

THE TRANSITION TO EARLY ADULTHOOD IN THE INNER CITY:
ATTACHMENT AND RESILIENCE

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
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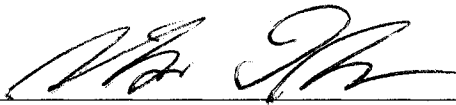
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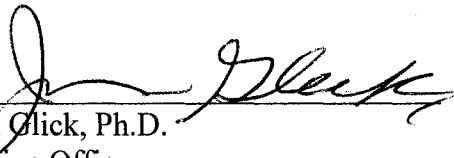
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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Steven Tuber

This study explored the relation between attachment quality and developmental trajectories in inner-city, ethnically diverse youth during the transition from adolescence to early adulthood. Although there is much literature about this transition, relatively little attention has been paid to the trajectories of inner-city youth who are at greater risk for difficulties due to stressors associated with risk factors such as poverty and minority status. Despite these risks, many youth thrive into adulthood and exhibit resilient outcomes (Seidman, 1991). Attachment quality has been associated with identity development, psychopathology and social competence and is investigated as a mediator in the relation between risk and adaptation.

Subjects for the study included a sub-group of twenty-nine young adults, aged 22-25, who participated in a short-term longitudinal study of urban youth (the Adolescent Pathways Project). Using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, analyses examined the association between adolescent risk status, attachment quality, and developmental outcome in young adulthood. Data for the quantitative segment included

self-report measures of attachment and psychological symptomatology in adolescence and young adulthood. Qualitative analyses were based on in-depth interviews designed to elicit themes related to development and attachment experiences.

The majority of quantitative findings were trend level associations including: 1) an overall decrease in total symptomatology profiles from adolescence to young adulthood; 2) secure and dismissing attachment classification was associated with lower internalizing scores in young adulthood; and 3) higher attachment to peers in adolescence was associated with lower symptomatology scores in young adulthood. No statistically significant associations were found between attachment in adolescence and young adulthood or between risk category group and attachment.

The qualitative results highlighted a number of themes: 1) the impact of family attachment experiences on trajectories, especially identity and decision-making processes; 2) the impact of peer groups on school, career, and childbearing decisions; 3) the role of ethnic and cultural identifications in adaptation; and 4) secure and dismissing individuals described themselves as more successful in young adulthood, with fearful individuals reporting more mixed outcomes. Furthermore, attachment was not associated with patterns of psychopathology, and results suggested that internalizing scores were largely independent of attachment classification.

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Introduction

The transition from adolescence to early adulthood is associated with significant emotional turbulence and is a pivotal time in defining one's identity, sense of self, and place in the world (Erikson, 1959, 1968; Baltes & Silverberg, 1994). Interestingly, much of the literature describing this transition is written from a white, middle-class perspective. Relatively little attention has been paid to the developmental trajectories of inner-city youth who are not only faced with challenges intrinsic to this period, but who are at greater risk for difficulties due to stressors associated with psychosocial risk factors such as poverty and minority status (Jessor, 1993). Despite their high-risk status, many inner city adolescents successfully negotiate this period and enter adulthood on equal footing with their more privileged peers (Seidman, 1991). Understanding the processes that account for different developmental outcomes, particularly those associated with resiliency, is crucial in developing intervention and prevention strategies aimed at ameliorating such risks.

The purpose of the present study is to investigate the relation between attachment quality and developmental trajectories in ethnically diverse inner city youth during the transition from adolescence to early adulthood. Secure attachment has been documented to be a protective factor against stressful life circumstances and may serve as an inner resource that aids in coping with the deleterious effects of poverty (Belsky & Cassidy, 1994; Egeland, Carlson, & Sroufe, 1993; Pianta & Egeland, 1990; Slade, 1999). Furthermore, research has found that the quality of attachment in adolescence and early adulthood is associated with a range of adaptive and maladaptive behaviors that impact identity development, social support and competence, and psychopathology (Kobak &

Sceery, 1988; Allen, Aber, & Leadbeater, 1990). Using a short-term longitudinal design that combines both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, this study will explore the relation between quality of attachment in adolescence and early adulthood and resilient or problematic developmental trajectories. The quantitative segment of the study will examine how attachment style is related to continuities or discontinuities in developmental trajectories among three groups of individuals, identified as “at-risk,” “high-functioning,” and “average” on measures of adaptation and psychopathology in early adolescence. The qualitative segment of the study will further delineate the patterns and pathways of development in a subgroup of participants in the study, focusing intensively on six case studies, through analysis of first-person narrative data. The qualitative analysis will examine the ways individuals think about their attachment experiences as well as their life course, sense of self over time, and how success and adaptation are defined. It is hoped that the combination of quantitative measures that broadly assess adaptation and attachment style with in-depth narrative data focusing on individual experience will facilitate a better understanding of the phenomenological aspects of individual development patterns.

