The Meaning of Adolescent Attachment in a Male Boarding School:

An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

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-Abstract

Objective: Emphasis is often placed on the negative psychological effects of boarding school on children under the age of 11, yet a literature review revealed that there has been little research into effects on boarding school adolescent males. Therefore the aim of this study was to begin to explore the meaning attributed to the experience of being an adolescent male in a boarding school focusing on the psychological effects of boarding and its impact on their individual experience of relating.

Method: Six ex-pupils of a male boarding school were recruited. Participants were interviewed using a semi structured audio-recorded interview, covering early attachment experiences, school experiences and post school relationships. Interview data were qualitatively analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to study participants' experience from their perspective. Participants also rated themselves on an attachment questionnaire.

Results: Five super-ordinate themes were identified: "Family tradition"; "coping through self - reliance"; boarding school male identity; "ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships"; "elucidation through process of past and present".

Conclusions: The findings of this study highlight 1) the potential significance of how caregivers, pastoral and teaching staff relate to the male adolescent in an all-male boarding school. 2) that separation from father may be a key factor for the boarding school male adolescent. 3) that more research may be needed on how all-male boarding schools and the gender balance of their staffing impact on alumni's ability to relate to women.

Keywords: Adolescence, Attachment, Boarding school, Identification, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Male.

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Prelude

IPA studies are built upon three philosophical foundations of an epistemological position of phenomenological, hermeunetic and idiographic principles (Sartre 1956/1943; Heidegger 1962/1927; Husserl 1982; Gadamer 1990/1960). Essential to these three tenets include the need for reflexivity, openness, transparency, empathy, sensitivity and exploration. The reflexive function of my role as a researcher required me to be aware of and to be open to any preconceptions, assumptions and possible biases I may have had throughout the life of my project.

My interest in conducting an IPA study into adolescent attachment issues in a male boarding school arose as a result of my occupation as a psychotherapist working in a male boarding school. Through observation in my work, I found myself wondering about the psychological effects that the boarding experience had on male adolescents and of what shape this took, in the form of levels of attachment security. My observation and experience of the boarding school environment had aroused my curiosity which led me to think about attachment, in particular of how the male adolescent copes with development within a boarding school environment, of how they related to others and also of how secure they felt.

The ideal early maternal environment is thought to be one of a safe, holding, containing, consistent and boundaried environment (Winnicott 1986) and the boarding school also seemed to me to represent a safe, containing, structured environment with consistency and boundaries. I may have therefore carried an initial preconception and bias of an ideal containing environment, as being conducive with securely attached participants!

Awareness of my own attachment representations of loss, separation and coping strategies as a female were significant with the institution of boarding that for me resonated with my earlier institutional experience. This resulted in my preconception of an institutional experience that carried both positive and negative connotations. It was therefore important that whilst I was aware of this during interviews, I was also able to set this aside so that I could focus on and understand what the experience of institutional life meant for the male participants, which may have been very different from my own. I also imagined that the participant's preconceptions of me would also be dependent on their own attachment representations and equally that my gender, ethnicity, professional status, morals and beliefs would all have a bias on the interviews, analysis and interpretation of the study.

In terms of my professional status there may have been a positive bias in terms of some of the basic characteristics of a therapist such as self –awareness or reflexivity, sensitivity, rapport and empathic responses. One significant aspect for me was the quest to understand meaning for the participants which also resonated with my quest to understand meanings of individuals within my professional capacity as a psychotherapist, hence my choice of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Flowers & Larkin 2009).

Throughout the process I tried to remain as objective as possible, in terms of endeavouring to suspend my beliefs, values, morals and judgements, in my attempt to understand meaning for the participants. However IPA is within itself an inductive and subjective approach to the task of understanding meaning for the participant, which requires a researcher insider perspective that involves being immersed in the data. Smith,

Flowers and Larkin (2009) describe, the hermeunetic objective as the researcher trying to make sense of the participant making sense of their experience. The underpinning of this objective as he also points out is that it is the reflection that makes an impact on IPA.

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Chapter One:

Introduction to literature review

Historical and current context of the male boarding school

Vitai Lampada

(They pass on the torch of life)

'*And England's far and honour a name*
But the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks':
Play up! Play up! and play the game!'

(Sir Henry Newbolt 1892)

There are according to the Independent schools council (ISC) census 2011-2012 approximately 1,221 UK independent schools of which there are a total number of 508,472 pupils, with co-educational (mixed) schools forming a large part of this. Out of 508,472 pupils, 13.5% (68,476) of these are predominantly boarding. There are approximately 38,557 boys who board, which equates to 7.6%, compared with 29,919 girls who board which equates to 5.9%. Of the 38,557 boys who board 31,405 are aged 13 -19. This is a comparatively very small proportion of boarders in relation to 220, 643 day boys and 219,353 day girls who attend independent schools. In a school of approximately 750 boys there would be approximately 150 boys in each year.

Public boarding schools were developed around the 16th century during Henry VIII's reign and were originally known as grammar schools until the 19th century (Ogilvie 1957). During this period they were controlled by churches or monasteries with specific entrance criteria for the poor (Hardy 1977), whilst other schools were restricted to sons

of members of guilds, trades and livery companies. From the 19th Century onwards just before the second world war, boys boarding schools were founded for public use (the paying public) and became a 'traditional' education, for sons of the ruling class of the British Empire's officers and colonial administration (Hardy 1977). Sons' were sent back to their mother country to be educated in the way of a 'gentleman' for the purpose of serving 'crown and empire' (Ogilvie 1957). There was little in the way of any pastoral care and housemasters were somewhat distant from their charges in terms of care and they would leave the older boys (prefects) to administer discipline and dole out punishments to the younger boys which were often very punitive.

Predominate subjects included Latin which was the international language for entering professions such as the law and the church (Hardy 1977) along with Greek, etiquette and sportsmanship which were also historically taught with the aim of preparing privileged pupils from the middle and upper classes to be the gentlemen and social elite of the time (Ogilvie 1957). G. Stanley Hall (1904) an American academic in the psychology of adolescence, was a great advocate of single sex public schools as he believed that 'sublimation' of sexual desires or passion could be transposed into the mind as concentrated academia (Graebner 2006). This was also alluded to by Freud (1930) when he referred to 'sublimation' of sexual instincts or libido as a healthy redirection into a higher social, cultural or scientific psychological stratum. Others such as Dancy (1963,

p. 84) described this as 'typical middle class deferred gratification'. Dancy however also talked of 'a graver implication behind the charge of sex-segregation of [male]boarding schools' as 'encouraging homosexuality' (1963, p.84), although he believed this was a natural phenomenon given the potential emotional intensity between peers and described an all male boarding school as the 'unnatural segregation of the sexes'. However, his fears were allayed as he cited Spinley (1954) in an earlier study that revealed boys as having a 'satisfactory sexual development' due to 'identification with [their] own sex' Dancy (1963, p. 85).

Tradition

Independent school is the term more commonly used today, rather than public or private school and it is still considered to be a 'traditional' environment passed down through the centuries 'long after the reason has vanished' according to Hardy (1977, pp. 133- 135), who attested that: 'traditions are to men what instincts are to animals' and equated 'tradition' with confidence for vulnerable thirteen year olds who leave home and their parents to start boarding school, suggesting they seek to acquire customs of the school in order to feel they belong. Hardy (1977, p. 46) speaks of tradition as becoming 'part of the personality' and that to remove tradition would be to threaten a boy's confidence. He states that: 'the tradition of preserving traditions [becomes] a tradition'. Gale and Sanchez (2011, p.177) refer to tradition as the hermeneutic quality of an 'intellectual or practical idea, of teaching, understanding or a way of acting, or being in the world'.

Dancy (1963, p. 74) suggests boarding school life can provide positive benefits for boys. He suggests that: 'for self- confidence, it could almost be said the public school was designed to develop it'. Whilst boys may often arrive at boarding school materially privileged, this is not always concurrent with emotional privilege. Dancy (1963), describes homes where busy parents have little time for effective contact with their sons but an over eagerness to show love to them. According to Dancy (1963), the boarding school may therefore act on occasion as a temperate environment where the task is to develop self-confidence, independence and maturity, within a safe framework of respect, constancy, discipline and freedom.

Whilst still equated with 'old fashioned' values and being a privilege for the rich, the boarding school has now evolved to provide greater accessibility, due to scholarships and increased social mobility. There is today an acquired understanding of child development within the teaching professions both socially and emotionally, with anti-bullying measures and an emphasis on a holistic approach with pastoral care provision (Tucker 2011). Alongside this approach and the teaching of traditional academic subjects, boarding schools also tend to provide a wider variety of subjects and extra-curricular activities. Latin and Greek (Anderson and Taylor 2010) are still considered to be an essential part of the independent school curriculum today, equipping pupils for ancient world and heritage appreciation and also for arousal in intellectual curiosity which involves training the mind in 'accurate' detailed thought and logical 'analysis' (Anderson and Taylor, 2010).

Despite frequent criticism, one advocate from the International Boys' Schools Coalition (2010), appears confident that a single sex environment allows boys to flourish because of: 1) 'neurocognitive gender differences' in which evidence suggests that male and female brains in childhood develop differently; a boy's right hemisphere develops early and for girls the left hemisphere develops first (Shucard and Shucard 1990), 2) 'developmental variations' are the result of these gender based differences in which females' verbal and reading skills progress faster than those of males (Halpern 2004), 3) The less helpful of the 'social expectations' of masculinity such as exaggerated competitiveness and denial of emotions are rooted in hormonal and environmental influences (Van Honk and Schutter 2007; Struber, Luck and Roth 2008). James believes that an affirmative focus on boys depicts them as 'asset rich' rather than 'deficit ridden' so that rather than a boy's performance deficit being deemed as a 'problem' it is seen as a 'challenge' (James 2010, pp. 3-4).

Erickson, a former teacher at a private school in Vienna and latterly a developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst, well known for his interest in development identity (1974) sought to encapsulate the essence of the adolescent mind in his summation that:-

> *'The adolescent mind becomes a more explicitly ideological one, searching for some inspiring unification of tradition or anticipated techniques, ideas and ideals. It is the ideological potential of a society which speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is so eager to be affirmed by peers, to be confirmed by teachers and to be inspired by worth-while ways of life'*

(1974, p. 130)

The above highlights some of the debates and criticisms of boarding school which surrounds single sex schools and pastoral care of the boarding school individual, but little is known about the psychological effects on boarding school adolescent males. This review therefore aims to clarify the current knowledge of adolescent attachment issues in male boarding schools, through exploration and identification of recent and historical literature on attachment issues. Due to a dearth of specific literature pertaining to adolescent attachment issues in male boarding schools, it will explore all available and relevant literature on attachment issues, which will be divided into three sections and will focus on the theory and current research of attachment in relation to the psychological effects of boarding school on a male adolescent and his relationship to significant others, such as parents, peers, groups and to the boarding school experience, with the aim of bringing all the domains together, so that discussion of the results and future directions for research are outlined, ending with the rationale and aims of the current study.

Chapter Two

Literature review

Method:

Literature on Attachment issues in Male boarding schools was searched using an electronic database which consisted of OVID, Google, Google scholar and the University of Kent Templemen Library. This was supplemented by hand searches of review articles, reference lists and an extensive search of the 'grey' literature. The database was searched three times and used four steps of boarding schools and attachment and male and adolescents; three steps of attachment issues and male and boarding schools; two steps of male and boarding schools and one step of boarding schools (see appendix: x). A total of 66 papers out of 100 were identified as relevant to the male adolescent in a boarding school with the above inclusion criteria and 34 papers which did not meet the above criteria were excluded. Of 66 papers only three papers were found to be directly related to male adolescents and boarding schools.

1. Psychological effects of boarding school

Sources: 34 - Thirteen papers were identified through an electronic search of Ovid. The search strategy used was attachment, adolescence, male, boarding school. These papers were selected by reference to psychological effects on adolescents of school experience. Two studies directly related to boarding school and ten articles were identified in books and articles. Eight searches were identified through wikepedia via Google, which revealed literary sources and reference lists. One article was identified through an electronic search of Google.

As far back as the 1800's there has been literature on boarding schools such as David Copperfield (Dickens 1850) and Tom Brown's school days (Hughes 1857). Other prolific writers about boys boarding schools have been Charles Hamilton (1876-1961) who used a pen name of Frank Richards and wrote the Greyfriars series with Billy Bunter as the main character and Anthony Buckeride (1950) who wrote the 'Jennings goes to school' series for weekly magazines. All have concentrated their themes on male issues such as honour, decency, competitive sportsmanship, loyalty and friendships, interhouse sports, relationships with particular teachers and fitting in to the school culture. Stories of bullying have featured highly for boys and have involved sadistic masters such as Gradgrind, portrayed in Charles Dicken's (1854) 'Hard Times', but there have also been some kindly masters such as Mr Chipping in James's Hilton's (1934) Goodbye Mr Chips. However, these stories have generally managed to avoid the psychological effects of puberty and adolescence, until the recent fictional autobiographical memoir of Jon Doust's (2009) book titled 'Boy on a Wire' situated in a Western Australian boarding school in the turbulent 1960's. The character battles his way through what

appears to be an unpleasant experience of boarding school and highlights some of the psychological effects such as anger within adolescence.

Whilst there is literature on attachment and adolescence and boarding schools as separate domains, there have been few investigations into the psychological effects of boarding school on adolescent males. Emphasis tends to be placed upon the negative effects of boarding on children under the age of 11 (Barclay 2011) , who according to Bowlby (1979), Proshansky and Fabian (1987) and Korpela (1992) when discussing identity formation, cite the boarding school as a place of conflict and distress owing to a lack of spatial autonomy and privacy.

This has been further endorsed by descriptions of boarders before the age of 11 as exhibiting signs of 'distress' and 'insecure' attachments (Goldberg, Muir, and Kerr 2000). Concerns were raised as recently as January 2012, by an environmental and political activist George Monbiot, who writes for the Guardian and who called for a public investigation into the psychological effects of placing young children aged seven or eight into boarding schools, which was something he described as a 'bastion of cruelty' (The Guardian newspaper, 18 January, 2012). Schaverien (2004) in her theoretical paper 'The Trauma of the Privileged Child' suggested that sending young children to boarding school may be 'particularly' considered a 'British form of child abuse' and 'social control'. Mair (2005, p. 8) wrote that: ' boarding schools are not in the business of providing love' and due to this, cannot therefore meet this 'fundamental need of any child' and Duffell (2011) from Boarding Survivors described and defined the ex- boarder as the 'strategic survival personality' which develops as a measure of self

protection when left alone at boarding school. This he says can develop singularly or collectively into 'masochism', 'rebellion', 'grandiosity' and 'avoidance of intimacy' (Duffell 2011, p. 12).

This presents a bleak outlook of the young person's boarding school experience, though says nothing about the experience through adolescence and neglects to determine any psychological effects on the adolescent who enters boarding school later in development. It should also be acknowledged that these are opinions derived from clinical experience and are not research based. Accordingly, the Independent Schools Council's (ISC) census 2011-2012 stated that: 97 boys and 64 girls entered boarding school age 7, which equated to approx. 2% of all boarders. This is compared with approx 4,572 boys and 3,242 girls who entered boarding school 2011-2012 during adolescence aged 13. There has been a decline in entry to boarding school age 7 perhaps due to bad press as there were 141 boys and 85 girls' aged 7 attending boarding school in 2009. Given the disparity in numbers between younger pupils and adolescent pupils attending boarding school, it is all the more surprising that there has been little research on the adolescent experience in male boarding schools, yet there is much interest in how boarding school education affects development in general and its effect on the pupil's ability to relate.

In contrast to the somewhat damaging picture of the boarding school above, the Boarding Schools Association (BSA) 2012 and the Independent Schools Council (ISC) 2012 suggest that some of the benefits to children for parent's opting for a private education include: a small ratio of pupils to teachers, confidence, independence, community spirit, social skills, cultural awareness and respect for others. Indeed there are now a number of state boarding schools which have become popular as they offer a cost effective means of

obtaining education and good pastoral care.   Fonagy and Target (1997) through their model of self-organisation suggest that empathic understanding from teachers or significant others is key to helping a child overcome any adversity.

Psychological effects and school

Whilst the research presented here is not specifically related to boarding schools, it may be relevant in understanding some of the psychological effects on the male adolescent adapting to a boarding school environment.   The bleak picture as presented by Schaverien (2004), Mair (2005) and Duffell (2011) suggests that the negative psychological affects seen in adults who have attended boarding school as young children may have had a detrimental effect on their later development. Duffell (2011) from Boarding Survivors also suggests that the 'strategic survival personality' of the ex-boarder is a possible psychological consequence of the need to 'survive' boarding school. In contrast to this, Mancini and Huebner revealed in a study of stepwise multiple regression analysis that greater 'attachment, success and participation in school', resulted in greater school success and greater participation in 'structured time use which led to less risk behaviour' (2004, pp.647-668), with close parental relationships as an indicator of this. Whilst they do not specify boarding in relation to the adolescent, there is little doubt that the boarding school adolescent would have the opportunity for attachment, success and participation at school and would benefit from the personal attributes of confidence, independence and social skills as identified by the Independent Schools Council (ISC).

However as Timlin-Scalera et al. point out in their grounded theory study on white middle class male adolescents, there may be other added pressures upon school

individuals to fit in through 'success', 'wealth' and 'high expectations' (2003, pp. 339-350), which might also be applicable to male boarding school adolescents. This was further corroborated by Phillips (2005, pp. 219-230), who revealed in a study on the cultural masculine status of the norm that adolescents' displayed 'practices of heterosexuality, homophobia, athleticism, economic privilege, toughness and violence' which added to the pressure of fitting in and conforming to ideological expectations. She did not refer to boarding school individuals and neglected to mention any psychological effects that the need to 'fit in' may have had on the male adolescents.

Qualitative and quantitative data supports more contemporary ideas on adolescent male development, which determines psychologically healthy connections with significant others, friendships and mentors as specifically relevant and vital to development. Rueger, Malecki, and Demaray (2010) recently reported a longitudinal study on 636 suburban middle school students (49% male) and the perceived support experienced by them. They used the Child and Adolescent Social Support scale (Malecki and Demaray 2002) which revealed that the adolescent's perception of all sources of support were linked to 'anxiety, self-esteem, academic adjustment and depression.' These factors were also linked with the perceived support of parents, teachers, classmates and friends along with psychological and academic adjustment. They made a distinction between parental support as a 'robust unique predictor' of adjustment for both boys and girls, whilst classmates' support was a 'robust unique predictor' for boys in that they perceived less support from classmates and more support from close friends, teachers and parents (2010, pp.47-61). This study was useful in highlighting some of the psychological effects and differences that the adolescents of both genders were able to identify in

relation to support from significant others, but as it was a suburban middle school it may not have been indicative of a male adolescent boarding school.

Other pressures placed upon the adolescent were substantiated by Oransky and Fisher in their study of 'cultural prescriptions' and 'traditional male norms' where they used psychoanalytic discourse analysis to explore the 'norms' or 'not norms' of masculinity, in adolescent boys and media sources (2009, pp.57-72) The research focused on cultural discourse in determining 'normative and marginalised masculinities' and revealed that 'popularity' signified the norm and 'outcasts' denoted marginalised masculinities. In addition to this a four factor model of; constant effort, emotional restriction, heterosexism and social teasing was revealed in this study using the Meanings of Adolescent Masculinity Scale (MAMS), which demonstrated good internal reliability. Although not directly related to boarding school adolescents, these studies have highlighted pressures that represent being or being seen as successful, are based upon the adolescent's need to fit in, to be popular and to have wealth. Whilst these focus on the external pressures there is little evidence of the psychological effect 'fitting in' may have on the adolescent.

An earlier sociological study conducted in 1954 by Spinley on a group of deprived children and adolescent boarding school boys, found that the boarding school boys although externally self- confident, revealed feelings of anxiety and insecurity, which were ascribed to separation from home and parental love (Spinley 1954). Spinley suggested that this apparent self -confidence may have also represented indifference as a means of coping with the premature separation from home and parents. Ainsworth et al.

(1978) might refer to this indifference as 'avoidant attachment'. Bronfenbrenner (1961) visited a boarding school in Russia and reported an overall extremely positive sense that children seemed well accomplished and without problems. However he raised two points of concern: 1) there lacked any evidence of mischief and 2) the degree of neutrality exhibited was possibly due to a lack of intense emotional relationship to parents or teachers. A rationale for his need to find something wrong within a non-family situation was that seldom was such good behaviour seen in the western world.

Whilst it is acknowledged that there may be clear advantages and opportunities to be gained from attending boarding school, these studies highlighted some of the possible psychological effects, complexities and pressures that being a male adolescent in a boarding school may bring. Significantly, the initial transition from home to boarding school involves a separation from parents/caregivers and a need to fit in and how this is managed or experienced by the male adolescent may shape the degree of his attachment formation (Bowlby 1979).

2. Separation

Ten papers were revealed through a search of OVID and Google scholar which related to the impact of separation on adolescents through attachment. The search strategy was for attachment and male and adolescent and boarding schools. Four references were sourced through books. Bowlbys' well known attachment theory is a branch out from object relations theory (originated from Freud's drive theory) whose early main contributors were Klein (1945); Fairbairn (1952); Guntrip (1961); Winnicott (1965);

Balint (1968); Greenberg and Mitchell (1983). Their focus in psychoanalytic literature and theory is on relationships between an individual's internal and external world.

Bowlby observed very young children aged between fifteen and thirty months during maternal separation and developed three initial categories of attachment states which were; 'protest' as being the distress at separation, 'despair' as being hopelessness with intermittent longing and crying when mother does not return and 'detachment' as acceptance of others and his situation (Bowlby 1969). He went on to progress his theories through his interest in the Darwinian theory of natural selection and his subsequent observation and studies of ecological instinctive behaviour with animals, which involved experimental studies with chimpanzees. Bowlby further developed his original ideas and described three interconnected categories of attachment into volumes: Attachment (1969), Separation (1973) and Loss (1980). Around the time of his first volume Ainsworth et al. (1978) became the pioneer of the 'strange situation' study and conducted an observational experiment in 1970 (reported in 1978) using the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) which was a validated measure for prediction of interviews used in the 'strange situation' (Ainsworth and Bell 1970).

The 'strange situation' involved observing the emotional states of 100 white middle class American infants aged one year to eighteen months in the separation and reunion with their mother, to determine how they would emotionally react with regard to being in a 'strange' place during mothers presence and in her absence. From observation of these experiments, three categories of attachment behaviour were observed and described as secure, anxious resistant and anxious avoidant: 1) 'secure' represented the infant being distressed when separated, but able to recover and explore happily with others, whilst

also feeling secure in the presence of mother and without her. 2) 'Anxious resistant' represented the infant being distressed when separated, but also anxious when exploring without mother and angry, ambivalent and resentful upon mothers return and 3) 'anxious avoidant represented the infant ignoring mother in her presence, showing little emotion when she leaves and little emotion upon her return. A fourth category was subsequently defined by Main and Solomon (1986), which became known as disorganised attachment in which the infant is distressed upon separation and upon the return of mother shows distress and confusion. The strange situation study has often come under criticism for focusing solely on middle class infants and of being conducted in an artificial environment. Bronfenbrenner (1974) challenged the strange situation study by arguing that human studies should be conducted in the actual environment and context of an individual's life.

In 1993 Main and Solomon (1986) progressed this further, by deriving a term stated earlier and known as 'earned secure' which denotes disorganised individuals moving from being classified as insecurely attached and through positive experiences with others, earning the status of being assessed as securely attached. The term 'earned' seems to suggest a need to work for something or a reward for becoming securely attached. There has been further development towards the sensitivity of a more naturalistic occurrence stated in Van IJzendoorn's (1995) meta- analysis study of transmission of sensitive responsiveness to others, which is concerned with the attunement from the caregiver to the infant which influences secure states. This is also similar to the caregivers 'reflective function' as suggested by Fonagy and Target's (1997, p. 679) proposed model of self-organisation. This reflective function occurs when the caregiver is able to focus and understand the internal state of the child and repair the child's insecure state through

attunement and positive experience. The child internalises this and is able to move to a secure state, which it is proposed could be termed 'learned' rather than 'earned' secure, because in the author's opinion, the child develops this rather than earns it.

A boy's investiture in a boarding school may involve the need to employ coping strategies to assist with separation from parents (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby 1979), adjusting to a new environment, possible homesickness (Fisher, Frazer and Murray 1985) and the development of new friendships. How the individual copes with separation, may be relevant to his attachment experience, style and behaviour which will often surface at times of major events and stressful situations such as illness, bereavement or separation (Slade 1999). Securely attached individuals tend to present as 'consistent, coherent and collaborative'. Fearful individuals present as 'avoidant, ambivalent and withdrawing', whilst preoccupied individuals can be 'angry, negative and preoccupied with the past' (Slade 1999, p.580). Finally, dismissing individuals present as contradictory, cannot recall memories and deny or rationalise negative feelings, they tend to claim that negative experience makes them stronger and more independent (superficially positive) (Van IJzendoorn 1995; Slade 1999).

Attachment states of mind with 'coping trajectories' were evidenced by Seiffge-Krenke and Beyers (2005), in their longitudinal study of 112 adolescents' coping behaviour which was assessed at five points between the ages of 14 and 21 years. The adult attachment interview (AAI) was employed to assess states of mind at 21 to determine current and earlier attachment experiences. Coping styles were found to be related to differences in attachment in both adolescence and early adulthood. Securely attached adolescents used their social network to deal with their problems and both secure and

dismissing individuals used more internal coping strategies than preoccupied attachment styles (Bartholomew and Horowitz 1991). Secure individuals showed a marked increase in both coping styles, whilst minimal differences were observed in withdrawal coping styles.

Whilst the AAI is a valid measure for attachment the more recent development of the CAI (Child Attachment Interview) has narrowed the gap in the literature for evidence-based measurements for middle childhood. This measure, which is a narrative-based assessment, has been used to assess attachment patterns in children (Shmueli-Goetz, Target and Fonagy 2002) and consists of a semi -structured interview which draws upon coding similarities to the AAI and the 'strange situation' (Ainsworth et al. 1978). Four attachment categories of secure, preoccupied, dismissing and unresolved are elicited from a child's narrative description of their relationships with their primary caregivers. This gives a continuous measure of attachment security, based on ratings of attachment related dimensions and was used with other narrative measures such as the SAT (Separation anxiety test) (Wright, Binney and Smith 1995). One positive aspect of the CAI from the AAI is that the CAI takes less time to administer. The focus of the CAI is on current attachments and related events rather than memories of relationships as used in the AAI which determines representational attachment to parents. The CAI is assessed as a reliable and valid measure of child parent attachment in middle childhood and therefore a possible useful measure for assessing attachment states in adolescence.

Emotional struggles and difficulties are never more prevalent than in the developmental phase of the adolescent when 'plasticity' in the brain generates considerable changing

activity as seen in the toddler and the adolescent (Wilkinson 2006). For the male adolescent at boarding school this would no doubt coincide with the onset of puberty and separation from mother and his attachment status would clearly influence the nature of this transition and of how he copes. It is possible that stoicism (Oransky and Fisher 2009) in the boarding school boy might serve to aid the transition and experience of separation. However, Pollack (2004, pp.141-150) suggests that qualitative and quantitative research tend to focus on the 'boy code' trauma of stoicism and separation from mother as negative, rather than attending to any positive aspects of this process. They discuss the possibility of separation from mother being experienced as a 'healthy vulnerability' with a positive rather than a negative focus. However, they neglect to mention any negative or positive effects that separation from father may have, which may also be relevant to the boarding school boy.

A premature separation from home and parents as suggested is acknowledged as potentially problematic, but it is also acknowledged that adolescence is recognised as a period of time where the process of psychological separation begins and it is a natural developmental period of a need to move away from parents (particularly mother) so as to form and forge relationships with male peer groups in order to establish sexual and self-identity (Erickson, 1974; Laufer and Laufer 1995). The distinction here may be that the separation is usually 'symbolic', rather than actual or physical in nature if the male adolescent is schooled daily and does not attend boarding school. Whilst it has not been possible to identify how separation might directly affect the male adolescent in a boarding school, studies such as those of Bowlby (1979), Main and Solomon (1986) and Slade (1999), support the notion that underlying attachment prototypes of an individual may indicate how the adolescent may cope with separation. Van IJzendoorn (1995)

regards transmission and sensitive responsiveness to others, in his meta -analysis study as pertinent to attachment status and internal representations, which suggests that how housemasters, matrons and teachers, relate and are attuned to the sensitivity of adolescents may have an influence on secure or insecure states. Carlson, Sampson and Sroufe (2003, pp. 364-379) suggest that: 'consequences of out of home care and separations, are dependent on 'timing and circumstances' which seems relevant to the male adolescent at boarding school as the timing, transition and management of his experience by significant others/caregivers may determine the outcome of attachment experience.

3. Attachment

A search through OVID and Google scholar of attachment and male and adolescence and boarding schools revealed 43 papers that were deemed to be relevant to attachment and male adolescence and eighteen sources through books and articles. There has been a great deal of empirical research historically and currently on attachment which is well documented see Robertson and Bowlby (1952); Heinicke (1956); Schaffer (1958); Schaffer and Callender (1959); Bettleheim (1967); Heinicke and Westheimer (1966); Ainsworth et al. (1978) and more contemporary research: Hazan and Shaver (1987); Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991); Goldwyn (1993); Main and Sroufe (1995); Van IJzendoorn (1995); Fonagy and Target, (1997); Main and Cassidy (1998); Cowan and Cowan (1999); Waters et al.(2000); Sroufe and Siegel (2011).

It was however Bowlby's (1969) original theory on attachment and his observation of chimpanzees, which generated the discovery of the infants physical 'need' for closeness

and proximity to his/her mother along with food, as a fundamental biological need. His ideas separated him from Freud's instinctual theories which were concentrated on the internal world of the infant, rather than external environmental factors. Bowlby's theories created a landmark for understanding the degree and nature of secure and insecure feelings that an infant may feel in reaction and relation to mother in her presence (attachment) and the subsequent effects on the infant, particularly when reunited with mother after absence through separation (Bowlby 1973).

