enjoy secure attachment. Both students had low AdCol127 scores on their initial tests because each of them was disappointed with their college course but both had improved scores on their retests because, with support from their parents and teachers, each had decided to make the most of the situation. From an attachment perspective their secure internal working model enabled them to feel worthy enough to receive help and to feel that others would be available and able to help them.

Avoidant attachment

Following Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) some subjects were most easily assigned as either fearful avoidant or dismissing avoidant. S83, the 16 year old child care student whose mother abandoned her at the age of eleven, tells her story in a disjointed fashion, shuttling backwards and forwards and reflecting her life moving between parents. Her incoherent narrative (Fonagy et al., 1991), her perception of her mother as cold and rejecting (Feeney & Noller, 1996), her difficulty in seeking help and her inability to trust in social situations with her peers together suggest that her attachment style is fearful avoidant. Perhaps she is trying to meet her own needs by choosing a course which focuses on caring for small children. She is not doing well at college, feeling anxious about the social situation and unable to concentrate on her work, and she is also failing to thrive at home. She does not appear to be adapting to college, possibly unable to make the transition without help, and yet she is unable to ask for help.

S236, the 20 year old male I.T. student whose father has returned to Africa, appears to be stuck both at college and at home, unable to make the transition towards adulthood. His mother pre-empts any initiative, even ensuring that he eats, and their relationship is hindering his independence. He has difficulty in making friends and spends a lot of time alone in his room, despite being part of a large family. This loneliness together with his reluctance to display upset or anger is also characteristic of anxious avoidant attachment (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). His attitude towards his
father and his feeling of unworthiness towards his teachers again suggest that he tends to be fearfully avoidant towards most people.

S68, the young GCSE student whose parents are now helping and pressurizing her to work, may also be categorized as fearful avoidant. She feels that she is progressing, yet her questionnaire results suggest the contrary. She has low self-esteem and certainly fears criticism, especially from her father. It is interesting that all these students seem to be stuck.

Also unable to ask for help from others but with some self-confidence about herself, S298, the student living on her own, can probably be classified as avoidant-dismissing, particularly towards her mother, (although she uses an anxious-ambivalent strategy to gain attention from her father.) She declares herself as independent and self-reliant and is reluctant to bear her mother's dependence, which fits Bartholomew's model. This young woman, with her emotional defences intact, uses her inner feelings of self-worth to begin coping and adjusting to college and she may yet gain her qualification.

Ambivalent attachment
S229's narrative was particularly difficult to follow. He is the 20 year old male from the family in which his English father and his Malaysian born mother are always shouting at one another. He tries hard to please his father whom he perceives as being both inconsistent and unfair, fitting the Feeney and Noller (1996) history pattern for anxious ambivalent attachment, while the interview picked up examples of his constant vigilance for negative feelings and his easy display of angry reaction which Kobak and Sceery (1988) describe as strategies learned as a way of maintaining contact with inconsistent caregivers. He wants help and support yet he is suspicious when he receives it and cannot accept and use it.

S63, the 16 year old retaking her GCSEs, is both rebelling and feeling very angry with her parents and she expresses her confusion about their inconsistent reactions to her behaviour. This relationship pattern is congruent with ambivalent attachment as described above. Her way of approaching new social interactions is based on her past
experiences and the results have been self fulfilling. When she feels rejected by her new college friends she also recognizes her feelings in the ambivalent statement in the Hazan and Shaver retest. She too wants support but is basically unsure about her self-worth.

Perhaps both of these students can be helped in the short-term by their teachers. However, they would need to alter their internal working models regarding their own lack of self-worth, self-confidence and independence if they are to cope with successive hurdles in the transitions to adulthood. (Neither of them can rely on their parents to be anxiety buffers as described by Rice, 1992.) Longitudinal studies which could follow adolescents through the different stages of transition with their accompanying anxieties, similar to Papini & Roggman's (1992) work with younger students, would be helpful in understanding the different strategies that are used and exploring whether these differ according to attachment style.

**Attachment style and adjustment to college**
The present study suggests that an adolescent's attachment style and the associated expectations about relationships does affect how the individual student perceives and relates to peers when he or she joins college. These expectations may also affect relationships with teaching staff. It is too simplistic to attribute all aspects of the student teacher relationship to attachment style as there are many other factors, such as transference and countertransference in both directions and the personality of the teacher, which all add to the complexities of a relationship. However some interviewees did give examples of relationships with their teachers which reflected their attachment relationships with their parents. S229, who is desperate to gain his father's approval but is never sure what reaction he will get, is equally confused in the relationship with his teacher. Even when he gets praise he discounts it because he thinks that the teacher reckons that the work was copied from the previous year. His expectation of ambivalence appears to be self-fulfilling. The avoidant female S68 who is surprised when her parents start paying attention to her college performance after open evening is equally surprised when her teacher notices that she is beginning to work. The anxious ambivalent S63 may not get the attention and understanding that
she wants from her parents or from her new friends but, after a bad start with her teachers, one is now recognizing that she is making an effort. This interest and praise from one teacher might be enough reinforcement for her to keep trying.

Transferred negativity can also affect a student's inclination to learn from a particular teacher or situation. S196 reacts particularly strongly against one female teacher, mocking her accent and showing his anger, and contrasting her with another teacher. The splitting seems to repeat his very different relationships with his two parents. It will be very hard for him to learn anything from the "bad" teacher. However, when teaching staff behave differently from parents the reactions can be positive. S236 has such low self-esteem born out of mother's low expectation of him that he is surprised when his teachers have higher expectations of him. But while this subject is able to acknowledge that his teachers do rate him more highly than he rates himself, another subject, S316, cannot acknowledge that his poor attendance has been the reason for a disciplinary contract. He thinks that he can deceive his teacher rather as he deceives his parents and himself into thinking that he is doing well. Quite a bit of confrontation will be needed to get him into the routine of attending and working.

The interaction between introjections from parents and a student's performance at college are very individual and quite complex. Nevertheless above are a variety of examples of the ways in which internal working models based on attachment interact with the behaviour of new individuals in the strange situation of college with its attendant anxieties. Thus there are a multiplicity of explanations for the association between attachment style and adjustment to a new situation.

The secure base
The concept of the secure base that, "in the absence of threat, the attachment figure provides a secure base from which the infant can explore his or her environment" is a basic principle of attachment theory (Holmes, 1993). Josselson (1980) drew parallels between the infant and the adolescent who also enjoys exploring and having new ego experiences but at the same time wants parents as a secure base to which to return in times of need. In Chapter 2, I conjectured that the adolescent who was securely attached with a secure base would enjoy exploring the world knowing that a parent
would be available if things went wrong. Conversely an insecure adolescent might not venture forth for fear than any available support might be withdrawn or disappear. The interviews lend some support to these ideas.

The two securely attached students S359 and S230 were able, in the face of disappointment about their courses, to find support from their parents and encouragement to complete the year anyway. They have also each explored the options for next year. In addition S230 gives a concrete example about how his brothers left home but at first lived nearby, knowing that return home was possible, and that he knew the same would be available for him. On this basis he is looking forward to a planned move to live with friends next year. These two students are in this sample of poorly adjusted students because their AdColl27 scores correctly reflected their adjustment difficulties when they were feeling disillusioned and unenthusiastic about attending college and its associated work. However, once they have used the available support from their secure bases to sort out promising paths ahead, they each produce retest scores which reflect their improved adjustment. Adolescents who have secure bases may move off to explore the world but then run into frustrations, causing emotional distress. Returning for support will help both to restore the emotional equilibrium and to move them a step further into their adult lives.

The one student in this sample who has left home, S298, feels that she is without a secure base and moving back is not an option. She has had enormous difficulty in coping with both practicalities and emotional issues. She needs to revisit her home base both physically and emotionally for what Blustein et al (1991) call refuelling and she is very sensitive to her parents talking about the lovely home she has given up. She may be trying to deny this loss.

Moving home from mother to father has also unsettled S374. After her parents' separation she had stayed with mother, her primary attachment figure, and moving to father's was probably more traumatic than the family appreciated. Having lost her secure base she was, at first, quite unable to explore the new world of college and
make new friends. Once she began to create a new base with father staying at home more, she regained her confidence with her friends.

The final example is S83 who has really lost any secure base in the shuttle between father and mother. She is certainly finding it difficult to step into the new adult world. She needed help to attend her placement regularly and she still does not attend college often, nor has she made new friends. Mother is rarely at home to give the additional support she needs and she does not go out to explore available work opportunities.

Psychologists have long been aware that moving home for anyone is stressful and when, for example, a family moves for the husband's/father's work the ensuing distress is often attributed to the loss of community, family and friends (Weiss, 1986). Similarly an adolescent leaving home in a planned way, for example going to university, can be a stressful as well as an exciting experience. However, knowing that a parent will be available back at home base if necessary is quite different from the loss experienced by the adolescent who moves for parental convenience or who decides to leave because parental support is unavailable or because parents have become hostile and rejecting. When initially thinking about the principle of the secure base I had considered the concept of the internalized parent who is still emotionally available whilst the adolescent ventures out to explore. However, having considered this qualitative data, it appears that the physical existence of the home base, where the adolescent feels comfortable, is also significant for security. It brings to mind a past counselling student aged 18, both of whose parents had died. She was clinging on to the family home, paying the mortgage interest by overworking and almost starving herself, despite the house being much too large for her needs and her sibling already having moved out. For this client the home represented her parental security and although by selling it she would have had sufficient income to get a small place for herself, no amount of logical advice from others, confrontation or counselling could move her. The experience of working with her and other adolescents whose parents have moved from the original family home suggest that there may be a subtle interaction between the physical home and the parental support which make the secure...
base. Interestingly out of these 16 poorly adjusted students 3 had moved countries during their education and 3 more had moved between parents' homes. For all of them moving away from the home base created an emotional loss. Where the move was away from a previously ever-available primary attachment figure, even if the attachment parent was only a few streets or a phone call away, that loss was compounded, probably more than is normally appreciated.

**Separation from attachment figures and subsequent effects**
The majority of the interviewees felt that they had experienced early secure attachment to their mother and many had felt equally secure with their fathers. The separation from an attachment figure was traumatic for those who experienced it, with some coping better than others. S359 mourned with her mother and her sister over father's departure for another woman, but his continued visits and the continuing security of mother meant that the loss was worked through and secure attachment was re-established. In contrast, mother walked out of S83's life without warning and did not return for more than two years. S83 cannot forgive her mother, nor make other trusting relationships. Father was unable to provide the security needed and S83 remains emotionally needy. This has a detrimental effect on her general well-being, as described above.

Other students fall between these extremes. S374 has physically moved to live with Dad and only half recognizes the loss of mother. Mustering her defences she tells herself that a once a week visit is preferable to daily arguments. S82 was very distressed when her father left home and their relationship remains locked into that time so that she remains "his baby princess." Other problems remain locked inside her, too difficult to talk about, and these affect her work at college and a general ability to mature. S225, the slower 17 year old male whose father left when he was only three, also idealizes the relationship with his father in our interview although he is probably more realistic in responding to the questionnaire. He would like to have something important to confide to his father to get attention and raise his self-esteem. Meanwhile life appears hardly to move. S260, the 16 year old female A level student who has moved from the Middle East, also splits between her very religious and
restrictive mother, from whom she is hiding her college social life, and the kindlier and more flexible absent father, who may be more supportive.

From a single interview it is difficult to assess whether the secure or insecure attachment style for an individual is a reaction to the separation or whether the attachment style was established in infancy and affected the way the separation was perceived. Whatever the case, these diverse examples show that separation from an attachment figure whether old or recent, temporary or permanent, does affect an adolescent's general well-being and it is manifested in difficulties with adjusting to college.

The changing relationship

As well as developing an understanding of the association between parental attachment and adolescent well-being as demonstrated by adjustment to college, the interviews also provide some insights into the lives of adolescents which might be seen as a useful contribution to the general literature on adolescence.

Recognizing that parents are individuals with their own strengths and failings and with a life independent from their children is a catalyst for negotiating a change in the relationship from the adolescent's side. However Karpel (1976) found that young adults and particularly the men even at the age of 26 were not sufficiently separated to be able to see life from their mothers' perspectives. In the present sample some of the young men and women, aged 20 and younger, did give examples of recognizing a parent's need and their changing relationship. S298 negotiated her move the second time she left home, because rebellion was no longer necessary, and she received parental support in the form of financial help with a deposit. In return she can acknowledge mother's need for company and support and, even if somewhat grudgingly, she does visit Mum to talk about Mum's new job. S229 has learned how to placate his parents and has come to recognize that Mum's shouting does not have to be his fault. S359 can see that Mum might be selfish about needing space with her new boyfriend, but she will cope with less attention and Mum will not opt out completely. S380, the 18 year old IT student who is unhappy with his course, can
acknowledge that his older brother has a better relationship with mother than he has and, although he may regret that his own relationship is not as close, he is not unduly unhappy about it. He can see how his brothers have gradually gained their independence and has already begun to talk about his own move, secure in the knowledge that this is expected and will not cause distress. Thus there are quite a few examples of negotiations between parents and adolescents, which is a necessary stage in the transformation their relationship (Noller & Callan, 1991) and these occur in relationships across all attachment styles. However they seem to be more relaxed, open and likely to succeed where attachments are secure and less likely to occur in avoidant relationships.

Negotiation is not always possible. S193, the 16 year old Asian female manoeuvred into taking A levels for medicine, has assessed that discussion with her mother is to be avoided and that following her sister's footsteps is the best route to independence. In contrast, S267, the Asian female with the boyfriend, has somehow manipulated her secure relationship with mother to gain approval for her semi-engagement in what appears to be a risky arrangement from father's perspective. This seems to have occurred clandestinely with help from mother, possibly because her own relationship with her husband is not too good.

Almost every interviewee talks about the usual minor arguments and tensions of living in a household together with parents and it is generally accepted that this is a normal pattern of everyday life (Coleman, 1974; Smilansky, 1991). Where attachment styles are insecure small issues are more likely to escalate and can either blow up into something major (anxious ambivalent) or are definitely to be avoided, (insecure-avoidant.) Where the attachment style is secure an argument is of no real consequence because everyone will get over it without damaging the relationship.