The following sections comprise an overview of the developmental tasks involved in the transition from adolescence to early adulthood and emphasize the importance of identity development during this phase. The next section will focus on research that highlights the relationship between risk and adjustment trajectories across this time period, with a review of literature documenting the association between increased risk for difficulties in early adulthood and elevated levels of problem behaviors and psychopathology in adolescence. The impact of social and cultural contexts on

development will be discussed next, as will the risks associated with growing up in poor, inner city environments, underscoring both heightened risk for difficulties as well as the diversity of pathways documented in the literature. A review of definitions and literature related to resilience will follow, where the role of internal working models of attachment will be highlighted as both an internal and social resource that may mediate patterns of adaptation and identity development of inner city youth. Additionally, a review of both the theoretical underpinnings of attachment theory and research methodology from infancy to adulthood will be provided. An overview of the current study will complete the introduction, including a general description of the study rationale and methodology and the research questions that will be addressed.

Chapter I: Literature Review

The Transition from Adolescence to Early Adulthood

Overview

The transition from adolescence to early adulthood is a period of significant developmental changes and heightened risk for mental health difficulties (Aseltine & Gore, 1993; Burge, Hammen, Davila, & Daley, 1997). Developments in biological, psychological and social realms are potential sources of growth and adjustment or difficulties and problems. How these transitions are negotiated often affects future life trajectories including patterns of adjustment, coping, love, and work.

The dominating developmental task during this period was seen by Erik Erikson (1968) as negotiating identity and self-definition. According to Erikson, this stage is marked by an “identity crisis” which ends in either identity commitment or diffusion. During this “crisis,” individuals actively explore, evaluate, and attempt to integrate their values, beliefs, behaviors, and goals. However, development during this transition does not occur in a single phase, but is accompanied by successive stages of reorganization and restructuring, thus requiring increasingly complex coping abilities over time (Levy-Warren, 1996).

During the early adolescent period, the major task includes making the transition from childhood, while integrating the complexities of hormonal and pubertal changes. Moreover, the adolescent world expands beyond identifications with and values of the family system, with the influences of peers and the larger social context becoming more salient. By middle adolescence, youth increasingly focus on defining their own identities based on comparisons and influences of peer groups. A central aspect of this phase

includes a process of evaluating the self and others; this process aids in regulating self-esteem. There are often marked changes and fluctuations that accompany this period, during which youth try out a variety of identities, values, beliefs and identifications. Amidst these complex changes, youth also integrate the exploration of sexuality into their sense of self (Adams, Abraham, & Makstrom, 2000; Levy-Warren, 1996).

By the time individuals reach late adolescence/early adulthood, they optimally achieve and consolidate their sense of self and identity and are able to regulate self-esteem internally. Settlege (1990) contends that young adults rely less on developmental objects, including parents, to regulate their self-esteem, but that regulation is based more on an internal dialogue between representations of oneself and others. This refined sense of self and others thus provides the basis for identity achievement. Identity development during this phase is central to subsequent adaptation and well-being and continuity of self over time (Levy-Warren, 1996). It is the basis not only for how one adjusts during this stage of development, but also how one envisions his/her sense of future self and life trajectory.

Although optimal identity achievement occurs in late adolescence or early adulthood, there is a diversity of pathways that youth may follow to reach this goal. Indeed, development is not necessarily a linear process and is comprised of both continuities and discontinuities. Levy-Warren (1996) argues that it is likely adolescents reach adulthood and achieve an identity that feels coherent and authentic at different ages, both as a result of psychological and contextual influences.

The next section will address some of the psychological and contextual influences that impact development and highlight factors that increase the risk for difficulties during this period.

Risk and Adjustment: Continuity of Problem Behaviors and Psychopathology from Adolescence into Early Adulthood

Patterns of adjustment from adolescence into young adulthood have received increasing attention in the literature during the past few decades. A central theme of these investigations has been to question whether and “to what extent” (Rutter, 1984a) there is continuity between problem behaviors and psychopathology across this time period. Sroufe and Rutter (1984) argue that having elevated difficulties in early adolescence puts individuals at increased risk for disorders into adulthood. They contend that “although the actual degree of continuity may vary, an underlying coherence to the individual’s course of development would still remain” (Feehan, McGee, & Williams, 1993, p.1118). Indeed, empirical studies have found significant evidence documenting the stability of problem behaviors and psychopathology across this time period, ranging from moderate to high rates of continuity (Feehan, McGee, Williams & Nada-Raja, 1995; Feehan et al., 1993; Ferdinand & Verhulst, 1995; Ferdinand, Verhulst & Wiznitzer, 1995; Hofstra, Van der Ende & Verhulst, 2002; Hofstra, Van der Ende & Verhulst, 2001; Achenbach, Howell, McConaughy & Stanger, 1995; Achenbach, Howell, McConaughy & Stanger, 1998). The greatest continuity has been found to be conduct and delinquent behaviors in adolescence (externalizing behaviors) and similar associated difficulties into adulthood (Rutter, 1984b, Feehan et al., 1995). Moreover, this continuity has been found in individuals who evidence the most persistent and the greatest number of problems in

adolescence, increasing risk not only for similar difficulties into adulthood, but for an array of associated adjustment problems. However, this research has also identified subgroups of individuals who despite early adolescent risk evidence discontinuous pathways into adulthood and improvement in psychopathology and adjustment over time (Feehan et al., 1995; Feehan et al., 1993).