Bowlby through his observation of infants noticed that following separation from and reunion with mother, that the child often showed a marked degree of 'anxiety' at one end of the spectrum or 'detachment' at the other which he termed 'separation anxiety'(1998, p. 3). This was dependent on the level of inner security that the infant felt, whereby securely attached infants could feel content, both within the presence of mother and without her. If mother does not return, then feelings of hopelessness, despair and eventually withdrawal and an inertia termed 'grief' may ensue (Mahler 1961; Parkes 1970; Worden 1996; Bowlby 1998) which is symptomatic of the feelings of loss that may arise following a prolonged 'separation' from mother and of the 'yearning' for her return (Bowlby 1998, p.10). Although life continues on and the infant adapts and adjusts to its circumstances Bowlby (1998, p.10) states that: 'the yearning for mother's return lingers on'. It is worth noting that Bowlby uses the term 'proximity' to describe the process of attachment, separation and loss as occurring in a literal sense, with focus on the external need of the infant to be able to reach out to mother (Greenberg & Mitchell 1983, p.186). He neglects however, to acknowledge the symbolic representation of an internal process of mother (or father) which may occur in situations where a mother may be experienced as 'absent' or 'unavailable' to her child, even when she is physically present (Kohon

1999). This phase of development is significant for the male adolescent as it determines a parallel process of autonomy for the infant and the adolescent and insecure v secure states, which forms the basis for subsequent attachment formation.

Attachment theory, adolescence and other theoretical considerations

When a child reaches puberty and enters adolescence, there are usual developmental issues to consider which arise as a result of physical and emotional changes taking place and to which the process of attachment and separation is relative (Bowlby 1973). This occurs as the adolescent moves 'towards independence' described by Winnicott as the 'strivings of the toddler, child and of the child at puberty' (1965, p.92). These changes consist of re-negotiating past 'psychological developments' within a new framework of 'physical sexual maturity' (Laufer and Laufer 1995, p.4). A normal period of increased conflict occurs at the onset of adolescence with a vacillation in ego strength (Freud 1923; Hartman 1950a; Mahler, Pine and Bergman 1975; Stern 1985) as the young male struggles with an increase in hormonal activity en route to acquiring a new emotional, physical and sexual maturity (Laufer and Laufer 1995). There is also within this period the potential for a significant amount of psychological growth, which is recognised by neuroscience and the concept of 'brain plasticity' (increased activity and change in neuronal synapses) which indicates that the capacity for change is at its height in the first three years of life and again in adolescence (Siegel 1999; Schore 2003; Wilkinson 2006).

This process occurs when the adolescent male moves away from the primary maternal identification figure, to enable him to form an identification with his father and same sex peers (Laufer and Laufer 1995). This same sex identification acts as a mirror with which

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to reflect, confirm and affirm the adolescent. It is suggested that what also occurs within this process encompasses Freud's 'Oedipus complex' (1933), which is concerned with the conflict of the unconscious wish and desire to possess the mother which is psychologically impossible, inherent with internal danger and must be relinquished (Laufer and Laufer 1995). This period brings with it sexually rivalrous feelings towards the father, as Erickson succinctly puts it 'one parent becomes the goal and the other a hindrance' (1974, p.172). The process of same sex 'identification' and oedipal concerns is suggested to occur in reverse with females termed by Freud as the 'electra complex' however for the purpose of this study, concentration is focused on the male perspective. Hence the passive identification with the adolescent's father which hides any unwanted unconscious aggressive phantasies (Klein 1945).

Current theory suggests that these transitory adolescent feelings of an attempt to establish identity are not solely concentrated on sexual wishes and phantasies as Freud initially suggested but that they also incorporate guilt, envy, aggression, competitiveness, sibling/peer rivalry and domination (Erickson 1974; Fonagy et al. 2002; McWilliams 2005), character traits often associated with young males. Freud (1930) believed that it was the working through and resolution of the oedipal conflict that enabled the adolescent male to move on to form healthy intimate romantic relationships. 'Healthy' here refers to the 'satisfaction' and integration derived from forming loving relationships regardless of gender (Bateman, Brown, and Pedder 2002, p.217) and not as Freud's (1905) early theories prescribe in his 'Three Essays on the Theory of sexuality'. Within these he repudiates homosexuality as a perversion and refers to heterosexual relationships as 'normal'. It is acknowledged that the above theoretical ideas are without any empirical evidence, but are derived from Freud's early contribution to the

understanding of sexual drives (libido), aggressiveness and sibling rivalry, which are all thought to be pertinent to adolescent development.

Whilst the Oedipus theory still carries a good degree of credence in psychoanalytic thinking and theory, contemporary analysts are acknowledging that to view homosexuality as a perversion is both prejudicial and outdated. Some psychoanalysts have contested Freud's idea of the oedipus complex and enhanced and modified their understanding of libido drives. Klein (1928) placed the oedipal situation much earlier in infancy, whilst Erikson (1974) with his eight stages of psychosocial development placed this period in a third stage of 'initiative v guilt'. Adler (1959) disagreed with Freud on libido solely being concerned with sexual internal drives and developed his theory of 'individual psychology' to explore and incorporate external aggression through his 'inferiority complex'.

Interpersonal relationships

Bowlby (1979) proposed that the quality of childhood relationships with primary caregivers resulted in internal representations of 'working models' of the self and others which form the prototype for later social relations (Horney 1939; Bowlby 1969, 1973, 1980). Whilst early attachment theorist's (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979) have emphasised their focus upon the mother infant relationship and 'good enough' mothering (Winnicott 1986) as being the foundation for healthy attachment and development, there appears to have been a shift in focus within contemporary research to 'inter-changeability'.

This approach suggests that variations of developmental experience can shape the formation of attachment styles (Davila, Burge and Harmen 1997; Smith, Elliot and Murphy 1999; Priel, Mitrany and Shahar 1998). Although the primary relationship is not dismissed as pertinent to development, the notion of shaping attachment styles challenges the foundations of fixed prototype attachment patterns upon which the original attachment theory is based (Bowlby 1979). It would appear that contemporary interpersonal research supports this whilst early attachment research assumes specific, stable, biological functions and factors that pre-determine attachment styles of relating and future functioning (Bowlby 1969).

Interpersonal researchers acknowledge that biological factors shape the foundations for the formation of attachment relationships as advocated by Sullivan (1940, 1953). Rholes et al. (2005) argue that it is the 'interpersonal experience that defines the bonds that children form with their caregivers'. As a result of this, internal working models are created which influence attachment styles that ultimately affect attachment relationships. They also acknowledge that 'relatively stable' attachment orientations are interchangeable (Rholes et al. 2005, p. 50) as consistent with the 'earned' or 'learned' secure attachment as previously mentioned (Main & Solomon 1986). In terms of attachment patterns and variation upon the male adolescent at boarding school, the above studies were unable to clarify the effects of attachment states on the boarding school male, however these findings would support the notion of reciprocity. How the adolescent is related to would have some bearing on his levels of attachment security, which would be significant for housemasters, matrons and teachers in their interactions with adolescent males.

Van IJzendoorn (1995, p. 398) supports this in his meta- analysis study where he defines the 'transmission gap' as one where attachment representations are only partially known. He considers how parents transmit their mental representations to their children and evidences the existence of a relationship between attachment representation and 'sensitive responsiveness' as a key component which is central to the, as yet incomplete understanding of attachment 'transmission'. Van IJzendoorn (1995) challenges the underlying assumption of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) which is a fixed questionnaire with strong reliability and discriminant validity (George, Kaplan and Main 1985), that it concentrates it's focus on evaluating the effects of autobiographical narrative representations, rather than giving focus to the participant's narrative description of childhood experience. Van IJzendoorn (1995) refers to a current indication of attachment status and confirms that subsequent positive experiences, interactions and relationships with significant others, such as teachers or therapists, can affect the attachment representations which can elicit a change from insecure to secure attachment states echoed by Main and Solomon's (1986) 'earned secure'. Although seldom remarked upon, one might assume that the reverse of this would also be applicable, in that detrimental experiences would denote a change from secure to insecure.

Teachers, boarding schools and adolescent attachment

Three studies and one article were identified through OVID and Google scholar. In 1998 a study was conducted in a boarding school on the transactions of the adolescent's internal working models between self and others, perception of peers, and reciprocal perceptions of others and by others (Priel, Mitrany and Shahar 1998). Findings supported the hypothesis that models of the 'other' on a person's social environment were significant (Diehl et al. 1998), with reciprocal relations resulting in secure

attachments and non- reciprocal relations resulting in insecure attachments. The conclusion drawn suggested that 'specific person environment transactions', which may be relevant to housemasters, matrons and teaching staff in terms of the male adolescent at boarding school, was involved in 'securing the style of relating' (Priel, Mitrany and Shahar 1998, p.1183). Significant to this is Sroufe and Siegel's (2011) article on 'the case for attachment theory', which highlights an important consideration for teachers and implications for the psychological development of adolescents as a result of various studies conducted through the Minnesota Longitudinal study of Risk and Adaption since 1976 (Sroufe 1983, 2005). One such study revealed to coders (who did not have previous knowledge of the children's attachment styles) that teachers were observed reacting to children with different attachment styles accordingly. Securely attached children were related to with warmth, respect and given responsibilities, whilst resistant children, although related to with warmth had decreased expectations of them and were given less responsibility. Perhaps most alarmingly were the avoidant attached children who were treated with less warmth and related to in a controlling and angry way.

Tillfors et al's, (2012) study reveals social anxiety as a significant indicator linked to the dynamics of adolescent peer relations in terms of acceptance, victimisation, and quality of relationships. This is perhaps also relevant to relationships with teachers and is consistent with Sroufe and Siegel (2011), who discuss Bowlby's ideas by suggesting that peer attitudes to each other are based on their attachment status. For example, peers will generally show a positive inclination towards those with secure attachments, whilst a negative inclination is directed to avoidant attached peers who are viewed as hostile and aggressive and resistant or ambivalent peers who are viewed as socially incompetent (Sroufe and Siegel 2011). Whilst this has highlighted an important factor in the necessity

of teacher awareness in terms of attachment states of pupils and is equally relevant to the adolescent boarding school male, Sroufe and Siegel (2011) did not distinguish the ages of the children studies or gender differences. They also did not discuss the possibility of the pupil's attitude to a teacher's attachment state as well as his peers as having some bearing on his nature of attachment and relating. This may have implications for level of secure or insecure states that the adolescent may experience in relation to his teacher's attachment pattern.

Neuroscience and adolescent attachment

A search through OVID and Google scholar revealed 12 papers and three articles concerning studies on adolescence. Study on human biological behaviour has evolved over the course of time and a new paradigm shift for understanding adolescent attachment theory has evolved (Schore and Schore 2008) which is significant to understanding neurobiological development and change in adolescence (Sowell and Jernigan 1998; Giedd et al. 1999, 2008). Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study to explore this in any significant depth, neurobiological attachment theory has become a fundamental prerequisite to the understanding of attachment behaviour, see (Fonagy and Target 1997; Siegel 1999; Schore 2003; Wilkinson 2006).

Longitudinal studies of neuro-imaging on participant's age between three and thirty have been carried out to quantify the physiology of brain anatomy through magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) (Giedd 2008). Research has also focused on the neurobiological affect on attachment and has shown that neuronal activity is stimulated when in relationship and proximity to others including face to face interaction (Feldman, Greenbaum and

Yirmiya 1999, p.223). This creates synaptic connections in the orbitofrontal cortex of the brain which is located on the right side where the prefrontal cortex is and which is fundamental to emotional life (Schore 2001). The orbitofrontal cortex controls emotional responses, cues and behaviour but needs physical, social interaction and attunement to grow, develop and form emotional and affect regulation (Trevarthen 1993; Schore 2003) which determines security or insecurity states (Gerdhart 2004). This gives further credence and substantiation to Bowlby's (1969) original work on the biological responses of animals and his attachment theory.

For the adolescent this is quite significant in terms of understanding emotional states and responses and particularly attachment states. 'Brain plasticity' (activity and change) surges in toddlers around the age of three and again in adolescence and these changes elicit new neuronal activity, which is consistent with strivings for autonomy and independence and can also be at the heart of adolescent difficulty and disturbance, and behaviours such as risk taking and decision making (Giedd 1999; Wilkinson 2006). Significant to attachment is that the neuronal connections are formed through good or bad experience and if they are not used then they die off or are what is termed as 'pruned' (Gerdhart 2004). One therefore does not have to carry the burden of synaptic sediments of earlier negative experience, particularly if new neuronal connections are made through healthy attachment experiences such as caregiver's sensitivity, responsiveness and affirmations (Van IJzendoorn 1995; Sroufe and Siegel 2011).

The understanding of physiological changes in the brain would appear significant to the male adolescent at boarding school, in terms of housemasters' matrons' and teachers'

relationship and sensitivity towards him, which is concurrent with the reflective stance model of self-organisation that Fonagy and Target (1997) propose and the sensitive responsiveness of transmission representations described by Van IJzendoorn (1995). In other words how he is socially interacted with and attuned to at a time when brain activity is undergoing much change can promote growth and positive associations. Neuroscience also offers a basis for understanding difficult feelings and behaviour the male adolescent may exhibit and experience, particularly at a time when he might be commencing boarding school and separating from parents.

Maternal and paternal attachment style and influences

The search for evidence of the impact of mothers and fathers attachment style and the implications for the adolescent's separation from home revealed 17 studies through OVID and Google scholar and 13 sources through books and articles. Van IJzendoorn (1995) used attachment theory in his meta- analysis study to highlight the predictive validity of the Adult Attachment interview (AAI) and explored the sensitive responsiveness of transmission representations to determine whether the attachment representations of parents influenced the attachment state of the child, a hypothesis familiar with contemporary research (Main and Solomon 1986; Fonagy and Target 1997). He examined 14 studies (18 samples) of the relation between the AAI and the strange situation classification and 8 studies (10) samples on the relation between the AAI clarification and parental responsiveness.

Van IJzendoorn concluded that the predictive validity of the AAI and strange situation was upheld and whilst his meta-analysis showed that sensitive responsiveness was a

channel for the transmission of attachment representations, he concluded that these were only partially known due to a larger part of the influence being through a mechanism other than that of responsiveness (Van IJzendoorn 1995). Genetic transmission was cited as one possibility for the 'transmission gap' in his study. However he acknowledged that he failed to address the facial expressions of emotions, which are also transmitted to the child and which according to neurobiological research is fundamental to attachment process as the parent's facial expression acts as a mirror (Kohut 1971; Feinman 1992; Schore 2001) in which to affirm, confirm or negate a child which exerts a powerful influence on the stimulus of social brain growth and attachment states (Schore 2003).

This is confirmed by Roisman, Tsai and Chiang (2004) who have since used the AAI in their study of physiological and facial responses and self -reported emotional responses. Their results concluded that the AAI does reflect individual responses and emotional attachment representations linked to infant attachment. Kohut (1971) an eminent psychoanalyst developed a theory of self -psychology and self-object needs, which shows consistency with attachment and neurobiological research in that his focus was on the importance of the need for the infant mother dyad of mirroring and idealisation as affirming the infant and promoting the development of the infant's self –esteem. Banai, Mikulincer and Shaver (2005) conducted an empirical study on Kohut's theory of self-psychology using factor analysis on 372 Israeli undergraduate students where they developed a self- report 18 instrument measure.

They concluded that the self- object needs inventory (SONI) was a reliable and valid measure which was congruent with Kohut's self -object concepts for mirroring,

idealisation and twin ship. Findings were in support of Kohut's (1971) theory and carried high test–retest reliability over a 2 month period, with construct and discriminant validity. It would therefore seem feasible that the 'transmission gap' referred to by Van IJzendoorn might be the non-verbal communication of responsiveness of maternal influence. Fox (1995), argues a flaw in Van IJzendoorn's data by suggesting that there is a lack of evidence to support the 'coherence of discourse about actual early experience or the re-workings of that experience' in a mothers' influence and interaction with her child. Gerdhart (2004, p. 53) who cites Main (1986) suggests that the: 'coherence' of discourse about actual early experience, is evident in the attachment nature of the present 'internal coherent and consistent narrative' and that any discrepancy in the reporting of this, is evidence of secure or insecure attachment states (Main and Goldwyn 1993). This is further supported with Van IJzendoorn's idea as suggested earlier that focus given to the participant's current narrative description of childhood experience may reveal an attachment prototype. Whilst Van IJzendoorn (1995) focuses his study on maternal representations, he also reveals a gap in research on the role of the father in the development of a child's attachment pattern and suggests that a rigorous study is needed to account for the 'weaker influence' of the paternal representation in the infant/father dyad.

Research on maternal influence and attachment is well known; however there is limited research on the known effects of paternal influence on the adolescent and attachment. Two studies conducted on a group of seven astronauts by Ruff and Korchin (1967) and 105 US Navy jet pilots by Reinhardt (1970) suggested that participants had a high degree of self –reliance and well adapted personalities, determined through their developmental patterns. This consisted of a stable family base with parental encouragement of autonomy

and family solidarity, which was considered to be important. Of significance was a particularly strong identification with the father in both cases, involving happy memories of outdoor activities with him. This identification proved stable across several interviews.

Bronfenbrenner (1961) a Russian American, developmental psychologist advanced his ecological systems theory into a bio-ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 1989; Bronfenbrenner and Morris 2006). His ecological position focused on child and adolescent developmental processes within an environmental (school) and individual (character, gender) context known as 'micro to macro, proximal processes' (Bronfenbrenner 1998). Whilst his bio-ecological model has been used in various parental studies such as father child interactions by Adamsons, O'Brien and Pasley (2007), others argue that his theory fails to determine the practical or 'detailed mechanisms' for child and adolescent development from a psychological and educational perspective (Puroila and Karila 2001, p.221). Bronfenbrenner (1961) highlighted in a much earlier field observational study on 192 boys and girls of equal numbers, levels of responsibility and leadership which he determined by the level of education the father had. The 'differential influence' of father and mother on their children (gender based) revealed that social class was deemed to be a pivotal factor in the development of the adolescent. He suggested that well educated middle class fathers were more likely to engage in activities with their children and less likely to inflict physical or punitive punishments on their children than working class fathers.

Although somewhat controversial in his distinction of the middle and working classes, he did acknowledge a bridge in the assumed gap between the social and working classes, as he suggested the latter eventually adopted the same values of child rearing as the middle classes (Darling 2007). It is not entirely clear where these studies were conducted but there is evidence that he often conducted comparative studies in the USA and did a lot of work in the Soviet Union comparing the two, but as Panken (2005) points out in his study of 'Behind the mirror image of Bronfenbrenner', there was controversy over his use of the term 'working class' within the Soviet Union as they wished to be seen as classless and preferred the term 'less cultured'. In addition to this Bronfonbrenner stated that boys were more likely to be leaders from homes where fathers were educated, attentive and affectionate and they were also more likely to be 'responsible figures' if they came from homes of 'authority' (1961) meaning with kind discipline and not authoritarian as in being severe or punitive. Again Panken (2005) suggests that this was portrayed in favour of the Soviet Union by way of appeasement and to highlight the cultural differences between the Soviet Union and Bronfenbrenner's home of the USA.

However, similar trends on father's attention and concern towards their children were reported by Rosenberg (1961) with regard to his measure of low self-esteem (although not specifically related to boys). Bowlby points out a potential flaw in that the criteria used for Bronbrenner's study were based on 'competent performance' and that boys were selected on teacher recommendation (Bowlby 1998). A further study by Grinker (1962) reported by Bowlby (1998) on college students, showed close links between their 'values and goals' and those of their parents and tutors. They were emotionally closer to their mothers than their fathers, but again strongly identified with their fathers. Bowlby quotes Grinker (1962) as saying that:-

'in males such identification [with father] *is an extremely significant factor in the process*

of becoming and remaining [mentally] healthy'

(1998, p. 393)

Bowlby (1998) justifiably questions the selection criterion of participants having previous 'stability' which led them to be chosen for astronaut and pilot training, but neglects to question other criteria for the studies which seemed to provide a bias in favour of class and status, two factors that appeared to pre- determine a favourable outcome. These findings also failed to report or highlight the nature or rationale for the strong identification with father, which was deemed as positive and necessary for healthy [attachments]. It is also interesting to note that these men had selected to work in an all male environment, following a strong identification with father.

Differences in attachment representations between maternal and paternal influences have indicated a gap in the literature (Van IJzendoorn, 1995; Elliott et al. 2003), to determine why the paternal role and its influence on the child is weaker than that of the maternal influence. As evidenced in Fox and Kimmerly's (1991) meta-analysis study on the interdependent infant-mother, infant father relationship, a comparable association for a secure –insecure split was suggested as an outcome for the basis of a secure attachment to mother which was based upon the attachment status of the child. In other words the attachment representation of the mother if secure would determine that it was not unusual for the child to have a secure attachment to mother and an insecure attachment to father. Van IJzendoorn ascribes this to the possibility of father's absence due to work (1995).

The emphasis on the circumstances of father's attachment representations and of how this might influence a child's attachment was suggested for further research. It is accepted that there is a strong maternal influence, which affects a child's attachment pattern associated with attachment theory and that this originates in the early theory of separation from mother and the associated anxiety states and levels of security a child subsequently feels as a result of this (Bowlby 1997). Yet this focus often brings about controversy in the psychoanalytical field, as to whether the attachment to mother is focused on a 'primary' need of 'archaic heritage' (Greenberg and Mitchell 1942) in which species survival is at the core, as supported by Bowlby (1979) or focused on a 'secondary' need for mother as the 'gratifier of food and nurture' which Freud (1940, p.188) and other followers would advocate. Greenberg and Mitchell state that:

'emotional struggles and difficulties of all sorts derive from disturbance in early attachment to the mother and subsequent attachments'

(1983, p. 186)

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this study, this opens up another dialogue on the nature v nurture debate but also of maternal mortality and the implications for same sex [male] child rearing (Slaby and Frey 1975), or paternal child rearing (Greco and Morris 2002). It is suggested that both needs of the infant share the stage of an equally important initial struggle for survival, but the importance of the paternal role may be particularly significant to the male adolescent in terms of male identification within a predominantly male boarding school.

Adolescence and Groups

Much literature has focused on peer relationships in adolescence and therefore a search through OVID electronically to determine the impact of a male adolescent's relationship to groups revealed six relevant papers and a further search through books revealed one source. There seems to be more of a focus within contemporary research on attachment instability, as opposed to a degree of rigidity of ideas on fixed attachment. Two predictors of attachment style change were classified as a 'reaction to current situations' and an 'individual difference in susceptibility to change that is associated with stable vulnerability factors' (Davila, Burge and Harman 1997, pp. 826-838). In their new theory of development Harris (1995) partially supports this through her proposal that socialisation is 'context specific', but differs in her suggested view of 'peer groups of childhood and adolescence as generating socialisation'. She suggests that it is not the 'dyadic relationship' and therefore not the 'parental influence', that has any long term marked effect on the development of the child's personality, but that it is 'intergroup processes' that form the 'environmental receptivity' which affect the character of a child's personality. Harris states that:-

'it is the universality of children's groups that explain why development is not derailed by the wide variations in parental behaviour found within and between societies'

(1995, pp 458-489)

This assertion conflicts with Bowlby's (1997, p.177) attachment theory of 'a child's first human relationship as a foundation stone to his personality'. He describes the variables

of a child's family experiences as 'determining' the inner working models of relationship to parental attachment figures, which is the 'basis of all his expectations and plans for the rest of his life'. In addition to this there is a high degree of consistency in previous research on adolescents aged ten to seventeen over a seven year period, which identified little change in moral behaviour and character (Peck and Havighurst 1960). These findings are consistent with earlier studies on adolescents that report systematic relationships between validated measures of socialization and states of parental marriages, see family backgrounds of sixteen year olds Bronfenbrenner (1961), measures of self-esteem Rosenberg (1965) and Megargee, Parker and Levine (1971).

A further three studies conducted by Smith, Elliot and Murphy (1999), on adolescents' relationships to groups used attachment measurement strategies; Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) Collins and Read (1994), and an adapted measurement to determine a distinction between group attachment and relationship attachment. Other researchers such as Hazan and Shaver (1987); Main and Goldwyn (1993); Cowan and Cowan (1999); Fraley, Waller and Brennan (2000) and Waters et al. (2000), have all contributed to the progression and understanding of attachment states from infancy to adulthood through the use of attachment measures which normally consist of likert scale questions that are designed to give a continuous rating of attachment style on a dimensional level of the 'self' and the 'other'. The studies on adolescent's focus were on the individual's 'mental model of the self' as a group member and of groups as 'sources of identity and collective self-esteem'. Results suggested that the two dimensions of attachment anxiety and avoidance were assessed with good reliability, validity and over time stability and the conclusion drawn was that the nature of attachment and psychological ties to groups included 'emotional attachments, time and activities, social support, collective self -

esteem and ways of resolving conflicts' and that there was a distinction between relationship attachment and group attachment. However the participants were all psychology students and gender was not recorded in two of the studies, but was separated for the third study. The use of psychology students suggested a possible bias as according to Smith, Murphy and Coats (1999, pp. 94-110) students demonstrated cohesiveness, social support and group identity. However they neglected to identify age, socio economic status or ethnicity.

A more recent study by Caron et al. (2012) seemed to confirm Smith, Murphy and Coat's (1999) study in their findings of a distinction between attachment patterns and quality of relationships to parents, friends and partners through factor analyses using two self - report measures. They propose two theoretical models of attachment as trait and context specific as a means of identifying the distinction between attachment states. The overall findings would suggest that attachment states are dependent on the nature, timing (Carlson, Sampson and Sroufe 2003) and sensitive responsiveness (Van IJzendoorn 1995) of reciprocal relationships whether it concerns, parent/caregiver, individuals or groups. These studies have a commonality with male adolescents in that they are based on homogenous samples of students, but differ in gender balance. They do however highlight a possible relevance to how the male adolescent at boarding school may relate in terms of group and peer attachments, particularly due to the amount of time and close proximity spent in relation to each other.

Summary

This review attempted to respond to the research question in terms of exploring what the psychological effects of boarding school on adolescent males may be, through various epistemological domains, but has been unable to clarify attachment issues directly related to male adolescence in boarding schools or to identify the phenomenology of an insider perspective. The significance of groups revealed the importance of peer attachments to groups as part of the adolescent's identity establishment (Rosenberg 1965; Timlin-Scalera et al. 2003) and generation of socialisation (Harris 1995). Whilst this was not particularly substantiated to males, it was applicable to both genders and relevant to the period of adolescence.

The literature on 'boarding schools', although limited, highlighted some of the attachment considerations in relation to models of the self and models of the other as underlying attachment states (Priel, Mitrany and Shahar 1998) and although there was some divided opinion among researchers with regard to attachment stability/instability, conclusions drawn from these findings suggest that whilst there is some agreement of attachment prototypes as being fixed and maternally influenced (Bowlby 1979; Van IJzendoorn 1995; Carlson, Sampson and Sroufe 2003), there is also acknowledgement between some contemporary researchers of oscillating attachment patterns as being conducive to social environmental predictors, seen as models of the other, which in turn influence the internal model of the self (Bartholomew and Horowitz 1991; Harris 1995; Priel, Mitrany and Shahar 1998). Caron et al. (2012) report a distinction between attachment patterns as either trait or context specific, but perhaps these are also mutually influenced with the determinant of social environmental predictors being dependent on the quality of sensitive responsiveness as suggested by Van IJzendoorn (1995).

One fascinating aspect of this review which stood out because of its relevance for clinical implications and practical considerations for teachers and therapists was located in Van IJzendoorn's (1995) meta- analysis study which determined that sensitive responsiveness was a channel for the transmission of attachment representations. This was in corroboration with Fonagy's reflective stance of attunement (1997) from significant caregivers, both of which were pertinent to attachment security through the commonality of the caregiver's attunement.

The significance of these findings complemented Sroufe & Siegel's (2011) Minnesota longitudinal study in which they determined that securely attached pupils were related to with warmth and given responsibilities, whilst at the other end of the spectrum insecurely attached pupils were related to in an angry and controlling way. The alarming effects of a misaligned attachment relationship between teachers and pupils highlighted the necessity for teacher awareness of pupil levels of attachment security and sensitive responsiveness measures that may be necessary to promote the male adolescent's feeling of security. It would also be prudent to note here the importance of the additional self-awareness of the teacher's own attachment patterns as being conducive to maintaining reciprocal or non-reciprocal attachment relationships. Neurobiological attachment theory further endorses sensitive responsiveness by asserting through research that affirmation, confirmation or negation of a child exerts a powerful influence on the stimulus of social brain growth and attachment states (Trevarthen 1993; Schore 2005) and is significant in terms of understanding how the physiological activity and change in the brain (Schore 2005; Giedd 2008) is concurrent with changes the adolescent undergoes through commencing school and of how vital and sensitive the attunement and social interaction with him is in creating more positive associations and secure states.

The separation theory and literature was significant for the male adolescent in identifying how his early separation experience from parents, may have some significance in how he might manage the later separation and transition from home to boarding school (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby 1979; Main and Solomon 1986; Waters et al. 2000) and whilst this was determined by Carlson, Sampson and Sroufe (2003), as being dependent on timing and circumstance, much focus was given primarily to the significance of the maternal rather than paternal separation experience, with coping trajectories dependent on differences in attachment. This was nevertheless pertinent in managing the transition and adjustment to boarding school as discussed by Seiffge –Krenke and Beyers (2005).

Although this review highlighted a limited amount of research on paternal influence, significance was determined in the differential influence of maternal and paternal influence on attachment states (Greenberg & Mitchell 1942; Bronfenbrenner 1961; Bowlby 1979; Van IJzendoorn 1995) that seemed particularly pertinent to the male adolescent and to the male identification which takes place when entering a predominantly male boarding school. Although Bronfenbrenner (1961) stressed the importance of father's influence on the male adolescent, the review failed to highlight any significance of the adolescent male boarders' separation from father, although underlying attachment prototypes of an individual were suggested indicators of how the adolescent may cope with separation.

Conclusion

The aim of this review was to clarify adolescent attachment issues in a male boarding school. While this review has highlighted a dearth of literature in this specific area, it was able to identify a broad overview of attachment issues in terms of understanding the adolescent male in relation to the process and effects of separation, boarding schools, maternal and parental attachments, attachment prototypes and coping (Seiffge –Krenke et al. 2005). These were all deemed to be relevant to the male adolescent's boarding school experience. The literature and studies provided a background to understanding the various attachment issues which may prove relevant to adolescent male boarders including separation, male identification and 'intergroup processes' (Priel, Mitrany and Shahar 1998). This study did however highlight the importance of attachment attunement. It would therefore seem essential that the effects of sensitive responsiveness as suggested by Van IJzendoorn (1995) are explored further in relation to significant caregivers such as teachers in how they relate and respond to the adolescent's attachment state so as to affirm and enhance the opportunity for secure relations, particularly as there has been a lack of research on the phenomenology of an insider perspective on these issues.