The mother-daughter relationship
When discussing the female counselling clients' relationships with their mothers, in Chapter 17, I recalled the literature concerning women and their relationships. Briefly both Gleason (1991) and Kenny (1990) found that their middle-class, high-achieving
late adolescent women generally had good relationships with their mothers and felt emotionally supported by them. Rice (1992) found that daughters who had had angry relationships with their mothers had difficulty adjusting to college. My sample, in contrast, has less academically successful students from a variety of backgrounds who have been selected because their adjustment to college questionnaire scores were low. How did they report their relationships with their mothers?

Only two subjects, S359 (of the family with the well settled divorce) and S267 (the Asian student with the boyfriend) reported close trusting relationships with good communication and little anxiety or guilt. S374 idealizes her relationship, though she admits to many arguments in the past when they were living together. The other seven subjects all have difficult relationships with mother. Some, like S83, express their anger and others their frustration, like S260, who wishes she could get close to her "private" mother. Only the first two can claim that they are receiving any emotional support from their mothers and I could argue that S359 should not really be part of this sample. Otherwise this qualitative data from girls who are failing to achieve at college, and many of whom are also failing to thrive in other areas of their lives, suggests that relationships with mother are poor, often emotionally detached, and most wish they could improve. Although there is no proof of causality, this evidence from students at the opposite end of the successful academic achievement spectrum from Gleason's and Kenny's subjects, is also consistent with the quantitative data showing a strong association between adjustment and parental attachment.

The father-daughter relationship
Less attention has been paid specifically to the father-daughter relationship. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) found that for adolescent girls participating in a family task, a positive relationship with both parents was associated to their identity exploration and development. Similarly Blustein et al. (1991) and Palladino Schulthiess and Blustein (1994) found that for college women the combined influence of conflictual independence from and close emotional attachment to both parents fostered progress in their career development process. In his longitudinal study Rice (1992) found some suggestion that women in their freshman year who experienced disengaged
relations with their fathers were in danger of social and personal adjustment difficulties at college. By their junior (third) year the relationship with father was less influential, although the relationship with mother was still significant. He concluded that for women relations with parents are consistent correlates of social and emotional well-being, but that there are degrees of influence for mother and for father separately at different times.

For the present interviewees in their transitional stage of further education the relationship with father appeared very significant to some. S374, who now lives with father, reports indirectly that her social life has improved now father is more at home and taking an interest in her. S298 thrives on her father's attention and she tries to score "Brownie points" with him, while S260 feels that she would have father's support if he were at home. S83 talks of seeing her friends with father, even though he embarrasses her. All of these girls talk about supportive aspects of the relationship with their father even though they are also aware of his failings. Only S82 who has a little girl relationship still completely idealizes her father.

None of the following girls look to their fathers for emotional support. S267 does not talk to hers, although she could probably use his support while mother is away, because she is wasting her year at college and has abandoned the opportunity for making new friends in favour of her boyfriend. S63 argues with her father and then has long periods without talking to him, but she seems to use her older brothers as replacement fathers. S193 has no relationship with her absent father and she does not relish the idea of his return because the regime at home might become even more strict, while S68 also seems scared of her father and concerned that he will think she is "thick." They all give some insight as to how their poor relationships can make life at home uncomfortable but they do not give any evidence that an improved relationship would positively affect their well-being even if this might be assumed in some cases. It is interesting to discover that in differentiating between the two groups of girls the division falls along ethnic-cultural grounds with those having poor relationships with father all being Asian. I shall return to this when discussing ethnic differences later in this section.
Relationships between sons and their fathers

As stated when discussing the Questionnaire data in Chapter 13, there is growing evidence that for adolescent males the relationship with father is pertinent to healthy development. Grotevant and Cooper (1985) found that boys who were encouraged by their fathers scored higher than others on identity formation measures, while Blustein et al. (1991) concluded that the father-son relationship was particularly important in the career development of late adolescent males. Bhushan and Shirali (1992) found that negative communication and emotional distance with fathers led to sons feeling dissatisfied with their competence and in need of approval. In the discussion of his longitudinal study Rice (1992) hypothesized that before an important transitional stage adolescent men benefit from secure, minimally conflictual relationships with their fathers. The Questionnaire data supported that and also led me to hypothesize that the attachment behaviour is triggered by the stress of transition.

The present sample of six male interviewees is very limited but it does show a range of relationships. S230 has a relaxed and positive relationship with his father. They work together and father is doing his best to find information about future career opportunities for S so they can explore them together. S225 would like this to happen for he would like to have something to talk to Dad about and keep his interest. Lack of communication is a feature of their relationship and as Bhushan and Shirali's work would predict, S225 feels incompetent and desperate for approval. In his ambivalent relationship S229 really appreciates the moments when Dad expresses interest in his career and gives a little help, but then feels let down and frustrated when he dare not discuss university. The non-relationship for S236 and his insistence that he is happy that his father is not in England ought to be judged in the context of his inability to make relationships or to succeed at college. S196 has completely detached himself from his father but is busy trying to fill father's role himself and unable to form his own identity. As S316 does not really distinguish between his relationships with his parents and he reveals little, his interview does not add to the information. S225, S229, S236 and S196 all seem to some extent to be struggling at college and developmentally stuck. Perhaps they are missing father's input as a role model or as a significant attachment figure at this critical time of transition.
Relationship between mothers and sons

The literature produces least information about the mother-son relationship. The only positive finding was by Ryan et al. (1996) looking at family dysfunction, parental attachment and career exploration among community college students who found that for men attachment to mother accounted for 9% of the variance in a career search self-efficacy measure (although for women it was even higher at 17%). Interestingly, compared with the females, the male interviewees do not report any really positive influential role played by mother in their lives. S230 has a good relationship with mother and can gossip with her about family matters but his career exploration is all with father. S196 also has a good relationship with mother but, although he is keen to help her and although he might respectfully defer to her, he is really quite independent and not influenced by her. S225's mother encourages him to stay at college but did not get along to parents' evening and when he says that she is interested, he then qualifies it with "but not too much." I have commented earlier on S236's relationship with his mother who pre-empts any initiative he might take. S229's mother with her shouting is more handicap than help, while again S316 has added nothing useful. Overall the mother-son relationship seems rather mundane and inconsequential in comparison with either the father-son relationship or the mother daughter relationship. However all these young men did have mothers at home. The experiences and views of adolescent males whose mothers had left home would add another and perhaps different perspective.

Ethnic differences

Although at the outset of this research I had hoped to compare and contrast adolescents' relationships with parents and peers across three groups of different ethnic origin, the very small group of black students has made this difficult. As far as this interview study is concerned S83 and S239 can hardly be considered representative of all black students and so it is more realistic just to focus on the similarities and differences between the native 7 UK and the 6 Asian students together with S260, who with her Moslem parents has more in common with the latter.

For this group of students with similar numbers of passes at GCSE, there is
considerably more interest shown in education by the Asian parents and they are exerting more pressure aimed at getting their children to university. Some of these parents have already set their sights on careers in medicine (S193) and law (S267), even if their children are not so committed, and a few have already manoeuvred older siblings in the required direction. Although the students might be a little more realistic about their capabilities than their parents they do nevertheless, like S68, still perceive the parental pushing as supportive. They also feel guilty if they can't fulfill their parents' dreams because the adolescents share their parents' commitment to education.

For the native UK parents and adolescents, qualifications for jobs are the more discussed goal. Even the more able (S359, S230) are not really considering going to university. S229 would like to go to university but getting parental support is proving to be a problem.

Another difference is the outlook on leaving home. For the Asian families, living at home until marriage is the norm with the only acceptable alternative being attendance at university. Even then for some Moslem families, such as S260's, the boys may live away from home but not the girls. Living away from home for any other reason causes parents to fear community censure and, for girls, the chances of a prestigious arranged marriage may be damaged. For the UK parents, leaving home to live independently before marriage is considered normal, if not desirable, and certainly will not attract censure. They also use the threat of being thrown out as a sanction to control their adolescents' behaviour and both S298 and S229 considered that they had been "chucked out."

Although there is a popularly held idea that Asian nuclear families have support from their extended families, in this particular sample there is no more contact with grandparents, aunts and uncles than that for the UK sample. In fact many families are spread far apart overseas. However, this might be more the case for the poorly adjusted student, with better adjusted Asian students indeed having a wider family support system and more secondary attachment figures. Nevertheless two of the Asian
students do give examples of substitute attachment figures who were at least as important as their parents during early childhood. S196 speaks about his grandfather caring for him and S68 still goes to the elderly Asian neighbour whom she considers as a grandmother. In my clinical experience not infrequently an Asian adolescent will talk about a substitute attachment figure who looked after him or her in childhood whilst parents were both working. In contrast, non-Asian adolescents may well have been cared for by child-minders or grandparents, but they do not refer to them as having a quasi-attachment relationship.

The cultural difference that the Asian girls express most frequently is the restriction on their social lives. S63 explains the position of the Asian girl quite clearly and every one of the Asian interviewees talks about this as a problem. Even the males are coy about mentioning girlfriends to their parents. The inability for the girls to discuss relationships with their mothers seems to lead some of the immature to be reckless. There is no reason to suspect that this sample is not representative of the British Asian community and the parental relationships they describe are consistent with the findings of Shams and Williams (1995) mentioned previously. They found that the British Asian girls were particularly less likely to perceive their parents as talking to them or understanding their worries and they were more likely (perhaps in consequence) to perceive their parents as behaving coldly towards them. Having discussed and discarded a number of possible reasons, these authors conclude that British Asian parents are stricter and more protective than their non-Asian counterparts and/or that the Asian adolescents have undergone considerable ideological change, in that they are rejecting traditional cultural values and that their reactions cause their parents to be stricter.

In comparison the non-Asian girls may mention boyfriends in passing but because there are no restrictions and there may even be some encouragement from parents, relationships with the opposite sex is not a contentious issue for this age group. Both males and females can talk about their girlfriends and boyfriends if the parental relationship is sufficiently good. Even S229 with the ambivalent relationship towards his shouting parents was very surprised to find how well they treated his girlfriend in
his absence. In general the Asian girls consider that their independence is restricted whereas the UK girls believe that they are encouraged to be independent - and some of them are expected to be more independent than they are yet prepared to be (e.g. S374 and S82).

Taking these differences, two quite different cultural patterns begin to emerge. In Asian families where moving out is not acceptable but tensions about adolescent relationships with sexual connotations run high, the mechanism of not talking is used. This is a way of avoiding further upset, making the living together possible, even if it is uncomfortable. Father is often the family member excluded or avoided and most of the students seem resigned to this solution. For the girls having a poor relationship with father or not talking to him might be uncomfortable, but most of them do not try to upset the status quo. In addition these students are committed to the idea of higher education because they see it as their one escape to the outside world of unfettered relationships.

In contrast, native UK families from this population appear to expect their late adolescents to leave home, live independently and be self-supporting once secondary education is completed. When family tensions escalate over adolescent behaviour or family relationships the solution is that the adolescent should leave home. (Leaving home is not just confined to adolescents because marriage tensions are also solved by one partner leaving, followed by separation or divorce.) While the Asian families stop talking to decrease the tensions, the white UK families may allow arguments to escalate as a tool for increasing the justification for separation and leaving home. Independence from the family is valued by both parents and their adolescent children. In this particular sample, even in the more middle-class families, going to university is not as high a priority as getting a good job. If the student can be self-sufficient while studying then education is welcomed but, in this sample, there appears to be some grudging reluctance to give financial support, so part-time jobs are essential. Having steady relationships with boyfriends or girlfriends is acceptable and may be welcomed where the parent approves of the partner.
Some of these contrasting cultural differences were shown in the quantitative data in the significant ethnic x gender effects but they can be seen more clearly in the interviews. However this interpretation must be treated with caution because the sample is very small and all the subjects were poorly adjusted to college and most had poor family attachments. Further research into comparing average and well-functioning Asian and white UK families where students achieving at average or higher levels is needed. Meanwhile the attachment behaviour of each individual interviewee should be judged against the background of his or her particular culture.

Gender differences in peer relationships

Most of the gender differences in parental relationships have already been discussed in the analyses of specific parent-child relationships. However the literature has also debated gender differences in the significance of peer relationships for adolescents (Coleman, 1974; Youniss & Smollar, 1985), while research into peer attachment relationships found that female students scored higher on communication and trust scales than male students (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Lapsley, et al., 1990; Nada Raja et al., 1992). The IPPA results for peers in the questionnaire study in the present research again confirms this finding for this diverse group of FE students. Can the interviews lead to a greater understanding of why and how this difference has developed?

Of the males neither S236 nor S225 have friends with whom they regularly communicate or in whom they can really trust and, although S316 claims that he has four or five friends, the interview material suggests that peer relationships are a problem for him. The other three male students do have friends whom they can talk to and trust, but only S196 really describes friendships which are emotionally supportive. Within the group even the men with close friends do not seem to share the intimacies talked about by the women.

Of the females, most do have the trusting communicative peer relationships that appear to distinguish their gender group from the men. Otherwise self-reliant S298 talks about sharing emotional support and crying together with her close friend. Even S83
who recognizes that she is avoidant in her relationships has one good friend in whom she can confide. Of all the girls only S63, who at the time of the interview had just irritated or alienated all her college friends with her immaturity and desperation to make close friends, seems to be currently without friends. For the females their relationships appear to be as much mutually dependent as supportive. Possibly women are less reluctant than men to show their vulnerability and more willing and confident about giving help to their friends. Perhaps there is a biological as well as a social base for the women may naturally be nurturing. In contrast the young men have been brought up to value independence and not to rely on others which is the basis of friendship. The focus on peer relationships lends some support to Gilligan's (1982) theory that femininity is defined by attachment whilst masculinity is defined by separation.

It appears from this very small sample that attachment style affects peer relationships differently for men and women. Insecurely attached men are more hesitant about making relationships and may avoid them, whereas insecurely attached girls will try to make and keep peer relationships, but act avoidantly or ambivalently within these relationships. Interestingly Feeney and Noller's (1996) review of recent studies looking at gender differences in attachment style in adults reaches very similar conclusions. They found evidence from quantitative studies that although attachment style itself is unrelated to gender, the way it affects relationships is more gender related as males are more dismissing of attachment while females show greater comfort with closeness and greater preoccupation with relationships.

The importance of parents vs. friends
When asked to make a choice, almost all the students, males and females, consider that their parents are more important in their lives than their friends. There is no evidence that friends are seen as substitutes for parents, although some of the younger girls admit that they previously thought that friends were more important but have now realized otherwise. The relationships are considered to be different.
A focus for college counsellors
These interviews of poorly adjusted students have shown a variety of factors linking an adolescent's ability to adapt, explore and achieve at college with parental attachments, both past and present. Lacking parental support, a secure home base with parental availability or a key relationship at a critical time, such as the father-son or the father-daughter relationship, all leave an adolescent at a disadvantage. For some, self-esteem is so low that they do not feel confident about attending college. Others cannot concentrate on what is being taught because of the teacher transference, the nature of the material, the presence of "rejecting" peers or a combination of factors, mostly based on past experience. Generally they do not have the confidence or self-discipline to do the assignments. Parental approval, which would also mitigate the feelings of insecurity, is longed for but not expected. Unlike family therapists, college counsellors do not have access to parents and they can only work with the individual student to whom confidentiality is paramount. However the counsellor can help the student to understand how their relationships with their parents are functioning and perhaps how and why they have developed. Understanding how a separation has affected an attachment relationship might help a young person to reassess past behaviour and problems at school and make new links related to their feelings of worth. Looking from parental perspectives often brings a change of attitude and a realization that although the past cannot be changed some control over the future is a possibility. In poorly attached adolescents the maturing and transforming relationships with parents are unlikely to occur in the climate of their daily contact, but intervention may help an adolescent to find methods of negotiation together with attitude change to use in place of rebellion or avoidance achieved by not talking or by leaving home. To do this effectively the counsellor must have regard to the family's cultural background.

Considering the individual's attachment style may also be helpful. If the young person's attachment working models leads him or her into either avoiding relationships or attention seeking and a preoccupation with making close relationships, he or she will feel uncomfortable in the unstructured college environment, unable to get peer support from friends and unable to access willing help from already over-stretched
lecturers and tutors. Unless the student is exceptionally bright and able to work alone, problems will arise. The counsellor might be able to use the transference to show how the client reacts to others, authority figures or peers, and discuss alternative ways of behaving (Pistole, 1989a). With maturity the student might find that different ways of behaving and a change of attitude lead to re-engagement in parental relationships that have previously seemed lost.

With the knowledge that good parental attachment can be the vital factor for healthy overall development even in late adolescence, college counsellors may be advised to include a focus on parental relationships and attachment in all their work. However, the counselling study strongly suggested that such a focus could be unhelpful or even detrimental for some clients with insecure attachment who still have more transitional stages to manage. In the next and final chapters the evidence from the three studies will be combined and some possible counselling approaches will be considered.
SECTION VI:

DISCUSSION & IMPLICATIONS
Chapter 21

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter is to draw together the three parts of the research: the questionnaire study, the counselling study and the interview study and to discuss their contribution to the understanding of late adolescent psychosocial and emotional adjustment and its association with parental attachment. The strengths and limitations of the research are addressed first. This is followed by a discussion of the main findings, their theoretical implications and the presentation of a model to explain how attachment and emotional well-being may interconnect.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The research population

One of the main aims at the outset of this research was to investigate whether the reported association between psychosocial adjustment and parental attachment (Kenny, 1987; 1990; Armsden and Greenberg, 1987; Lapsley et al., 1990) found for mainly White, middle-class, academically successful late adolescents in the United States would generalize to a wider adolescent population. The students at a college of further education in an outer London Borough who served as subjects in the present research did represent a broader base. Academically the cohort of students in the questionnaire study covered a wide range of achievement but the sample was skewed towards lower academic ability with the majority of students being unlikely to gain a place at university. The subjects for the interview study and the clients in the counselling study reflected very similar patterns and thus the academic/educational level of these present samples contrasted quite distinctly with that of the undergraduate samples in most of the earlier studies.

The present samples also reflected some cultural diversity. Approximately fifty per cent of the samples were White, mainly from native UK families, and a large
proportion of the remainder were British Asian. Unfortunately the next largest grouping of Black students was rather small and, although this was an accurate reflection of the general population in this area of London, the sample was insufficient to investigate the cultural differences affecting attachment and adjustment for Black British adolescents. However the reasonable proportion of British Asian students did make comparisons between British Asian and non-Asian adolescents possible.

The subjects' descriptions of their parents' jobs or occupations indicated that their families came from a wide socioeconomic range. Approximately 80% of fathers and 65% of mothers were in paid employment. Unfortunately many responses giving job titles were too vague to use a standardized socioeconomic scale and so results could not be analysed to determine whether attachment or adjustment varied with socioeconomic level. However crude categories did show that while a small proportion of parents were in professional or top managerial roles the remainder were fairly evenly apportioned to the categories of middle manager, skilled workers, semi-skilled workers and unskilled workers. Although potentially interesting data regarding the socioeconomic context of relationships was lost, there was sufficient information to show that the subjects in the present research came mainly from families who were less advantaged than those in the American studies.

There were more female subjects than male subjects in all the studies. For the original questionnaire study which took place in tutorials, this was possibly due to better attendance by the female students but it may have been due to the random selection of tutorials with more females. Although the approximate 56 : 44 ratio in the questionnaire study was slight and was unlikely to create statistical problems, the imbalance increased for the interview study with 10 females and only 6 males. This small sample of males restricted the information to be gained about young men's attachment relationships with their parents. In the counselling study there was only one male who completed all eight counselling sessions and returned his questionnaires. O'Brien (1994) suggests that adult men are less likely to ask for therapeutic help than women because they are less likely to recognize that they have emotional difficulties, or that when they do recognize a problem, cultural convention inhibits asking for help.
because it is seen as being unmanly or because centres which offer therapy are often
deemed to be "women's places." Any or all of these explanations could apply to the
male adolescents experiencing difficulties who were reluctant to attend the college
counselling service. Alternatively Kobak et al. (1991) suggest that young males are
more likely to externalize their problems by aggressive behaviour or conduct
disturbance (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984) while young females are more likely to internalize
their problems and become depressed. The depressed young women found their way
to the counselling service and had the ability to concentrate on their problems. The
young men who did come for a few counselling sessions found it difficult to focus on
their problems. Only one other attended all eight sessions but although he benefitted
from the sessions by staying at college, when he had been on the brink of dropping
out, and passing his first year exams, he acted out by never completing/returning his
post-counselling questionnaire pack, despite repeated reminders and requests. The lack
of male clients for the counselling study was disappointing but was the penalty to be
paid for conducting the research in a natural setting.

Despite the dearth of males for the smaller studies and the very small sample of Black
students the research samples did fulfill the main aim in providing adolescent samples
which were from less socioeconomically advantaged families than the American
undergraduates, were from at least two contrasting cultural backgrounds and were
representative of a wide range of academic achievement.

The measures
Adjustment to college
Another of the primary aims of this research was to develop a measure of adjustment
to college suitable for British students, not necessarily at university, which would be
equivalent to the American SACQ developed by Baker and Siryk (1984). AdColl 27
does appear to be such a measure with statistical analysis on the results of the
questionnaire study indicating satisfactory levels of reliability and validity. The
interview study provided further support for that validity in that, out of the sixteen
subjects who had been selected via the measure to be poorly adjusted students, all but
one of them volunteered that they had been performing badly at college and
experiencing difficulties when first tested.

With hindsight an additional established measure of adjustment or well-being would have been useful for comparison. However there were concerns at the design stage of the research that adding any more questionnaires would make the testing impractical in the time available. This concern was found to be justified because many of the slower subjects did have difficulty completing within tutorial time and clients were unenthusiastic when presented with the whole pack for the second time. A further addition might well have jeopardised cooperation and led to incomplete questionnaire packs.

Attachment

The current growing literature on attachment (Lopez, 1995; Kenny & Rice, 1995; Bartholomew & Thompson, 1995) recaps on the different ways in which the attachment concept is measured by various self-report questionnaires, by interview, by observational approach and by ratings from peers and parents and it questions whether all these measures are interchangeable or tapping the same thing. Kenny and Rice suggest that a combination of quantitative and qualitative assessment are needed to address the methodological challenges in adolescent attachment research. The present research did employ such a combination with some success. The results from the control subjects of poorly adjusted students who were tested twice on the quantitative measures and interviewed showed a high level of consistency which suggested that the PAQ, the IPPA and the Hazan and Shaver measure were indeed indicating how these adolescents viewed the qualities of their relationships and the support derived from them. The interview material also provided an insight into how the attachment relationships had developed over recent years and, in many cases, how they had been affected by family events and trauma. In the counselling study, the material from the sessions also provided explanations for the patterns of scores on the quantitative measures and these appeared to fairly accurately reflect the individual differences illustrated by clients exploring different aspects of their parental relationships. The repeated questionnaires also provided an objective measure which prevented the enthusiastic counsellor/researcher from claiming improved attachment. Clients may
have given evidence in the sessions that relationships were improving but their questionnaire responses indicated that from their own perceptions there was only one area of improvement, that of feeling less hostility, guilt or distance in their relationships with their mothers. The ability to triangulate the data is a strength within the research design.

Another debate in measuring attachment concerns the relative merits of the continuous measures of attachment strength as provided by questionnaires and the discrete measures of attachment style as used in the Hazan and Shaver measure (Collins & Read, 1990; Shaver & Norman, 1995). The inclusion of the Hazan and Shaver measure was useful in that it demonstrated how well many subjects could recognize their own attachment styles and how their responses in interview or counselling were consistent with those identified styles, which had been developed from theoretically based attachment models. It was unfortunate that the Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) four-category test which has probably superseded the Hazan and Shaver test was not widely known and available when this research began. However, the additional concepts of avoidant fearful and avoidant dismissing attachments have been used to discuss the subjects' material. What the Hazan and Shaver test did provide was an indication of whether individual subjects perceived themselves as having a secure or insecure model of attachment and this could be used in conjunction with the other material. Overall the attachment measures used in this research were broad enough to assess the quality of attachment in a number of dimensions, particularly that appertaining to parental relationships and attachment seeking behaviour.

**The counselling study**

Perhaps the major disadvantage in the counselling study was that the counsellor was also the researcher with the possibility of bias from two directions. Firstly the counsellor both expected and hoped that the parent focused part of the experience would lead to improvement both in parental attachment relationships and to adjustment to college and was looking for that improvement. However this must be the case in most therapeutic outcome studies in that therapists believing in their ability to help their patients will do their best to influence success. That, contrary to the hypothesis,
the control group improved more significantly than the counselling group in the quantitative measures at least indicates that the study was carried out with integrity. Secondly the counselling clients returning the questionnaires directly to the counsellor may well have had their own conscious or unconscious agendas in the counselling relationship which affected the way they responded. Future research should separate the counselling from the assessment of attachment and adjustment so that the counsellor is not the recipient of the assessment and the clients understand the distinction between the two.

The strength of the counselling study is that a counselling intervention of focusing on parental attachment which had been advocated by many researchers (e.g. Blustein et al. 1991; Kenny & Donaldson, 1992; Mallinckrodt, 1992; Holmbeck & Wandrei, 1993) was actually conducted systematically on a cohort of subjects. Previous citations of clinical work where the parental focus was found to be helpful were selected from individual successful cases (Kaplan et al., 1991; Rice & Cummins, 1996) but there was no record of cases where this approach had been unsuccessful or even aggravated an adolescent's problems. By employing this type of intervention on almost all the clients who came for counselling, the study indicated that while it was certainly helpful for some adolescents, it was not appropriate for all. This will be further discussed late in the chapter.

**THE MAIN FINDINGS**

The results of the three studies have been reported and discussed individually but it is the aim of the present chapter to draw together their main findings.

**The association between parental attachment and college adjustment**

As well as finding a strong positive association between parental attachment and overall adjustment to college as reported by others, the questionnaire study more specifically indicated that all aspects of attachment to parents were significantly correlated with adjustment to college work while the availability of emotional support from parents, measured on the PAQ, was highly correlated with social adjustment. In
the counselling study the questionnaire results for the students who attended the counselling service supported the hypothesis that adolescents who seek counselling are less securely attached to their parents than the general student population. These adolescents particularly indicated that they perceived less emotional support from their parents and that their relationships with each parent as scored on the IPPA showed more hostility, guilt or distance than relationships reported by the general student sample together with a lack of communication and, for fathers, a lack of trust. The counselling material illustrated the difficulties that the adolescents were experiencing in their parental relationships. Some recognized that they needed parental support but that it was lacking while others felt that their uncomfortable relationships at home were affecting their well-being and ability to cope at college. Although the AdColl27 results did not indicate that these students were statistically less well adjusted than the general student sample, most of them did talk about difficulties with college adjustment in their counselling sessions and some were contemplating leaving their courses. However these adolescents had approached a counsellor with some expectation that they would be helped.

In contrast the poorly adjusted students who were the subjects of the interview study did not request counselling help although they were aware of its availability. (All had been informed of the counselling provision and how to access it at the time of the initial questionnaire test.) In interview it became clear that the majority of these students had been experiencing relationship difficulties with at least one parent and that they had had some difficulties at college. Perhaps the inability of these students to access therapeutic help was to some extent affected by their expectation of help from others and their attachment behaviour in times of stress (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). The assessment of their interviews suggested that a number of them could be categorized as having avoidant fearful or avoidant dismissing attachment styles and they gave the impression that they were unlikely to ask for help from anyone. On the other hand, the subjects with secure or preoccupied/ambivalent attachment styles gave evidence of seeking help from parents, teachers and/or friends. The former appeared successful in gaining support while the latter were less satisfied. However these were post hoc assessments and further research is needed to investigate
whether attachment style is a factor for determining whether and from whom adolescents experiencing adjustment difficulties seek help and, if sought, whether they perceive that help to be effective.