Further research

Findings suggest two areas for further research which have been identified as a result of this review. Focus should be given to the psychological effects on the adolescent in relation to their experience of boarding school, which includes how they relate to others and paternal influences due to a dearth of any specific literature pertaining to adolescents in these areas. Further focus on how others such as teachers relate to adolescents in terms of the nature of relationships between the teachers and the adolescent's attachment

patterns from a phenomenological perspective. This may be significant in giving an insider perspective on understanding how the effects of the teacher's response to secure or insecure attachment states may enhance or inhibit the adolescent through positive or negative affect (Siegel and Sroufe 2011).

Introduction and rationale for the study

The aim of this study is to capture the phenomenology of attachment issues through how a small sample of adolescent males make sense of their relationships to significant others within a boarding school environment. The male adolescent's experience of boarding school may be connected to separation from parents/caregivers and relationships with peers and school housemasters, matrons and teachers. Whilst there has been much focus and attention placed upon maternal influences with regard to attachment issues, attention given to the paternal influence on the adolescent male and attachment issues (Bronfenbrenner 1961; Elliot et al. 2003) is relatively neglected. Studies have shown that 'solidarity' within a stable family and a male's strong identification with father can have a positive effect on determining a secure attachment (Ruff and Korchin 1967; Reinhardt 1970). It is also acknowledged that the absence or lack of identification with father can have a detrimental effect on adolescent males which may result in disordered attachment states (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby, 1998).

Chapter Three

Method

Qualitative v Quantitative approaches

Qualitative research assumes the position of an inductive, social phenomenological approach which seeks to understand social and cultural norms and individual subjective experience. Exploration through a variety of methods is used to generate hypotheses, through the observation and analysis of meanings, words and images, which is consistent with understanding 'social reality' (Bryman 1998; Silverman 2000). Quantitative research is concerned with observational, behavioural hypothesis testing and positivist approaches. This is conducted through the use of experiments and statistical analysis, in order to establish and measure the 'cause and effect' of any given 'reality' (Creswell 1994).

There is much debate around the two often polarised approaches and sometimes an air of undermining criticism exists towards the qualitative domain with regards to generalizability, reliability and validity (Creswell 1994; Silverman 2000). Whilst it is acknowledged that it is difficult to generalise findings to the wider population, a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach using IPA was adopted for this study as it facilitated the opportunity for exploration of a more in depth study of the psychological effects of a male boarding school experience. A quantitative approach would have been less time consuming, but also less flexible and the nuances of experience and meaning for the participants may have been lost.

An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method of approach was adopted for this study as described by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009). The focus on understanding a participant's narrative to enable further understanding of their attachment experiences is consistent with Smith, Flowers and Larkin's (2009) commitment to a hermeneutic, phenomenological and ideographic approach in their analysis of the meanings that participants ascribe to their past and current experiences provided the emphasis is on the focus of the participant's narrative description and personal meaning. IPA is concerned with a detailed analysis of a participants experience and because of this, Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) recommend between three and six participants as sufficient to determine participant similarity and difference. This methodology is commonly used within the health sector and is a subjective, bottom up, inductive approach which concentrates its focus on interviewees as the experts of their experiences.

The qualitative approach of Interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, Harre and Van Lengenhove 1995) has been criticised as a 'simply descriptive' methodology according to Larkin, Watts and Clifton (2006), who defend the approach by stating that it is the 'rigour' which is needed for a thorough phenomenological and interpretative analysis that often goes unheeded with some research, where the emphasis is placed on flexibility. Flexibility is an important aspect of IPA along with an open, reflexive and transparent approach to research that is vital to the foundation of reliability and validity of a project (Lepper and Riding 2006).

IPA is founded upon three epistemological positions of philosophy; 1) phenomenological being the understanding of the human experience of the world in context and time (Willig 2001); 2) hermeneutic being the interpretation of language and text and past and present human understanding of anything in and of itself, which Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) describe as the 'part' and the 'whole' of an iterative process of understanding related meanings (Heidegger 1962,1927; Gadamer 1990,1960) and 3) ideographical perspective being the 'particular detail' of 'understanding' and 'meaning' (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009, p. 29).

The philosophical underpinning of IPA according to Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) is derived from some prominent philosophers who have individually contributed their ideas which collectively have holistically shaped the epistemological position of IPA. Edmund Husserl (1927) whose interest lay in phenomenology was a philosopher and a pioneering force behind the famous quote 'we should go back to the things themselves' the things themselves consisting of 'meaning' and 'experience', which he sought to encapsulate through interpretation. He also derived the term for attempting to suspend preconceived ideas, experiences and assumptions as 'bracketing'. One of his students Heidegger whose major work was 'Being and Time' which focuses on the individuals' use of the world (1962/1927) termed Husserl's 'bracketing' as 'forestructure'. He moved away from Husserl as he experienced him as too abstract and theoretical, but developed his work from his experience with Husserl to incorporate Hermeneutic phenomenology which was concerned with a micro analysis or idiographic scrutiny of disguised or latent meaning within texts. He also derived the term 'Dasein' which denotes the concept of lived time and engagement with the world to incorporate psychological processes or perception, awareness and consciousness (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009). Similar to

Heidegger's viewpoint on phenomenology and hermeneutics are Sartre (1956/1943), Merleau Ponty (1962), Gadamer (1990/1960) and Schleiermacher (1998).

Whilst they occupy slightly different view points and perceptions, they all focus their attention on the individual interpretation and meaning of language, as well as seeking to understand human individual existence in the world. Whereas Heidegger viewed the world and the individual as 'one' with the self waiting to be used, Merleau Ponty (1962) viewed the world as different from the self, where the self is only connected through touching. Sartre (1956/1943) observed that people were more concerned with becoming rather than being and his major work was on 'Being and Nothingness'. Sartre was also famous for 'existence comes before essence' and he developed the concept of 'nothingness'. Gadamer's major work of Truth and Method (1990/1960) focused on the interpretation of historical, traditional and literacy texts, emphasising the awareness of 'forestructure' (his term for assumptions, preconceptions). Schleiermacher (1998) concentrated his attention on the text and the author, hence Smith et al's idea of the researcher making sense of the participant making sense of their experience, also known as a double hermeneutic (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009). An advance on this, is Smith et al.'s reference to the triple hermeneutic aspect of the reader making sense of the author making sense of the participant making sense of their experience, which is a vital construct of IPA and forms the basis for theoretical transferability rather than generalizability in which the reader can determine the transferability to similar individuals in context (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009).

One can derive from the above how Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) through IPA have drawn out the essential ingredients and parts of the above philosophers' ideas. In bringing these together Smith et al. (2009) have formed a holistic way of identifying perceptions, psychological processes, experiences and meanings as a method for understanding what it may be like to experience being a human in the world through the lens of a phenomenological, hermeneutic and idiographic perspective. The author concludes that the epistemological position of IPA as described above is connected with narrative and social constructivist approaches as well as psychosocial and historical processes, but exceeds the linguistic, discursive (Willig,2001) element to determine the individuals empirical reality through their lived experience and endeavours to make sense of that experience (Smith et al 2009).

IPA v Discourse Analysis

Consideration was given to discourse analysis as a possible method of approach for this study which focuses its approach on how and why an individual uses language within a given social context (Fairclough 2003). However it was considered that discourse analysis would not be able to address the issues of this study as it highlights the social action in speech and the power dynamics this may reveal, whereas this study was interested in the internal subjectivity rather than social actions. It was therefore concluded that the IPA (interpretative phenomenological analysis) (Smith, Jarman and Osborn 1999) would be a suitable approach as it allows for an insider perspective on facilitating the participants freedom to 'tell their story' from a personal perspective and in their own words.

This study sought to address the following:

- How does a small homogenous sample of males understand their experience of adolescence within a boarding school environment?

- What if any are the subjective psychological effects of boarding school on a male adolescent through the experience and memories of a small sample of older males who are ex- boarders?

Participants

According to Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) a small number of researchers have made recommendations for actual sample sizes. For phenomenological studies Creswell (1998) recommends between five and twenty five and Kuzel (1992, p. 41) recommends six to eight interviews based on sample heterogeneity, but as Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) point out there has been (until their evidence based recommendation) a lack of evidence to support these suggestions. Guest et al (2006), provide evidence in their experimental study on data derived from West African women, in which they determined that basic meta -themes requiring twelve participants reached saturation, but they also stated that basic meta- themes were present in six interviews, as recommended by others (Nielsen and Landauer 1993; Morse 1994). Furthermore they described how the similarity of participants and shared common criteria, created participant homogeneity, that resulted in saturation which is also endorsed by Romney, Batchelor and Weller's (1986, p. 326) belief in 'cultural competence'. Smith, Jarman, and Osborn (1999, p. 49) however caution against a purposive homogeneous sample being treated as an 'identikit' which can be avoided through selecting 'obvious social or theoretical factors relevant to the study'.

Six participants were recruited to take part in the study and the main inclusion criterion was that they were all ex-pupils of the same all male boarding school, which created a small homogenous sample. The demography of the participants was that they were all white employed males and ranged in age from 22 to 49 years. Two of the participants aged 27 and 49 were married and four aged 22, 25, 28 and 41 were single. Only one of the participant's parents had separated and subsequently divorced during his school experience. The participants had between one and three siblings as shown in table 1 below:-

	Alex	Brian	Charles	David	Edward	Fred
Age	25	27	41	49	28	22
Marital Status	Single	Married	Single	Married	Single	Single
Parents	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
divorced	1	1	3	3	1	1
No of siblings	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 1

The exclusion criteria were as follows:-

Current diagnosis of depression, anxiety, psychoses. The rationale for the exclusion criteria was based on ethical and moral considerations of safeguarding (See ethics section for more information).

Research Design

The IPA qualitative method of approach was the preferred method of analysis as the objective of the study was to gain some understanding of the participant's experience of their attachment issues from the participant's childhood, school experience and later

experience from the participant's own perspective. It was deemed most appropriate for this study as the aim was to capture meanings participants assign to their personal experiences and is therefore conducive to 1) the individual's boarding school experience from a personal perspective. 2) providing a focus for understanding attachment issues (Smith, Harre and Van Langenhove 1995). Through the researcher's analysis, a reduction of the complexity of the data is achieved and interpreted, giving a third person 'insider perspective' on the participants' world. The interview was an ideographic case study approach, suitable for small sample groups of up to ten participants (Smith, Jarman and Osborn 1999).

The focus was on the exploration of the participants' perceptions and memories of their experience of the transition from childhood, to boarding school and finally to their current experience. The aim was to capture the essence of meaning that participants ascribed to their early and later memories and experiences, through enabling the participants to be able to tell 'their' story in their own words.

Measures and Materials

Questionnaire

An initial research project information sheet with an invitation for participants to take part was administered online and a questionnaire was included with an 'opt in' provision [see appendix B]. The project information sheet contained information on data collection and confidentiality [see appendix A].

The questionnaire contained within it a self -score attachment rating scale known as RQ (Relationship Questionnaire) devised by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991). The RQ (Relationship questionnaire scale) devised by attachment theorists Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) was an adaption from Hazan and Shaver (1987) administered to the participants and used to elicit demographic information and to situate the sample. The questionnaire is a self- rating measure of selecting one of four statements, which correspond to a style of attachment and then rating oneself based on the same paragraphs on a likert scale of 1-7. It was considered that the RQ might add a richness to the study whilst also informing the IPA study of the attachment orientations of the participants as they understood it, to further enhance understanding (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009). Given that the focus was on the participant's personal experiences and ascribed meanings and perceptions of their boarding school life, it would not be possible for the IPA within itself to address attachment issues per se, as emphasis is placed upon making sense of the participant making sense of his experience.

Smith, Jarman and Osborn (1995) used a mixed method of IPA and a repertoire grid originally devised by Kelly (1955a, 1955b), as an ideographic tool of data production, in which the categorisation of constructs rather than being a conclusive end, provided a platform for discussion with the participant, which ultimately assisted with further understanding of the participants' psychological constructs (Smith, Harre and Van Langenhove 1995). In this study the questionnaire was used only to provide additional information relevant to the particpants' self perceived attachment status and to explore whether there was any clear difference between participants who completed it and also attended interview and those who completed it but did not volunteer to be interviewed.

Procedure

Semi- structured interviews

Qualitative rather than a quantitative approach to semi structured interviewing serves to capture the fertility of themes that arise from a participant's narrative, rather than the quantitative approach of categorical responses being minimised (Smith, Harre, and Van Langenhove 1995). The advantages of the structured interview according to Smith et al (1995) are said to be control, speed and reliability in presentation and the disadvantages being limitations on what is explored through constraint. It is considered that a qualitative coded semi- structured interview enriches and provides insight into the array of complexities arising from psychological structures, whereas quantitative measures of structured interviewing and analysis can be limiting (Reis and Judd 2000).

All interviews were audio recorded and lasted for approximately forty-five minutes with the exception of one, which lasted for approximately ninety-five minutes and was conducted across two occasions. Six participants were interviewed which fulfilled the basic elements of meta themes (Guest, Bunce and Johnson 2006). They were conducted at mutually acceptable locations and subsequently transcribed by the researcher .

The interview schedule consisted of semi-structured open-ended questions, designed to be flexible and contained three main questions with additional prompts to enable further exploration. The focus of the three questions addressed the following: Early relationships with parents or caregivers, relationships at boarding school and relationships since leaving boarding school. See Box 1 for an example of the questions that were used in the interview:-

Can you tell me about your relationship with your parents or those closest to you when you were growing up?
Prompts:
Who was the most important person? can you say why?
What are your fondest memories of them?
Can you tell me about any difficulties?
How did you feel when you had to leave for boarding school?

Can you tell me about your relationships at boarding school?
Prompts:
How much at ease did you feel with your peer group? or
What relationship did you have with your peer group?
What relationship did you have with your house masters/teachers etc?
What sort of difficulties did you encounter if any?
Who did you turn to?
What type of people did you find easiest to get on with?
How do you feel that your early relationships at home influenced these relationships?

Can you tell me about the relationships you have had since leaving school?
Prompts:
Friendships?
Personal relationships?
Working relationships?

Box 1

The questions were devised and used to elicit information and understanding of 1) what the transition from home to boarding school was like for participants; 2) what it was like for the participants during their time at boarding school and 3) what it was like for them upon leaving boarding school, entering further education or work and current experience if they wished to share this.

Ethics

Prospective participants were relied upon to self- exclude as advised in the project information sheet administered to them, if any of the exclusion criteria applied. Exclusions were set as a precaution against any possible detrimental affect that questions

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in the interview may have had on the sensitivity of anyone undergoing any current psychological difficulty. Participants were advised that they could say as little or as much as they wished during the interview and that they could stop at any time. At the end of the interview the researcher provided a debrief in terms of asking how participants felt about the interview and a list of resources for participants to contact was administered after the interview (see appendix: xiii) to cover the event of any unforeseen difficult feelings that may have subsequently arisen from the interview.

A clause of Confidentiality was set out in the project information sheet and this was restated at the onset of the interview. Participants were advised as per the project information sheet and verbally at the end of the interview that their audio-tapes would be destroyed after use. It was also advised in the project information sheet that any data collected would be anonymous and they were also offered a copy of their transcript, to look at, but they all declined. However they were all keen to have a copy of a summary of results, which I agreed to send to them. With regard to publication they were advised that this was a possibility and that generalisations of outcomes would be made available, but that it would not be possible to identify individuals and a summary of the outcomes would be made available to all participants on request [see appendix: B].

Data Analysis

The participant's transcripts were read several times prior to being individually analysed and coded by the researcher using the IPA method (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009). This consisted of marking the exploratory themes and identifying themes that emerged out of each participant's transcript that was relevant to the research question. Collation

and assimilation of themes were colour coded for identification purposes and cut into individual sections (see appendix G). These were formed into groups of clusters of similar emergent themes for each individual participant. Tables of emerging themes with a dominant superordinate theme were drawn up for each transcript and each emergent theme was evidenced with a 'key word' from the participant's narrative as shown in Table 2 below further tables can be seen at (appendix D) :

Table of superordinate themes and key words from one participant (P3) in the Meaning of Adolescent Attachment in a Male Boarding School		
1.3 Themes: Family tradition	**Page: line**	**Key words**
Traditional experience means 'stable' family background	1: 4	'traditional experience'.... 'stable family'
Loss of father	1: 10	'passed away a few years ago'
Divided attention as character building	1: 20	'attention being divided'...'positive experience'
Competing for attention	1: 23	'attention from your parents'
Aggressive competitive self as natural	1: 27	'aggressive'...'competed'...'only natural'
Traditional relationships	1: 33	'good relationship'... 'very traditional'
Traditional family means strong emotional link to mother	2: 39	'strong sort of emotional link'..' to my mother'
Father not emotional	2: 42	'more reserved emotionally'
Time spent traditionally with father at weekend and evenings	3: 47-60	'a very traditional way'...'time at the weekends'
Gender roles defined as traditional	3: 61-69	'sports fixtures'...'traditionally female chores'
Self- sufficient	5: 103	'I'd rather be sort of self-sufficient'

<u>Table 2</u>

and then cross referenced with all of the participant's narratives and compared and contrasted to elicit the dominant themes. From this an overarching super-ordinate theme emerged from each of the clusters of emergent themes and were then translated into identifying recurrent themes this indicated that superordinate themes were present in over half of the sample as shown in Table 3 below and can be seen at (appendix H):-

1.7 Identifying Recurrent Themes							
Super-ordinate themes	**Participants**						**Present in over half the sample?**
	Alex	Brian	Charles	David	Edward	Fred	
Family tradition	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Self-reliance as a way of coping	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Boarding school male identity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Elucidaton through process of past and present	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

<u>Table 3</u>

Finally this was transformed into a table of master themes. An example of one category of the master themes table is shown below in Table 4, other categories are held at (appendix:J).

Master table of themes	
Identification to male_role_models	**Line**
Alex: *'I got on really well with the housemaster and tutors'*	80-81
Brian: *'I would be out with my old man during the holidays and I was just stuck to him like glue. Him [housemaster] like me didn't have much time for them, we probably got on quite well in that respect'*	276, 180
Charles: *'whilst he was older than my father[housemaster], he was probably a very similar role model'*	556-558
David: *'spent long hours with each other [father] and had a very open relationship, discussing major issues of life. He was a man [housemaster] I totally trusted, felt very safe in his care erm respected...an in loco parentis parent'*	21-23
Edward: *'I felt much more self- conscious about trying to impress my father than my mother'*	13-14
Fred: *'Pretty cool [relationship with housemaster]. If I saw the housemaster now, it would definitely be good to see him. I did have a good relationship with him'*	151-155, 195

<u>Table 4</u>

The master theme was used to highlight the superordinate themes and a relevant quotation from each of the participants' transcripts were used (as illustrated in Table 4), to evidence each superordinate theme.

Independent audit and Supervision

Throughout the process, coding was closely monitored and validated in supervision to ensure that the themes elicited were grounded in the data. The process involved a line by line analysis of one participant's transcript at a time, which was identified by the researcher initially as an exploratory theme of interest or meaning. A second analysis and reduction within the text, revealed what Smith, Jarman and Osborn (1999) described as an emerging theme. Close monitoring of this process in supervision revealed that there was an initial difficulty in the researcher's stance of a therapeutic analytical interpretative evaluation of themes, rather than an insider perspective of examining the text to identify the participant's words that signified meaning for the participant (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009). This could be in the form of a noun, pronoun or adjective or indeed a sentence. Heidegger (1962/1927) would describe the preconception of the researcher as the 'forestructure' and emphasises the importance of being able to suspend this in order to follow the participant's text in order to elicit the themes, borne out of the participant's words.

This was acknowledged by the researcher who agreed that the participant's meaning according to IPA was the focus and following a few attempts which was consistent with the iterative process of repeating the analysis and moving back and forth within the text, all conceivable themes using the participant's words seemed to have been elicited. This resulted in a vast amount of data, which was colour coded and when this process had been repeated for all of the participants, the colour coded emerging themes for each participant were collated together and then identified into clusters of groups to highlight convergence and divergence. From this process emerged a superordinate theme which dominated the group of emergent themes. It should however be noted that whilst every

attempt is made to suspend preconceived ideas, that it is the researcher who interprets words, sentences and themes of the participants which therefore makes the process subjective. An independent external auditor also verified that the themes seemed to be grounded in the data.

Quality and audit criteria

There are various criteria for measuring quality in a qualitative study such as adequacy of data and interpretation, social validity, subjectivity, and reflexivity (Silverman 2000). The criteria measured against this IPA study draws upon Yardley's (2000) four principles of 'sensitivity to context'; 'commitment and rigour', 'transparency and coherence' and 'impact and importance' as outlined by Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) which is discussed later in Chapter 7. An independent audit was carried out by the supervisor and a paper trail is evident within the appendices of this project. The author's reflexivity (Willig 2000) throughout this research project allowed the participant's themes to develop and emerge. Through a developing awareness of the participant's interviews which were initially listened to via audio tapes and when transcribed were read and reread several times in order to become very familiar with the data and understanding of the participant's perceptions and experiences. This enabled a 'phenomenological reflection' to occur of the author's experience of the participant's experience (Smith 2009, p.189).

Purposive sampling

With regard to purposive sampling for a qualitative approach, it is recommended that the size of the study or nonprobabilistic sample size (Patton 2002) is based on the criterion of 'data saturation' (Byrne 2001; Fossey et al. 2002) in other words when material received is exhausted and cannot be progressed through further information and coding. This is viewed as a justification for saturation adequacy (Guest, Bunce and Johnson 2006).

Fox (1995, p. 404) points out that 'narrative about personal memories may be a function of personal theories about developmental processes as well as the influence of current psychological states such as low self-esteem' Whilst the researcher acknowledges this, the IPA method was felt to be conducive to the meaning and relevance of the participant's perception of their experience, which may be determined in the 'internal coherence and consistent narrative' as a current presentation (Gerdhart 2004) and in whatever state of mood or personal theory they carry or may wish to construct.

Chapter Four

Results

Themes and Sub Themes

Note[1]

Five over-arching themes were identified from the analysis: *"Family tradition"*, *"Coping through self -reliance"*, *"Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships"* *"Boarding school identity"*. *"Elucidation through process of past and present"*. These themes will be presented below with identifying interview excerpts.

Family tradition

Participants indicated through recollection of their earlier memories of relationships to significant others that the core basis of their early parental relationships consisted of 'traditions' 'closeness' and 'stability'

> *'I have a fairly traditional erm experience in that sense in that I came from er a sort of 'stable' inverted commas, family background'* (Charles, lines 5-9)
>
> *'so yeah a very stable and loving upbringing'* (Brian, lines 7-8)
>
> *'structure and stability'(Brian, line 21)*
>
> *'always very close'... 'fairly traditional predictable stuff really'* (David, lines 4, 145-146)
>
> *'anniversary [parent's wedding] and I spoke about a childhood that was full of just very warm happy memories' 'they still live in the same house that I was*

---

[1] anonymity has been protected through the alteration of identifying information to [1]include names and omission of

places

brought up in so that whole feeling of home is attached to a place as well as mum and dad being there' (David, lines 127-137).

Edward was slightly different in referring to 'I think' when describing his relationship with his parents, which suggested that he was unsure or ambivalent.

'always had I think quite a close relationship with my parents' (Edward, line 4)

Reference to the 'traditional' aspect of earlier experience suggested that this was largely connected with defined gender roles with mother being at home, present, domestic and emotionally and physically close, whilst father was largely absent due to work during the week, but was physically present and practical at the weekend:-

'fairly natural that mother was around much more' (Edward, line 11-12)

'strong sort of emotional link to my mother in a very traditional sense' (Charles, line 39-40)

'he [dad] would take us to things at the weekends and we would help him in the garden....while my mum did the more traditionally female chores around the house' (Charles, lines 63-69)

'dad was at work all the time' (Fred, lines 6-7)

'very much with sort of dad as well at weekends' (Fred, line 23-24)

David and Edward acknowledged their mother as the most important person to them whilst growing up and they were able to identify emotional and physical closeness to her.

Charles was also able to acknowledge physical contact and emotional closeness to his mother, but stated that '*it was a very maternal role*' *(line, 139)* which was preceded with '*I think erm, I think erm it's a difficult question*' *(lines, 131-132)*

Alex and Brian were unable to differentiate who was most important to them:-

> '*both parents were equally important*' *(Alex, line 12)*
> '*probably my parents combined*' *(Brian, line 13)*

Fred initially said '*I don't think I could differentiate erm (line, 17), but following a prompt of 'both the same'? (I: line, 18)* said '*I think I definitely had more sort of contact with er mum just cos she was always there*' *(line, 19-21)*

Whilst Charles found it difficult to answer the question described above, he described closeness to mother as a '*sort of almost babyish, sort of right from birth sort of way*' *(line, 167-170) and* David seemed to need to emphasise that he was '*really close, very very very close*' *(line, 33-34)* to his mother.

The participant's reported experience was that it was a '*fairly natural*' *(line, 8)* phenomenon '*that mother was around much more*' *(Edward line, 11)* and reference to the 'traditional' element of parental relationships suggested an emphasis on gender roles as part of the 'traditional norm'. Charles described his parent's relationship as '*old fashioned*' *(line, 433)* and his perception was that mother '*tried quite hard to present that traditional perfect relationship*' (lines, 427-428 3(2)) '*where the wife looks after certain areas* [emotional, domestic] *and the husband looks after the*'*(lines,430-431 3(2))* [financial, practical] side of things. However, paternal attachment rated quite high for all participants and /or the wish for male identification was very prevalent both at home and at school. With the exception of David who described '*hugs*'*(line,8)* with dad up until the

age of thirteen [when he began boarding school] there was very little indication of any acknowledgement of a physical or emotional link to father/significant male, but his absence due to work was indicated. Importance was placed upon acceptance, approval and identification, sport and practicalities:

'I felt much more self -conscious about trying to impress my father than my mother' (Edward, lines 13-14)

'cos I would be out with my old man during the holidays and basically I was just like stuck to him like glue' (Brian, lines 273-276)

'physical relationship I had with dad which was really cuddly, cosy, warm that ended at about that age' [13] (David, lines 14-15)

David also recalled the *'impact'* *(line, 18)* of father's rejection of him when he remembered

'wanting to snuggle up next to dad at that sort of age one afternoon and him going;' 'too old for hugs' (lines, 7-9)

Whilst he denied any level of significance to his memory of this, he also acknowledged the fact that he had remembered this during the interview as having had some impact on him. Equally Brian whilst acknowledging that 'growing up everything was good' had played down the significance of being forgotten as he recalled 'one or two things' such as:-

'I am sure there were a couple of things like my dad forgetting to pick me up from school once and having to walk home and him embarking on a village manhunt for me when I was just watching the tv back at home' (lines, 70-75)

It would seem as though Brian 'sticking to his father like glue' as stated earlier above may have been in case he was forgotten.

The transition to boarding school for all participants was reported to be relatively easy. Brian answered how he felt by describing how he initially wanted to go to day school rather than boarding because his friends were going there, but he was ultimately won over by the housemaster and older boys on his pre- visit. Comments such as: *'I felt excited, but nervous'(Alex, lines 36-37) 'I felt nervous I think, apprehensive' (Charles,* 301-304) 'really looking forward to it' *(David, line 47) ' I sort of felt a bit apprehensive about it umm but I suppose I think I was quite excited about it at the same time' (Edward lines, 43-47) 'actually looking forward to going (Fred, lines 51-52)' were described.*

<u>Parents and siblings in close proximity to boarding school as reassuring</u>

For Alex, Brian, Charles, and Fred, there were two significant reassuring factors that aided the transition to boarding school:-

1) Siblings were already at the school:

'my brother was already at xxxxx so that made it a bit easier (Alex, lines 34-36)

'my older brother erm was already at the boarding school' (Charles, lines 309 –

310)

'my brother went to the same school and I had three cousins there also. There was never any nervousness about going' (Fred, lines 42-46)

2) Parents lived in close proximity to the school:

'so with my folks only being twenty minutes drive away that wasn't too much of

an issue' [going off to boarding school] (Brian, lines 108-109)

'there is a huge security blanket in the fact that I think my parents were two

minutes away ' (Charles, lines 340-343)

There was some ambivalence in Edward's feelings with regard to leaving for boarding school as he *'felt a bit apprehensive'* about *'obviously going away from home for a certain period of time' (lines, 43-45)* but at the same time he thought he was *'quite excited'* about it, although he *'never really felt like'* [he] *'had any kind of choice' (lines, 47-48)*. David was different in that although he did not report any other siblings at the school, he did report that his father as a child had also attended the same school.

Coping through self-reliance

<u>Self-reliance</u>

Alex, Charles, David, Fred and Edward all described a degree of self –reliance, which was either already in place upon entering the boarding school, or had developed as a subsequent way of coping whilst at the school:

'I tended to keep things to myself and erm so I just tried to deal with it [bullying] myself' (Alex, line 75)

'I don't need anyone else to you know, bounce stuff off or whatever' (Charles, lines 180-182)

'and play outdoors all the time, all day long and you know trusted to look after ourselves' [at home by parents] (David, lines 141-142)

'I don't think there was anything that came up that warranted sort of going to them [parents and housemaster]' (Fred, line 203)

'most probably did bottle it up a bit, but just tried to get on with it [dealing with difficulties of low level comments] myself um, which I suppose was difficult but you know, but I didn't really even consider it at the time that there was, that it was worth me telling anyone about it really (Edward, lines 171- 176)

Brian was the exception who describes feeling 'cocooned', through his narration both at home and at school, indicating his wish to be at home more and speaks of missing out by not being a day boy:-

'and I suppose I was a little bit erm not isolated, but was a bit cocooned from the outside world. I was a bit cocooned with home life' (lines, 280-283)

Although Edward reported bottling up difficulties with low level comments he also acknowledged that this was difficult to do and that he didn't feel that telling anyone about it would help.

David had developed a sense of independence prior to commencing school in which he observed his mother encouraging him and his siblings when they were young to *'be independent' (line, 221)* and to have *'freedoms and responsibilities' (line, 138)*

David's rationale for this was a notion of being prepared by his mother for any potential loss of her, as she had unexpectedly lost her mother at an early age:

'it was never really discussed and talked through and I wonder whether mum therefore was concerned that if she got too close, or not too close, but if we were

too reliant and dependent on her and she went suddenly, whether that would be too tough on us' (lines, 236-239).