Meanwhile all the studies supported the positive association between parental attachment and attachment to college as found for the undergraduates in the United States. However while most of that evidence was collected from academically successful and socially well-adjusted students reporting good parental attachment, the present research focused on students who were poorly adjusted to college and had difficult parental relationships, showing that the association holds at the other end of the continuum. In addition the aspect of attachment concerning the availability of emotional support from parents which Kenny (1990) had identified as important for her successful students, was shown by regression statistics to be a significant predictor of adjustment for subjects in the questionnaire study. It was also mentioned frequently by both clients and interviewees as an aspect of their parental relationship that was missing and was a source of grief, anger or sad resignation. Where the Hazan and Shaver measure indicated an insecure attachment style and where scores on the IPPA Alienation scales were low, the qualitative material provided family histories and descriptions of rejecting or distant relationships consistent with serious and protracted family problems rather than just the average ongoing arguments and tensions regarding curfews, clothes, homework, helping round the home, etc. which are experienced in most adolescent-parent relationships (Coleman, 1974; Smilansky, 1991). In fact while a few subjects reported that this type of conflict never ceased, some of the most insecure reported that arguments around these issues never occurred either because parents did not care sufficiently to make boundaries or because the relationship was too fragile and such communication was avoided.

The research material illustrated the links between insecure parental attachment, which was either long-established from childhood or the result of family trauma, and maladjustment to college. Where the insecure student felt stress in the strange college situation, perhaps because the work was difficult or because the environment was unstructured, he or she could not expect support or positively reinforcing approval of
attempts to cope from the parent that mattered. Where parents had unrealistically high expectations of academic success or were sceptical that their son or daughter could gain any worthwhile qualification, the pressure and anxiety increased. Where parents showed no interest and the present difficulties combined with fear of the unknown ahead, undermining self-confidence and motivation, there was no incentive to continue. In addition help was not sought from teachers either because the student felt unworthy or because calls for help were expected to be met with criticism. New social contacts with peers were avoided for similar reasons or else potential friends were pursued so anxiously that they backed away for fear of dependency or being smothered. Thus there was a network of connections between attachment and adjustment with the likelihood of reflexivity between them.

Peer attachment

Although the questionnaire study indicated that peer attachment was positively associated with social adjustment at college, which was to be expected as both scales were measuring social relationships with peers, the association between peer attachment and adjustment to work was less marked. This was a clear contrast to the pattern of parental attachment. Although in interview studies consider the making of new friends and feeling socially accepted as a key factor to ease their settling in and adjusting to college, the IPPA scores showed low correlations with work adjustment and a lack of association with adjustment to attendance. It is possible that these results have been confounded by different types of peer behaviour. Whereas some groups of studious and ambitious peers do help each other with academic work and encourage one another’s attendance in class, other groups of peers, who rate their social life more highly than academic success, tend to truant together and, when in class, tend to distract one another so that their work suffers. An additional measure of emotional well-being, not attached to college performance, might have indicated whether a high level of peer attachment was associated with a general feeling of well-being. However an interesting finding comparing parental and peer attachment can be drawn from the research. In the interview study, after discussing first parent and then peer relationships, each interviewee was asked whom they considered to be the most important to their present lives and thirteen out of the sixteen chose his or her
parents. Thus, whilst considering peer relationships to be important for settling into
college, late adolescents still do recognize the overall importance of their parental
attachment figures.

Gender differences in peer attachment that were reported in the earlier research
(Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Lapsley et al., 1990; Nada Raja et al., 1992) were
supported by the current research with the females showing significantly stronger peer
attachment than the males in the questionnaire study. In the discussion of the
interview study comment was made on the different way friendship was reported by
the males from the females. While the males were unlikely to share intimacies with
their closest friends, the females expected their relationships to be mutually dependent
and mutually supportive. The material further suggested that while insecure men were
more hesitant about making relationships and were likely to avoid them, insecure
females would attempt to make or keep peer relationships, but would then act
avoidantly or ambivalently within the relationships. Feeney and Noller (1996) had
reached similar conclusions about adult relationships. Although the quantitative
evidence that they surveyed suggested that attachment style was unrelated to gender,
the way it affects relationships is more gender related as males are more dismissing
of attachment while females show greater comfort with closeness and greater
preoccupation with relationships. Using the Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991)
measure of attachment style Brennan et al. (1991) reported a gender difference in the
responses of those indicating avoidant attachment, with more men indicating
dismissing-avoidance and more women indicating fearful-avoidance. Further research
with large samples may show a similar difference in late adolescents. Meanwhile the
present research contributes support to the growing evidence of gender difference in
peer relationships, which also supports the theoretical position held by Gilligan and
her colleagues (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan et al., 1989) and by the Self-in-Relation
theorists (Jordan et al., 1991).

Gender differences in parental attachment
The results of the questionnaire study did not provide support for the original research
hypothesis that the female students would show a more marked association between
attachment to parents and adjustment to college than the male students. To the contrary regression analysis indicated that, for this sample, parental attachment contributed to 26% of the variance of adjustment to college for male subjects but to only 17% of that variance for female subjects. The availability of emotional support from parents as measured by the PAQ was a significant predictor of college adjustment for both males and females. Allen and Stoltenberg (1995) also reported their surprise in finding that college men and women equally viewed their families as socially desirable. Again slightly surprisingly the men in the present study scored significantly higher than the females on the Alienation scales of the IPPAs for both mothers and fathers indicating that their relationships with both parents were less hostile, guilt-laden or distant than the same relationships experienced by the women. These young men also reported that their overall attachment relationship to their fathers was significantly more positive than that for the females.

Returning to the attachment-adjustment association the regression analysis showed that out of all the criteria, parental attachment was most salient for predicting adjustment to work. There were gender differences. For the males the significant predictors were the affective quality of the parental relationship (PAQ Affect), Communication with father (IPPA) and the trust relationship with father (IPPA). For the females the significant predictors were parental support (PAQ Support) and Communication with mothers (IPPA). These interesting gender differences suggest that it is worth comparing the relationships that the young men had with their fathers and with their mothers, and similarly for the young women.

**Comparing the father-son relationship with the mother-son relationship**

Although there was only a small sample of males in the interview study their different attitudes towards their fathers and their mothers and their descriptions of how they interacted with each of them provided a usefully illustrative range. The student who had been disillusioned with his course had been encouraged by his father to keep going with the present qualification but together they had explored his career prospects for the following year. Father's support had helped him through a difficult stage of exploration and decision-making which was an apt illustration of the finding by
Blustein and his colleagues (Blustein et al., 1991) that, for older male students about to leave college, attachment to father along with attitudinal dependence on him were predictive in the commitment progress of career development. Although this young man did have discussions with his mother, his relationship with father was the more active and productive. Two other students also demonstrated how they hoped for approval and support from their fathers, one by almost fantasizing about how he might find something to interest his father and get his attention and the other by savouring every piece of positive attention from an uncommunicative and frequently angry father. Neither of these young men seemed to value their mother's opinions or attention in quite the same way. The subjects who had lost their relationships with their fathers either by absence abroad or by complete non-communication strongly denied their need for that relationship as did the one male, Steven, in the counselling study. He remained very angry with his father for abandoning him before birth and certainly did not want to contact him now in case father derived pleasure from his academic success. The underlying message was that his father should have been there to support him. Mothers were not perceived to have the same role. Even where the relationship with mother was reasonably good, her care and concern was based in the home and she was not really expected to help with career exploration or, in the absence of father, to be any kind of role model. The different qualities in the young men's relationships with each parent are consistent with the observations of the relationships in the original study concerning identity formation by Grotevant and Cooper (1985) where father was the significant parent for the boys. Rice's (1992) suggestion that adolescent males particularly need to have secure non-conflictual relationships with their fathers before important transitional stages seems to find some support in the present research, where the poorly adjusted students did not on the whole have that beneficial, close and supportive relationship. Further research into the nature of father-son relationship in a wider range of adolescents would be useful. It would be helpful to know if programmes to promote "optimal adolescent development" in youth organizations, schools and community health programmes as suggested by Kenny (1996) should be particularly promoting relationships with fathers for the young men.
Female adolescents relationships with their mothers and fathers

For the females too their parents appeared to fulfill different roles but for them mothers were equally important for their development. Most of the females in the interview study appear to have particular expectations about the qualities of a good mother-daughter relationship but only two of this poorly adjusted sample of ten felt that their own relationship approached this ideal. These two could describe relationships of trust, with good communication and not too much guilt or anxiety between them. The others reported relationships with their mothers that sounded emotionally detached and unsupported and these girls who reported the least emotional closeness were also the ones who appeared to be failing to adjust to college and generally failing to thrive. These girls wanted better relationships with their mothers but either past history or cultural issues (which will be discussed below) were creating barriers. Some of the young women in the counselling study already recognised that difficult parental relationships were causing anxiety affecting different aspects of their lives and that was their reason for asking for help. The counselling focus ensured that the remainder also thought about their parents too and none of the girls was happy with her relationship with mother. However working on that relationship was successful for five out the seven and the Alienation subscale score on the IPPA for mothers statistically confirmed that improvement. The ways in which these girls described their relationships was remarkably similar to the interview material reported by Gleason (1991) for the more successfully academic female undergraduates from economically advantaged homes. The findings are also consistent with the work of Kenny (1990) who found a positive association between the successfully adjusted and those who had warm, trusting and emotionally supportive relationships with their mothers. The present samples illustrate the quality of poorer relationships at the other end of the continuum and provides additional support for importance of the relationship with mother to the development of the adolescent woman (Gilligan, 1982; Jordan et al., 1991).

Meanwhile these girls were equally concerned about their relationships with their fathers. The interviewees from divorced families showed that they still valued their relationships with their fathers and that they were instrumental in ensuring that the
contact continued. Like the males the females wanted their fathers' approval and they too described how they gained attention. They also hoped for paternal support with their studies and in their career-making decisions. However, experiencing particular cultural difficulties, the Asian interviewees and counselling clients all presented very similar descriptions of their relationships, which contrasted with that of the non-Asians, and these will be discussed below. While some previous research suggests that female adolescents need attention and support from both parents for healthy identity formation (Grotevant and Cooper, 1985) and for successful career exploration (Palladino Schultheiss and Blustein, 1994), Papini, Roggman and Anderson (1991) found that adolescent gender and pubertal status were related to perceived attachment to father. Rice (1992) in his longitudinal study suggested that while female freshmen had better social and personal adjustment if they had good relationships with their fathers, for the third year students the relationship with father appeared less influential whereas the relationship with mother remained important. In the counselling study the females who could contact their fathers wanted to improve the relationship by trying to understand them and to negotiate with them just as they were beginning to do with their mothers. However, if the reciprocal response was not forthcoming, where they had mother's support some could begin to understand things from his perspective and then make the decision to cope without him. Again more research is required to understand more clearly the different roles that mothers and fathers play for their adolescent daughters so that appropriate interventions can be considered.

Female Asian students with poor parental attachment
Interesting cultural differences, alluded to above, which were found across the three different studies concerned the female Asian students and their poor parental relationships. In the questionnaire study, the only clearly significant difference between ethnic groups was on the fostering autonomy scale of the PAQ where the Asian students reported that their parents afforded them less independence than the White students. This was consistent with the study by Shams and Williams (1995), who found that Asian adolescents perceived that they were over-protected by their parents in comparison with their non-Asian counterparts. However, comparing groups by both gender and ethnic grouping produced significant differences with the Asian
females scoring lower than the non-Asian females, the Black females, and all the males for parental attachment as measured by the PAQ, and again the scale measuring the Fostering of Autonomy showed the greatest difference. In relationships with mother measured by the IPPA, the Asian females and the Black females scored significantly lower than the other groups suggesting that all aspects of their relationships with mother were more stressful and less good. Asian females again scored low in their relationships with their fathers, but this time together with Black males; they reported less trust and communication with their fathers than the other groups. The consistent finding is that the Asian girls were reporting poor attachment to both parents whereas the other groups might have one parent with whom they had a poor relationship but a correspondingly better relationship with the other parent. Again, in the only comparable research, Shams and Williams (1995) also found that British Asian girls felt that they received less parental care than non-Asian girls. They reported that the Asian girls were more likely to perceive their parents as acting coldly towards them, not understanding them, talking to them much or praising them.

In the present counselling study the Asian females, Baljit, Suri and Zanda, all complained of over-control by their parents and both Baljit and Suri gave many examples of lack of trust and of their stressful attempts to improve communication with their parents. Although both Baljit and Suri managed to make some improvements in their relationships with their mothers, they both failed to improve the situations with their fathers despite real effort. Suri particularly articulated her desire for parental support but she never perceived anything but criticism. The Asian females in the group of poorly adjusted interviewees again all described difficult relationships with their fathers, with some not communicating with their fathers at all, and all but one having strained relations with mother too. They all depicted their parents as having twin missions without room for negotiation: parents aimed to protect their daughters from sexual relationships and to persuade them to get good enough educational qualifications to secure good marriages. However all these girls admitted to having illicit relationships and none wanted to follow the exact career path that had been mapped out for them. Their pattern of relationships contrasts with that of the Asian males. Although a good education is the Asian parents' aim for their sons too,
the young men report more relaxed relationships and suggested that they were more valued and cared for than their sisters. Sexual liaisons before marriage for the males would be officially frowned upon but generally accepted. Parental relationships for the Asian girls also contrasted with those of their non-Asian counterparts, for whom boyfriends and education were both less of an issue. This is not to argue that the non-Asian girls perceived their parents as unconcerned about their moral reputations, but they reported greater levels of trust and some of them were able to talk to their mothers about their relationships. In considering the difficult relationships for these Asian females it must be remembered that these samples were selected as being poorly adjusted or asking for counselling. Further research is needed into the parental relationships of the well adjusted young Asian women who succeed academically and socially.

Adolescent children of divorced or separated parents
Investigating the parental relationships of adolescents whose natural parents had divorced was not one of the original foci in the present work although earlier researchers (e.g. Blustein et al., 1991) had expressed the need for research in this area. Nevertheless the effects of divorce for the adolescents was evident in each of the studies and cannot be ignored. In the questionnaire study, the children of divorced parents scored significantly lower on the full-scale IPPA for Fathers and on its subscales for Trust and Alienation. As the majority of these adolescents were living with their mothers it was perhaps unsurprising that their relationship with the absent parent was hostile or distant and lacking in trust. The counselling and interview studies give further insight into the long-term effects of divorce and separation on the adolescents. All of the three counselling clients who had experienced one parent leaving home were lacking in self-confidence and having difficulty in adjusting to college. They were all very angry with their absent parent and protective of the remaining one. However counselling revealed that the remaining parent had become emotionally unavailable too and the therapeutic work focused on reconnecting with that parent as well as considering the relationship with the absent one. For Merryl the counselling was helpful because mother had always been her primary attachment figure and the recognition that mother still cared, despite the new boyfriend, marked
a reattachment and, with mother's spoken support, an increasing confidence in herself both at college and socially. For Julietta with an avoidant-fearful style of attachment, a direct approach to mother did not work. She felt unworthy and unhelpable. For Carrie there was a glimmer of hope. Although her father had sunk into chronic depression and was unable to be emotionally supportive to her, mother did become temporarily available and pleased to re-establish contact. Very sadly mother was incapable of the consistent caregiving adult to child that Carrie needed and she relapsed into depression too. Each case was different.

The interview studies showed similar diversity. Of the 16 subjects only 5 had both parents married and living together as husband and wife for most of the time. While one subject was able to describe how the family had managed to grieve for the broken marriage together and then maintain good relationships with both parents, the others gave insights of a range of separation effects. One female illustrated how desertion by mother, the primary attachment figure, where her early attachment had probably been secure, caused trauma and subsequent loss of trust towards everyone. However others who were able to accept that divorce had logically been the best solution for their parents felt diffident in talking about their own needs for care, attention and support from the absent parent although their descriptions of their relationships suggested that they did need this additional parent in times of stress. Even in today's society of equal opportunity and "new men," these adolescents perceived their parents in traditional roles and for adolescents of both genders fathers were considered to be the parent concerned with education and job seeking opportunities. At this time of transition when new opportunities needed to be explored and decisions made, a strained or distant relationship with father meant that his practical help, emotional support and confidence building approval would not be available. Wallerstein and Blakeslee (1990) show that for some children, the effects of separation due to divorce are still evident after fifteen years. The loss of parental attachment and its effects in late adolescence is worthy of further research.

The counselling intervention of focusing on parental relationships.
Perhaps the most practically useful contribution made by this research is the
information gained regarding the counselling intervention. Various researchers (e.g. Kenny & Donaldson, 1992; Holmbeck & Wandrei, 1993) have suggested that student counsellors should focus on their clients' parental attachment relationships but I have not yet found any other counselling study which has systematically attempted this approach with a group of adolescent clients. The counselling outcomes have been individually analysed and discussed in Section IV so the general findings and their implications will be discussed here.

The clients' attachment styles and expectations seemed to be a critical determinant in their ability to respond positively to parent focused counselling. The ultimate agenda of the counselling intervention was to encourage the adolescent to involve her parent or parents in the present difficulties and to engage their help, care, concern and support. Those clients who had secure attachment to a parent or whose parent was prepared to begin forming or reforming a secure relationship were able to benefit. Clients whose past experience suggested that the parent would be responsive given the right approach and that the response would be supportive rather than critical were willing, with support from the counsellor, to give it a try, despite recent relationship difficulties. The responses were the focus of the following counselling session and an interpretation of warmth or interest were sufficient reinforcement for the client to continue to communicate and begin to build or rebuild the relationship.

However clients with insecure attachment had internal working models that, paraphrasing Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991), suggested that parents would be either unresponsive and uncaring (avoidant-dismissing), unresponsive, rejecting or hostile because she was unworthy of help (avoidant-fearful) or either inconsistent or intrusive in their caregiving although their continuous attention was necessary since she would be unable to cope without (preoccupied/ambivalent). Adolescents with each of these insecure attachment styles appeared to have developed strategies to attract or avoid parental attachment and to have adopted defences to protect themselves from hurtful interactions. Working with these adolescents in a parent-focused way the counsellor should have taken extreme care not to dismantle defences which might still be needed. Pistole (1989a) described counselling in which clients can look at the
strategies they use in their peer and love relationships, understand where they come from and let them go as no longer necessary. However she was addressing adult counselling. Although, for college students, defensive strategies may lead to poor relationships with other adults such as college staff and difficulties with peer relationships, ultimately resulting in poor adjustment to college and low performance, the insecure adolescent still has to continue through transitional stages full of stress where an ongoing relationship with one or both parents has to be negotiated. An adolescent who has come for therapeutic help is already utilising a strategy of gaining "outside" support without parental involvement and that might well be sufficient to buffer anxiety and progress to the next stage. The results suggested that if student counselling can only provide short-term help, then changing strategies to look for parental help which might be rescinded and not be available for the next crisis will not be helpful. Perhaps the counsellor should recognize that the adolescent is an expert in appraising her own parent's(s') responsiveness and where the client feels that interest, care or support will not be forthcoming, the counsellor should take on the role of temporary attachment figure within the boundaries of the therapeutic relationship.

The counselling study also highlighted another disadvantage in reintroducing the parental focus in each counselling session, even when parents have not been mentioned by the client. Where the insecurely attached adolescent feels unworthy, has a low self-image or feels that she is unable to meet her parents' high expectations then being constantly reminded of the parental relationships will only serve to reinforce the negative feelings. First the counsellor needs to establish the counselling relationship so that the client feels respected and valued and can begin to develop some inner worth. The client needs to learn that the counsellor will remain responsive, caring and consistent and that avoidant or other strategies are not needed in this relationship. At a later stage they can start to think about the parental relationships.

However if the surveys of attachment style measures (Bradford & Lyddon, 1994) are correct then over fifty per cent of the adolescent and young adult population do have secure attachment and are likely to have responsive parents if there has been no major family disturbance. For them it would be worthwhile to pursue the parent-focused
intervention because it could encourage the rebuilding of parental attachment with its advantageous associations of well-being together with the availability of support and the buffering of anxiety at the stressful times of transition yet to be negotiated. Parents might also be experienced once more as a secure base from which and with whom to explore new opportunities in the adult world. Nevertheless an adolescent who has been having a difficult time with her parents may be convinced that they do not understand and do not care and may not believe that they could ever be supportive again. The counsellor needs to assess the attachment relationships and strategies carefully, perhaps over two or three sessions, and may also find some tests such as the Bartholomew and Horowitz measure to be useful. If the indications are that the client has enjoyed secure parental attachment in the past and that a caring parent is likely to be available now, then the parent-focused approach with its possible long-term benefits should be tried. The counselling study provided some examples of adolescents who did respond positively to the parent-focused counselling by managing to maintain their own positive feelings of self-worth and to build or rebuild a secure attachment relationship with their mothers with the expectations that they would be supported and would find approval as they moved into the adult world with a certain amount of autonomy. For the student counsellor trying to help adolescents, understanding their attachment styles and strategies should inform the plan for therapeutic intervention.

THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The attachment theory framework
The attachment theory framework appeared to be appropriate for this research. There were indications from many of the subjects that they considered their time at F.E. college just as a short transitional stage which would be a stepping stone towards their real career or educational goal. The strange situation of the college environment afforded considerably more independence than school and some subjects were not ready. There were examples from both interviews and counselling sessions of students developing illness, with both mental and physical symptoms, and, as college became increasingly stressful, one student remarked that people might now see her as hypochondriacal. An interpretation might be that this was unconscious attachment
seeking behaviour for mothers did respond, although despite concerns regarding potentially very worrying symptoms no really serious illness was diagnosed. As Papini and Roggman (1992) showed middle adolescents increased their attachment behaviour immediately after transition to a new school. In the present study, where the attachment seeking behaviour met with no response or where there was no attachment seeking because there was no expectation of support, the adolescent experienced adjustment difficulties. Although college teaching staff were proactive where they recognized problems, their support was no substitute for the parental attachment support that the adolescent was craving. For example, the child care student whose mother had deserted her and who had eventually been shuttled between her parents, was given considerable practical help by her teachers and yet she was still hardly able to attend college. Since mother was hardly available she would visit her father at the pub where he would at least act a bit like she thought a parent ought, even if he did embarrass her.

Some students had managed to make the initial adjustment but needed further stability and encouragement to explore and decide on the next move, which is an equivalent stage though at a younger age to the field of career exploration and commitment studied by Blustein and others (Blustein et al., 1991; 1995; Palladino Schultheiss and Blustein, 1994; Ryan et al., 1996). For example, Steven needed support if he was to dare to do any work in his second year of A-levels because he might succeed in getting a university place. He did not expect help from his mother but he did use a large proportion of his counselling sessions to explore his different university offers and to talk about how he would cope in that new environment until it became a real possibility rather than a frightening experience to be postponed by initial A level failure. Mallinckrodt (1995) cautions that Blustein et al. (1995) and Kenny and Rice (1995) are making great inferential leaps in suggesting that college career exploration and the transition to college are in fact truly equivalent to toddlers moving from a secure base to explore a novel play environment. However the clinical literature gives many examples of adolescents who remain in transition because either they cannot decide on their next stage or they are too frightened to enter it. Noonan (1983, pp. 20-23) describes three such adolescents all of whose parents could be perceived, for
different reasons, as failing to act as a secure base or to supply parental support and encouragement for exploration. The qualitative material from the present study does provide some additional support to justify the application of the attachment framework to the adolescent stages of transition and the use of attachment concepts to understand adolescent developmental difficulties.

The developmental pathway model
A particularly useful concept for understanding and describing the adolescent's changing attachment relationships is the developmental pathway model (Bowlby, 1973, 1980; Kobak et al., 1991; Kenny & Rice, 1995), which itself is based on the idea of the internal working model. Although the internal working model is formed in infancy in relation to early caregivers and is fairly resistant to change, it can be modified through childhood and adolescence by ongoing personal relationships and increased self-understanding (Kenny & Rice, 1995). An adolescent updates her model regarding, for example, her expectation of the availability of her attachment parent in that her current, everyday interactions with her parent may confirm or disconfirm her working model that her parent is available and supportive. For example the daughter who has previously enjoyed a secure attachment to her mother might be experiencing a period of extreme conflict over curfews, career choice or an unsuitable boyfriend which might reduce her sense of parental availability. In contrast, an adolescent who has previously had insecure attachment to a distant and self-absorbed mother, whom it was easier to avoid than engage, might notice that with mother's increasing maturity or a change in circumstances, this parent has become interested and affirming. An interpretation of this theoretical literature suggests that although the early relationships do set up internal working models and strategies for later life, the developmental pathways model allows for course alterations. Kenny and Rice (1995) present an adapted model to explain how adolescents adjust to challenges, stressful transitions and smaller "hassles" by using their internal and external resources. (See Figure 21.1.) They describe internal sources as coping skills, self-efficacy and a fund of general knowledge. External resources refer to interpersonal resources such as attachment relationships. The resources buffer the stress and difficulties only arise when there are insufficient resources to meet the demand. The mental health trajectory is another
FIGURE 21.1

THE MENTAL HEALTH TRAJECTORY MODEL
name for the developmental pathway and it may alter according to experience.

An extended model
Commenting on Kenny and Rice's model, Mallinckrodt (1995) remarks that there is no connection between the internal and external resources. I propose that the ever-growing support for the association between parental attachment and psychological well-being, which is also supported in the present research, does suggest an interconnection affecting mental health and this can be illustrated by extending the mental health trajectory into the model shown in Figures 21.2 and 21.3.

This is a three dimensional model. It differs from Kenny and Rice's model in that the internal resources are within the developmental pathway/mental health trajectory because they have been developing from infancy as the internal working model, (Bowlby, 1988; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). It shows how internal resources (the internal working model including feelings of confidence and self worth as well as expectations of others) and external resources (parental support and/or outside professional help) and external life events can interact to affect the level of psychosocial and emotional wellbeing.

The cross-section in Figure 21.2 illustrates this internal working model with the strength of attachment behaviour measured along the horizontal axis and psychological well-being (adjustment) measured on the vertical axis. Examples at time-point A are given of approximately the level at which individuals with different attachment styles would be functioning at a generally stress free period. As can be seen the secure individual is high on psychosocial wellbeing and is in a balanced position on attachment behaviour, tending towards the attachment seeking side. The preoccupied individual is functioning at a lower level of wellbeing and tends further towards attachment seeking behaviour. The two avoidant individuals are also functioning below the level of the securely attached but their attachment behaviour tends towards avoidance.

Figure 21.3 is the view from above showing the developmental pathway/mental health
FIGURE 21.2
CROSS SECTION OF
THE EXTENDED MENTAL HEALTH TRAJECTORY MODEL

WELL-BEING

Depression

Avoiding attachment

Seeking attachment

ATTACHMENT BEHAVIOUR

FIGURE 21.3
THE EXTENDED MENTAL HEALTH TRAJECTORY MODEL
VIEWED FROM ABOVE

Showing different paths followed by individuals with
secure, preoccupied, dismissive or fearful attachment styles
AVOIDANT
trajectory. When a stressful event (Point B) occurs the secure and preoccupied individuals find that their level of well-being decreases and they respond with attachment seeking behaviour. The avoidant individuals also respond by functioning at a lower level of well-being, perhaps becoming depressed, but they exhibit avoidant attachment behaviour. At Point C parental support is given. If this help is readily given it moves towards the secure individual so that she no longer needs to seek attachment and can start moving back up the wellbeing slope, i.e. the parental support acts as the anxiety buffer supporting the individual's level of wellbeing and helping it to climb again. The same experience for the preoccupied individual might be less consistent. When attachment help is forthcoming the individual will respond positively but she is dependent on continuing close support and will slide down to poor functioning if the support is withdrawn. As the Avoidant individuals are less likely to have summoned parental support there is no buffer to help them cope with the stress and they have to rely on the internal resources with the result that returning to their normal level of wellbeing is likely to be slow, particularly for the avoidant-fearful individual who has little sense of self-worth.

Point D is the point of therapeutic help. The approach from either end of the attachment seeking continuum illustrates that the counsellor or therapist is aware that clients will different attachment styles and strategies of asking for help need different therapeutic strategies (Holmes, 1993). The therapeutic help also buffers anxiety and helps to build inner resources while the individual client moves up the wellbeing slope. The therapist will stay at the required distance with consistency until ideally the client feels stable at an optimum level of functioning, when counsellor and client can negotiate about help being withdrawn.