It seemed that this was a contradiction of David's earlier statement of mum and him being *'very, very, very' (line, 8)* close, but perhaps this also indicated his need to emphasise his feelings of closeness to her despite needing to be 'self- sufficient', for her too.

Alex and Edward both spoke of difficulty and of having a hard time in the first few years of boarding school. They also communicated some relief at entering the sixth form which enabled them both to feel more independent and able to enjoy their school life more:-

'the best years were the last two when I went into the sixth form, which I really enjoyed'(Alex, lines 52-54)

'can you say what it was about going into the sixth form that was better? (I: lines, 55-56)

'I think it was more independence which was the main thing' (Alex, lines 57-58)

Brian, Charles, David and Fred all seemed to acknowledge varying degrees of feeling independent and capable:-

'I've got that mentality that I just need to do something then I am gonna do it. Give it my all' (Brian, lines 237-238)

'I haven't really often felt the need to go to her[mum] for very private stuff, erm

you know boys stuff, girlfriends, I would perhaps more go to mates perhaps than

to mum (David, lines 107, 113)

'you've got to sort of respect the hierarchy, but at the same time not too much or

else you kind of miss out and you've got to sort of voice an opinion' (Fred, line

335-339)

'would probably be 'one of the peer group first of all' [he would turn to in times
of difficulty] *(Fred, lines 189-190)*

'Whether it's because of boarding school or not I've always been quite

independent' (Charles, line 14-15)

Whilst Charles acknowledged his male independence he also questioned whether his independence was a product of his boarding school experience. Charles out of all the participants strongly conveyed his degree of self -sufficiency and independence which seemed to have originated from his early experience at home where he came from a *'competitive environment'* and often competed with his siblings (two males, one female) for attention:

One of the other possible reasons for his self-sufficiency was when he said that:

'erm I don't enjoy people knowing that you're emotionally sensitive, but I (clears

throat), I don't think, oh you might say that's sort of bottling it up, but I don't

think it is necessarily bottling it up, but I don't think it is necessarily bottling it

up' (Charles, lines 93-98 3(2))

During the interview there were twenty one repetitive instances of reference for his need to '*be*', or be '*seen*' to be self –*sufficient*' *(line, 102)* and independent. His rationale for this included not wanting to '*burden*' his mother or his father, '*but particularly his mother*' with '*sort of emotional issues*' or '*relationship issues*' *(lines, 94-98)*. The following excerpt suggested Charles's response to starting school and of his determination not to need his mother which possibly revealed some underlying feelings towards her;-

> '*I could have seen her almost every day and I didn't want to see her, or need to see her*' *(lines, 336-339)*

He was also '*a big believer*' *(line, 194)* in just dealing with things himself. Charles did not like '*feeling dependent on*' *(line, 202)* or receiving '*sympathy*' *(line, 203)* from others:

> '*I don't really need, I don't really feel the need, I don't actually want to tell other people about it. I don't like feeling dependent on, I don't like sympathy*' *(Charles, lines 199- 203)*

The following excerpt revealed an underlying reason for his need to be independent of others:-

> *P:*   '*I don't enjoy people feeling sorry for me. I actually would go as far as saying I resent it*' *(lines, 207-209)*
>
> *I:*   '*Ok*' *(line, 210)*
>
> *P:*   '*people feeling sorry for me*' *(line, 211)*
>
> *I:*   '*and can you say more about why that might be? What that does*'? *(lines, 212-214)*
>
> *P:*   '*erm it makes me feel weak*' *(line, 215)*

I: 'Ok' (line, 216)

P: 'I just don't feel I need it' (line, 218). 'I just feel there are people with far bigger issues in life and I just feel it's important to be able to deal with stuff yourself' (lines, 223-226)

Charles was very honest about his underlying feelings or fears of weakness, which was masked by a strong degree of independence. He also seemed to equate feeling vulnerable and dependent with feeling small and babyish:

> 'yeah I think that can be quite hard actually, I think that can be erm, that can actually make it (clears throat) as you grow up I feel it makes it, the fact I was closer to my mother like that in a very sort of almost babyish, sort of right from birth sort of way, actually can make it harder for me to sort of open up, because I think she still wants that closeness and I still value that sense of male independence' (lines, 166-177)

'Everyone gets a hard time at certain times'

All of the participants commented on the degree of their experience of the intensity of the boarding school environment and reference was made to this being particularly difficult during the first two to three years. This ranged from a little bit of picking on to being bullied for Alex, David, Edward and Fred. Brian missed home and Charles although didn't report that he was bullied described how:

> ' it was a very intense sort of five years growing up' due to 'shared experience and er just they are, yeah they are a big part of your life [school peers] cos they were, we were at school together' (Charles, lines 528-532)

> 'the first two years were difficult because I was bullied'(Alex, line 49-50)

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'I was always the small high voiced one, the chorister and all of that so I tended to get a little bit of picking on' (David, lines 77)

'I found it tough particularly for the first six months. First two or three years, I felt that I was sort of being given a hard time' (Edward, lines 51-52, 112-114)

'it's [school] quite an intense environment, everyone gets a hard time at certain times [living in a house with strong characters]' (Fred, lines 64-66)

'I think the first couple of years there were... it was a bit of a pain [not being able to go home at the weekends]' (Brian, lines 194-195)

Charles who was one of the older participants reports on how different boarding school was during his time there:-

'Boarding houses then were far more aggressive and less sympathetic places'(lines, 570-571) 'I mean we were 13, erm we were little boys and they [older boys] they were....they weren't frightening in the sense that they bullied us, they were frightening in the sense that they were different and grown up and they were men' (lines, 588-595)

Whilst Charles did not report being personally bullied, he did report a moving account of his experience of seeing his older brother being bulled, which revealed difficulty and perhaps shame of not being able to cry in front of others and of needing to be self-sufficient and do things alone:-

' I remember erm basically being around in the evenings and sort of seeing him get bullied (older brother) and wondering why he couldn't stick up for himself and that was quite, that was quite disturbing and I used to..... I remember..... I cried about that maybe once or twice and it was not in front of anybody because I wouldn't have wanted to do that' (Charles, lines 760- 771)

Alex was bullied, which stopped when the *'housemaster intervened'* and said *'it obviously didn't happen when I went into the lower sixth' (lines, 94-98).* David, Charles, and Fred were reluctant to acknowledge or refer to their experience as 'bullying' and found justification for this. Brian did not comment on bullying and it is important to note that although the researcher did not ask any specific question about bullying, the following was in response to a question asked about any difficulties whilst at school :-

'and would certainly never call myself a target for bullying, I never felt unhappy because I had been bullied' (David, line 79-80)

'I don't know whether you would call it bullying or not what's friendly banter and what's not' (Edward, lines 129-134)

'So sort of I wouldn't say sort of bullying as such but there's definitely...everyone gets a hard time at certain times' (Fred, lines, 67-69)

There seemed to be a need to play down the significance of their experiences as also revealed by Alex:-

I: *Can you say more about being bullied? (line, 59)*

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P: Er yeah, basically I was a bit overweight and erm they would tease me about it (lines, 61-62)

I: mmm mmm (line, 63)

P: Erm they would do things like steal my bag, break my possessions and call me names (lines, 64-66)

I: Gosh (line, 67)

'P: It was all pretty much stereotypical bullying (lines, 68-69)

I: mmm mmm (line, 70)

P: 'but it wasn't too bad really, a lot of it erm was I think just banter' (lines 71-72)

I: 'who did you turn to'? (line, 73)

P: 'Erm no –one really. I tended to keep things to myself' (lines, 74-75)

Alex did go on to say that the bullying stopped, when his housemaster intervened.

Edward said that as he went through the school it *'sort of got better'* (lines, 121-122). When asked more specifically about his difficulties he alluded to being bullied, but again found this difficult and uncertain with his search for words *'I think. I mean, I don't know'* and *'sort of':-*

> 'when I got into the lower sixth, I think I enjoyed that a lot more as I got a bit more independence' (Edward, lines 125-126)

'right, when you say things were sort of difficult, can you say a little bit more about that'? (I: lines, 127-128)

'er well, I think it was just sort of, I mean, I don't know if you would call it bullying or not, it was a sort of low level kind of you know comments, it's that sort of fine line you get in a boarding school, you know what's friendly banter and what's not (Edward, lines 129-134)

Charles was the exception as he did not report being bullied, but he was one of the older participants, who recalled the hierarchical element of the older boys and of how he at times felt *'frightened* and *intimidated'* during his first year' as the older boys were given a lot more power back then:-

'they were frightening in the sense that they were different and grown up and they were men and I think erm that that could be a little bit intimidating at times' (Charles, lines 593-597)

Boarding school male identity

Identification and need of groups

All of the participants except David and Edward alluded to sport as being an important component of school life. Alex *(line, 84-87)* and Brian *(line, 161-163)* found some common ground and a level of identification/acceptance from their housemasters through sport. Fred felt that if he had not been *'competent'* at sport then this may have resulted in him being *'side-lined a bit' (Fred lines, 225, 227-228)*. The context in which he said this suggested that this was a generalised statement perceived by him as possibly being felt

by all in using the words 'you weren't' [competitive] and *'you might be side – lined'(Fred, lines 227-228)*, rather than a personal individual one. Charles described a *'competitive'* and *'sink or swim environment'* (line, 673) where *'sport had bought him a lot of friends'* (lines, 723-724 3(2)). He also commented on how boarding school helped with his competitiveness as he had to learn *'when'* and *'where to be competitive'* (lines, 424-425) and that he could *'alienate people'* (line, 431) and *'lose friends'* (line, 432) if he was *'too competitive at the wrong times'* (Charles, lines 425, 429-432). Charles acknowledged that he had also been competitive at home and this had continued and was being repeated at boarding school, which he acknowledged:-

> *'Yes it was competitive at home' (lines, 1073). 'there's no doubt there was a very competitive element to the environment [school] we were in' (lines, 419-421). 'I was a bit confrontational probably [at home], so that you could definitely say that manifested itself, I was probably doing the same sort of stuff at school' (lines, 1151-1156)*

Edward did not make any reference to sport, but he did say he *'had a scholarship'* and *'was actually better friends with people in that group'* (lines, 80-8) and that he *'felt particularly* uncomfortable *around them actually because they were kind of sporty, laddish types'* whereas he was ' *a bit more of a kind of bookworm character'* (lines, 65-67) and David's perception in contrast to Charles' was that he was not ' *particularly in a competitive and as academic environment'* as he was now. *(lines, 438-439)*

The consensus seemed to be that it was important to belong to a group, whether it was sporting or academic which ensured a level of commonality and sense of identity and perhaps as Fred suggested to avoid being *'side lined a bit'(lines, 227-228)*. David seemed to be the exception to this as he did not mention that he belonged to any group as such.

Identification with male role model

The following participants developed good relationships with their housemasters. There was a clear sense of identification, which also included a parallel link to paternal role models. In order to highlight the identification with the male role model, excerpts of relating to father will be illustrated through Charles and David. Alex and Brian experienced a level of identification and acceptance from the housemaster through sport:-

'I got on really well with the housemaster and tutors'. 'I played cricket and the housemaster was a good cricketer, so we got on well because of that' (Alex, lines 80-81, 84-87)

'him [housemaster] like me didn't have much time for them [boys that didn't work hard], we probably got on quite well in that respect', erm same sort of thinking towards other people' (lines, 178-180). 'Mr x [same housemaster] was a very good 1ˢᵗ 15 Winger and I was a 1st 15 winger so... (Brian, lines 276, 180)

'pretty cool [relationship with housemaster]. If I saw the housemaster now, it would definitely be good to see him. I did have a good relationship with him' (Fred, lines 151-155,195)

Charles and David described how housemasters during their time were not so 'hands on' as described by the others, but that they related to the housemaster as a 'parental role model'.

'whilst he was older than my father [housemaster], he was probably a very similar role model' (Charles, lines 556-558)

'he was a man [housemaster] I totally trusted, felt very safe in his care erm respected...an in loco parentis parent' (David, lines 21-23)

Edward was able to identify with his housemaster although this was actively during the interview and in retrospect as he now worked in a boarding school and could appreciate the difficulties. During his school years he experienced not feeling very supported by his housemaster at school and as the following excerpt reveals, had not forgotten feeling let down by him:-

P: 'um I think my housemaster, we got on reasonably well but, er never, I sort of never felt particularly close to him really. I don't think he was someone I really looked up to as a role model' (lines, 93-96)

I: 'yes' (line, 97)

P: 'um I think to be fair to him, the group he had in my house were a fairly difficult bunch and' (lines, 98-99)

I: right (line, 100)

P: 'and now particularly as a teacher I can see how obviously it was quite a difficult situation to handle (laughs)' (lines, 101-102)

I: 'yes I can appreciate that' (line, 103)

P: 'but as a child you know when he did something which you thought was unfair' (lines, 104-105)

I: yes (line, 106)

P: 'um you come to resent that' (line, 107)

However this was somewhat compensated by Edward being able to forge close relationships with his teachers:-

'particularly erm sort of my teachers um my English teachers and my art teachers

I sort of ended up having a fairly close relationship with, where I keep in touch as

well' (lines, 163-165)

Brian, Charles, David, Edward and Fred acknowledged close attachment to their fathers, whilst Alex did not mention his father:-

'I would be out with my old man during the holidays and I was just stuck to him

like glue' (Brian, lines 276)

'he [dad] would take us, he would come to watch sports fixtures and things like

that'. 'He would take us to things at the weekends and we would go and help

him in the garden and stuff like that' (Charles, lines 63-66,157)

'spent long hours with each other [father] and had a very open relationship,

discussing major issues of life. ((David, lines 13-14)

'I felt much more self- conscious about trying to impress my father than my

mother' (Edward, lines 13-14)

'but then very much with sort of dad as well at weekends' (Fred, line 23)

At face value it appeared that Edward was close to his father and anxious to please him: -

'I do remember being conscious of particularly in my early teens of sort of being

very aware that how I behaved might reflect on particularly the way my father

saw me in particular, um I think so that meant almost a fait accompli where I

sort of deliberately shut down rather than risk doing anything um' (lines, 29-34)

Further exploration reveals that Edward's 'shutting down' may have been a way to avoid

having other ambivalent feelings towards his father:-

P: *I think that's what I was telling you about my father, that I sort of felt that*

um he would always be disappointed in me that you know that um...

(lines, 216-218)

I: *'mmm so did you look up to him'? (line, 219)*

P: *'um yeah, I think so, um I suppose so, I don't know it's hard to say*

because at the same time if you had asked me at the time, I would have

said no I definitely didn't look up to him at all'(lines, 220-223)

I: *yes. So what might you have felt do you think? (line, 224)*

P: *I don't know really, It's hard to say um.....[5 seconds] basically I did want*

to, I did want to kind of please him, so I suppose I must have thought I

was looking up to him (lines, 225-227)

I: *mmm mmm (line, 228)*

P: *but I think I also did feel sort of antagonistic towards him in a way (lines,*

229-230)

I: *oh right (line, 231)*

This was not entirely different from the feelings he had carried towards his housemaster

who he described earlier as not being 'a role model':-

P: *um I think, I'm not sure that I felt like he was really um...he [housemaster] really was on my side really and (lines, 116-117)*

I: *yes (line, 118)*

P: *when he was dealing with it [Edward having a hard time with his peer group], I mean he talked to me about it, but I don't think he fully understood what was, what was happening, but then as I went through the school it sort of got better, although I sort of lived in one of the senior student houses (lines, 119-123)*

Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships

<u>Contradictory ease in relating to others</u>

There seemed to be a unanimous sense of reporting feeling well integrated with the ability to relate to and get on easily with others. All of the participants reported that they got on very well with most people:-

'I have always found it easy to get on with most people and didn't really have any problems getting on with anyone' (Alex, lines 101-104)

'I think I am quite an amenable guy, I get on with everybody' (Brian, lines 146-147)

'friendships I've always found easy to make. I mean I've always been quite a sociable person' (Charles, lines 134-136 (3)2

'I've always found it reasonably easy to get on with different kinds of people' (Edward, lines 187-188)

'I've always had great friendships and closeness with other people' (David, lines 108-110)

'I tend to find it easy to get on with most people' (Fred, lines 209-210)

However the following excerpts revealed a contradiction of the above from all of the participants, in that there were some difficulties in relating to and identifying with others who they perceived were not entirely similar to them with the exception of Alex who experienced difficulties with others due to being bullied:-

'they would do things like steal my bag, break my possessions and call me names' (Alex, lines 64-66)

'There were a couple of people I didn't really get on with, but then I just didn't have anything to do with them'. (Brian, lines 151-153)

'a flat mate who was atrocious to live with, it was awful' 'I became pent up and a real bastard to live with' (Brian, lines 448)

'at school all I got were boys who were probably less confrontational than me verbally saying 'you're always arguing', 'shut up' er 'leave it alone'(Charles, lines 1003-1007)

'My school friends were people I hadn't really chosen and my university friends were far more like me and [were] the people I wanted to hang out with', (Charles, lines, 473-477)

'I've never been one for instance who likes to gossip or put people down behind their back or criticise behind people's backs and sometimes I just won't respond

or you know I am not going to be in that group you know that huddle' (David, lines 612-618)

'I think the people I didn't get on with rather is probably the easier way to define were very loud, obnoxious, attention seeking types um I think that in the boarding house we didn't get on because we sort of clashed a bit' (Edward, lines 194-196)

Fred acknowledged that his response of *'I tend to find it easy to get on with most people' (line, 209)* was a *'bit of a cop out answer' (line, 207)* but went on to say:-

'I was in sort of the scholarship set all the way through and I found those guys quite easy, they were less er less sort of raucous' (Fred, lines 212-215)

Which suggested that he did not get on with raucous people.

It seemed that the need for the participants to present a 'selfless image' and to get on with people was illuminated by David who stated that:-

'I guess because of the way I was bought up and schooled and parented you know I was taught to respect others and greet people with a smile and be respectful and sensitive, you know selfless' (David, lines 571-578)

Friendships maintained

All of the participants had maintained friendships from school and they were still in touch with them on a regular basis. The rationale for this as being indicated by Charles suggests that 'shared experience' and 'living together' formed the basis for close and enduring friendships:-

'I've made some good friends from school and still have a lot of friends now and some of which I still see from school' (Alex, lines 117-121)

'all the people in xxx I've seen am still in good contact with and see them very very regularly' (Brian, lines 140-142)

'I'm seeing quite a bit more of my school friends [now]'. 'The commonality of you know shared experience has meant we're still pretty good friends'. 'Sports brought me a lot of erm good friendships' (Charles, lines 517-518, 493-496(3)2 723-724(3)2

'I've always had great friendships and closeness with other people' (David, lines 110)

'I've kept in touch with quite a reasonable number [friends] from school' (Edward, lines 258-259)

'I'd say probably about seven of them [school friends from boarding house] I see fairly regularly now out of twelve or thirteen that there were' (Fred, lines 136-139)

<u>Female and intimate relationships</u>

Two out of the six participants were married and one was in a long distance relationship. All of the participants seemed to acknowledge at some point a degree of difficulty experienced in forging and sustaining intimate relationships particularly whilst still at school, although most had at least one experience of an intimate relationship. Charles and Fred both had a lot of short term relationships although for different reasons. All of the participants alluded to heterosexual rather than same sex relationships:-

> *'I don't have a personal relationship at the moment, but it is something I would like to do, although I do have a lot of girl-friends that I get on well with' (Alex, lines 124-125)*

> *'no personal girlfriends to note of any particular merit' [whilst at school]. 'I had a girlfriend that just did my head in' (Brian, lines 314-315, 409-410)*

> *'there was an older woman that I had a schoolboy's dream relationship with that was weirdly a friend of my parents, or friend of a friend actually, we had a sexual relationship which lasted over a period of years but it was not a dating relationship' (David, lines 296-303)*

Brian struggled with female relationships whilst at university, but he met someone shortly afterwards and got married. Charles, David, Edward and Fred all made reference to their mothers, but Brian and Alex did not at all. Alex had never embarked on a personal relationship and although Brian had not mentioned his mother, he did make several references to his relationship with his father and housemasters.

Charles placed more emphasis and trust in his male friendships than female ones:-

> *'always had far more male friendships than female friendships anyway, I mean probably is a product of boarding school' (lines, 187-192 3(2)). 'Far less strong really' [female friendships]. (Charles, lines 203 3(2))*

> *'maybe two relationships that have gone over six months, but considering I'm [agexx] that's not that many' (Charles, lines 278-281 3(2))*

He gave due consideration to his position with regard to female relationships as whilst he had encountered a lot of relationships they did not tend to last very long as he could not envisage spending many years with the same person and felt that a *'big leap of faith' (line, 330 3(2))* was needed to be able to make a permanent commitment:-

> *I:*   *'mmm are there common themes do you think? Is there a common theme' (lines, 304-306 3(2))*

> *P:*   *(clears throat) (line, 307 3(2)))*

> *I:*   *'that runs through those relationships, which brings you to the conclusion that they are not right for you'? (lines, 308-311 3(2))*

> *P:*   *'erm I don't think there's a common theme other than just a feeling erm yeah a feeling. I suppose you could say it's more than a hunch, I mean it's a feeling that you don't want to spend 40 years, 50 years with that person' (lines, 312-318 3(2))*

> *I:*   *'mmm' (line, 319 3(2))*

> *P:*   *'I mean which is an interesting dilemma because you know I don't think I think sometimes, I think the one thing I would like to talk to my friends*

about more; my male friends, is how they decide they are going to make

that leap of faith I suppose' (lines, 320 -326 3 (2))

It was apparent that this was a difficult subject for Charles and his dilemma in being able to 'think' about how he felt was evident in his narration of 'I don't think, I think sometimes and I think the one thing'. He questioned whether his difficulty in making any longer term commitments was connected to his boarding school experience, but also with the *'fairy tale idea about romantic relationships' (lines, 371-373)* which he thought was a *'very dangerous idea to give young people' (lines, 375-376 3(2))* because of the idea of 'a *sort of perfect relationship' (lines, 380)* which didn't allow for *'human flaws and human failings' (lines, 381-383).* Although he alluded to his mum presenting that *'traditional relationship'* as *'sort of perfect' (lines, 426-430)* he did acknowledge that there were *'flaws' (line, 453).* He wondered whether what he was looking for which was his perception that: *'the perfect relationship (line, 343)* '[that didn't] *exist' [(349)*

P: *'I don't know if I'm judgemental but I'm probably quite quick to erm end those relationships erm so I've probably had a number of relationships that have lasted a few months' (lines, 249-254 3(2))*

I: *'mmmm can you say a bit more about ending them quick'? (lines, 255-256 3(2))*

P: *'erm I think I don't know if its erm my character, or or part of how I you know, or part of my upbringing or whatever, at school and stuff' (lines, 257-260 3(2))*

I: *'mmm' (line, 261)*

P: 'but I tend to get to a position quite quickly where I want to sort of where

        I feel......(pause) that I know whether or not I want to spend a long time

        with that person or not' (lines, 262-266 3(2))

I: 'mmm mmm' (line, 267 3(2))

P: 'and the answer tends to be I don't (laughs), so erm so whilst, whilst I'm

        you know whilst I've had a lot of relationships that have gone on for say

        between 2 and 6 months' (lines, 268-272 3(2))

David had embarked on relationships with girls in the lower sixth but said 'nothing too

deep certainly for me there wasn't falling in love there at all' (lines, 274-275) which

sounded like a typical adolescent experience of experimental relationships. David

reported having a succession of intimate relationships at university and after. He

described himself as 'quite traditional' (line, 329) because he always felt that he had

'been looking for somebody to spend' his 'life with' (line, 331) rather than 'just going out

with each other for [it's] own sake' (lines, 333-334). He thought he was a 'late

developer' (349-350) and felt mature in his thirties when he met and married his now

wife after 'hoping that the right one would come along' (lines, 367-368)

Although Edward didn't have any girlfriends at school:-

> '*I didn't have, really have any girlfriends while I was at school*' (Edward, lines 302-303))

he found it easier to have '*very very close friendships with girls rather than with boys*' since leaving school and said of his own volition not prompted by the researcher that he wasn't sure whether he could obviously relate his '*relationships down to school*' (lines, 303-305, 327-329). Edward was currently in what he described as a '*strange long distance relationship*' (line, 318) and remarked that he '*supposed it said something*' that he worked in a boarding school and his girlfriend is '*thousands of miles away, it's a bit like being in school*' (line, 323)

Fred had a romantic female relationship whilst at university, which lasted four years and the end of this relationship seemed to have had quite an impact on him, which he found quite difficult and whilst he denied any significance, his cough and laugh suggested an awkwardness for him around the subject. Since the end of this relationship, Fred has only had relationships that have lasted three or four months, as he gets to a '*certain stage*'(line,294) where he feels that he '*either likes that person, or not enough*'(lines,296-297) and '*wouldn't carry on going out with someone just for the sake of it*' (lines, 309-311):-

> P: '*erm but I don't know if it was quite difficult after the first one finished, I suppose (coughs)* (lines, 313 -314)

> I: '*Because that was a long time wasn't it? 4 or 5 years is a long time mmm*' (lines, 315)

P: 'yeah yeah, yes whether that's impacted (laughs) whether I don't want to go in yeah sort of too far, too sort of deep, but no I don't, I don't think that's the case, I think it is sort of that I haven't necessarily met someone that I'd like to pursue too far' (lines, 317-322)

I: Yeah (line, 323)

P: 'or that far' (line, 324)

The inference of going in 'too far', 'too sort of deep' suggested that he was perhaps referring to a feeling of a fear of being out of his depth and control emotionally and the ' pursuing too far' and correction to 'that far' suggested the need for more control in choosing not to go there.

Although there was a matron present in all of the participants' boarding houses, Alex, Brian, Edward and Fred did not refer to matron at all. Charles acknowledged matron but did not turn to her in times of difficulty and David would not have gone to the first matron (although he did not say why), but would have turned to the second matron:

'who would I turn to? Matron maybe but I never did' (Charles, lines 831-832)

'the first matron wasn't somebody I would have gone to', but I do remember having a good relationship with the second matron, so she would have definitely been somebody I confided in' (David, lines 464-465)

Elucidation through process of past and present

All of the participants were able to reflect on their past experiences at school and to link these with present day feelings, values and varying degrees of insight and the author also reflects upon some of the reflections:

Alex seemed clearly affected by his experience of being bullied whilst at school and this had resulted in his need to make a difference, by standing up and being courageous enough to talk to the school about his experience, whilst still at school in the sixth form. It was interesting that Alex had said the least out of all of the interviews and largely reported everything as being 'very good', yet he seemed to suffer quite an extreme amount of bullying: *'steal my bag, break my possessions and call me names' (lines, 61-66)* which he played down. His parents had divorced when he was 11, which would have been just before he entered boarding school. He had also not embarked on a personal intimate relationship at the time of interview:-

> *'one of the things I did do when I went into the sixth form was to talk to the*
>
> *school on the effects of bullying and my experiences and I think as a result of*
>
> *that the school really listened and changes were made'(lines, 156-159). 'I would*
>
> *always be happy to go back to the school and give a talk if it was helpful' (Alex,*
>
> *lines 167 – 168)*

Brian referred to his experience when he reached university, of a seeing a counsellor after he encountered difficulty with female relationships and a loss of a best friend to cancer, which resulted in him becoming *'very reclusive' (line, 413)* and *'all sort of wrapped up*

in a big bubble, twirling bubble of emotions' (lines, 486-488). This was after being *'quite a bubbly, easy going person'* (line, 417) and may have been linked to him feeling 'cocooned' whilst being at school and home and perhaps entry to university signified no longer feeling so protected:-

> *'and now I think one thing it has taught me is always to talk about issues and problems, whether it be work or with my wife or whatever maybe and it really does help'* (Brian, lines, 490-494)

Charles showed some insight into his behaviour at home and linked this to his behaviour at school:-

> *'it was just probably a bit intense and a bit confrontational [sibling relationships at home]. I was a bit confrontational probably [at home], I was probably doing the same sort of stuff at school'* (lines, 1149-1154)

Whilst he reported himself as being: ' self- sufficient'*: 'I just feel it's important to be able to deal with stuff yourself'* (lines, 225-227), independent: *I've always been independent'* (lines,16(3)2), confrontational: *'I probably have been too confrontational in some relationships'* (lines, 1202-1205), dominant: *'I enjoyed relationships where I felt dominant'* (lines, 1170-1171) and verbally aggressive: *'my dad always used to say to me don't be so aggressive, but I enjoy (laughs), I enjoy it in a sense erm and I think it frightens people and it doesn't need to'* (lines, 1050-1055) *'it's an aggressive way of working out how you feel about life I suppose'* (lines, 1025-1027)

This seemed to act as a protection for vulnerable, sensitive feelings which he also reported:-

'erm it makes me feel weak' [people feeling sorry for him, knowing he is sensitive] *(line, 215)* and *'I remember I cried about that maybe once or twice'* [watching brother being bullied) *(lines, 766-767)*

He was partially self–effacing, partially because he seemed to have difficulty in owning his part within the statement, by using the words 'you' instead of 'I' but did show a remorseful part of himself:-

'but my sister was...she'd probably cry rather than have a confrontation and then you would probably feel like a shit which was probably good, cos you probably were' *(lines, 1124-1130)*

Charles also reported having a *'very strong relationship with his sister'* now *(line, 1145)*

David reported his early childhood as *'happy go lucky days'* *(line, 137)* and *'boarding school as great fun'* *(lines, 49)* and of how his mum *'obviously let go'* when he went. His experience of boarding school seemed different to Charles' for instance in that he did not experience school as a *'competitive and as academic environment'* *(lines, 438-439)* as now and said he was not *'the most bookish of boys'* *(lines, 455)* and would *'rather listen to music and learn the lyrics or chat with friends'* than get his *'head in a book'* *(lines, 456-457)*. David experienced intimate relationships with females whilst at school and continued with a *'series of short lived or perhaps only sexual relationships'* *(lines, 344-345)* until his marriage. Although he said this *'was fun at the time'* He also felt a *'little bit not proud of those'* [relationships] *(lines, 347-348)*, but was able to rationalise this by saying: *'it was part of me still just finding out about me'* *(lines, 348-349)*. David seemed

to feel overall that he had good role models both at home and at school and carried an ethos of:

> *'openness, honesty, loyalty, trust, talking through, you know resolving arguments, saying sorry. I think that was modelled as it were or shown me'* [by parents, school] *(David, lines 554-556)*

Edward reported the need to *'impress his father' (line, 14)* and worried about the way his behaviour might *'reflect on particularly the way my father saw me'*, because he *'felt that um he would always be disappointed in me' (lines, 217-218)*. Edward felt that his father was *'kind of steering* [him] *in directions and defining what he wanted* [him] *to do' (lines, 232-233)*. Edward also struggled at school and felt uncomfortable with *'sporty, laddish types'* because he *'was a bit more of a kind of bookworm character' (lines, 65-67)*. He also found it difficult to *'share dormitories' (line, 70)* and not have *'personal time' (line, 72)*. It seemed that these differences resulted in Edward being given *'a hard time by people in his year' (lines, 112-114)* and he felt misunderstood and unsupported by his housemaster: *'I don't think he fully understood what was happening' (lines, 120-121)*. It may have been that Edward felt quite insular whilst at boarding school as the following excerpt seems to suggest that he had now found a way to redress a balance of school and social life in his current experience of a residential teacher in a predominantly male (co-ed sixth form) school:-

> *'whereas here it's a bit more balanced because I do social things with people from school, but also I do things with friends elsewhere, which I think is probably much more healthy because you can get very insular' (Edward, lines 373-375)*

Fred was the youngest of the participants who reported an easy transition to boarding school because his brother and cousins were there before him and had given him the sort of *'forewarning' (line, 88)*. He said: *'there was always about 10 kids running around [at home] which didn't feel that different from going into a place where there was basically 10 kids running around (laughs)' (lines, 244-247)*. He did however experience school as an *'intense environment' (line, 64)* with *'strong characters' (line, 76)* and a *'stressful environment in terms of academically' (lines, 173-175)* which seemed to be indicators of Fred experiencing a hard time. Fred was currently still in the process of adjusting to working life and said it *'was probably the hardest adjustment going from sort of, purely sort of social and educational situations into work (coughs) totally different' (lines, 330-334)*. He felt he hadn't been *'that good kind of er actually stressing my opinion I suppose' (lines, 341-342)* and didn't *'want to feel like [he was] treading on anyone's'* toes *(lines, 348-349)*. He did however feel that his employers had *'picked up on that' (line, 345)* and had offered him encouragement. Fred overall felt that he had been *'quite lucky' (line, 362)* with *'family'* and *'people'* and said that:-

> *'I'm definitely sort of family wise I had a pretty I think good grounding, that seems to have got me a certain distance without having too many problems'* (Fred, lines 365-372)

After school and back to school

Brian and Fred both worked for small firms offering services that required them to have professional skills and qualifications. They had both been in their respective employments straight from university.