Kenny and Rice (1995) suggest that the developmental pathway and mental health trajectory models can be applied to show how adolescents negotiate the challenges of transition by using their earlier experiences but also have the ability to alter the pathway in relation to new and changing experiences. The newly proposed model can show the same adaptability, reflecting the changing relationships that take place during adolescence (Noller and Callan, 1991; Papini, 1994). The securely attached adolescent
can negotiate with her parent when she should be allowed her independence, the issues over which she might like support and the issues over which they might reasonably be expected to maintain their influence. This agreed level of separation and attachment, Josselson's (1980; 1988) two-part process, is illustrated in the model as the distance maintained between the adolescent and the parent, each moving along their own trajectory in a similar direction. During a relatively stress-free period their paths are parallel but at times of attachment seeking and response the paths will converge.

Parental attention is not always positively connoted. Attention that is in intrusive and is perceived as interference may cause additional stress which depletes inner resources and results in reduced wellbeing. If the relationship continues to be negatively experienced the adolescent pathway will alter and diverge away from the parent, so reducing contact and the likelihood of interference.

To summarize, the model illustrates the association between attachment and adjustment or well-being. It also attempts to illustrate how individuals with their different attachment styles and associated help-seeking strategies are likely to be affected by stressful events or transitions. In addition it can explain how parental support can act as an anxiety buffer (Armsden and Greenberg, 1987) by giving a boost to the overburdened inner resources and so maintain emotional well being. Therapeutic work can perform a similar function either separately or contemporaneously with parental support.

**Other developmental factors**
While this work has explored and emphasized the relevance of attachment for late adolescent development some caution should also be exercised. Firstly the importance of the parallel process of separation wherein the adolescent forms his or her identity should be given due acknowledgement and further researched. Within the attachment framework dependence and independence are viewed as complementary and not mutually exclusive constructs (Lopez, 1995). Secondly, while attachment behaviour may be the key to child-parent and adult love-partner attachments, there are other relational constructs such as social support, social competencies and relationship
satisfaction which may not be attachment based and such other factors should also be considered in relation to adolescent development (Bartholomew and Thompson, 1995). Finally, although the association between attachment and adjustment implies that poor adjustment to college will occur together with poor attachment there is no proof of causation. Adolescents with insecure attachment styles will not necessarily adjust badly to college or function badly in life and their attachment style may indeed protect them from emotional pain. As Sroufe (1988) explains for infants, anxious attachments are not the equivalent to psychopathology nor should they be viewed as causing psychopathology. However they can be conceived as a risk factor in the developmental pathway. During the particularly stressful periods of adolescence where the transition to adulthood requires exploration and risk-taking in strange environments, anxiety can sap the inner resources of resilience and self-confidence and the insecurely attached will not have the capacity to access external resources and so maintain a healthy level of functioning and general well-being.
Chapter 22

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELLING AND FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

COUNSELLING ADOLESCENT STUDENTS
As attachment theory was used in the research to understand and conceptualize the difficulties being experienced by the adolescent college students, so the findings can be used to inform college counsellors of the pros and cons in applying attachment theory to their work. Since the present research began there has been a considerable addition to the literature advocating the application of attachment theory to the practice of counselling psychology (e.g. Pistole & Watkins, 1995; Kenny, 1996; Kenny & Rice, 1995; Rice & Cummins, 1996; Ryan et al., 1996).

The counselling process
Using attachment concepts, Pistole & Watkins (1995) describe the counselling process wherein the client can change his or her pattern of attachment behaviour with the counsellor acting as a secure base. The counsellor-client relationship can be interpreted as an attachment relationship in that the counsellor is the caregiver while the client is anxious and attachment-seeking, expecting the counsellor to provide a sense of security, support, succour and well-being. If counsellor and client together explore past and present attachment information and behaviour and examine negative attachment experiences, their new perspectives will affect and alter the working models of attachment so that the client can eventually modify his or her behaviour.

The therapeutic stance is that the client’s problematic attachment-related behaviour was functional and reasonable in an earlier context, though it is less successful in the current context. (Pistole & Watkins, 1995, p. 463)

While this process may be beneficial for many clients, the research with adolescents suggests that some individuals will be resistant to changing their attachment model, because although it creates troublesome behaviour in some contexts (e.g. in confrontations with college teachers) it may still be functional and a necessary defence against emotional pain in ongoing relationships with parents. Perhaps the pertinent
issue is that even the late adolescent client is still negotiating the developmental process and attachment models remain relevant.

The parent-focused counselling in the research study was also helpful for some clients but not all. The original hypothesis that parent-focused counselling would improve parental attachment and so improve adjustment to college was perhaps naively based on the supposition that attachment-seeking behaviour by adolescents willing to be helped would be responded to by receptive, caregiving parents. For the adolescents and parents where secure relationships had existed previously and where both parties were receptive this did happen. Even where the parent had been previously emotionally unavailable, but with a change in life circumstances that parent became receptive and the adolescent was willing to try again, an improved relationship could be built. However most of the adolescent-parent relationships described by the clients who came for help and by the poorly adjusted interviewees were considerably more complicated. Many of these subjects had insecure attachments.

How the counsellor understands the client's attachment history and style can be the key to the therapeutic approach even if the client is not interested in the attachment issues. The different therapeutic approaches to insecurely attached clients described by Holmes (1993), based on the original attachment classifications, were to some extent followed in the present counselling research and were successful in creating a trusting working alliance. This counselling-attachment relationship was probably of primary importance to the clients. Once that relationship was established those who had previously experienced secure attachment to another could use the new secure base to look at other relationships, including those with parents, from different perspectives and work towards positive change. However some clients, particularly the avoidantly attached, took much longer to understand and trust the counselling relationship because

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1 Ambivalently attached clients need a combination of absolute reliability and firm limit setting, so that they can appreciate the consistent responsive and unasked for therapeutic support, together with a push towards exploration. As Avoidantly attached clients often associate close contact with pain and rejection and may experience interpretations as intrusive assaults, they may benefit from a flexible and friendly relationship. Those with a disorganized pattern of attachment are likely to be disturbed patients who may benefit most from a low-key approach.
of their past attachment experiences and for them the protocol which introduced and
emphasized parental relationships may have been experienced as threatening or else
as reinforcing their own negative self-image. Pistole and Watkins (1995) similarly
reported studies where avoidantly attached clients could not use the attachment
counselling process. For example, some clients were reluctant to engage in a process
drawing attention to attachment relationships (Dozier & Kobak, 1992), while others
did not have enough interpersonal knowledge to join in exploring relationships
(Horowitz et al., 1993). The implication for counselling practitioners working with
adolescents may be that they should assess the client's attachment style at the
beginning of the work, only proceeding to work at depth with parental attachment
relationships when the client is ready and when there is no danger of disrupting still
functioning defences. This may mean that some clients only receive a temporary fix
or series of fixes to help them through the successive stages of adolescence and that
more therapy will be required, with a view to modifying internal working models of
attachment, when the client reaches adulthood.

Referring to the attachment-adjustment model presented in the previous chapter, the
aim of counselling or therapy is to direct the developmental pathway towards a route
which is balanced between the separate individuation path along which individual
identity is formed with inner resources of resilience and self-confidence but parallel
with attachment to parents, who will be available at times of stress. The counsellor
comes in alongside to provide temporary support while resources build. As Shaver
and Norman (1995) suggest, the secure client may need a temporary haven or base
while working through a particular life problem or developmental stage. Where
parental relationships can be restored, they will replace the counsellor in future crises
and this might be a useful approach for those who can become securely reattached.
Where parents are unavailable different external resources such as particular friends,
peer groups, self-help groups or other professionals will need to be established for
future support.

These might be viable alternatives for those having positive feelings about themselves
and positive experience of others but getting individuals who feel unworthy of help

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and/or expect others to be distant or rejecting to ask for help or even accept help is a difficult task. Again Shaver and Norman give theoretically based examples of the sort of issues that might have to be faced in therapy according to different attachment styles: An avoidant client may need help in understanding the role of past and current emotions and attachments in his or her life; a fearful client may need help in working through memories and current self-protective behaviours related to past abuse or neglect. An anxiously attached client may need help organizing overwhelming thoughts, feelings and memories. Primarily these clients can be helped by building up their feelings of self-worth and confidence. If they sense that the counsellor is with them, giving support because she understands, respects them and cares for them, they will not need to use their usual strategies of either attachment seeking, because the counsellor is providing, or avoidance, because the contact they are experiencing is not critical or painful. This relationship needs to be very well established before the client can try to engage others in a similar way. One rejection from an adult from whom support is newly expected can destroy weeks of good work!

Counselling adolescents from diverse cultural groups

The research suggests that different cultural experiences and expectations do affect attachment relationships and so should be considered when counselling adolescents. For example, while British-born Asian adolescents might have the same expectations regarding their parental relationships as their non-Asian peers, the Asian parents are experienced as overprotective and less responsive than non-Asian parents to their daughters. If anything the Asian parents appeared to be detaching from their late adolescent daughters rather than continuing to encourage emotional attachment even though they tend to keep them firmly at home. This could possibly be explained as preparation for the time when the daughter will marry and go to live with her husband's family. However, the explanations given by the adolescents were mainly in terms of the conflicts over freedom to have a social life involving males and the guilt felt by the girls who were acting against their parents' wishes. Whatever the reasons, where a female Asian client describes difficult relationships with parents and even where there have been good and secure relationships prior to mid-adolescence, a counsellor cannot assume that trying to rebuild a good attachment with parents will
be met positively by both parents. However understanding past relationships may well be helpful in recognizing the sort of behavioural changes that are necessary to effect negotiation and compromise. It might also be useful to look at the range of possible attachment figures within the family because it may be that a particular attachment to a grandparent, aunt or sibling rather than a parent is in fact the primary attachment from which security and well-being emanate. Further research in the Asian community is required for a better understanding of the attachment relationships. It is likely that other cultural groups also have quite different attachment relationships and these too should be investigated if the adolescents are to be helped effectively. Imposing white British attachment expectations may be useless or even harmful.

Promoting parental relationships
The research has also shown that gender differences are relevant to parental attachment and may need to be taken into account in adolescent therapeutic interventions. The counselling study indicated that reconnecting the mother-daughter relationship was possibly the most successful, perhaps because females generally value relationships and are likely to be mutually responsive. However the father-son relationship may be particularly relevant to the adolescent male's well-being and so ways to stimulate that relationship need to be found. Similarly adolescent females thrive on good relationships with and approval from their fathers. Targeting these relationship with fathers would be another way to promote healthy adolescent functioning. If individual counselling is ineffective as a way of involving fathers then approaches to the whole family, perhaps with family therapy, might be better. Unfortunately, most adolescents seeking help would not agree to family involvement.

Perhaps the information that we have gathered about the significance of parental attachment for adolescent well-being should be used in preventative programmes. Kenny (1996) suggests that with half of American adolescents engaging in high risk behaviour such as under-age sex and teenage pregnancy, drug and alcohol use and abuse, school underachievement and delinquency, early adolescence is the time to establish programmes in schools, youth organizations and health centres to promote continuing attachment between adolescents and their parents. Perhaps if parents and
adolescents can be encouraged to respond positively to one another and continue to do so into responsible adulthood, some of the difficulties met in college counselling can be preempted.

**FUTURE RESEARCH**

Kenny and Rice (1995) suggest an attachment model which represents a paradigm with the potential to link personality and life span developmental theory with counselling practice. They encourage other psychologists to propose further developmental models and then test their propositions in counselling practice. In a modest way, the present research attempts to do that and the resulting model showing the relationship between attachment and wellbeing will need to be tested extensively. Although it attempts to account for individual differences in attachment style there are many other individual and family circumstances to be considered and incorporated. To test the model effectively, further work is needed to identify the best ways of measuring attachment and wellbeing, to identify whether the attachment-wellbeing relationship varies according to the combination of gender, cultural and family background and to determine whether these require different therapeutic approaches.

There are now many measures of attachment from which to choose including self-report, observation, ratings by parents and peers, the structured interview (AAI) and the semi-structured interview (Lyddon et al., 1993; Bradford & Lyddon, 1994; Kenny & Rice, 1995). Different combinations of quantitative and qualitative measures need to be tried out to find which identify the most pertinent markers of attachment in relation to adolescent wellbeing, controlling for self-report bias. By contrast there are few measures of adolescent wellbeing, suitable for non-clinical populations, which can distinguish between the well-adjusted and the poorly adjusted. The newly developed questionnaire measure of student adjustment to college, AdColl27, needs to be tested on contrasting samples of adolescent students in both further and higher education, to be compared with measures of mental health such as depression scales for validity and to be standardized. Piloting this instrument in tutorial groups, where students responded to the questionnaire and then marked themselves, has shown that it can indicate differences between individuals in level of adjustment to work and
commitment to college which tutors reported to be fairly accurate assessments. The questionnaire has been successfully tried out as an intervention where students who were performing erratically and demonstrating little commitment were able to compare their own self-report score against the range of scores for the general student population. This objective confrontation, which could not be brushed off as a biased criticism from an unfriendly teacher, proved a useful catalyst for discussion about how improvements could be made and support sought. AdColl27 needs further testing if it is to be developed as a useful instrument for both research and educational/pastoral practice.

Further research is needed to assess whether the proposed developmental model is valid for adolescents from diverse backgrounds. That adolescents from different cultures may experience different attachment experiences has long been suspected (Kenny, 1994; Palladino Schultheiss & Blustein, 1994) and the limited work with British Asian adolescents supports this. Future research should explore in depth the experience of adolescents from many different ethnic and cultural groups. Within group comparisons of well-adjusted and poorly adjusted and well-attached and poorly attached individuals may be a useful investigative approach. Gender differences may be another fruitful line of inquiry because, although many studies have reported differences, the pattern of findings is not consistent. Investigating gender differences within different cultural groups is also likely to be relevant. Not surprisingly, adolescent attachment and wellbeing appear to be affected by divorce, separation and other family trauma and this dimension of adolescent experience also needs further investigation.

Following the example of Papini and Roggman's (1992) study of early adolescent transition, longitudinal research tracking late adolescents through their various transitional stages, with the accompanying stress of exploration and decision-making, would be useful for following the interconnections between parental attachment and adjustment. This would also indicate whether particular attachment relationships are critical at particular stages, (e.g. the father-son relationship before the taking of major educational or career decisions, Rice (1992)). Such research would also test the
proposition in the developmental pathway model, that the trajectory of the healthily functioning adolescent does approach parental attachment during periods of stress and then diverge during periods of identity consolidation.