Alex, Charles, David and Edward had decided to make a career of teaching. Of interest is that they all returned to a male boarding school environment:-

> *'I came here straight from uni, [boarding school] but erm I'm moving to a new teaching job in xxxxxx' (Alex, lines 141-143)*

> *'and it's only when I came into teaching that I sort of found..erm you know that I'm, I suppose that I found things I was more suited to' (Charles, lines 599-601 3(2))*

> *'I could clearly demonstrate through my career that was going really well how enthused and motivated I was with teaching' (David, lines 182-184)*

> *'I suppose that says something about you know I work in a boarding school (laughs) and xxxxx is thousands of miles away. It's a bit like being in school' (Edward, lines 321-323)*

Alex had been teaching at his boarding school straight from university although was about to move to a new one. Edward had recently moved to a new boarding school to teach, whilst Charles had tried various other skilled professional jobs before teaching in a boarding school and David had worked in a skilled professional job before teaching in a boarding school.

Chapter Five

Results of Self Report Questionnaire

Self- report questionnaire

The RQ relationship questionnaire is a measure devised by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) and adapted from an attachment measure by Hazan and Shaver (1987). It is intended for the purpose of this study to give an orientation of the participant's current attachment pattern as they understand it. A continuous approach using prototypes was employed as recommended by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) and permission for use was granted by Kim Bartholomew see appendix. The RQ has indicated moderate stability over an eight month test, retest period (Scharfe and Bartholomew 1994) and reliability measures in brief self-reports according to Bartholomew and Horowitz are 'generally moderately reliable', whilst they point out that 'validity through research papers is not tested on their self -report measures' (1994). The overall model has been reported to have construct validity across cultures and the model of self -score is positively correlated with Rosenberg's (1965) self -esteem measure (Schmitt et al. 2004). A qualitative rather than quantitative approach has been used to give a brief orientation of attachment as evidence suggests that the RQ model is not commonly used in contemporary research, because multi-item inventories are preferred for assessing basic constructs (Fraley, Waller and Brennan 2000). In addition to this Fraley Waller and Brennan (2000) refute any evidence of true attachment typology. This was an optional part of the interview.

The results are divided into two charts representing those who attended the interview and those who did not. The non- interview participants were those who had opted to fill in the questionnaire, but had declined the interview. It seemed worth ascertaining whether those who had opted out of the interview showed any variation in their attachment prototype to those who had opted in for interview, as this might indicate something about the sample of participants. Participants were asked how they had experienced the questonnaire and responses ranged from 'fine' to ok and that it was quick to fill in. They were also asked to rate themeselves from one of the paragraphs below, according to the letter that corresponded to their perception of style that best described them. The following is reproduced from Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) who have given their permission to use it. (See appendix: XV).

It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me. **Style A = Secure**

I am comfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.
Style B = Fearful

I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them. **Style C = Preoccupied**

I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self -sufficient and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me. **Style D = Dismissing**

RQ; Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991)

Brian, Charles, David and Edward selected secure and Alex and Fred selected fearful, which is illustrated in Figure 5.

Participants were then asked to rate the extent to which each paragraph corresponded to their relationship style according to Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1991) likert scale of 1 -7. 1= not like me; 4=Somewhat like me and 7= very much like me. The results for the participants that were interviewed are shown in the chart with their self report choice ratings according to the likert scale added as shown in figure 5:-

Self -Report Questionnaire - Interview

	Alex=B	Brian=A	Charles=A	David=A	Edward=A	Fred=B
D	6	2	6	2	1	1
C	3	3	1	1	3	1
B	7	4	1	2	4	5
A	6	6	6	7	6	5
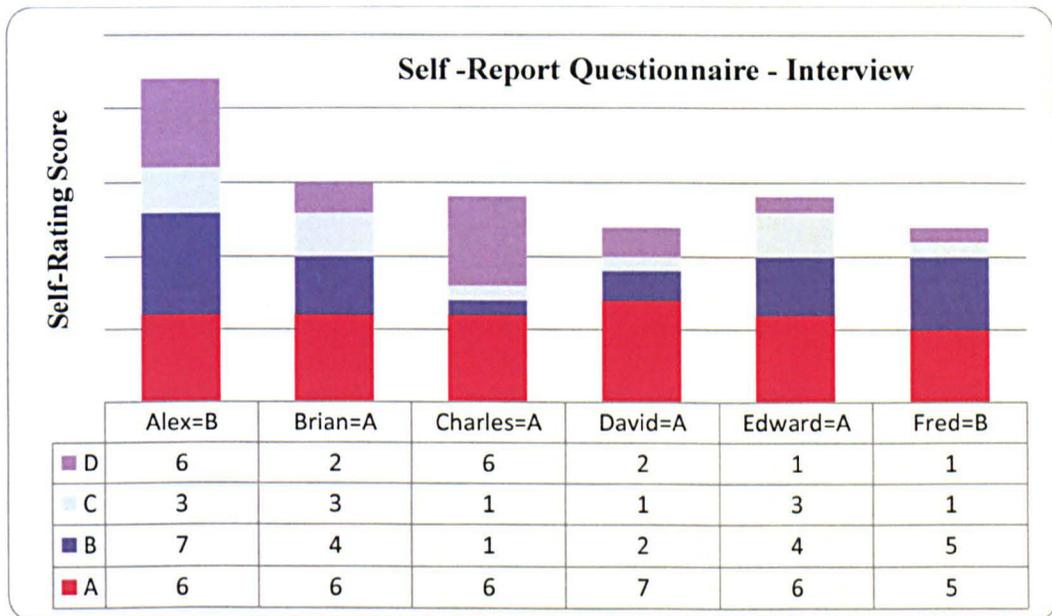
Figure 5

Secure = A, Fearful = B, Preoccupied = C, Dismissing = D

High scores suggest compatibility with the model and low scores as incompatibility (Bartholomew and Horowitz 1991).

Alex rated himself as fearful in his first choice of B in paragraph one, which matched with his rating of 7 for B in his second choice. He also rated himself equally with a value of 6 as dismissing and secure, with a value of 3 for preoccupied. This indicated that his orientation of attachment category suggested he was; 'fearful plus dismissing plus secure'.

Brian rated himself as secure in his first choice of A in paragraph one, which matched with his rating of 6 for A in his second choice, whilst rating himself with a value of 4 for fearful, 3 as preoccupied and 2 for dismissing. This indicated that his orientation of attachment category suggested he was; 'secure plus fearful'.

Charles rated himself as secure in his first choice of A in paragraph one, which matched his rating of 6 for A in his second choice, but he equally rated himself with a value of 6 for dismissing, 1 for fearful and 1 for preoccupied. This indicated that his orientation of attachment category suggested he was; 'secure plus dismissing'.

David rated himself as secure in his first choice of A in paragraph one, which linked with his self rating of 7 for A in his second choice. He rated himself as 2 for fearful, 2 for dismissing and 1 for preoccupied. This indicated that his orientation of attachment category suggested he was; 'secure plus fearful'.

Edward rated himself as secure in his first choice of A in paragraph one, which matched his self rating of 6 for A in his second choice. He rated himself as 4 for fearful, 3 for

preoccupied and 1 for dismissing. This indicated that his self report orientation of attachment category suggested he was; 'secure plus fearful'.

Fred rated himself as fearful in his first choice of B in paragraph one, which equally matched with his self rating of 5 for B in his second choice, but also 5 for A. He rated himself as 1 for preoccupied and 1 for dismissing. This indicated that his self report orientation category of attachment suggested he was: 'fearful plus secure'.

The four categories can be translated into attachment types identified in a particpants discourse. Securely attached individuals narratives according to Slade, tend to present as consistent, coherent and collaborative (1999, p.580). Fearfully attached individuals are reported to present as avoidant, ambivalent and withdrawing, whilst preoccupied individuals are described as angry, negative and preoccupied with their past, use long grammatically entangled sentences and nonsense words. Finally dismissing individuals are reported to present as unable to remember attachment experiences, they may show high regard for parents, but will also contradict feelings for them (Main and Goldwyn 1993). Slade 1999 reports that they cannot recall memories and deny or rationalise negative feelings and will claim that negative experience makes them stronger and more independent.

Summary

The results of the interview and non interview particpants show the participants self rating score of model of self. The model of the other has not been measured due to the researchers focus of interest on the particpants perception of themselves.

The figures were looked at for the self report questionnaires for non interviewees. Apart from three participants who had rated themselves as 1 for all paragraphs which indicated a self report orientation that did not match any of the categories, the difference in the self reports of the non-interview participants, indicated that there was an incline towards self –reporting as dismissing, fearful or preoccupied:-

One particpant had a self report orientation of secure plus fearful, one had fearful plus preoccupied, one had preoccupied plus secure, one had dismissing plus fearful and one had dismissing plus secure. Whilst it is unknown, the self report scores from the non-interview participants may have suggested a degree of a lack of confidence that could explain why they filled in the self- report questionnaire but did not opt for the interview as illustrated in figure 6.

	P7=A	P8=A	P9=A	P10=A	P11=D	P12=D	P13=C	P14=B	P15=A
D	1	1	1	1	5	6	2	3	2
C	1	1	1	1	1	2	7	3	3
B	1	1	1	1	1	5	3	7	5
A	7	1	1	1	3	4	6	6	6
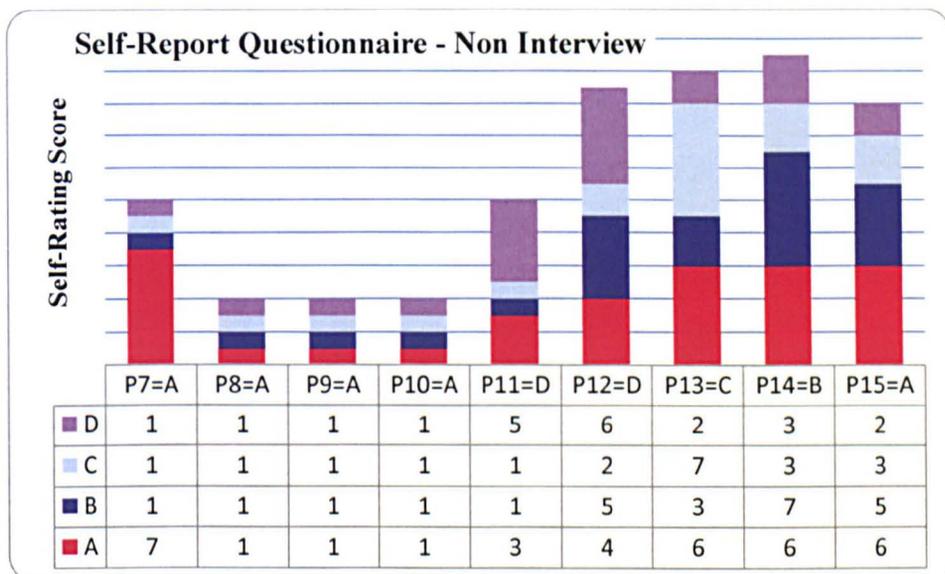
Figure 6

Secure = A, Fearful = B, Preoccupied = C, Dismissing = D

Findings suggested that whilst four of the interviewed participants perceived themselves to be securely attached from their first choice selection of the paragraphs, their self-rating on the likert scale suggested a variation in their tendencey towards a particular attachment orientation. The overall results for the interviewed participants were useful for contribution to the hermuenetic quality of understanding the RQ (Relationship questionnaire) attachment orientations as representing the 'part' as an integrative element of the IPA study which represents the 'whole' (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009).

Chapter Six

Discussion

'Participants sharing commonality and these experiences comprise truths' (Guest, Bunce, Johnson 2006).

The aim of this qualitative study was to capture the meaning participants attributed to their adolescent experience of attending a male boarding school, in terms of the subjective psychological effect and its impact on their style of relating. How the participants' related to others through the narration of their memories was established through recollection of their experience before boarding school, during boarding school and after. The review of literature identified that as far back as the 1880's themes of stories on boarding schools were centred around issues such as honour, decency, competitive sportsmanship, loyalty and friendships, inter house sports, bullying, relationships with particular teachers and fitting in to the school culture (Dickens 1850; Hughes 1857). It would seem that many themes of traditional characteristics of the boarding school continue as evidenced and apparent throughout the participants' narrations.

Overview

The results of the IPA study highlighted five main themes that: (1) participants reported an experience of family tradition that seemed to incorporate closeness and stability in early relationships; (2) specific parental gender roles, close proximity of parents/caregivers and siblings were key components of how the transition and

adjustment to boarding school life was managed and maintained; (3) self- reliance was a feature in relation to the boarding school experience; 4) paternal and maternal closeness defined the nature and style of relationships to peers and significant others; 5) Strong relationship to boarding school and peers were formed through shared commonality.

Family tradition

Tradition as described by Gale and Sanchez (2011, p.177) bears the hallmarks of the hermeneutic in its 'past and present understanding of anything in and of itself'. They equate tradition with history, culture and community. The theme 'Family tradition as forming a base for early relationships" described the early core relationships' participants reported having with their parents and significant others. This highlighted the 'traditional' (Hardy 1977) aspect of their early relationship models as related to feelings of stability and closeness to mother which suggested that environmental stability was a significant factor for the participants (Winnicott 1986). A traditional family base was consistent with a traditional male boarding school environment and the traditional aspect of going off to boarding school, which often runs in families as reported by a small sample of male ex-boarding school pupils. Reference to tradition (Hardy 1977), stability and/or closeness to parents and peer groups was made through the participant's narrations and as Hardy suggests tradition may be viewed as a significant part of the boarding school environment, where familiarity in terms of tradition may enhance continuity and a sense of belonging. This may also have its roots in the participant's recollection of traditional differentiated parental gender roles Bronfenbrenner (1961).

Differential influences were generally defined into (1) practical and financial (paternal) and (2) domestic and emotional (maternal). These two elements were also identified with the absence of father due to work and the presence of mother at home. David's narrative; *'but with mum really close, very, very, very close' (line 34)* suggested a 'dyadic relationship' (Harris 1995) of an emotional closeness which was felt towards mother as the most important figure due to her presence (Ainsworth et al. 1978). However, with father there was also a need and an identification evident in the participant's statement of: *'dad and I being close and having a good friendship and mutual love' (David, lines 156-157)* and to the degree of attachment felt by Brian: *'I was just stuck to him like glue' (line, 276)*. The need for approval and fear of rejection by father was evidenced by Edward and David: *'I felt much more self- conscious about trying to impress my father than my mother' (Edward, lines 13-14)* and fear of rejection *'him going too old for hugs' (David, line 8)*, all of which was quite marked. So whilst closeness to father was identified by some participants, for others there appeared to be a somewhat fearful relationship, with many talking of father's relative absence.

Significance of father

The interpersonal experience of participants (Sullivan 1940) in relation to a strong emotional attachment to mother (Bowlby 1979) but also to father was evidenced in the above excerpts. This appeared to be manifest as a possible idealised image of father as a result of him not being so available due to his absence through work as suggested by Van Izendoorn (1995) and his practical, rather than emotional input as described by some of the participants. Bronfenbrenner (1961) suggests that healthy paternal attachments exist as a result of father's time, attention and affection. Evidence of the significance of father

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being idealised was seen in Charles's description of his earlier experience to his housemaster as being similar to his male parental figure of being '*a very similar role model*' *(lines 556-559)*. Charles also demonstrated how his early experience at home was also being repeated at boarding school with his acknowledgement of it being '*competitive at home*' *(line, 1073)* and at school, this was substantiated with his self -reflection of '*probably doing the same sort of stuff at school*' *(lines, 1151-1156)*.

Female and intimate relationships

Whilst matron was acknowledged as '*quite a good female presence there*' *(Charles, lines 793)*, Charles did not turn to her and whilst David said he might have turned to the second matron, he did not feel he could turn to the first matron he had. This implied a degree of difficulty in being able to turn to the feminine for support, although the remaining participants did not comment on matron at all. This raised a level of curiosity as there was evidence of the participants reporting an original closeness to the feminine (mother) and this appeared to be a strong connection. Consideration was therefore given to the nature of the close attachment to mother, the idealisation of father and the subsequent separation from the two upon entering boarding school.

Adolescence and the Oedipus complex

It is posited within the earlier idea of Freud's Oedipus complex and the natural developmental process of the adolescent male, that moving away from mother (symbolically) in order to form and establish sexual and self - identity with their fathers and with male peer groups (Erickson 1974; Laufer and Laufer 1995), enables them to ultimately develop sexual maturity and identity and forge intimate relationships. Whilst

much debate and controversy still surrounds the theory of the oedipal complex, its relevance to this study is based upon the significance of the boarding school male's separation from mother and identification with father [male] (Freud 1930).

The consequences and timing (Carlson, Sampson and Sroufe 2003) of this process not occurring in a natural environment i.e. the parental home, may have resulted in a substitution and a subsequent compensation, which was manifest in an inevitable stronger and intense male identification and attachment, borne from the effect of a physical, rather than natural or symbolic separation of maternal closeness and paternal absence (Bowlby 1979). This is postulated as the definition of the bonds that were formed through transferred feelings of the need for approval and/or identification with males as evidenced and present in over half the sample by Alex *(lines, 84-87)*, Brian *(lines, 178-180)*, David *(lines, 21-23)* Charles *(lines, 556-558)*, Edward *(lines, 13-14)* and Fred *(lines, 195)*.

Coping through self-reliance

The theme "Coping through self -reliance emerged through narratives taken from the data which highlighted the initial transition to boarding school as being one of 'apprehension', 'ambivalence' and 'excitement'. Coping strategies were employed to assist the participants in managing themselves in adjusting to boarding school life and their sense of establishing identity and relationship to others. The significant factor in eliciting a smooth transition to boarding school arose from participants who felt in close proximity (Bronfenbrenner 1961; Bowlby 1979) to their parents and for those who had a

sibling or other relative already at the school. This seemed to provide as Charles suggested *'a huge security blanket' (Charles, lines 340-343)*, but also particularly for Charles there appeared to be ambivalence in not wanting to see his mother who he could have seen every day and a stance of a need for self- sufficiency around separation from her *(lines, 336-339)*. Charles's statement suggested possible ambiguity in feeling secure enough to know his mother was there, so he could confidently choose whether to see her or not, or that it contained elements of the need for self -sufficiency due to his mother sending him off to school. His subsequent level of self-sufficiency and independence, which was quite marked above the other participants, revealed an underlying reason for this in his report that: *'it can be quite hard, the fact I was closer to my mother in a very sort of almost babyish, sort of right from birth sort of way'*, and followed with *'it actually can make it harder for me to sort of open up'*, *(lines, 167-172)* because *'she still wanted that closeness'* and he valued *'that sense of male independence'(lines, 173-177)*. It is hypothesised that perhaps his closeness to mother (which he described as babyish, inferring a vulnerability) and subsequent independence, may have its roots in earlier experiences as a result of his other siblings arriving on scene, which necessitated the need for him to have to reluctantly separate from mother (symbolically) and adopt a premature state of self- sufficiency and independence (Kohut 1987). It is also suggested that Charles's pattern of the need to be self -sufficient repeated itself with the onset of separation from mother (Pollack 2004) when entering boarding school.

Five of the six participants reported a degree of self -reliance which was present at boarding school. In terms of difficulties or problems encountered, it was interesting to observe that rather than turn to parents or other adults for support, they were inclined to either deal with this themselves or turn to their 'mates' or peer group. This was

inconsistent with Rueger, Malecki and Demaray's (2010) gendered adolescent study of adolescent perception of classmates support as being what they termed as a 'robust unique predictor' for boys which meant that boys did not necessarily turn to classmates for support, but was however consistent with Seiffge-Krenke and Beyers' (2005) suggestion of 'using their social network to deal with their problems' and self-reliance which ranged from 'bottling it up a bit' to very strong feelings against dependency as evidenced by Charles.

One rationale for the development of self- reliance may have been as a result of the experience reported by the participants initiation of boarding school which was described by them as an 'intense experience', 'tough particularly for the first six months', 'everyone gets a hard time', 'I was bullied' and the 'first couple of years it was a bit of a pain'. Whether this self –sufficiency was evidence of securely attached adolescents using their social network as suggested by Seiffge-Krenke and Beyers (2005) or pressure to 'fit in' through perceived successful management of the self (Timlin et al. 2003) may be left open to interpretation. Whilst it is difficult to argue against socialisation being generated through peer groups of childhood and adolescence as proposed by Harris (1995), one has to be mindful that the specific 'context of socialisation' of adolescent groups that they refer to, may also be a substitute arising out of the possibility of dependency on peer groups in the absence of parental /caregiver dependency.

Boarding school male identity

Part of the coping mechanism employed by the participants was for the need to survive; *'you get used to these things* [little things that could be intimidating] *and you survive'* (Charles, line 715-716) and 'fit' in as Timlin et al. (2003) suggest through wealth, success and high expectations, so as not to feel isolated or as Fred suggested *'side-lined'*. Charles also pointed out that being *'too competitive may have 'lost him friends and alienated people' (lines 431-434).* A significant component of this for the majority of the participants was through the bonding and camaraderie of sportsmanship as denoted through the historical ages of boarding school life dating back to the 18th century (Ogilvie 1957; Hardy 1977). This perhaps served the purpose of gaining popularity, acceptance and approval, whilst establishing identification with male peer groups and teachers so as to maintain 'the traditional masculine norm' of popularity and avoid being marginalised as an 'outcast' as identified in Timlin-Scalera et al.'s (2003) study on white middle class adolescents and Oransky and Fisher's (2009) cultural discourse study. Given the reports of friendships made and sustained with peer groups and housemasters, it would appear that the bonds formed through sports or through '*intense* experiences *of growing up'* and living together *(Charles, lines 532-533)* were 'close and enduring' as suggested by Spencer's findings which relate the importance of 'adolescent boys close relationships with male role mentoring models' (2007, pp.185-198). The author proposes as stated earlier that the 'emotional connectedness' to males referred to by Spencer (2007) has at its foundation a possible resonance of a substituted need borne out of earlier relations to parental experiences.

Identification and need of groups

There was an apparent divide of groups into 'academic' and 'sport' as evidenced by Edward who felt that he *'was better friends with people in that group [academic]' (lines, 77-80)* and Fred, who were both strong academic scholars. Fred however, had opted to be involved with sport to avoid being *'side lined a bit' (line, 227)* whilst Edward maintained his academic stance and was *'better friends with people in that group' [academics] (lines, 80-81)*. The need for male identification and approval within groups seemed quite marked and as suggested by Timlin-Scalera et al. (2003), the need to fit in and belong seemed to be a predominant factor.

Everyone gets a hard time

Alex and Edward reported having a hard time in the earlier years, which stopped for them upon entering the sixth form. For Charles he had felt a strong level of self-sufficiency and independence from a very early age which he referred to several times, but remarked that he was not sure whether this was more developed as a result of his boarding school experience. What did become apparent and perhaps significant with Charles's level of independence was that he was one of the older participants, who described boarding school as being very different in his time, to how it was today and in his earlier years he had witnessed his older brother having being bullied and wondered *'why he couldn't stick up for himself' (lines, 762-763)*. This suggested Charles's need to present a level of self -sufficiency and independence, to avoid being seen as a vulnerable target. David said he felt his parents had encouraged his independence from a very early age for other personal reasons. It was only Brian that did not refer to a sense of independence and in fact described his experience both at home and at school as one of

being *'cocooned'* *(line, 280-283).* Brian spoke of difficulty and of entering a 'crisis' period of depression when he left school to go to university, which may have been concurrent with a delayed identity formation (Erickson 1974); whilst at school. This subsequently surfaced at university eliciting the struggle for him to find his sense of identity and autonomy (Erickson 1974; Winnicott 1986), coinciding with the onset of a newly experienced intimate female relationship which *'did his head in'* *(Brian, lines 409-410)* and seemed to evoke difficult feelings.

Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships

The theme "Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships" encapsulated the participants' reports of how they related to others from a historical, educational, psychological and social perspective. Charles wondered why he ended intimate relationships so quickly and wondered whether this was as a result of his *'character, upbringing or his school experience'* *(lines, 257-260).*

All of the participants spoke of and emphasised how easily they made friendships and got on with other people, but the interviews also revealed a contradiction in their perception of themselves in relation to getting on with others and revealed that they were in fact quite selective about who they got on with. Brian described living with an *'atrocious flat mate'* and of how he [Brian] became *'pent up and a real bastard to live with'* *(lines, 448).* This was during his time at university and one might assume that the move away and loss of the familiarity of close and intense relationships with peers at boarding school, into a new culturally, intellectually and socially diverse environment may have

been a very difficult transition and adjustment for him, although he subsequently formed very strong and sustained friendships at the university. All of the participants maintained strong and enduring friendships from school which suggested that strong bonds of remaining connected to like -minded peers with a 'shared commonality' was significant, particularly as the collected ethos may have been as David stated: *'I guess because of the way I was brought up and schooled and parented you know that I was taught to respect others and greet people with a smile' (David, lines 574-575).*

The adoption of a public school 'gentleman' persona (Storr 1969) and the pressure to maintain this, may have been a rationale for why they all had a natural propensity to 'get on with everybody', but also indicative of why healthy, natural and occurring tendencies not to get on with people may have been denied (Freud S.1925; Freud A.1946).

Identification with male role model at school

Consistent within the data and concurrent with the author's earlier idea was an identification with male peers and some housemasters (Smith, Jarman and Osborn 1999). All of the participants reported strong and enduring male friendships with peers and some of the housemasters from school and university, many of which were still ongoing at the time of interview (Spencer 2007). Charles cited *'the commonality of a shared', 'intense experience' and 'sports'* as one possible rationale for this. If one considers adolescent developmental issues (Erickson 1974), then as discussed earlier, a usual pattern of development at the onset of puberty (which is also the point at which they were sent off to boarding school) would be for adolescent males to move away from maternal

ties in order to identify with the male (father). This is undertaken by entering groups (Harris 1995) and forging often strong relationships with other males (Spencer 2007) to be able to fulfil the need of establishing one's identity (Erickson 1974; Laufer and Laufer 1995). Studies suggest that 'close and enduring' relationships between adolescent boys and male role mentoring models have the potential to minimise the male stereotype of the need to be macho whilst promoting 'emotional disclosure and expressivity' (Spencer 2007). At the same time negotiation and experimentation of intimate relationships would be initiated in order to discover sexual identity.

Attachment

As discussed earlier most of the participants described intense close stable maternal relationships with a present mother: *'but with mum really close, very very very close'* *(David line, 33-34)* as well as the usual symbolic separation from mother (Ainsworth et al. 1978; Bowlby 1979; Main and Solomon 1986). There is also an enforced separation at the onset of boarding school aged 11-13. At this time the male identification process (Erickson 1974), normally with father who the participants described as mainly absent due to work (and may therefore already be idealised), was substituted with housemasters and male peer groups. It is proposed that a void is created with the real absence of father at a crucial developmental phase and this is quite marked. He therefore becomes an idealised figure that is yearned for, hence the intense experience and possible preoccupation of peer and teacher approval etc. Bowlby states that:-

> *'whatever effects change of environment may have, a main variable is always absence of mother figure'*

(1997, p. 30)

Whilst one cannot categorically argue or refute the above statement, Bowlby was referring here to the attachment a young boy had towards his nanny, and his assumption was of the emphasis on strong female rather than male attachment. He goes on further to demonstrate another young boy who is angry at father's absence, but Bowlby (1998) interprets this anger as displacement and of belonging to the mother figure. The adolescent's attachment to father and male peer groups within a boarding school would seem to be evidence that the paternal figure can be as important a variable resulting in enduring strong attachment and separation issues.

Separation

To return to further significance of the maternal closeness experienced by participants at an early age, the subsequent separation upon entering boarding school, with the onset of puberty, on a symbolic level as substantiated by Laufer and Laufer (1995) who suggest that the mitigating factor might be the adolescents' choice to naturally separate (symbolically) as in the course of development, rather than any act of enforcement so to speak. Although most of the participants felt relatively confident about going off to school, two recalled not having a choice, David said: *'I don't remember being consulted '(lines, 42-43)*and Edward was told *'right son your going off to school' (line,241)*. David also said *'she obviously let go' (line,39)* which could be interpreted in one of two ways; that she was holding on tightly or that she perhaps 'let him go' (rejected) and we note Charles's reaction of *'not needing or wanting to see his mother (line, 336-339)'*.

It is proposed that the actual separation from mother which naturally becomes within itself a more distant relationship (symbolically), could either be felt or perceived as rejection, or indeed experienced as feelings of grief following such loss of a close relationship (Parkes 1970; Bowlby 1998). If the participants' were not able to fully identify with father, then Freud's oedipal process may be somewhat interrupted (Freud 1930). Charles points out: *'I've always had far more male friendships than female friendships anyway. I mean probably is a product of being in boarding school (line, 187-192)'* which seemed to echo some of the difficulties that were inherent in some of the participants experiences of romantic relationships, such as David and Fred's difficulty in sustaining and maintaining relationships and a very long distance relationship Edward had with his girlfriend and Alex's absence of any intimate relationship. David interestingly within his 'experimental' years formed a brief relationship with a *'mature woman'* who was a friend of his mother's. This would seem to be somehow reminiscent of Freud's idea of the Oedipus complex (1930) in that the adolescent unconsciously seeks and desires to possess mother, whilst having to acknowledge the impossibility of this. However, it would be prudent to note here that the adolescent phase of identity development is an 'experimental' stage and it would therefore be expected that the trial and error, failure and success of intimate relationships would be a natural and necessary occurrence of the transition into sexual maturity (Laufer and Laufer 1995).

After school and back to school

Linked to the above and of interest was the fact that four out of the six participants had all returned to male boarding schools as teachers, with the exception of Brian and Fred who both worked in small professional organisations that required skills and further

qualifications. This may be further evidence of the degree of strength in the attachment to boarding school and the continued strong identification with males. That the boarding school within itself as a social environment contains consistency, defined roles, reliability, stability, structure and tradition, might within itself be an object of attachment (Klein 1945; Bowlby 1998). Attachment doesn't necessarily always refer to people, but can also be formed through strong emotional connections to for example things, objects or animals. The boarding school characteristics are not dissimilar to the early environment as described by most of the participants.

Elucidation of self through reflection of past and present

"Elucidation of self through reflection of past and present" was observed through some of the participants' narrations during the interview, which seemed to have taken them through a process in which they were able to reach a point of reflection. Within this they were able to draw upon some conclusions and insights with regard to memories, meaning and experiences they ascribed to their boarding school life. Alex spoke of a talk he had given to the school on the effects of *'bullying'*, which appeared to be cathartic *(line, 156-159)*. Brian said how he had learnt as a result of his experiences, mainly at university to; *'talk about issues and problems'* *(lines, 490-493)* and Charles was self-effacing, insightful and quite contemplative with regard to himself in relation to others: *'I need to be better at judging'* *(line, 1240)*. David spoke of moral characteristics he had acquired through role models such as: 'openness, honesty, loyalty and trust' *(line, 554)*, whilst Edward felt his life was more *'balanced'* following a move to another school and was *'healthy socially'* *(lines, 321-323)*. Fred felt he had come a certain distance with a *'good grounding'* from his family *(lines, 365-371)*.

Further areas for research

An all male boarding school tends to have a high ratio of male to female teaching staff present although matrons occupy pastoral positions within the boarding houses (Tucker 2011). Further areas for research are suggested within the field of single sex boarding schools to determine whether this gender imbalance may have effects on the boys' social development (Chapman 2008). If so what measures or benefits might there be to redress any gender imbalance within the denomination of teaching staff and pupils, without compromising any considered benefits of gender based schools, if they serve the purpose

of focused educational benefits. The small samples in this study were middle class and were all successful within their chosen careers. A larger study with less successful alumni might determine contrasting experiences to this sample such as not coping with having 'a hard time' or not finding a 'group' to belong to. A longitudinal study could follow school leavers and their developmental paths i.e. university, relationships and employment. Matron was absent from a lot of the participants' accounts and therefore a further area for research might determine the role of matron in boarding houses and the relationship she has with male boarders. This may provide a basis for understanding how the male boarder relates to gender of the opposite sex and could be enhanced further by a study of male boarders to explore how they view marriage and the perceptions of the ideal partner.

Finally, as highlighted by Sroufe and Siegel (2011) a study determined that teachers were found to relate to pupils according to their attachment styles. It might therefore be useful as part of an initial assessment, to look at developing or using an existing attachment measures such as the CAI (Child attachment interview) (Shmueli-Goetz, Target and Fonagy 2002) or the SAT (separation anxiety test) (SAT: Wright, Binney and Smith 1995). This is a semi projective test used in the CAI to assess a child's narrative response to separation from parents and determines insecure to secure states using five classifications of security, although it does not have a disorganised category. However this might provide a tool to enhance understanding of attachment relationships between pupils and staff.

The author acknowledges that there are now a significant number of independent schools that are either fully co-educational or co-educational from the sixth form onwards and that boarding schools today generally operate a good pastoral care system in which there is far greater accessibility for pupils to have independent listening services and closer liaison and contact with housemasters and matrons (Tucker 2011). These developments may also have already modified the experiences of current and future boarders relative to the present sample.

Implications for Psychotherapy

Implications for the adolescent male in a boarding school may be given consideration with regard to ensuring a safe and as secure as possible transition from previous schools, taking into account any previous or current difficulties encountered with separation issues. Good induction practices and pastoral care with the facility for independent services such as confidential counselling should be made accessible and available. Effective anti-bullying measures should be rigorously in place. The identification of attachment patterns in adolescents may be useful for housemasters and teaching staff in determining certain behaviours and learning styles, which could help to signpost where a different approach or sensitivity to the care of the individual adolescent may be beneficial. It may also be beneficial for housemasters and teaching staff to become aware of their own attachment patterns, which may enhance understanding of their relationships with and reactions to others. Whilst it is not researched or clear how many ex-boarders enter counselling or psychotherapy as adults or whether there is any significance in gender, the reports by Duffell (2000), Schaverien (2004), Mair (2005) and Monbiot (2012), who suggest that boarding school is a place of childhood abuse, or a

bastion of cruelty etc. seemed to imply that the boarding school *per se* was the root cause of this. Whilst they are referring to young boarders aged 7 or 8, these young boarders eventually become adolescents, which is relevant to this study. Schaverien (2011, p.142) states in her paper that the 'importance of the treatment' for working therapeutically with ex-boarders is 'attachment in the analytic present'. The author agrees with this but adds that acknowledgement of attachment styles within boarding school individuals is perhaps essential in understanding not only current states of attachment, but may also provide a rationale for understanding the root cause of attachment states within the child and of how separation from parents affects the security, development and adjustment to boarding school. In other words a securely attached child may adjust to boarding school more easily than an avoidant or disorganised attached child.

It is acknowledged that boarding schools did not historically make provision for good pastoral care and there is little doubt that there may be many ex-boarders from the 1950's to the 1980's who suffered as a result of this. However parental proximity as reported by the participants seems more prevalent today and pastoral provision for boarding school pupils incorporates stringent child welfare provision and independent listening services as laid down by the national minimum standards that were set following the 1989 Children's Act and Every Child Matters (Reid 2005). Also incorporated into the boarding school curriculum is PSHE (Personal, Social, Health and Economic) education (Tucker 2011).

Schaverien describes resistant counsellors and therapists who fail to notice the ex-boarder's distress at an unconscious level, due to what she suggests may be 'subliminal'

influences of class and privilege difference and the 'deflective' presentation of the ex-boarder (Schaverien 2011). The author responds to this on three points : 1) A competent self - aware analytical therapist (which Duffell 2000 advocates) would naturally work at an unconscious level with the internal world of the patient/client where the painful boarding self/experience may lie and that any defence or resistance (Freud 1925) that is met, would need to be highly respected as in the author's opinion it is most usual for the analysand to run away from or avoid extreme emotional pain in whatever regard that may be. 2) that if there are layers of self -protection and veneer built up over many years than the ex-boarding school analysand may not feel ready to unveil these. 3) that the 'resistance' (Freud 1925) as suggested on the part of the therapist may indeed be the received projection (Klein 1952c) of the boarding school analysand within the 'transference' (Greenson 1967, p.155) and it is the monitoring and awareness of the therapist's countertransference (Sandler and Sandler 1984) that may unveil this. In terms of prevention for the ex-boarder, one might consider that early therapeutic intervention on identified individuals during adolescence may preclude the necessity for individuals to carry any difficulties through into adulthood.

Conclusion

It would seem evident from the participants' narratives that whilst each individual's experience of boarding school was unique and differentiated, there appeared to be '*a commonality of shared experience'* (Charles, lines 495-496). The hermeneutic sensibility of the participant's individual reports of their experiences in a male boarding school environment, suggested that there was a 'coherence of discourse' (Fox 1995). This was with regard to their memories and perceptions of how they related to others before boarding school, whilst being an adolescent during boarding school and finally to

being an adult following boarding school. The iterative process enabled a picture to emerge of "Family tradition", which highlighted the participant's memories and perceptions of their early parental relationships largely described as close, stable and traditional, with defined gender roles. Participants' reported a close emotional attachment to mother who was felt to be most important and reports of relationships with their fathers or other males such as housemaster implied a degree of idealisation and identification with father. This seemed to be transferred into the boarding school environment in the form of strong male identification.

The extant literature focuses on mother as important in early infant attachment relationships and in particular of how she interacts with the infant, which may result in a positive or negative sense of attachment security for the infant (Ainsworth 1978; Bowlby 1979). Whilst attachment theorists explain the process of separation and anxiety, they do not appear to necessarily focus on the reason why such insecurity states may arise within the infant. One is informed by Winnicott's (1965) theory about the ability of mother to be able to contain anxiety and unmanageable feelings within the infant. This is addressed by Van IJzendoorn (1995) in his meta-analysis study of 'sensitive responsiveness' and 'transmission representation' and further evidenced in contemporary neurobiological theory which suggests that a more secure state is derived through positive attunement and mirroring with physical and social interactions (Schore 2003; Banai, Mikulincer and Shaver 2005; Giedd 2008). It's relevance to the male adolescent in a boarding school is that the developmental stages the adolescent goes through is acknowledged to be a period of activity, change and often instability (Laufer and Laufer 1995).

This study therefore acknowledges the significance of how the 'other' being caregivers, housemasters, teachers etc might relate to the male adolescent in terms of his attachment style and the awareness of the positive or negative affect this may have for later development (Siegel and Srouffe 2011). It may also be pertinent to raise awareness of the need to be mindful of the 'other's attachment style and the awareness of 'sensitive responsiveness' (Van IJzendoorn 1995) that may be needed by significant caregivers to enhance or modify attachment security states (Bowlby 1998).

It was surprising to discover within this small male sample study the complexity of the male participants' relationship to females. Their memory and perception of their childhood as mother being the most important figure emotionally (mainly because she was there more), was perhaps an expected course of natural development, however there also seemed to be an idealised, somewhat revered image of father, confirmed in Grinker's (1962) study as an emotional connection with mother and identification with father, also reported by Bowlby (1998). Van IJzendoorn (1995) suggested in his meta - analysis study a gap in the literature on paternal attachment effects on the child and cited the 'weaker influence of paternal representation' as possibly resulting from an absence due to father's work, of which father's absence was noted as reported by some of the participants.

The author proposes that it is this 'absence' of father due to work that creates an idealisation particularly for the male boarder. If one combines this with separation from mother, which may be experienced or perceived as a potential loss or abandonment (not so much with father because he is already absent), then because of the wish to identify

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with father at a natural developmental phase and the separation from him at the point of puberty along with the onset of boarding school, then identification with the male may become the stronger force (Erickson 1974; Laufer and Laufer 1995). This potentially makes the need or wishes for male identification stronger, and becomes part of the separation process. There seemed to be a strong degree of male identification as reported by participants at boarding school (which would perhaps be difficult to avoid given the predominantly male environment). However, given the reported strength of attachment to mother, a hypotheses was raised following the interviews, with regard to the nature of the separation, not just from mother but also from father and whether this bore any influence on the subsequent style of attachment and relationship to males and other females.

There were two points of interest raised following the participants' interviews: 1) It was interesting to note that when the participants were asked who might they turn to in times of difficulty, matron was mentioned by two participants but not at all by the remaining participants'. It was also stated by two of the participants that they were aware of her presence but they were unlikely to turn to her in times of need. The author considered how matron might be perceived by participants, particularly as some participants reported their experience of housemasters as paternal role models. 2) Four out of the six participants' had returned to an all male boarding school environment to work, which raised three possible hypotheses that:

a) the boarding school environment may be an object of attachment i.e. that it represents the 'other' as having an influence on the self as described by Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991) and Priel, Mitrany and Shahar (1998).

b) there may be a feeling of security in returning to a traditional, stable, structured, contained environment.

c) there may be a feeling of insecurity in the continued need for a strong male environment and identification.

Whilst there is insufficient evidence, knowledge or literature to support the hypotheses, the author proposes that separation from father although perhaps with different characteristics from mother may be a significant factor in the boarding school male adolescent, evident within the strong enduring male identification.

It must be emphasised that this was representative of a small homogenous sample of men, reporting their experience, memory and perception of being an adolescent in a male boarding school. It is also acknowledged that because of this, it would be difficult to generalise these findings to the whole boarding school population. However it would also be difficult to imagine that these men would return to a 'British form of child abuse' as suggested by Schaverien (2004) or a'bastion of cruelty' as suggested by Monbiot (2012). Mair (2005, p. 9), describes the ex-boarders defence against pain as 'an inability to provide a coherent narrative of what boarding school was like'. The author experienced the participants reporting their experiences in this study as a coherent narrative, with thoughtfulness, humility and a good degree of self- reflection.

The boarding school [in general] has a historical and current reputation for being a 'traditional', 'contained', stable and 'structured' environment and the reported narratives

of participants suggested that their early experience was of a contained, stable 'traditional' base. Specific parental gender roles v defined teaching gender roles, close proximity of parents/caregivers and siblings v close proximity and accessibility of housemasters, matrons and peers were all key components of how the transition to and adjustment of boarding school life was managed and maintained.

Reflective log on Research

The Meaning of Adolescent Attachment in a Male Boarding School:

An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

This paper will discuss the life of the research project from conception through gestation to its birth! As it is a journey of reflection it will be discussed in the first person.

<u>Background</u>

The idea and interest of exploring research into adolescent attachment issues in a male boarding school arose following discussions with my initial supervisor about topics of interest to me. I had been keen to undertake a research project, whilst nearing the end of the master in clinical science of psychotherapy course I was doing and I had attended a few research introductory workshops to find out more about what might be entailed. My enthusiasm for research remained and my interest in selecting this subject arose as I work in a boarding school and I was naturally interested in adolescent developmental issues as that is the nature of my work. I had experienced and observed the boarding school environment to be a traditional, structured, containing environment. This led me to wonder about the experience of the boys there and what sort of impact the environment had on them in terms of attachment issues and the psychological effects of boarding school experience. I also wondered how the boarding school experience affected them once they had left. There were various areas for consideration before I was able to undertake such a project and I had several discussions with my supervisor before I was able to commit to this particular topic and project.

Ethics and Responsibility

One of the first considerations I had to think about was my position within the school and whether there would be a conflict of interest in conducting research at my place of work. I initially thought about interviewing the boys that are currently at the school, but given my role as school therapist this raised serious ethical concerns around issues of consent as pupils were under 18. Other ethical areas of concern were connected with possible breaches of confidentiality, boundaries, my ability to be and remain as objective as possible and conflict of role, all of which may have been compromised. Through discussion with my supervisor it was agreed that if I was able to interview ex-pupils of the school there was a strong possibility I would be unknown to them as I had not been at the school for a long time and consent would be more straightforward as they would all be adults. It was decided that I would not interview participants who had left the school within a year. This was agreed and I began the process of my long journey into the world of research.

Expectations v reality

I knew from attending the research workshops that I would need to make a long term commitment and that I would need a considerable amount of self- discipline. I also knew there would be highs and lows along the way. This was actually very helpful and also having the opportunity of being able to meet some of the other students who at times felt as perplexed and overwhelmed as I did was strangely reassuring.

Supervision

The expertise of the supervision has been invaluable, but due to retirement of one supervisor and replacement of a locum supervisor, I had two supervisors in short succession before settling with the third one. Whilst feeling a little unsettled due to the unforeseen changes, this did not distract too much from the benefits I also gained from having different perspectives on my topic. I would add that this may have felt more disruptive if I had been in the latter stages of my project.

The Research Design

Having discussed a research question with my supervisor I decided upon 'adolescent attachment issues in a male boarding school, which seemed to encapsulate my wish to understand the subject from a research perspective. My next task was to begin a review of the literature and to establish how I might apply a method with which to analyse the collected data. Various options were discussed with my supervisor including using a questionnaire with quantitative measures and I had also considered using discourse analysis, but found it would not address the issues I was interested in due to its focus on the power of dynamics in social speech, rather than a subjective internal approach which IPA would address. Following discussion with my supervisor about IPA I was keen to try this. Although it is a relatively new qualitative approach by (Smith, Flowers, Larkin 2009), it had been used by the health sector and social sciences and was within the domains of my employment discipline in terms of seeking to understand the meaning that people in general ascribe to their personal experiences in life.

IPA appealed to me because of the nature of allowing participants to 'tell their story' in their own words, from their perspective. Once agreed, I devised a questionnaire designed

to elicit demographic information and to situate the sample. Imbued within this and following discussion with my supervisor, a self- report measure of a relationship questionnaire devised by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) was used to enhance and triangulate the study, whilst situating the sample and providing an indication of the current attachment orientation of the participants within the IPA study.

Project information sheet, invitation and distribution

At the same time as devising the questionnaire, a project information sheet was devised outlining the research project with an invitation and consent to take part and I had already submitted my ethics form to the university for approval. I was fortunate in that an active online database of ex- pupils was held and maintained at the school and following my request to them, they were able to administer this. Thought was given to the ethical aspect of contacting ex-pupils via the school database, which might have been intrusive, but this was overcome by the school sending the information out with their endorsement. The response was not overwhelming and details were sent to varying past years initially between 2 and 5 years, then 5 and 10 years and then 10 and 15 years on three separate occasions. This eventually yielded a return of 17 participants, six of whom filled in the application form and consented for interview and five who filled in the questionnaire but opted out of interview. There were two who sent blank forms and one who filled in the form inappropriately.

A search of the literature revealed that there were few studies on adolescent attachment issues in a male boarding school or on the psychological effects of boarding school on male adolescents. There were only three studies that related to adolescents and boarding

schools. I found this surprising as there seemed to be much public interest in the psychological effects of boarding school on pupils as evidenced by Monbiot (2012).

Interviews

The interviews were arranged at mutually convenient locations and in five cases it was the participants' place of work. I saw one participant at his home, as this was convenient to him, but I took the precaution of ensuring that I informed relevant people of my whereabouts for safety reasons and made them aware of anticipated time duration.

I was very mindful during the first interview of trying to be very careful not to step into the role of being the 'analytical therapist' that I normally am rather than the 'researcher' as this may have led me to ask a leading question or to possibly make an interpretation that would be based on my perception and feelings from an analytical perspective rather than from a researcher's perspective, which may have influenced the interview. This was quite illuminating as I realised the value in having the semi- structured interview questions I had devised, as they were there to safeguard against deviating off the path and that within the prompts there was in fact scope for me to explore several avenues, by asking participants to expand on something they might have said within the framework of the questionnaire, which was very much led by them. As the interviews progressed I found the participants really interesting, particularly when they made similar responses to the questions I had asked, which would have been concurrent with selecting a small homogenous sample of participants who had a 'shared commonality' of their boarding school experience. All of the interviews were audio taped and then individually listened to before transcribing them. All of the participants were also offered a copy of their

transcriptions which they declined, but I agreed to send them a copy of the summary of results, which they were all keen to have.

One participant evoked in me quite strong feelings initially, which highlighted the need for my reflexivity, but also demonstrated the phenomenology of the hermeneutic content of my experience. I initially experienced this participant as quite dismissive and dominant in his presentation and he announced at the beginning that he would not be able to give me much of his time. What occurred as I listened to the audio tape began to change how I felt and my initial opinion of him as I began to understand the initial defensive quality of the participant's narrative, particularly at the beginning of the interview, which seemed to disperse as the interview progressed. The participant was recalling some profoundly moving experiences in quite a direct way, but stopped on several occasions to reflect upon himself and his experiences in quite an insightful way. I found myself feeling quite profoundly sad, which took me by surprise upon listening to the tape and during the transcription. What I found interesting upon reflection was that I did not feel sad at all during the interview, which suggested to me that his narrative was conveying elements of his experience at different levels and that he was communicating different layers of meaning, for me to feel different when transcribing. It was also interesting that he gave the longest interview having said he did not have much time, and although he emphasised not needing anyone he did seem to have a need to be heard.

As a novice researcher at times the project felt quite overwhelming, particularly when faced with a lot of data and it was difficult to know where to start. I wondered whether the initial questionnaire and project sheet had been sufficient to attract enough participants as I had to make three trawls to obtain the number of participants I arrived at.

However I did ask some of the participants what they thought of the questionnaire and they said it was straightforward, easy and quick to fill in.

Conclusion

This research project has been a journey and a process of which overall I have thoroughly enjoyed. I have also compared this process to a pregnancy and a marathon both of which I have experienced. The study began with a conception, a period of gestation and finally a very hard and long labour. At times I did not feel I could 'push' anymore and as an intellectual marathon, I never thought I would ever get to the end..... but I did!

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Appendix A

Ovid search request

Search   Journals   **My Workspace**

My Projects | **My Searches & Alerts** | My eTocs | Install Toolbar

Warning: Running any AutoAlert (SDI) Searches will erase your current search history. Press the "Run" button if you wish to do this.

Permanent Searches AutoAlert (SDI) Searches

Run   Delete

Display   Email Jumpstart

Permanent Searches (top)

Male Boarding Schools

1. (Attachment issues and Male and Boarding Schools).af.
2. (Boarding Schools and Attachment and Male and Adolescents).af.
3. (Male and Boarding Schools).af.

Rename   Edit   Display   Email Jumpstart   History

AutoAlert (SDI) Searches (top)

Journals@Ovid Full Text <September 04, 2012>

1150

Since Last Run Select Update(s) Run in Current Database   Frequency: On Database Update   Dedup: Off

1. Early,adolescent and adult male, attachment issues
2. Early, adolescent and adult male, attachement issues
3. from 1 keep 10,22,26,48,52,70,73,76,79,107,128,135,141,144,146,148,150,153,154,156,158,162,164,165,168,174,176,179,181,184,195,196,199,200,206,218,223,225,226,230,233,235,238,340,241,255,273,275,281,283,286,295,301,308,315,316,318,340,341,370,384,391,413,425,436,468,470,476,494,497,500,508,511,516,521,524,545,571,579,582,586,589,600,603,605

240

Since Last Run Select Update(s) Run in Current Database   Frequency: On Database Update   Dedup: Off

1. Attachment issues, Male Boarding School prototypes

Attachment 1

Since Last Run Select Update(s) Run in Current Database   Frequency: On Database Update   Dedup: Off

1. Early,adolescent and adult male, attachment issues

Attachment 2

Since Last Run Select Update(s) Run in Current Database   Frequency: On Database Update   Dedup: Off

1. Early and adolescent attachment issues in a male boarding school

Your Journals@Ovid

Journals@Ovid Full Text <September 04, 2012>

attachment 3

Since Last Run Select Update(s) Run in Current Database   Frequency: On Database Update   Dedup: Off

Your Journals@Ovid

Journals@Ovid Full Text <September 04, 2012>

1. (Attachment and male and boarding school).af.
2. (Attachment and male and boarding school and adolescent and issues).af.
3. (1,2 and infant and adult and prototypes).af.
4. (1,2 and infant and adult and prototypes).af.

Run   Delete

English | Français | Deutsch | 日本語 | 繁體中文 | Español | 简体中文 | 한국어

Appendix B

Research participant invitation

Invitation to take part in a Research Project

Introduction and FAQ's

You are invited to take part in a research project which is part of studies at the University of Kent. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully

Title of Research: **Adolescent Attachment issues in a Male Boarding School:** To What extent do early attachment issues set a prototype for adolescent attachment patterns in a male boarding School and how does this determine the outcome for adult attachment prototypes for later social relations?

Inclusion criteria: All Old xxxxxx who have attended xxxxxx School.

Exclusion criteria: Please note: If you are currently diagnosed with depression or are currently taking any medication for anxiety, depression or psychoses then unfortunately you will not be able to participate in this study on this occasion.

Who will conduct the research? The study will be conducted Shirley Lauryn, who currently works at xxxxxx school and is also a post graduate student at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

Why have I been chosen? The study's focus is on the male boarding school experience and subsequent outcomes of this.

What would I be asked to do if I took part? The study will consist of a semi structured taped interview, which will last up to 60 minutes and all participants will be verbally debriefed. The interviews can be conducted at your place of work or at a mutually acceptable neutral location.

How is this beneficial to me?

Whilst there are no immediate benefits, the research may determine useful strategies for determining and enhancing emotional and intellectual capacity.

What are the risks for me?

There should not be any risks involved, but should a question raise any areas for concern, there is provision made for a list of relevant organisations for you to contact which will be administered to you at the onset of the interview. You should also contact your GP in the event of any unforeseen areas of concern.

What happens to the data collected?

Any data collected will be anonymous. On completion of the research project all tapes will be destroyed.

How is confidentiality maintained?

Information provided will be used for research purposes. It will not be used in a manner which would allow identification of your individual response. Your responses will be given a reference number only.

What happens if I do not want to take part or change my mind?

If you decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form. You can withdraw at any time and you do not have to give a reason.

What is the duration of my participation? No longer than 60 minutes

Will outcomes be published?

Yes that is possible, but only generalisations of outcomes will be available and it will not be possible to identify individuals. A summary of the outcomes will be available to participants on request.

If you are interested then please complete the following questionnaire by clicking on the link below along with your consent of the **optional** interview in addition to this.

Ethical approval has been received for this project from the University of Kent Ethics Committee.

Principle researcher contact details:

Shirley Lauryn, xxxxxxxxx Kent

Contact details:

Email: ssl@xxxxxxschool.org

Tel: xxxxxxxxx

Questionnaire Link:

http://extranet. xxxxxxxschool.org:82/otsurvey

If you experience any problems opening this link, then please email:

icts@xxxxxxxxx-school.org

Appendix C

OT questionnaire

Questionnaire

Name:

Year of leaving school:

Age now:

Marital Status:

Marital status of parents whilst at school:

Number of Siblings:

Day or Boarder:

Nationality:

Experience of Boarding School: Positive/Negative/Neutral

PLEASE READ THE DIRECTIONS

1. The following are descriptions of four general relationship styles that people often report. Please read each description and CIRCLE the letter corresponding to the style that best describes you or is closest to the way you generally are in your close relationships.

   A. It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

   B. I am comfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.

   C. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.

   D. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self –sufficient and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

   Now please rate EACH of the above relationship styles in turn according to the extent to which you think each description corresponds to your general relationship style. Please CIRCLE the number which you think applies most to you against each description.