The counselling outcome research study using a consistent counselling approach for a group of adolescent clients is worth repeating using a protocol more firmly grounded in attachment theory. A protocol could be designed to allow time for the establishment of the working alliance before focusing on attachment. A large enough sample for comparisons to be made between individuals with the four different attachment styles as described by Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991) would be particularly illuminating. Such a study might also be able to answer some of the questions posed by Mallinckrodt (1995) such as: Can counsellors offer relationship conditions that allow secure attachments to form for clients with habitually insecure patterns? If so, what conditions lead to effective change and how can attachment change in the therapy relationship be generalized to outside relationships?
REFERENCES


APPENDIX 8.1

Table 8.1 Showing raw data for initial pilot studies on the Adjustment to College Questionnaire

<table>
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<th>gender</th>
<th>age</th>
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<td>125</td>
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</table>

Using a Mann-Whitney U test to test the differences between the two groups

\[ U_1 = 29 \text{ and } U_2 = 55, \quad p = 0.2717 \]  \text{(two-tailed test)}

As \( p > 0.05 \), there is no statistically significant difference between the two groups.
APPENDIX 9.1

TO: Randomly selected students

FROM: Angela Taylor

RE: College student research survey

DATE: 16th May 1995

Dear

You have been randomly selected to participate in research to find out about students at college. I should be most grateful if you could spare about ten minutes to fill in a questionnaire about your experience at college. Any information and data given by you will be treated as strictly confidential to the research and will not be shown to tutors, teachers, etc. nor will you be identified in the research.

Please call into Room 30, ------- site, (Ground Floor on way to library) on

Thursday, 25th May

any time between 10.45 am and 4.15 pm

If you are not in college on that day, please kindly contact me by filling in the slip below.

I look forward to meeting you.

Angela Taylor

Please complete and return to: Angela Taylor, ----- Centre.

I will not be in college on 25th May / or I missed the day!

Student’s name.(print).................................................................

I can be contacted at home ’phone number............................... at..........a.m./p.m.

or I’ll be at the ------- site on (dates after half-term).....................
and I will call into Room 30.

or I can be contacted via (Staff member’s name)............................

Please fold in half, mark it Angela Taylor, ----- Centre, & leave it in Room 30 or at College Reception.
Dear Student

I am undertaking research to find out more about ways in which counselling can help students in college. To help my research I should like to interview you about your experience of being a student at college. So that I have a complete record of all that you have to say I should like your permission to tape record this interview. This tape recording will remain STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL TO THE RESEARCH and will not be heard or discussed with your tutors, other members of staff, your parents or anyone else in authority. If I write about you, I will not use your name nor give details by which you could be identified.

If, after the interview, you decide to withdraw your permission then I would promise not to include you in the research. Whether or not you give your consent to be involved in this research will not affect your college career.

If you are willing to give your permission and take part in the research, please complete the consent form below.

Angela Taylor
College Counsellor

TAPE-RECORDING OF INTERVIEW - RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Please read this form very carefully. Tick only where you agree.

1  I have read the letter telling me about the research and discussed it with Angela Taylor. .........

2  I give permission for the audio-tape recording of the interview. ........

3  I give permission for the tape and its contents to be used in the research. .........

4  I understand that I can withdraw my permission after the interview. .........

5  I understand that the researcher will respect the strict confidentiality of the interview and, if she writes about me, she will not identify me by name nor give any details from which my identity could be guessed. .........

Name.................................................................

Signature......................................................... Date........................................

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APPENDIX 9.3

PROTOCOL FOR INTERVIEW FOR VALIDATION OF ADJUSTMENT TO COLLEGE QUESTIONNAIRE

Explain research and procedure to control subject, go through consent form and obtain their consent.

Put subject number on to completed questionnaire alongside initials and date of birth.

**TURN ON TAPE RECORDER - checking "pause" control is off!**

Identify student's subject number on the tape.

Thank the subject for agreeing to participate and explain again that I am asking questions about being a student at this college.

1. How long have you been a student at this college? How old are you now and for the tape please state your date of birth.
2. How did you find settling in or changing from what you were doing to being a student at college?
3. Were there any immediate or obvious changes in you?
4. What came later?
5. What differences did you have to adapt to?
6. How do you feel about being a student now?
7. How are things socially? (Probe up and/or down as approp.)
8. How are you doing work-wise? (Probe) - punctuality, attendance, ability, assignments, understanding the subject.....
9. What responsibility do you take for yourself (Probe)
10. How would your teachers rate you as a student?
11. How do you judge yourself as a student?

Thank subject.

Tell tape that interview of subject no. X has ended.
APPENDIX 9.4

Table 9.4 showing total scores for Initial test and Retest on the Adjustment to College Questionnaire (AdColl)

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<td>S.D.</td>
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APPENDIX 9.5

Scattergram showing Initial scores on AdColl against Retest scores
### Table: Raw data - Independent ratings of subject interviews for validity study of Adjustment to College Questionnaire

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</table>
PERSONAL DETAILS - CONFIDENTIAL TO ANGELA TAYLOR

1. I am Male / Female* (* delete as appropriate)  
2. Today's date..........................  
3. Age........ Date of Birth.........................  
4. Please circle your Ethnic Group:  
   Bangladeshi  Chinese  East African  Indian  Pakistani  Other Asian  
   African  Caribbean  Other Black  
   European  Irish  UK  Other White  or State any other.........................  
5. College Course..............................................  
6. Number of GCSE passes at grades A, B & C .......... at grades D, E & F..............  
7. How long have you been at Uxbridge College? 1st year, 2nd year, 3rd year, 4th year  
   (Please circle the above)  
8. Please circle all the people who live at home with you:  
   Mother  Father  Step-mother  Step-father  Sister(s)  Brother(s)  
   Grandparent(s)  Your boyfriend  Your girlfriend  Your friend  Parent's friend  
   Others.......................................................  
9. Is your mother in paid employment? Yes  No  
   What is/was your mother's occupation or job?............................................  
10. Is your father in paid employment? Yes  No  
    What is/was your father's occupation or job?............................................  
11. Is your natural father alive? Yes  No (If no, how old were you when he died?...........
12. Is your natural mother alive? Yes  No (If no, how old were you when she died?...........
13. Are your natural mother and your natural father:  
   married to each other and living together  Yes  No  
   divorced and living separately  Yes  No  
   never married but living together  Yes  No  
   Please describe any other situation.............................................................
Which statement best describes your feelings?

(Please tick only ONE.)

I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close and, often, friends want to get closer than I feel comfortable being.

I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my friends don’t really like me and won’t want to stay with me. I want to get really close to my friends, and this sometimes scares people away.

I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don’t often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.
The following pages contain statements that describe family relationships and the kinds of feelings and experiences frequently reported by young adults. Please respond to each item by filling in the number on a scale of 1 to 5 that best describes your parents, your relationship with your parents, and your experiences and feelings. Please provide a single rating to describe your parents and your relationship with them. If only one parent is living, or if your parents are divorced, respond with reference to your living parent or the parent with whom you feel closer.

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<td>Somewhat (11-35%)</td>
<td>A Moderate Amount (36-65%)</td>
<td>Quite A Bit (66-90%)</td>
<td>Very Much (91-100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, my parents ...

1. are persons I can count on to provide emotional support when I feel troubled.

2. support my goals and interests.

3. live in a different world.

4. understand my problems and concerns.

5. respect my privacy.

6. restrict my freedom or independence.

7. are available to give me advice or guidance when I want it.

8. take my opinions seriously.

9. encourage me to make my own decisions.

10. are critical of what I can do.

11. impose their ideas and values on me.

12. has given me as much attention as I have wanted.

13. are persons to whom I can express differences of opinion on important matters.

...
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<td><strong>Not at All</strong></td>
<td><strong>Somewhat</strong></td>
<td><strong>A Moderate Amount</strong></td>
<td><strong>Quite A Bit</strong></td>
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<td>(0-10%)</td>
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<td>In general, my parents ...</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. have no idea what I am feeling or thinking.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. have provided me with the freedom to experiment and learn things on my own.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. are too busy or otherwise involved to help me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. have trust and confidence in me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. try to control my life.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. protect me from danger and difficulty.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. ignore what I have to say.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. are sensitive to my feelings and needs.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. are disappointed in me.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. give me advice whether or not I want it.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. respect my judgement and decisions, even if different from what they would want.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. do things for me, which I could do for myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. are persons whose expectations I feel obligated to meet.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. treat me like a younger child.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**During time spent together, my parents are persons ...**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28. I look forward to seeing.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. with whom I argue.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

go to page 3
### During time spent together, my parents are persons . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>with whom I feel relaxed and comfortable.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>who make me angry.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>I want to be with all the time.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>towards whom I feel cold and distant.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>who get on my nerves.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>who arouse feelings of guilt and anxiety.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### During time spent together, my parents are persons . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>to whom I enjoy telling about the things I have done and learned.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>for whom I feel a feeling of love.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>I try to ignore.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>to whom I confide my most personal thoughts and feelings.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>whose company I enjoy.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>I avoid telling about my experiences.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Following time spent together with my parents . . .

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>I am left with warm and positive feelings.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>I am left feeling let down and disappointed by my family.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

go to page 4
When I have a serious problem or an important decision to make . . .

44. I look to my family for support, encouragement, and/or guidance. 1 2 3 4 5

45. I seek help from a professional, such as a therapist, college counsellor, or clergy. 1 2 3 4 5

46. I think about how my family might respond and what they might say. 1 2 3 4 5

When I have a serious problem or an important decision to make . . .

47. I work it out on my own, without help or discussion with others. 1 2 3 4 5

48. I discuss the matter with a friend. 1 2 3 4 5

49. I know that my family will know what to do. 1 2 3 4 5

50. I talk to my family if I am not able to resolve the situation after talking it over with my friends. 1 2 3 4 5

When I go to my parents for help . . .

51. I feel more confident in my ability to handle the problems on my own. 1 2 3 4 5

52. I continue to feel unsure of myself. 1 2 3 4 5

53. I feel that I would have obtained more understanding and comfort from a friend. 1 2 3 4 5

54. I feel confident that things will work out as long as I follow my parent's advice. 1 2 3 4 5

55. I am disappointed with their response. 1 2 3 4 5
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS

Please answer as honestly as you can. The information you give will be STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL to the research and will NOT be given to tutors or other college staff.

The following pages contain statements which have been made by students at college.

Please indicate your experiences and feelings about college by drawing a circle around ONE number beside each statement as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 Strongly disagree</th>
<th>2 Disagree</th>
<th>3 Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>4 Agree</th>
<th>5 Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 I know my way around college very well.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 I am used to my college time-table.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 School was a friendlier place than college.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 I find it very difficult to settle down to studying.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 My education is now my own responsibility.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 I am coping with the amount of college work to be done.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 It is difficult to make friends in college.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 I am rarely late for class.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Even if I feel unwell, I usually decide to come to college.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 I can ask for help from other people in my class.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 The standard of my work is improving.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 I do not feel part of a group.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 I cannot keep to dead-lines for handing in assignments.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 I find that I am easily distracted from studying when my friends are around.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 People greet me when I enter class.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
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</table>

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<p>| | | | |</p>
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<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I have a good working routine.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>When I have an assignment marked, I am generally disappointed.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I feel uncomfortable staying in college when I have no lessons.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>If I have free time at college, I usually get my work done.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>I do not attend lessons that I do not like.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>I feel part of college.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>I feel nervous asking a question in class.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>I find it easy to concentrate on my work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>I need pressure from my teachers to make me attend lessons.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>I understand almost all of my academic work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>I feel comfortable with the other students in my classes.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>If none of my friends are in the refectory, I will sit there alone.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>I often mess about in class.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Teachers do not give me sufficient help.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>When I have a piece of work marked, I am usually satisfied with myself.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>I enjoy the social life in college.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>I have a poor relationship with one or more of my teachers.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>If I miss a class, I make sure that I catch up the work.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>I manage my time well.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Often I don’t understand what the lecturer has been talking about.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

goto next page
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Neither agree nor disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>I rarely miss a lesson.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>I do not have any friends among the students in my class.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Often the teacher makes me feel uncomfortable.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>How well I do at college is entirely my own responsibility.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>I am behind with my assignments.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>I feel that I am wasting my time being at college.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Although I am in college, I don't always go to my classes.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>I feel comfortable joining a group of students who are sitting together.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>I am friendly with students who are in classes other than my own.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>At college, I spend more time socializing than getting my work done.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>I feel I can make conversation with anyone else in college.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>It is a pressure to have to watch the clock all day to attend classes on time.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>I feel confident in my relationships with my class-mates.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>I am considering &quot;dropping out&quot; of part or all of my course.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>I have adjusted well to being a student at this college.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RELATIONSHIPS QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire asks about your relationship with important people in your life - your mother, your father, and your close friends. Please read the directions to each part carefully.

Part I

Each of the following statements asks about your feelings about your mother or the woman who has acted as your mother. If you have more than one person acting as your mother (e.g. a natural mother and a step-mother) please answer a separate questionnaire for each of them. Please ask for an additional questionnaire.

I am answering this questionnaire about my NATURAL MOTHER*/ADOPTIVE MOTHER*/FOSTER MOTHER*/STEP-MOTHER*/OTHER MOTHER FIGURE.................................*

*Please circle ONE and delete the other "mothers" that do not apply to this questionnaire

Please read each statement and circle the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. Almost never or never true</th>
<th>2. Not very often true</th>
<th>3. Sometimes true</th>
<th>4. Often true</th>
<th>5. Almost always or always true</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>My mother respects my feelings</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>I feel my mother does a good job as my mother</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>I wish I had a different mother</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>My mother accepts me as I am</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>I feel it's no use letting my feelings show around my mother</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>My mother can tell when I'm upset about something</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Talking over my problems with my mother makes me feel ashamed or foolish</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>My mother expects too much from me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>I get upset easily around my mother</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>I get upset a lot more than my mother knows about</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>When we discuss things, my mother cares about my point of view</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>My mother trusts my judgment</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>My mother has her own problems, so I don't bother her with mine</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

go to next page
<table>
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<th>Often true</th>
<th>Almost always or always true</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>My mother helps me to understand myself better</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>I tell my mother about my problems and troubles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>I feel angry with my mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>I don't get much attention from my mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>My mother helps me to talk about my difficulties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>My mother understands me</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>When I am angry about something, my mother tries to be understanding</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>I trust my mother</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>My mother doesn't understand what I'm going through these days</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>I can count on my mother when I need to get something off my chest</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>If my mother knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part II

Each of the following statements asks about your feelings about your father or the man who has acted as your father. If you have more than one person acting as your father (e.g. a natural father and a step-father) please answer a separate questionnaire for each of them. Please ask for an additional questionnaire.