	Not at all like me		Somewhat like me			Very much like me		
Style A.	1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Style B.	1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Style C.	1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Style D.	1		2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix D

Part interview transcript– participant three with emergent and exploratory themes

Emergent themes		Participant 3: Interview	Exploratory comments
Close relationships	1	I: Can you tell me about your	
	2	relationship with your parents or	
	3	those closest to you when you	
Traditional experience means 'stable' family background	4	were growing up?	I think I have a fairly Traditional experience. I came from er a sort of 'stable' family background
	5	P: Ok, well I think I have a fairly	Thinks, hesitant, unsure of 'stable' family needs to use it in inverted commas using 'sort of' to describe stability
	6	traditional erm experience in that	
	7	sense in that I came from er a sort	
	8	of stable inverted commas family	
	9	background erm parents stayed	
	10	together erm throughout my	If my father hadn't passed away Father has now died
Loss	11	childhood and in fact would be	
	12	still together if my father hadn't	
	13	passed away a few years ago erm	
	14	I presume. So in that sense it was	
	15	a stable, erm stable family.	
	16	Background had 2 brothers and 1	
	17	sister so it was a big family which	
	18	meant that you got this idea I	I suppose the attention being divided between siblings. I think that's always quite a positive experience in a sense
	19	suppose the attention being	
Divided attention as character building	20	divided between siblings sort of	Not definite in sibling shared experience as positive.
	21	from an early age and I think erm	
	22	coughs that's always quite a	He had to compete with siblings for attention from his parents. I think I was probably aggressive in the way I competed for attention
	23	positive experience in a sense,	
His aggression as a natural way to Compete for attention	24	although obviously it can mean	*Sibling rivalry. It's natural for a child to aggressively compete with siblings for attention.*
	25	that your competing for attention	

1

Emergent themes		Participant 3: Interview	Exploratory comments
	26	from your parents with your	
	27	siblings and erm I think I was	
Aggressive Competition	28	probably quite erm aggressive in	
Attention seeking	29	the way I competed for attention	
Sibling Rivalry	30	erm but I think that's only natural	
	31	to be honest. Erm I had a good	Mother chose traditional path to be at home with the children
	32	relationship with my parents erm	I had a good relationship with my parents it was a very traditional family relationship
	33	it was a very traditional family	Emotionally linked to mother due to tradition and absence of father due to him working?
Traditional stable family relationships	34	relationship in that my mum had	
	35	chosen.. there were four of us	
	36	within six years in age, so my	
	37	mum stopped work and then	
Uncertain of strong emotional link to mother	38	didn't go back to work, so we had	We had erm a strong sort of emotional link I suppose to my mother. Father was sort of the more reserved
	39	erm a strong sort of emotional	Uncertain of strong emotional link to mother acknowledges fathers
	40	link I suppose to my mother in a	absence has to emphasise 'not in a negative way' through use of word 'not' twice
	41	very traditional sense and my	
	42	father was sort of the more	
	43	reserved emotionally I suppose,	
	44	although not not erm not in a	
	45	negative way. He just wasn't	
	46	there as much during the day. He	
Father' absence followed traditional lines due to work	47	would you know as I said in a very	
	48	traditional way come back from	
	49	work in the evenings 7 0 clock, 8 0	
	50	clock, he would then potentially	

2

Emergent themes		Participant 3: Interview	Exploratory comments
Father not emotional	51	you know help us to bed or read	
	52	us a story or whatever, so he	So he wasn't detached or distant in that sense. (father)
	53	wasn't detached or distant in that	In what sense was he detached? Not detached in a practical sense, but perhaps emotionally
	54	sense but just simply by the fact	
	55	that he was working erm in	
	56	London and we lived just outside	
	57	London. He wasn't there as much	
	58	during the day, erm he would	
	59	spend time with us at the	
	60	weekends, he would take us, he	
	61	would come to watch sports	
Father traditionally spent time with us evenings and weekends	62	fixtures and things like that. He	Father spent time with us evenings and weekends
	63	would take us to things at the	
	64	weekends and we would go and	
	65	help him in the garden and stuff	
	66	like that, while my mum did the	
	67	sort of more traditionally female	
	68	chores around the house. So yeah	
	69	it was a very traditional	So yeah it was a very traditional relationship. We did traditional male things with father –sport, garden. Mum did traditional female chores
	70	relationship in that sense. Erm I	
	71	suppose it did mean emotionally	Difficult to acknowledge closeness to mother but moves from 'I suppose' to 'it did mean'
Gender roles defined	72	we would have been closer to my	I suppose it did mean emotionally we would have been closer to my mother.
Emotionally intense relationship with mother	73	mother in one sense, then my	Relationship with mother more emotionally intense than with father.
	74	father I suppose erm in terms of	
	75	yeah emotional closeness and	

Emergent themes		Participant 3: Interview	Exploratory comments
	76	emotional intensity of that	
	77	relationship erm, but I can find	
	78	that, I am going to say one more	
	79	thing, I find that quite erm, that	
Emotional closeness difficult	80	can be quite erm hard in one	Disowns emotional, uses 'you're' instead of I.
Difficulty receiving sympathy	81	sense in that when, if you're	If you're emotionally sort of close to someone I can find that, I then sort of, I don't necessarily want them to erm I don't enjoy people feeling sorry for me
	82	emotionally sort of close to	
	83	someone, I can find that I then	Finds it hard to be emotionally close
	84	sort of, I don't necessarily want	
	85	them to erm, I don't enjoy people	
	86	feeling sorry for me, so I find that	
Self- sufficiency important	87	a bit harder. I have always found	
	88	that hard probably with both my	Opening up is difficult With both my parents that emotional closeness doesn't necessarily mean that I want to open up to them.
	89	parents that emotional closeness	
	90	doesn't necessarily mean that I	Not wanting to discuss emotions What does emotional closeness mean?
	91	want to open up to them, in fact	
	92	it can mean the exact opposite,	
Not wanting to emotionally burden mother	93	that I don't want to burden my	I don't want to burden my mother Emotions seen/experienced as a burden
	94	mother, or my father, but	
	95	particularly my mother perhaps	Perhaps with sort of emotional issues or with relationship issues
	96	with sort of emotional issues or	Difficulty in opening up, feeling that one's emotion might burden others
Importance of self sufficiency	97	with relationship issues erm and I	
	98	feel quite strongly that that's sort	
	99	of not a negative thing. It's just	
	100	that I would rather be, I'd rather	Protecting self against feeling vulnerable I'd rather be sort of seen to be self-sufficient but I sometimes feel pressure

4

Emergent themes		Participant 3: Interview	Exploratory comments
Importance of self sufficency	101	be sort of self- sufficient and I'd	Repeats but uses 'seen to be' - hides real desire. Needs to appear to be self sufficient
	102	rather be sort of seen to be self-	
	103	sufficient, but I sometimes feel	
	104	pressure erm in the sense that I	
Emotional conflict	105	feel my mum would like me to	
	106	open up more and erm (coughs) it	
	107	can be erm yeah I think we're at,	I think we're (mother) at... its not conflict but we're at cross purposes In conflict
Withholding feelings from mother who wants to know	108	it's not conflict but we're at cross	
	109	purposes. She wants to know	She wants to know how I'm feeling and I'm not interested in telling her any more than I feel is appropriate Withholding, is this also applicable to me? Not wanting to discuss emotions
	110	how I'm feeling and I'm not	
Emotional withdrawal	111	interested in telling her any more	
	112	than I feel is appropriate. So in	
	113	that sense, you could say I'm I'm	
	114	closed sort of sometimes when	Not sure using sort of, fears being open. Reacts when mother tries to find out his feelings I'm closed sort of sometimes when she (mum) wants me to be open. People should be able to decide how much they reveal their feelings
	115	she wants me to be open, but I	
Need s to be in control. Feeling of mother being intrusive	116	don't think that's a negative, I just	
	117	think everyone should be entitled	
	118	to be as open sort of you know or	
	119	as emotionally open as they want	
	120	to be.	
	121	I: Yes. You may have already	
	122	answered within what you've said	
	123	but the next question is: ' who	
	124	was the most important person	I: Who was the most important person?
	125	and can you say why'? You have	

Appendix E

Research Interview questions

The Meaning of Adolescent Attachment in a Male Boarding School

Can you tell me about your relationship with your parents or those closest to you when you were growing up?

Prompts:
Who was the most important person? can you say why?
What are your fondest memories of them?
Can you tell me about any difficulties?
How did you feel when you had to leave for boarding school?

Can you tell me about your relationships at boarding school?

Prompts:
How much at ease did you feel with your peer group? or What relationship did you have with your peer group?
What relationship did you have with your house masters/teachers etc?
What sort of difficulties did you encounter if any?
Who did you turn to?
What type of people did you find easiest to get on with?
How do you feel that your early relationships at home influence these relationships?

Can you tell me about the relationships you have had since leaving school?

Prompts:
Friendships?
Personal relationships?
Working relationships?

Appendix F

Ethics application and approval form

FOR ALL APPLICANTS

I have read the Faculty policies regarding the use of human participants and agree to abide by them. I am also familiar with the ethical principles listed in the Research Ethics Handbook with regard to human participants. I further agree to submit any significant changes in procedures or measurement instruments for additional review.

Signed:

Researcher(s)

Name: SHIRLEY LAURYN   Signature: Date: 12|4|11

Name: Signature: Date:

Name: Signature: Date:

Supervisor:
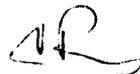
Name: NICK RUSSING   Signature: Date: 18|4|11

Please remember to attach
- **your research proposal**
- **the participant information sheet**
- **the participant consent form**
- **any questionnaires, scales, measures, letters and phone/verbal scripts to be used**
- **debriefing materials**

Action Taken

☑ Approved

☐ Approved with modifications or conditions noted below

☐ Action deferred. Please supply additional information or clarification noted below.

Date 18/6/11

Centre for Professional Practice

SCREENING FORM FOR ETHICS SUBMISSION

Research title: Adolescent Issues in a Male Boarding School.

Status: (Please circle) Undergraduate (Postgraduate)/Staff

Researcher: SHIRLEY LAURYN

Supervisor (for UG/PG students):

| 1	Is this research going to be subject to NHS Local Research Ethics Committee approval?	**Yes** (no need to answer any further questions)
2	Does the research gather information from: • Children (under 16 years)? • Vulnerable adults such as individuals with mental health problems, learning disabilities, prisoners, young offenders, elderly people with dementia? • Staff? • Carers?	 Yes (No) Yes No Yes (No) Yes (No)
3	Does the research involve the use of materials or questions that could upset or offend participants? (e.g. asking people to talk about difficult life events)	(Yes) No

☐ I have answered NO to all the above categories in question 2 and 3 and do not consider that this project needs to be submitted for more detailed ethical review. **Please complete section A- on the application**

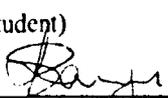☑ I have answered YES to at least one of the categories in questions 2 and 3 and am submitting an application for departmental ethics approval. **Please complete all sections on the application**

Signature (Supervisor/Staff)
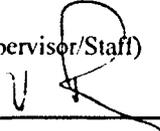
_____ Date: 18|4|11

Signature (Student)

_____ Date: 18|4|11

The purpose of this screening is to ensure that the research will be ethical, maintain confidentiality, anonymity and will not cause harm

I

Centre for Professional Practice

Application Form for Ethical Approval

FOR DEPARTMENT USE ONLY	
Received: _____	Date Submitted to Reviewers: _____
Reviewers: _____ _____	Review Completed: _____ _____ Researcher(s) Notified: _____

Submit three copies of this form **TO THE CHAIR OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE**

SECTION A

Name of Investigator: SHIRLEY LAURYN   Email: slauryn@msn.com

Status: ~~Undergraduate~~/Postgraduate/~~Staff~~

Project Title: Adolescent Issues in a Male Boarding School

Supervisor (if student) Dr Nick Riding

Inclusion / exclusion criteria

List any inclusion/ exclusion criteria (e.g. age group, gender, language skills) – the criteria must be justified by the aims of the study.

Participants can take part in this study if they are: Ex-boarding school (up to two years) male pupils.

Participants cannot take part in this study if they are: Diagnosed with depression or are currently taking any medication for anxiety, depression or psychosis. If the researcher has previously seen them in her therapeutic capacity.

2

Consent (Please see Consent Checklist)

Is prior informed consent to be obtained? (Yes)/No

From participants? (Yes)/ No
From others? Yes / No
From both participants and others Yes / No
Prior informed consent is not going to be obtained Yes / No

Describe the means of obtaining prior consent:
Prior informal consent will be obtained via a signed consent form (please see attached).

If prior informed consent is not to be obtained, give reasons:

Will participants be explicitly informed of what the researcher's role/status is?
(Yes)/No

Will participants be told of the use to which data will be put (e.g. research publication, teaching purposes, media publicity)?
(Yes)/No

Will participants be informed that consent will be taken for the use of anonymised data in future research projects – should this archiving and sharing of data be required by the funding body Not applicable.
Yes (No)

Who will approach participants to ask them to be involved in the research? SHIRLEY MAURYN

Will there be a participant information sheet giving details of the people involved and the consent mechanism?
(Yes)/ No

Is there a "gatekeeper" who must be approached first to gain access to participants
– e.g. school pupils, nursing home residents
(Yes)/ No
To access database

Deception
Is there any deception involved? Yes (No)
If yes, describe the deception and the reasons for its use

Researcher safety
What will be undertaken to ensure safety of the researcher?
Interviews will be conducted at the school or the participants place of work.

3

Debriefing
Participants will be debriefed:

In writing	Yes / No
Verbally	(Yes) No
In writing and verbally	Yes / No
Participants will not be debriefed	Yes / No

If they will not to be debriefed, give reasons:

Withdrawal from the investigation
Will participants be told explicitly that they are free to leave the study at any time without jeopardy?

(Yes) No

When and how will this be done? This will be stated on the initial consent form (attached).

Confidentiality
Under the Data Protection Act information about a participant is confidential unless otherwise agreed in advance. Will confidentiality be guaranteed?

(Yes) No

Participation in this study guarantees confidentiality of participants' information

(Yes) No

No-one apart from the researcher and research supervisor will have access to the data

(Yes) No

Either
    Participants will not be asked to write their name on study materials – they will be given an unique participant number (Yes) No
Or
    Participants' names and any other identifying information will be store separately from their data in a secure location Yes / No

Data – in which a living individual can be identified - will be stored as long as is required by the Data Protection Act 1998 and will then be destroyed

(Yes) No

Either
    The data collected for this study will be used for a student project (Yes) No
Or
    The data collected for this study will be used for a staff project Yes / No

Once the data are analysed a report of the findings may be submitted for publications. Only broad trends will be reported and it will not be possible to identify individuals

(Yes) No

A summary of the results will be available from the researcher on request

(Yes) No

4

If fewer than 7 of the above are answered as "Yes" - please explain why and the procedures that will be taken in advance of obtaining consent (how will participants be warned)?

Protection of participants

Are the participants at risk of physical or psychological harm greater than encountered in ordinary life?   Yes/No

If yes, describe the nature of the risk and steps taken to minimise it:

Is the information gathered from the participants of a sensitive or personal nature?
                                                                          Yes/No

5

If yes, describe the procedures to be used for:

(a)assuring confidentiality Confidentiality is assured on the information sheet and will be verbally stated at the beginning of participants's interviews.

a) protecting participants from stress Participants are advised on the information sheet that a list of organisations will be administered at the onset of the interview and advised also to contact their GP in the event of any unforseen areas of concern.

Observational research

If observational research is to be conducted without prior consent, please describe the situation in which observations will take place and say how local cultural values and privacy of individuals will be taken into account

6

SECTION B

FULL APPLICATION
(For projects which require ethical consideration)

Attach the following to each form:
- your research proposal
- the participant information sheet
- the participant consent form
- any questionnaires, scales, measures, letters and phone/verbal scripts to be used
- debriefing materials

Describe the project in no more than one page (summarise the background and hypotheses and detail the procedure to include the conditions experienced by the participants, stimulus, materials and response measures

Re-submission of proposal

Indicate here if the proposal is a procedural modification of a previously reviewed project:

If yes, what was the title of previously reviewed project: (Yes)/No

Boarding schools — Facilitative Containment or Procurase.

Name of Student/Supervisor in previous project: SHIRLEY LAURYN - Student

Georgia Lepper - Supervisor

Appendix G

Identifying colour coded themes

Alex P1	Brian P2	Charles P3(2)	Charles P3	David P4	Edward P5	Fred P6
Good relationship with both parents	Good relationship with parents	Strong family Relationships	Close relationships	Recollection and surprise of vivid memory	Close relationship with parents	Difficulty claiming self as close to parents
		Independent				
Happy childhood although parents divorced	Idealised family	Difficulty sharing personal relationships	Traditional experience means 'stable' family background		Closer to mother	
				Rejected self		
	Afraid to differentiate		Loss	Too old for hugs	Self-conscious	Important person as undifferentiated
Lack of differentiation		Clears throat				
				Sense of Loss		
Normal childhood		Resents sympathy	Divided attention		Recalls fond memories	More contact with mother
Reiterates getting on with both parents	Extended family added to structure and stability	Self-exposure difficult Self protection	Competing for attention	Impact of loss	Recalling difficulties as problematic	Difficult to differentiate between parents
	Privileged		Aggressive Competition			
Fond memories of family holidays	Difficulties Came at university	Clears throat Emotional attachments problematic	Attention seeking Sibling Rivalry	Open communication	Sensitive to father's perception of him	Fond memories of home, holidays and sports fixtures
	Depressed self		Traditional relationships	Recognition of fathers limitations	Deliberately shut down	
Reluctance		Dislikes feeling dependent	Strong emotional link to mother			Enjoyed going away to school
				Emotional		

Alex P1	Brian P2	Charles P3(2)	Charles P3	David P4	Edward P5	Fred P6
	Idealised childhood			acknowledgement	Conflict with mother	Reassurance of brother at same school
Little memory of childhood		Self sufficiency		Acknowledges father's discomfort	Arguments with mother	
	Forgotten disappointment	Emotional sensitivity seen as weak	Emotional detachment	Trust, love and companionship		Lack of nervousness going to school
Uncertain, yet reassured		Self-perception of being strong when dealing with emotional issues alone			Felt apprehensive and excited going away from home	
	Upset at losing friends, not having a choice		Fear of emotional exposure	Maternal closeness		Looking forward to going to school
Excited and nervous about starting boarding school		Difficulty owning emotional sensitivity	Emotional closeness difficult	Physical Maternal closeness	Realisation of lack of choice	
		Clears throat	Resents sympathy	Acknowledges separation		Maintained friendships from school
I found it really easy to get on with people	Fears allayed of boarding	Self analysis		Boarding School as fun	It was accepted	
	Missing out		Self-sufficiency	Independence	Felt to be tough	Intense school environment seen as difficulty
Was bullied during first year	Preconceptions unfounded	Self sufficiency	Emotional burden	Parental expectations	First experience	
The best years were the last two	Reassurance parents still close	Clears throat		Independenc		Hard times in intense environment
			Self		Meaning	

Alex P1	Brian P2	Charles P3(2)	Charles P3	David P4	Edward P5	Fred P6
			Emotional burden	Parental expectations		Forewarned about boarding school
Independency	Reassurance parents still close	Clears throat		Independence	Sharing space difficult	
Bullied for being overweight	Sport as distraction from home	Easy to make friendships	Self protection			It was relaxed going to boarding school
		Sociable			Lack of privacy	
		Relies on friendships		Maternal closeness		
Victimisation		Socialising high on agenda	Emotional conflict			Housemaster not too strict
Stereotypical bullying	Choice of house disappointing	Socialising as a product of being at boarding school	Withholding feelings	Maternal support	Contrast-ing difference	
		Friendships are largely male		Denies effect of being bullied		Peer group pretty friendly
Justification for behaviour	Isolated from friends in house	Pretty close female friends	Emotional withdrawal		Identified with similarity	Pretty much at ease with peer group
Banter		Self-selected choice of mostly male employment environment		Lack of confidence	People as split and defined	
Insular	Contradictory comment		Resentment of sympathy		More integrated sense of self	Various groups of friends
				Resilience		
Self sufficiency	Maintained good friendships from school	Female friendships end when they get married				
			Acknowledges physical rather than emotional contact with	Mum as psych-iatrist		Regular contact with school friends
Good relationship with housemaster and tutors		Clears throat			Not particularly close to housemaster as role model	
	Contradictory	Lapsed communication		Permission to be close		

Appendix H

Table of superordinate themes and emergent themes - P3

1.3 **Themes**	Page/line	**Key words**
Family tradition		
Traditional experience means 'stable' family		
background	1: 4	'traditional experience'.... 'stable family'
Loss of father	1: 10	'passed away a few years ago'
Divided attention as character building	1: 20	'attention being divided'...'positive experience'
Competing for attention	1: 23	'attention from your parents'
Aggressive competitive self as natural	1: 27	'aggressive'...'competed'...'only natural'
Traditional relationships	1:33	'good relationship'... 'very traditional'
Traditional family means strong emotional link to	2: 39	
mother	2:42	' strong sort of emotional link'..' to my mother'
Father not emotional	3:47-60	'more reserved emotionally'
Time spent traditionally with father at weekend and	3: 61-69	' a very traditional way'...'time at the
evenings	5: 103	weekends'
Gender roles defined as traditional	5: 110-112	' sports fixtures'...'traditionally female chores'
Self- sufficient	6: 135	' I'd rather be sort of self sufficient
Cross purposes with mother	6: 148	'wants to know'..'not interested in telling her'
Physical contact ok when small, not as men	10: 248	' physical contact,' 'easy', 'really small'
Parents split and defined as emotional and practical	14:341,353	'emotional side of life'...'more practical side'
Feels fortunate in life	16:389	'I'm incredibly lucky'.. 'good life'
Acknowledgement of need of parents/reassurance	3(2)17: 399	' security blanket' 'parents that close'...'helps'
Sanctuary/relaxation of home	3(2)18:412	'go home and relax'
Sense of very strong relationship(parents)	3(2) 18:430	'sense it was a very strong relationship'
Traditional relationships as agreeable, few		
arguments	3(2)19:43	' 30 years of marriage, one or two arguments'
Traditional relationship with divided roles as 'perfect'	3(2)19:441- 50	'wife looks after certain areas'... 'husband looks after'

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Old fashioned relationship	*44: 1091-95*	'mother domestic' and 'father financial'
Good relationship model	*45:1111*	'clear delineation' ..'to have as model'
Sibling rivalry, envy	*46:1149-55*	'a faster runner'....'that caused friction'
Parental influence	48: 1203	'making sure we all got on'
Sibling relationships as intense and influential	8: 184	'probably a bit intense'.. 'doing same stuff at school'
Confrontation as learned pattern of relating	13: 306	'been too confrontational'.. 'I get confrontational'
Defining the self in relation to the boarding school experience and peers		
Must be self sufficient	*13: 309*	'just dealing with things myself'
Close proximity of parents reassuring	15: 355	'Parents only lived 20 minutes away'
Brother at school as reassuring	16: 380	'older brother already at school'
Ambiguity around homesickness	17: 419	'boys homesick'... 'parents live very close'
Attachment to boarding school life	17: 425	'look forward to going back'...'excitement'
Boarding school as competitive environment	17: 432	' very competitive'...' environment'
Modifying behaviour in order to fit in	18: 450	'when and where to be competitive'
Being competitive as problematic	18: 453	'if your too competitive'
Acquisition and adaption of social skills	19: 475	'learnt when to be quiet'
Pushing and testing of boundaries	19:487	'not to push the boundaries'
Developing self- identity	20:509	'uni friends more like me'
Reunion with peers	21: 528	'renunions'...' appreciate friends'
Intellectual attachments and connections	22: 543-558	'value brightness and sharpness'
Emotional connection to school peers through shared experiences and living together	23: 581	'they are a big part of your life'
Housemaster as idealised paternal figure, role model	24: 592	'victorian, sort of father figure',' similar role model'
Fear of puberty, masculinity	24: 617	'stubble', 'beards', 'hairy', 'we were boys'
Grown men as different and intimidating	25: 627	"frightening'.. 'different'..'grown up'

Hero worship of older boys	25: 635	'you still liked him'..'hero worshipped him'
Being alert to unkind prefects	27:625	'you knew which ones didn't really care'
Secure with safe, kind discipline	25:632	'punished by prae you liked'
Survival of the fittest	27: 679	'sink or swim'..' what doesn't break you'
Depending on the self is tough	28: 685	' a bit tougher'
Discipline and care as separate and problematic	29: 714	' disciplining you'..'looking after you'
Compensation of fear through acceptance and survival	29: 719	'you get used to these things and you survive'
Fear of intimidation	30:757	'when your 13 that can be quite frightening'
Sensitive characters get bullied	30: 743	'quite a sensitive character'
Justification as a means of excusing behaviour	31: 765	'only growing up themselves'
Crying alone, sorrow and fear of exposure of vulnerability	31: 768	'I cried about that' 'I was not in front of anybody'
Lack of protection and intervention from adults	32: 784	'didn't step in enough'
Behaviour as a result of peer pressure and developmental issues	33: 820	'unpleasant'.. 'a teenager'..'growing up'
Peer groups as role models	33: 823	'other people were doing it'
Safety in controlling others who are non - confrontational	36: 906	'kind and non-confrontational'...'best friend'
Intellectual dominance	38: 939	'if you cut somebody down'
Interaction experienced as contest(battle of wits)	38: 945	'far more even contest'
Intellectual rather than emotional intercourse	39: 971	'establishing things through argument'
Masochistic element of conflict with confrontational exchange	40: 1003	'shut up'.... 'your always arguing'
Aggressive interaction as defining feelings about life	41: 1024	' aggressive as working out how you feel about life'
Likes a stimulating argument to avoid animosity	41: 1033	'no animosity there'
Repetition of earlier sibling experiences replayed at school	47: 1180	'people who would spa verbally'

Thinking replaces feeling	41: 1016	'it's how I work out what I think'
Confrontation as frustration, means of attempt to communicate	48: 1216	'trying to find out answers through pushing'
Independence	3(2) 1:15	'always been quite independent'
Confrontation with an emotional response results in guilty feelings		
Boarding school identity		
Self- sufficient important	5:103	'would rather be sort of self - sufficient'
Competitive self	12: 284	'I am quite a competitive person'
Defiant self	14: 338	*'I didn't want to see her or need to see her'*
Need to maintain control of self	17:423	'action to take control of your own life'
Establishing sense of self through intellectual debate	39:966	'establishing things through debate'
Self –dependent	19:474	'matron maybe'... 'bit of bottling up'
Depending on the self is tough	27:679	'yeah, it was a bit tough'
Developing self –identity	33: 830	'my university friends were far more like me'
	37: 911	'I probably like to try and dominate
Domination to maintain control of self and others	39: 975	relationships
Establishing sense of self through argument	40:988	'establishing things through argument'
Using others to establish sense of self	40: 993	'establish things by arguing with people'
Seeks a reaction from people	40: 1005	' disagree with what I believe'...'get a reaction'
Negative attention to self	41: 1022	'your always arguing'...'shut up'
Identification through/in relation to others	41: 1024	'people I can do that with
Aggressive interaction as means of control of self and others	41: 1034	'it's an aggressive way of working out how you feel'
Creates animosity through dialogue	42: 1050	'I mean I don't like animosity'
Avoids relatedness through intellectual aggression	42: 1053	'don't be so aggressive'...'I enjoy it'
Frightens others through his intellectual aggression	3(2)2: 34	'I think it frightens people'
Self -exposure difficult	3(2)6:136	'exposing myself sort of to other people'

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Social self	3(2)20:475	'been quite a sociable person'
Compliant self	3(2)22:516	'did everything I was told'...' well behaved'
Non-compliant self	3(2)23:545	'more in opposition to the system'
Self -status	3(2)25:577	'get on, get yourself into a place'
Rebellious self	7: 177	'railed against the system'
Perception of self		
Male independence represents happiness	3(2) 7:152	'value sense of male independence'...'totally happy'
Attachment to male friends in the absence of females		
Friendships are largely male	3(2) 7:160	'my friendships are largely male'
Self -selected employment choice of mostly male environment	3(2) 8:187	'aren't that many women that work at school'
Male friendships more significant than female friendships	3(2) 9:202	'always had far more male friendships'
Stronger attachment relationship with males	3(2) 10:219	'fewer than my male friendships'...'far less strong'
Male dominated camaraderie and male bonding	3(2) 10:223	'male dominated'...'camaraderie'....'bonding'
Male bonding experiences from school and sport	3(2) 10: 33	'from sport'....'being in a boarding house'
Social life dominated with male friends	3(2)14:323	'almost all '
Seeks answers from male friends	3(2) 28:655	'would like to talk about'... 'my male friends'
Loss of friendships	3(2) 29:685	'you don't see them at all'
Strength of bond in friendships	3(2)30: 701	'question how much I would see those people'
Defines true friendships	3(2) 31:740	'somebody even though they've moved'
Questions the essence of true friendships	3(2) 32:756	'question how good a friend they really are'
Fashionable and geographical friendships	3(2) 3: 61	'that's what defines where your roots are'
Self- reliance as a way of coping		
Dislikes feeling dependent	5: 112	'not enjoyed experience of leaning on other people'

Withholding feelings	5: 115	'I'm not interested in telling her'
Emotional withdrawal		'I'm closed'
Difficulty with emotional closeness	7: 163	'felt emotionally close to'... 'can be quite hard'
Being emotionally close means being small, weak and vulnerable	7: 168	'closer'...'babyish'....harder for me now
Dealing with problems in isolation	7: 177	'I don't need anyone'
Must be self –sufficient	8: 184	'dealing with things myself'
Fears and avoids dependency	8: 202	'I don't like feeling dependent on'
Resents sympathy makes him feel weak	9: 207	'people feeling sorry for me' ..'I resent it'
Self- pity acceptable if not shared	11: 277	'feeling a bit sorry for yourself'.. 'privacy of
	14: 336	your own'
Avoidance and denial of need	29: 713	'could have seen her'...'didn't want or need'
Compensation of fear through acceptance and survival	29: 718	'you get used to'... 'you survive'
Defenceless when vulnerable	31: 765	'when your 13'... quite frightening
Sorrow and fear of shame, exposure to vulnerability	32: 797	'I cried alone'...' not in front of anybody'
Need to rely on self –difficulty turning to others	33: 830	'like to think I'd have the guts'
Self -dependent, dominant	34: 839	'matron maybe', but I never did'
Bottling up	36:901	' where the self- sufficiency thing comes from'
Need to maintain control	37: 913	'easiest to get on with'... non-confrontational 'I like to try and dominate relationships'
Intellectual defence against vulnerability	38:953	..'verbally'
Attack on sensitive female	43:1080	'would dominate that relationship'.. '[sister]
Protecting self against vulnerability	47: 1169	sensitive'
Control of feelings through dominance	3(2) 2:34	'didn't handle things'...'would never back down'
Self -exposure difficult	3(2) 4:81	'I enjoyed relationships where I felt dominant'
Emotional sensitivity seen as weak	3(2) 4: 89	'don't look for it by exposing myself emotionally'

Self-perception of being strong when dealing with emotional issues	3(2) 1: 19	'I prefer perception I am strong'
Difficulty turning to female presence for intervention	3(2) 6: 134	'person knowing about me'.. 'emotional weakness'
Female and intimate/ other relationships		
Difficulty sharing information on personal relationships	3(2) 7: 156	'not really enjoyed'... sharing personal relationships'
Easy to make friendships	3(2) 7: 164	'easy to make friendships'
Pretty close female friends	3(2) 9: 205	' I don't have many at the moment'
Female friendships end when they get married	3(2) 9:213	'women I've been friends with'...'get married'
Difficulty trusting women due to so few female friends	3(2) 9: 216	'would open up less to women'
Difficulty in identifying with women	3(2) 11:245	'aren't that many like- minded women'
Product of boarding school	3(2) 11:262	'maybe could be a product of boarding school'
Confronting the romantic side of things	3(2) 12:265	'I suppose you want me to'
Character, upbringing or school as precursors to romantic difficulties	3(2) 12:268	'I don't know if it's my character, my upbringing'
Fear of commitment, closeness and intimacy	3(2) 12:272	'whether or not I want to spend a long time'
Pre-determined answer to commitment	3(2) 14:315	'the answer tends to be I don't'
Romantic relationships last between two and six months	3(2) 14:333	'lot of relationships'...'between 2 and 6 months'
Feelings determine ending of relationships	3(2) 15:337	'it's a feeling that you don't want to spend 40 years'
Difficulty allowing development of relationships/feelings	3(2) 15:344	'should give relationships longer to see if it develops'
Romantic relationships as problematic	3(2) 15:348	' probably a significant challenge for me'
Perception of perfect relationship	3(2) 15:355	'where you get married'...'stay with them forever'

Questions existence of perception	3(2) 15:360	'what I'm looking for doesn't exist'
Leap of faith needed to marry	3(2) 16:372	'when they do get married, it is a leap of faith'
Marriage like religion	3(2) 16:380	'the person they want to marry'.. 'a bit like religion'
Illusion of romantic relationships	3(2) 16:377	'rather fairy tale idea about romantic relationships'
Dangerous idea	3(2) 17:390	'perfect relationship is a dangerous idea'
Utterly captivating perfect relationship	3(2) 17:399	'one person'...' being utterly captivated'
Disappointing relationships as initially perfect	3(2) 17:402	'to be worked at, not these idealistic perfect things'
Idealistic things		
Sense of parents very strong relationship	3(2)19: 450	'growing up it was a very strong relationship'
Realistic perception	3(2) 19:453	'I knew it wasn't perfect'
Good relationship model	3 (2)20:460	' a good relationship to have (parents) as a model'
Relationship flaws	3(2) 27:628	'yeah there were flaws'
Strong working relationships	3(2) 27:634	'good sort of working relationships'
Strength of bond in friendships	3(2) 20:467	
Conflict with a female	3(2) 21:481	'female boss', 'patronising' [not] 'talented'
Difficulty with female hierachy	3 (2)21:499	'one of those'....make you know your beneath her'
Elucidation through process of past and present		' found authority quite sort of difficult to deal with'
Authority as problematic	3(2) 22:507	
Challenges authority	3(2) 22:516	'suddenly more challenging of authority'
Defiant rebellious self	3(2) 24:554	'they said no'....'so I just left anyway'
Independent challenging self	3 (2)24:558	'I challenged what I was being told to do'
Non -compliant self	3(2) 24:567	'I was more in opposition to the system'
Lack of validation	3(2) 25:595	'I didn't think it reflected my abilities'
Impatient self	3(2) 27:638	'I've always been quite impatient'
Compliant self	3(2) 28:649	' would just do what I was told'

Job dissatisfaction	3(2) 28:655	'jobs slow'…'boring'
Enjoyed self -reliance/self- dependence	3(2) 28:658	'worked for myself, which was great'
False friendships	3(2) 28:663	'they can be quite false friendships at work
Loss of friendships	3(2) 28:670	'suddenly you don't see them at all'
Degree and strength of friendships	3(2) 29:677	'so called best friends… why suddenly not in touch'?
Reflects on loss of attachments (process)	3(2) 29:685	'thinking about friends who I don't see at all'
Justification of loss (process)	3(2) 29:694	'I suppose the reality is its quite hard to stay in touch'
Good friends in working relationships	3(2) 30:702	'now I do have some good friends'
Strength of bond in friendships	3(2) 30:715	'I do question how much I would see those people'
Maintaining contact	3(2) 31:723	' how much are you going to see those people'?
Defines true friendships	3(2) 31:737	'I suppose is somebody….still making the effort'
Acknowledges limitations of true friendships	46: 1144	' probably only enough time to really keep in touch'
Connecting through sports	46: 1150	'sports bought me a lot of good friendships'
Acknowledges fragility and loss of connections to others	46: 1153	'that's rather sad in a way' (yawns)
Reparation	50: 1238	but we have a very strong relationship now'
Self- effacing	50: 1250	'I was a bit confrontational… a bit of a shit'
Insightful	35:876	'I was probably doing the same stuff at school'
Self -reflective	45: 1125	'I need to be better at judging'
Confrontation results in apology	46: 1140	'you can find "oh sugar" they couldn't take it'
Denial of resentful feelings	19: 469	'it's not a question of forgiveness. .it's still there'
Confrontation resulting in emotional response results in guilty feelings	37: 933	'cry rather than have confrontation..' feel like a shit'

Appendix I

Identifying recurrent themes

1.7 Identifying Recurrent Themes							
Super-ordinate themes	**Participants**						**Present in over half the sample?**
	Alex	Brian	Charles	David	Edward	Fred	
Family tradition	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Self-reliance as a way of coping	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Boarding school male identity	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Elucidaton through process of past and present	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Appendix J

Master table of themes for the group

	Lines
Family Tradition	
<u>Traditional family experience as close stable family background</u>	
Alex: *Relationship was good with both parents. I had a very happy childhood*	4,8
Brian: *So yeah a very stable and loving upbringing. Structure and stability with the parents*	7-8, 21
Charles: *I have a fairly traditional erm experience in that sense in that I came from er a sort of stable, inverted commas, family background*	5 – 9
David: *Always very close. Fairly traditional predictable stuff really*	4,145-146
Edward: *Always had I think quite a close relationship with my parents*	4
Fred: *Erm yes er yeah, no we were very close erm yeah very close to parents*	6
<u>Maternal closeness</u>	
Alex:	
Brian:	
Charles: *the fact that I was closer to my mother like that, in a very sort of almost babyish, sort of right from birth sort of way*	167-170
David: *But with mum, really close, very very very close*	33-34
Edward: *I was probably closer to my mother than my father...fairly natural that mother was around much more*	8,11
Fred: *I think I definitely had sort of more contact with er mum just cos she was always there*	19-21
<u>Parents and siblings in close proximity to boarding school as reassuring</u>	
Alex: *My brother was already at xxxx so that made it a bit easier*	34-36
Brian: *so with my folks only being twenty minutes drive away that wasn't too much of an issue*	108-109
Charles: *but there is a huge security blanket in the fact that I think my parents were two minutes away. My older brother erm was already at the boarding school*	340-343,309-310
David:	
Edward:	

Fred: *my brother went to the same school and I had three cousins there also. There was never any kind of nervousness about going*	42-46

Coping through self – reliance

<u>Self -sufficiency as a means of coping</u>

Alex: *I tended to keep things to myself and erm so I just tried to deal with it myself*	75
Brian:	
Charles: *I've been more inclined to deal with it myself*	3(2) 67
David: *and you know trusted to look after ourselves*	142
Edward: *most probably did bottle it up a bit, but just tried to get on with it myself*	171
Fred: *I don't think there was anything that came up that warranted sort of going to them*	203

<u>Survival of the fittest (academically and physically)</u>

Alex: *I played cricket and my housemaster was a good cricketer, so we got on well because of that*	84-87
Brian: *also I did a lot of sport. Mr x [housemaster] was a very good erm 1ˢᵗ 15 winger and I was a 1ˢᵗ 15 winger so*	110, 161-163
Charles: *there was far more sort of just let them sink or swim and of course most people did swim. What doesn't break you makes you stronger*	671-673, 716-717
David: *we weren't in particularly in a competitive and as academic environment as we are now*	437-439
Edward: *I had a scholarship. I was actually better friends with people in that group*	77-80
Fred: *I was competent enough at sport... if you weren't you might have been side lined a little bit*	225, 227-228

<u>Boarding school environment as intense experience</u>

Alex: *the first two years were difficult because I was bullied*	49-50
Brian: *I think the first couple of years there were, it was a bit of a pain*	194-195
Charles: *It was a very intense sort of five years growing up*	531-532
David: *I tended to get a little bit of picking on*	77
Edward: *I found it tough particularly for the first six months. First two or three years, I felt that I was sort of being given a hard time*	51-52, 112-114

Fred: *it's quite an intense environment, everyone gets a hard time at certain times*	64-66
Boarding School Identity	
Identification with male role model	
Alex: *I got on really well with the housemaster and tutors*	80-81
Brian: *I would be out with my old man during the holidays and I was just stuck to him like glue. Him [housemaster] like me didn't have much time for them, we probably got on quite well in that respect*	276,180
Charles: *whilst he was older than my father[housemaster], he was probably a very similar role model*	556-558
David: *spent long hours with each other[father] and had a very open relationship, discussing major issues of life. He was a man [housemaster] I totally trusted, felt very safe in his care erm respected...an in loco parentis parent*	21-23,
Edward: *I felt much more self- conscious about trying to impress my father than my mother*	13-14
Fred: *Pretty cool [relationship with housemaster]. If I saw the housemaster now, it would definitely be good to see him. I did have a good relationship with him*	151-155, 195
Self-reliance	
Alex: *the best years were the last two when I went into the sixth form, which I really enjoyed. It was more independency which was the main thing*	52-54, 57-58
Brian: *I've got that mentality that I just need to do something then I am gonna do it. Give it my all*	237-239
Charles: *I still value that sense of male independence, when I can say I'm totally happy. Whether it's because of boarding school or not I've always been quite independent*	175-179 14-16(3)2
David: *I am a very sociable person so and luckily a confident enough person so I've always been able to make friends very easily*	376-378
Edward: *when I got to the lower sixth, I think I enjoyed that a lot more as I got a bit more independence.*	125-126

Fred: *you've got to sort of respect the hierarchy, but at the same time not too much or else you kind of miss out and you've got to sort of voice an opinion*	335-339
Ease through etiquette v dis-ease in relationships <u>Ease in relating to others</u>	
Alex: *I have always found it easy to get on with most people and didn't really have any problems getting on with anyone*	101-104
Brian: *I think I am quite an amenable guy, I get on with everybody*	146-147
Charles: *Friendships I've always found easy to make. I mean I've always been quite a sociable person*	134-136 (3)2
David: *: I guess because of the way I was brought up and schooled and parented you know I was taught to respect others and greet people with a smile and be respectful and sensitive you know selfless*	571-576
Edward: *I've always found it reasonably easy to get on with different kinds of people*	187-188
Fred: *I tend to find it easy to get on with most people*	209-210
<u>Friendships maintained</u>	
Alex: *I've made some good friends from school and still have a lot of friends now and some of which I still see from school*	117-121
Brian: *All the people in xxx I've seen am still in good contact with and see them very very regularly*	140-142
Charles: *I'm seeing quite a bit more of my school friends. The commonality of you know shared experience has meant were still pretty good friends. Sports brought me a lot of erm good friendships*	517-518, 493-496(3)2
David: *very relaxed, very open, very easy friendships. I've always found it easy.*	723-24 3(2)
Edward: *I've kept in touch with quite a reasonable number[friends] from school*	258-2591
Fred: *I'd say probably about seven of them[school friends] I see fairly regularly now out of twelve or thirteen that there were*	36-139

<u>Female and intimate relationships</u>	
Alex: *I don't have a personal relationship at the moment, but it is something I would like to do. Although I do have a lot of girl-friends that I get on well with*	124,132
Brian: *no personal girlfriends to note of any particular merit. Had a girlfriend that just did my head in*	315,410
Charles: *always had far more male friendships then female friendships. Far less strong really [female friendships]. I have had a lot of relationships that have gone on for between say a month and six months*	187,203, 285 3(2)
David: *certainly for me there wasn't falling in love there at all*	274 -275
Edward: *I didn't have, really have any girlfriends while I was at school*	302
Fred: *I haven't necessarily met someone that I'd like to pursue too far, or that far*	321-322
Elucidation through process of past and present	
Alex: *One of the things I did do, was to give a talk to the whole school on the effects of bullying and my experiences. The school really listened*	156-159
Brian: *I think one thing it has taught me is always to talk about issues and problems, whether it be work or or with my wife or whatever maybe and it really does help*	490-493
Charles: *I was probably doing the same stuff at school. I think in life how many people can you realistically see in a year who you don't see regularly*	1238, 707-709 3(2)
David: *Openness, honesty, loyalty, trust, talking through you know resolving arguments, saying sorry. I think that was modelled as it were or shown me*	554 - 557
Edward: *Whereas here it's a bit more balanced because I do social things with people from school, but also I do things with friends elsewhere, which I think is probably much more healthy because you can get very insular*	373-378
Fred: *I'm definitely sort of family wise I had a pretty I think good grounding that seems to have got me a certain distance without having too many problems*	365-371

<u>Back to school</u> **Alex:** *I came here straight from uni, but erm I'm moving to a new teaching job in September*	141 -143
Charles: *and its only when I came into teaching that I sort of found..erm you know that I'm, I suppose that I found things I was more suited to*	599-602
David: *I could clearly demonstrate through my career that was going really well how enthused and motivated I was with teaching. I think ending up as a housemaster..*	182 -190
Edward: *I suppose that says something about you know I work in a boarding school (laughs) and my girlfriend is thousands of miles away. It's a bit like being in school*	321-323

Appendix K

Quality check letter

BATH & NORTH EAST SOMERSET

Avon and Wiltshire **NHS**
Mental Health Partnership NHS Trust

To whom it may concern

Liaison and Later Life SBU
Therapies Team
NHS House
Newbridge Hill
Bath
BA1 3QE
Tel. 01225 – 371470
Fax: 01225 – 371412
Email: Julia.hecquet@awp.nhs.uk

Ref: **Adolescent Attachment Issues in a Male Boarding School**
University of Kent at Canterbury:Shirley Lauryn

This is to confirm that I have read and reviewed the interviews related to the above thesis and confirm that the themes derived are grounded in the interview data.

Yours sincerely

Dr Julia Hecquet
Chartered Clinical Psychologist
Liaison and Later Life therapies Team

Appendix L

List of external resources for participants

If any difficulties arise as a result of the interview, please see your GP in the first instance.

BACP
Telephone:
General Enquiries: 01455 883300
Text: 01455 550243
Mailing address:
British Association for Counselling and Psychotherapy
BACP House, 15 St John's Business Park, Lutterworth, Leicestershire LE17 4HB, United Kingdom
Email: bacp@bacp.co.uk
Website: www.bacp.co.uk

UKCP (United Kingdom for counselling and Psychotherapy)
Contact UKCP

2nd Floor, Edward House
2 Wakley Street
London EC1V 7LT
main switchboard: 020 7014 9955
fax: 020 7014 9977
e-mail: info@ukcp.org.uk

Boarding Concern:-

http://www.boardingconcern.org.uk/index.php?pageid=7

Boarding Survivors:-

http://www.boardingschoolsurvivors.co.uk/contact.htm

Appendix M

RQ permission, example and scoring

Frequently Asked Questions...

1.   **Do I need permission to use the RQ and/or the RSQ in my research?**

You are welcome to use the RQ and/or the RSQ in your research examining adult attachment relationships. If you require something more formal than this brief web statement, please prepare a letter, ready for signature, containing the information you need and either mail or fax it to:

Dr. Kim Bartholomew
Department of Psychology
8888 University Drive
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, BC
V5A 1S6 CANADA

Fax: 604.291.3427

2.   **Do I need permission to use the Peer/Family/History of Attachments Interviews?**

Incorporating an attachment interview into a research design is a considerably more complex undertaking than most people realize, and, in most cases, it is probably not feasible to use the attachment interviews. It takes about 200 hours to train new coders. And then, it is necessary for the new coders to establish reliability on a sample of at least 30 interviews before they begin coding their own research sample. As well, 2 independent coders are required for a substantial subsample of your interviews, and preferably for your entire sample. For more information contact

3.   **Can I use the RQ and/or RSQ as a categorical measure of adult attachment?**

The RSQ was NOT designed, nor intended to be used, as a categorical measure of attachment. We recommend scoring the measuring dimensionally. Please consult the _____ paper in JSPR which recommends the best approach for scoring the measure dimensionally.

Although the RQ can be used as a categorical measure of attachment, we strongly advise against doing so. The field has long moved away from categorical approaches. A prototype or dimensional approach are the more acceptable ways to score the measure.

4.   **I have used the RQ/RSQ but I am still not certain how to score it.**

Please consult the Attachment Measures section of our website for a detailed description of the measures as well as scoring information.

5.   **How do I score the RSQ?**

Please also see the Self Report Attachment Measures page on the website. The following items are RSQ Items:

Secure Items: 3, 9(Reverse), 10, 15, 28(Reverse).
Fearful Items: 1, 5, 12, 24.
Preoccupied Items: 6(Reverse), 8, 16, 25.
Dismissing Items: 2, 6, 19, 22, 26

It may be useful to use averages, rather than summation scores, as different prototypes are derived with different numbers of items.

6.   **Why aren't all the items in the RSQ used in creating the four prototype scores?**

The additional items in the RSQ can be used to create subscales to assess the attachment dimensions identified by Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan (1992) and Collins & Read (1990). Thus, researchers are able to relate the RSQ to alternate self-report measures of adult attachment. (see: Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). Alternatively, and perhaps preferably, you can use the questionnaire to derive scales of the underlying two dimensions. This can be done two ways: 1) by conducting a factor analysis of the items, or 2) by using the scores from the four prototype items to create linear combinations representing the self and other-model attachment dimensions. Again, we recommend that you consult the _____ paper in JSPR which recommends the best approach for scoring the RSQ dimensionally.

7.   **I have my data from the RQ/RSQ. How do I analyze it?**

As recommended above, a prototype or dimensional approach is the recommended way to score the RQ/RSQ. The dimensional approach is currently the most frequently used. Dr Chris Fraley's website has a detailed description of how to interpret your findings related to the two attachment dimensions using multiple regression analyses (a common approach). We recommend you visit his FAQ webpage and read his detailed description.

A similar interpretation approach would apply if you chose to use prototype scores (continuous ratings for each of the four attachment prototypes rather than continuous ratings for the two attachment dimensions).

8.   **What are the norms, stability, and reliability of the RQ and RSQ?**

A recent article (_____) has published cross-cultural norms for the RQ. We recommend you consult this article for normative data on the RQ.

Our lab does not have normative data for the RQ or the RSQ. All of the studies conducted in our lab have been done with samples that are smaller than is necessary for establishing measurement norms. Ratings of the four attachment patterns

Self Report Measures of Adult Attachment

This section provides a brief introduction to the Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) and the Relationship Scales Questionnaire (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). Readers are advised to conduct a review of the relevant literature in order to thoroughly acquaint themselves with the concept of adult attachment and the wide array of measures available to assess adult attachments in close relationships (see, for example, Phil Shaver's attachment web page. Also included in this section are answers to frequently asked questions related to the use of the Relationship Questionnaire and the Relationship Scales Questionnaire.

We want to emphasize that research papers testing the validity of the model do not rely on these self-report measures. Specifically, validation results in Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991) relied on ratings obtained from the Peer Attachment Interview (PAI). Further, validation of the attachment dimensions (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994) are based on multiple measures of attachment including interview measures.

Self-Report Attachment Measures:

Relationship Questionnaire (RQ; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991).

The RQ is a single item measure made up of four short paragraphs, each describing a prototypical attachment pattern as it applies in close adult peer relationships. Participants are asked to rate their degree of correspondence to each prototype on a 7-point scale. An individual might rate him or herself something like: Secure 6, Fearful 2, Preoccupied 1, Dismissing 4. These ratings (or "scores") provide a *profile* of an individual's attachment feelings and behaviour.

The RQ can either be worded in terms of general orientations to close relationships, orientations to romantic relationships, or orientations to a specific relationship (or some combination of the above). It can also be reworded in the third person and used to rate others' attachment patterns. For instance, we have had close same sex friends and romantic partners rate themselves and their friend or partner.

The RQ was designed to obtain *continuous* ratings of each of the four attachment patterns, and this is the ideal use of the measure. However, if necessary, the RQ can also be used to categorize participants into their best fitting attachment pattern. The highest of the four attachment prototype ratings can be used to classify participants into an attachment category. A problem arises when two or more attachment prototypes are rated equally high. To deal with this, we also ask participants to choose a single, best fitting attachment pattern. However, if they have not chosen a best fitting attachment pattern, the researcher can either delete the participant(s) from the data set, or use a method of randomly (perhaps flipping a coin) selecting one of the two prototypes as the attachment category. Unfortunately, if there is a 3-way tie for highest rating and a best fitting attachment pattern has not been chosen, then there is no option but to delete that participant's data. Although the RQ can be used categorically, we do NOT recommend doing so. A continuous approach, using prototypes or dimensions, is the best approach.

**It is important to administer BOTH the forced-choice paragraph (1st page of measure) AND the likert rating scales of the paragraphs (2nd page of measure), even if you will not use the RQ categorically. Completing the forced-choice paragraph first serves as a counterbalancing effect to minimize order effects when participants rank the degree to which each prototype is self-characterizing.

DERIVING SELF-MODEL AND OTHER-MODEL ATTACHMENT DIMENSIONS FOR THE RQ

The underlying attachment dimensions can be derived from linear combinations of the prototype ratings obtained from the RQ (or the composite attachment measure, see below).

Self Model - patterns characterized by positive self models minus patterns characterized by negative self models [i.e. (secure plus dismissing) MINUS (fearful plus preoccupied)]. If you wish your results to correspond in the same direction to the 'anxiety' dimension often referred to in the attachment field, the calculation can be reversed [i.e. (fearful plus preoccupied) MINUS (secure plus dismissing)]. In the latter calculation, higher scores will refer to more negative models of self.

Other Model - patterns characterized by positive other models minus patterns characterized by negative other models [i.e. (secure plus preoccupied) MINUS (fearful plus dismissing)].

You are encouraged to read:

Griffin, D., & Bartholomew, K. (1994). Models of the self and other: Fundamental dimensions underlying measures of adult attachment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol. 67*, 430-445.

Griffin, D., & Bartholomew, K. (1994). Metaphysics of measurement: The case of adult attachment. In K. Bartholomew & D. Perlman (Eds.), *Advances in personal relationships, Vol. 5: Attachment processes in adulthood* (pp.17-52). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Relationship Scales Questionnaire (RSQ; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994).

The RSQ contains 30 short statements drawn from Hazan and Shaver's (1987) attachment measure, Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1991) Relationship Questionnaire, and Collins and Read's (1990) Adult Attachment Scale. On a 5-point scale, participants rate the extent to which each statement best describes their characteristic style in close relationships. Five statements contribute to the secure and dismissing attachment patterns and four statements contribute to the fearful and preoccupied attachment patterns (if you click on the above Relationship Scales Questionnaire link, the items that correspond to each attachment pattern are listed at the end of the measure). Scores for each attachment pattern are derived by taking the mean of the four or five items representing each attachment prototype.

Appendix N

OT Survey response (sample)

OT Survey ▸ OT Survey: View Response #17

Year of leaving school	2,005
Age now	24
Marital status	Single
Marital status of parents when you started school	Married
Marital status of parents when you left school	Married
Number of siblings	1
Nationality	British
Experience of Boarding School	Positive
PLEASE READ THE DIRECTIONS	A

The following are descriptions of four general relationship styles that people often report. Please read each description and select the style that best describes you or is closest to the way you generally are in your close relationships.

A. It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

B. I am comfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.

C. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.

D. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

Now please rate EACH of the above relationship styles in turn according to the extent to which you think each description corresponds to your general relationship style. Please select the number which you think applies most to you against each description.

	Not at all like me			Somewhat like me			Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Style A	○	○	○	○	○	◉	○
Style B	○	○	○	◉	○	○	○
Style C	○	○	◉	○	○	○	○
Style D	◉	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you consent to take part in an interview? (Only tick the box and fill out the following questions if you are willing to take part in an interview)   **Yes**

I consent to take part in the research project on Adolescent Attachment Issues in a Male Boarding School. I have read and understood the information sheet and I am aware that I can withdraw from the project at any time and that I do not have to give a reason.   **Yes**

Name	▬▬▬▬▬▬
Date	▬▬▬▬
Address	
Home Telephone	▬▬▬▬
Work Telephone	▬▬▬▬
Email Address	▬▬▬▬▬

Created at 06/10/2011 21:41 by
Last modified at 06/10/2011 21:41 by

OT Survey ▸ OT Survey: View Response #19

Year of leaving school	2,001
Age now	28
Marital status	Single
Marital status of parents when you started school	Married
Marital status of parents when you left school	Married
Number of siblings	2
Nationality	british
Experience of Boarding School	Positive
PLEASE READ THE DIRECTIONS	B

The following are descriptions of four general relationship styles that people often report. Please read each description and select the style that best describes you or is closest to the way you generally are in your close relationships.

A. It is easy for me to become emotionally close to others. I am comfortable depending on them and having them depend on me. I don't worry about being alone or having others not accept me.

B. I am comfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I worry that I will be hurt if I allow myself to become too close to others.

C. I want to be completely emotionally intimate with others, but I often find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I am uncomfortable being without close relationships, but I sometimes worry that others don't value me as much as I value them.

D. I am comfortable without close emotional relationships. It is very important to me to feel independent and self – sufficient and I prefer not to depend on others or have others depend on me.

Now please rate EACH of the above relationship styles in turn according to the extent to which you think each description corresponds to your general relationship style. Please select the number which you think applies most to you against each description.

	Not at all like me 1	2	3	Somewhat like me 4	5	6	Very much like me 7
Style A	○	○	○	○	◉	○	○
Style B	○	○	○	○	◉	○	○
Style C	◉	○	○	○	○	○	○
Style D	◉	○	○	○	○	○	○

Do you consent to take part in an interview? (Only tick the box and fill out the following questions if you are willing to take part in an interview)	Yes
I consent to take part in the research project on Adolescent Attachment Issues in a Male Boarding School. I have read and understood the information sheet and I am aware that I can withdraw from the project at any time and that I do not have to give a reason.	Yes
Name	
Date	
Address	
Home Telephone	
Work Telephone	
Email Address	

Created at 09/10/2011 16:38 by
Last modified at 09/10/2011 16:38 by

From:	Maddy
Sent:	05 October 2011 12:39
To:	Shirley Lauryn
Subject:	Your Research Project

Hello Shirley

As you will see, the second batch of emails are now winging their way to the 2001-2005 leavers!

The numbers sent out to are as follows:

2006-2010 Leavers – 165

= 343

2001-2005 Leavers – 178

Fingers crossed for you for some positive responses, and let me know if there is anything else I can do.

Maddy

Maddy

Telephone:
Email:
http://w

Please consider the environment before printing

Shirley Lauryn

Hello Shirley

I have had a look back and it would appear that we have already emailed the 2011 leavers around the middle of last September. So the numbers so far are:

2011 Leavers – 74
2006-2010 Leavers – 165
2001-2005 Leavers – 178

Would you like me to go back another five years maybe?

Maddy

Maddy

Please consider the environment before printing

1

Appendix O

Research Proposal

Adolescent Attachment Issues in a Male Boarding School

To what extent do early attachment issues set a prototype for adolescent attachment patterns in a Male Boarding School? How does this determine the outcome for adult attachment prototypes for later social relations?

Introduction

Bowlby, proposed that the quality of childhood relationships with caregivers results in internal representations of 'working models' of the self and others which form the prototype for later social relations (Bowlby, 1969, 1973,1980,). This study will seek to address how the male adolescent relates to significant others (attachment patterns) within a boarding school environment (Bowlby, 1997) and whether this bears any influence for future patterns of relating.

It is generally postulated that pupils attending independent school go on to achieve material success and status. It is also assumed that material privileges and stability can be a precursor to this, but how do attachment patterns fit into the spectrum for determining outcome of the future emotional well being of the boarding school individual?

Literature Search

There seems to be little research undertaken on the subject of attachment issues in male boarding schools. Although there is extensive literature on boarding schools and adolescent attachment issues, there seems to be particular emphasis on the effects of boarding on children under the age of 11 who may exhibit signs of distress and insecure attachments (Gottberg,S. Muir, R. Kerr, J. 2000).

Shaverin (2004) in her paper ' The Trauma of the Privileged Child' suggests that sending young children to boarding school may be 'particularly' considered a 'British form of child abuse' and 'social control'. Mair (2005) believes that boarding schools are not in the business of providing love and cannot therefore meet the fundamental needs of any child, whilst Fonagy & Target (1997) provide evidence that empathic understanding from teachers or significant others on a child who has suffered any form of deprivation or abuse can go on to recover from traumatisation and protect themselves from re-enactment.

Teaching and the Facilitating environment

In 1998 a study was conducted in a boarding school on the transactions of the adolescent's internal working models between self and others, peers perceptions and

reciprocal perceptions of others and by others. Findings supported the assumption of models of the other on a person's social environment, with reciprocal relations resulting in secure attachments and non- reciprocal relations resulting in insecure attachments. The conclusion drawn suggested that 'specific person environment transactions may be involved in securing the style of relating' (Priel,B. Mitrany,D. Shahar,G, 1998). If teachers are to be thought of as attachment figures, then Winnicott's suggestion that 'one is a parent figure when doing something professionally reliable' (1986,p.63) could assume that the relationship and attachment between teacher and pupil is vital for the adolescents self- esteem and ego development. He states that:

'Teachers need to know when they are dealing with psychotherapy rather than teaching their subject i.e. completing uncompleted tasks that represent parental failure or relative failure'. Recognising and giving ego support where it is needed.

(Winnicott,1986
p.63).

Aims and Objectives

Adolescence (aged 13-18) can be a period of emotional turmoil, identity confusion (Erickson,1974), insecurities and a return to possible unresolved earlier conflicts. Infants (aged 0-5) need good enough mothering and a facilitating environment for healthy attachment and developmental models of experience to occur (Winnicott,1986). If during adolescence, there is a return to unresolved earlier conflicts then one might assume the same criteria for healthy attachments etc. would apply to the boarding school experience. This study will seek to address the following:

- Do the benefits and positive or negative outcomes that can be derived from a boarding school environment originate from early or later attachment experiences.

- Are attachment prototypes fixed early on or can they be influenced or changed by a boarding experience?

- Do boarding schools provide a facilitating environment in which to foster and enrich the maturational process of physical, intellectual and emotional growth. Is the boarding school within itself an object of attachment?

- How is the emotional growth including conflict of the adolescent facilitated and contained?

2

Methodology

I will adopt an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method of approach for this study as described by Smith, Flowers and Larkin(2009). This methodology is commonly used within the health sector and is a subjective, bottom up, reductive approach which concentrates its focus on interviewees as the experts of their experiences. IPA seems most appropriate for this study as the aim is to capture meanings participants assign to their personal experiences and is therefore conducive to understanding attachment issues. Through the researcher's analysis, a reduction of the complexity of the data is achieved and interpreted, giving a third person 'insider perspective' on the participants' world. The interview will be an ideographic case study approach, which is suitable for small sample groups of up to ten participants (Smith et al. 1999). The focus will be on exploration of early memories of experience of the transition from childhood, to boarding school and finally to current experience, using an attachment style based question to determine early attachment prototypes. The initial questions and four category model of attachment in the form of a self -report questionnaire will provide the demography and generalised current prototypical attachment orientation, which will be used to inform the outcome of the IPA study.

Method

6 -10 participants will be invited to take part, who will be ex pupils of a male boarding school.

Initial attachment questionnaire (Bartholomew & Horowitz,1991)

Semi structured open question interview lasting up to 60 minutes, which will be audio taped.

Exclusion Criteria: Current diagnosis of depression, anxiety, psychoses including medication.

Literature Sources

- Internet –PDF Articles, research papers

- The Independent Schools Magazines

- PSHE (Personal, Social, Health and Econcomic) Handbook

- Psychoanalytic Journals, articles, Papers,

- Books i.e. Winnicott, Bowlby, Erickson

- Electronic Database

References:

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view-source:http://www.psy.dmu.ac.uk/michael/qual_analysis.htm