I am answering this questionnaire about my NATURAL FATHER*/ADOPTIVE FATHER*/FOSTER-FATHER*/STEP-FATHER*/OTHER FATHER FIGURE.............................................*

*Please circle ONE and delete the other "fathers" that do not apply to this questionnaire.

Please read each statement and circle the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

1. My father respects my feelings | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
2. I feel my father does a good job as my father | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
3. I wish I had a different father | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
4. My father accepts me as I am | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
5. I like to get my father's point of view on things I'm concerned about | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
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<td><strong>Not very often true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sometimes true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Often true</strong></td>
<td><strong>Almost always or always true</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show around my father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. My father can tell when I'm upset about something</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Talking over my problems with my father makes me feel ashamed or foolish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. My father expects too much from me</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. I get upset easily around my father</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. I get upset a lot more than my father knows about</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. When we discuss things, my father cares about my point of view</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. My father trusts my judgment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. My father has his own problems, so I don't bother him with mine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. My father helps me to understand myself better</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I tell my father about my problems and troubles</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. I feel angry with my father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. I don't get much attention from my father</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>24. I can count on my father when I need to get something off my chest</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. If my father knows something is bothering me, he asks me about it</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This part asks about your feelings about your relationships with your close friends. Please read each statement and circle the ONE number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

| 1. | I like to get my friend's point of view on things I'm concerned about | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 2. | My friends can tell when I'm upset about something | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 3. | When we discuss things, my friends care about my point of view | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 4. | Talking over my problems with my friends makes me feel ashamed or foolish | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 5. | I wish I had different friends | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 6. | My friends understand me | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 7. | My friends help me to talk about my difficulties | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 8. | My friends accept me as I am | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 9. | I feel the need to be in touch with my friends more often | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 10. | My friends don't understand what I'm going through these days | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 11. | I feel alone or apart when I'm with my friends | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 12. | My friends listen to what I have to say | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 13. | I feel my friends are good friends | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 14. | My friends are fairly easy to talk to | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 15. | When I am angry about something, my friends try to be understanding | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 16. | My friends help me to understand myself better | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 17. | My friends care about how I am | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 18. | I feel angry with my friends | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 19. | I can count on my friends when I need to get something off my chest | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| 20. | I trust my friends | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Go to next page
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<td>My friends respect my feelings</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>22.</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>It seems as if my friends are irritated with me for no reason</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>I can tell my friends about my problems and troubles</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
You should now have completed all the questionnaires.

Please look back through to check that you have not missed out any pages or failed to answer any questions.

Please complete anything you have missed.

All the information that you have given will remain entirely confidential, for research purposes only. You can only be identified by your research student number. Your tutor/teacher has a list of names and numbers, as explained earlier, but has absolutely no access to all this information. The researcher has only the identifying numbers.

If, in a few weeks, the researcher, Angela Taylor, wishes to contact you with a view to a confidential interview about college, family and friends, would you be willing? She would give a letter of invitation with your number to the tutor/teacher and ask him/her to pass it on to you. You could then decide if you would consent to a private and entirely confidential interview. Absolutely no personal information would be given to anyone else. It would be kept entirely for the research. You would be able to withdraw your permission at any time.

I give my permission for Angela Taylor to contact me via my research student number. YES / NO (Please circle)

Thank you very much for your help

Angela Taylor
APPENDIX 10.2

To: Tutor -

From: Angela Taylor, College Counsellor

Date: 9th November, 1995

TUTEE PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH STUDY

As you may already know, I am conducting research to find more effective ways of counsellling and supporting our 16-20 year old students as part of a clinical psychology Ph.D. The method of research has been approved by the ethical committee of Birkbeck College, University of London, and all personal information gained will be treated as strictly confidential.

I have just completed some pilot studies with randomly selected students. All those who participated were interested and helpful and seemed to enjoy the experience.

For the next stage of the study, I need your help! I need 300 students to fill in questionnaires about their college experiences, their friends and families. This will take about 40 minutes and students will not have to identify themselves by name. If you can spare 40 minutes of tutorial time and are willing for your students to participate, I will book a date. At the tutorial I shall explain about the confidentiality of the research, give students each a research number to conceal identity and administer the questionnaires. (Any student who does not wish to participate will not be coerced to do so.) Afterwards I can talk about the research and its methodology, to make this a learning opportunity. It could also be a good time to remind them about the Counselling and Advisory Service, how it may help them and how to make contact.

If you are happy to let me conduct this research during your tutorial time, please fill in the tear-off slip below and return it to me as soon as possible. I hope to begin in the latter half of November and continue in the Spring term.

In optimistic anticipation, thank you very much for your help.

-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Please complete and return to ANGELA TAYLOR, ---- CENTRE.

To: Angela Taylor

From: ......................................................Name of tutor (please print)

I am willing to invite you to a tutorial so that my students can participate in the research.

Tutees’ course/ subject area.................................................................

Tutorial day......................day; Time..............a.m./p.m. Room...................

Approx. number of 16 - 20 year old tutees.......................

I would prefer the appointment for November/December/January/February /no preference

I can be contacted on 'phone ext...............

467
APPENDIX 11.1

Factor scree plot for 27 items of AdColl
APPENDIX 11.2

VARIMAX converged in 5 iterations.

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Factor Transformation Matrix:
APPENDIX 11.6

OBLIMIN converged in 8 iterations

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Factor Correlation Matrix:

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APPENDIX 14.1

PROTOCOL FOR COUNSELLING STUDY

The aim of this protocol is to introduce into the first counselling session an opportunity for the adolescent client to consider the relationships with his or her parents. The client may see an immediate relevance of the relationship(s) to presenting or underlying problems and want to talk about them in that session. However, for the majority of clients this will be just an introduction, which can be explored in later sessions as the client becomes more receptive, or even re-introduces the theme of parental relationships him/herself.

The following will be introduced by the counsellor into the first counselling session as soon it seems natural, comfortable and logical. If, after the first half hour, there has been no such opportunity, the counsellor will create the opening, thereby allowing time to complete and still close session appropriately.

1. Are you living at home with your family?
   If Yes - Who are the family members?
   If No - Are you living by yourself? (Follow as approp.)
   Does your family live nearby?
   Are both you parents at home? (Follow as approp)

This is an introductory question to leading into parental relationships. The counsellor needs to establish whether natural mother/father, step-mother/father, etc. are relevant to this client.

If natural parents were both influential in childhood up until secondary school, then counselling will concentrate on them. If a step-parent came into their life before age 10, then relationship with step-parent will also be included.

So long as a natural parent is still alive, even though there is no present relationship with that parent, relevant questions about that parent will still be asked.

2a. Have you talked to your MOTHER about your present problem/what we have been talking about?

2b. Is it usually easy to talk to your mother?

2c. Discuss the sort of RELATIONSHIP that client has with mother now.

Taking lead from client, only explore what s/he volunteers. Do not probe further at this stage.

3a. Have you talked to your FATHER about your present problem/what we
have been talking about?

3b Is it usually easy to talk to your father?

3c Discuss the sort of RELATIONSHIP that client has with father now.

Again, take lead from client.

4 If one or both relationships have broken down or ceased:
Gently probe the timing and whether it was a gradual deterioration or a sudden break caused by a particular incident/trauma.

Thinking about this may be new for the client. S/he may also think this irrelevant to present difficulties. Having introduced it into the counselling for the first time, leave this for client to consider over the week. (Unless client is particularly taken with idea and is self-motivated to expand and explore.)

5 Can client remember being upset as a child, aged 5 or younger? Which parent would s/he have gone to?

Prompt with incidents relating to illness, physical hurt or being emotionally upset? Check whether one parent more receptive etc. than other.
If client mentions rejection or ambivalence by either parent - clarify, then leave.
(Only continue this theme if client takes up the issue and is self-motivated to explore at this stage.)

6 Nowadays, are there any problems/issues/difficulties which would lead to asking either or both parents for help, or opinions or approval?

Prompt with situations asking for advice, approval or reassurance e.g. choice of college course, higher education or employment, finances, boy/girlfriend, etc.

The counsellor's intervention about parental relationships can end here. The client may continue it, but otherwise the session can be client-led in other directions. The counsellor may also want to find out more about the presenting and underlying problems or about college relationships, friendships etc., before ending the session.

2nd & subsequent sessions

The counsellor will aim to re-introduce the issue of parental relationships into the second and subsequent sessions, after the first half-hour, if the client has not already done so.

1 Last week (session) we talked about your relationship with your mother.
I was wondering if you had thought any more about it.

Explore where relevant to client - but do not press
I was interested in what you said about mother....

2 As for 1....relationship with father

As for 1

I was interested in what you told me about father...

3 Have any significant interactions occurred between you and either parent this week?

Ask for examples. Explore and interpret where helpful. Continue only if client is motivated to elaborate.

4 We talked about / I have been wondering about the separation, strain or break in one/ both relationship(s). Have you thought any more about it? Do you think it might be affecting you or your life at the moment?

Explore and interpret only as much as is connecting with client and seems useful.

5 From last (or previous) session(s) I remember you talking about ....

....loss, rejections, ambivalence, threats, difficult behaviour...
...and I have been wondering about this. Would you like to tell me more....

This should open up the area of attachment issues. Explore what happened and wonder why they might have happened. Look at issues from a variety of perspectives including parents'. Again go with client only as far as is helpful today. Allow client to slowly make own links.

Conclude the counsellor's intervention about parental relationships by:

6 Was there anything that you have been wondering about since last week....
...or anything that comes to mind now.

Allow the client to lead the direction until it is time to end the session.

Sessions should include all items, but the order is immaterial. Attachment issues should be picked up from session to session, especially if the subject seems to be working on a relationship.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE CLIENT'S WELL-BEING ARE PARAMOUNT. This counselling protocol will be used only as far as it can be helpful to the client. If there are any contra-indications, then it will not be used.
Dear Student - Research no.............

You very kindly filled out questionnaires for me during your tutorial in .................
and, on the last page, you indicated that I could contact you for an interview.

It would be most helpful if I could meet you soon, when I will explain what is needed. If you are willing to participate, it will take about an hour and I will pay you £4.

Please fill in the form below as soon as possible and either give the envelope back to your tutor or hand it in to the main college reception - either at ------ or -----.

In optimistic anticipation, thank you for your help.

Angela Taylor

Please complete and return in envelope to ANGELA TAYLOR, ----- CENTRE

To: Angela Taylor

From: Student - Research no.............

I can meet you on any of the following days for about an hour at the following times:

- Wednesday 24th January* a.m.-----------------p.m.
- Wednesday 31st January * a.m.-----------------p.m.
- Thursday 1st February * a.m.-----------------p.m.
- Wednesday 7th February* a.m.-----------------p.m.
- Thursday 8th February* a.m.-----------------p.m.

I can only manage Mondays /Tuesdays / Fridays* *Delete as applicable

I would prefer you to reply to me via my tutor...Yes / No*

OR my name is............................... my phone number is..................
(This information will be kept entirely separate from the research)
APPENDIX 18.1

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Explain research and procedure to subject, go through consent form and obtain their consent. Put subject number onto completed questionnaire.

TURN ON TAPE RECORDER - checking "pause" control is off!

Identify student's subject number on the tape.

1  How old are you now? How long have you been a student in this college?

2  How did you adapt to being a student here?

3  How do you think you are getting on at college now?
   a) Socially (Probe up or down)
   b) With your college work (Probe)
   c) Taking responsibility (Probe)

4  Do you think you have changed at all over the last few weeks since you filled in the questionnaires for the first time?

5  How would your teachers have rated you 8/10 weeks ago? How would they rate you today?

6  How would you judge yourself then? ...... and now?

Parents

7  Moving from college to your home life - does one affect the other? Probe direction.

8  Remind me with whom you live. Check relationships with parents.

9  (As approp.) How well do you get on with your mother on a day to day basis? ...and your father?

   probe - trust - Do they trust you? Do you trust them?

   communication - Do you talk about anything other than the weather?
   Do you confide in either parent?
   Is your college work or career ever a subject discussed?
alienation - Have you been physically living apart from either parent?
If so - for how long? How did it come about? Did you get a choice? How do you feel about it now? Would you like the situation to change?

autonomy - What about independence? Do one or both encourage you to be independent? Do they restrict you and want you to remain dependent on them?

affective What sort of feelings do you and your parents have towards one another? Do your parents show you affection or lack of affection? Are they demonstrative? Are you accepting or rejecting or hopeful?

11 When things go wrong with your life, do you deal with things on your own or...? Who gives you emotional support?

12 In your childhood with your parents, was one closer to you than the other? Who would you turn to when you fell and hurt, or got frightened? Did you feel more secure with one than the other - or was there really no difference?

13 Returning to the present, have the relationships with either parents changed in the last 10 weeks? If so, how? Is there anything that you would like to change?

Friends

14 When might you turn to friends rather than parents? Roughly how many close friends do you have?

15 Do you trust your close friends ....confide secrets? Communicate easily with them? worry that they are talking about you behind your back. Ever feel alienated by them or from them? Do your friends give you emotional support? - do you rely on them?

16 At the moment - are your friends or your parents more important in your life?

17 Have the relationships with your friends changed significantly lately? If so, how? Is there anything you would like to change?

Anything else you would like to tell me ? - or ask me?
### APPENDIX 19.1

#### TABLE 19.1

Interviewees' full-scale scores on Adjustment to College and Attachment measures.
Initial test scores are in left-hand columns; retest scores are in right-hand columns.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AdColl27</th>
<th>PAQ</th>
<th>IPPA for Mothers</th>
<th>IPPA for Fathers</th>
<th>IPPA for Peers</th>
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* Hazan & Shaver test: Sec = secure attachment statement  
  Av = Anxious-avoidant statement  
  Am = Anxious-ambivalent statement

#### Sample Means, Standard Deviations & Percentiles from the Questionnaire Study

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