Although there is a vast area of research related to investigating the continuity of problem behaviors and psychopathology into adulthood, the majority of studies limit their investigation to examinations of the association between specific syndromes or symptoms, such as delinquent behavior or attentional problems, and fail to study the co-occurrence of multiple problems or symptoms (Hofstra et al., 2002). Furthermore, even fewer “longitudinal general population studies exist that used comparable measures of psychopathology [and psychosocial functioning] from adolescence into adulthood,” thus making it more difficult to accurately assess the reliability and validity of assessments (Hofstra et al., 2002, p.401). Given the breadth of this research, the following review will focus on several studies that investigate a wide range of psychopathology using general population samples that employ prospective longitudinal assessments.

In the Zuid-Holland Study (the Netherlands), Ferdinand & Verhulst (1995) found stability in rates of psychopathology and problem behaviors for approximately one quarter of the original sample of 2,600 individuals they followed from adolescence into young adulthood. For individuals who had total problem scores in the deviant range on the Child Behavior Checklist at ages 13-16, they found at 8 year follow-up that 27.3% had similar outcomes when assessed with the Young Adult Self Report. At 10 year follow-up of individuals in the same study, Hofstra et al., (2002) examined the variations

in individual developmental trajectories across four different assessment points from adolescence into adulthood to determine the effects of duration of psychopathology on developmental outcome in young adulthood. They examined both patterns of psychopathology and adaptation and classified people into four groups: those that exhibited persistent psychopathology across time points, those who showed high levels of problems in early adolescence but returned to normal in young adulthood (decreasing psychopathology), those who showed high levels of problems only in adulthood but not in adolescence (increasing psychopathology), and those who had low levels of problems at all four assessments (consistently normal). Interestingly, they found that the persistent psychopathology group had significantly lower levels of overall functioning, higher rates of negative outcome events and any lifetime DSM-IV diagnoses than the other individuals in the sample. Furthermore, Hofstra et al. (2002) found that individuals with decreasing psychopathology over time “showed slightly but significantly elevated Young Adult Self-Report total problems scores [in young adulthood] compared with those who scored consistently at all four assessments, but [they] could not detect significant differences between the two groups on any of the measures of maladaptation” (p.406). Thus, these results suggest both that the more significant and persistent a difficulty is in early adolescence, the greater possibility of a poor outcome into adulthood. However, this study also provided important evidence suggesting that there are groups of individuals for whom difficulties decrease over time, and that such reduction in psychopathology can lead to adaptive functioning and behaviors equal or nearly equal to those individuals who were not at risk for difficulties and evidenced low problems across this time period. Hofstra et al. (2002) argue that “the overriding conclusion that we can

draw from this study's findings is that when psychopathology is chronic from adolescence into adulthood, the consequences for overall adaptive functioning reach beyond the level of psychopathology, extending to a broad range of maladaptive functioning" (p.406). Furthermore, they "found that people with high levels of problems in early adolescence [but who evidenced no deviant level of psychopathology in adulthood] seem to be almost as healthy in adulthood as those people who never attained a serious level of psychopathology" and they conclude that such results are "a powerful argument for early intervention to try to prevent an ongoing devious pathway into adulthood" (p.406).

In the National Sample Study (USA), Achenbach, Howell, McConaughy, & Stanger (1995, 1998) examined adolescent predictors of young adult psychopathology and adjustment over a six-year time period (time 1 assessment at ages 13-16 and time 2 assessment at ages 16-19). They found that several young adult outcomes (ages 19-22), as measured by the Young Adult Self Report (YASR) and the Young Adult Behavior Checklist (YABCL), were strongly predicted by adolescent scores of adaptation on the Youth Self Report (YSR). Most strongly predicted in their sample was the association between poor outcomes in adulthood (using the YASR and YABCL) and high scores on the delinquent syndrome scale (using the YSR) in adolescence. Specifically, these outcomes included "school dropout (males), unwed pregnancy (both genders), police contacts (females), alcohol use (both genders), drug use (both genders) and total disturbance (males)" (Achenbach et al., 1998, p.725). Furthermore, they found that those individuals who had elevated scores (deviant clinical range) on the YABCL Delinquent Syndrome Scale and, to a lesser extent, elevated scores on this syndrome scale on the

YASR in early adulthood, had the most signs of disturbance in adolescence. Such a pattern is further confirmation of the stability of problem behaviors and psychopathology across this time period, particularly when earlier difficulties are highly elevated. Interestingly, parent ratings in young adulthood “generally correlated higher with concurrent signs [of disturbance in adolescence]” than did self-ratings (Achenbach et al., 1998, p.724). Additionally, the attentional problem syndrome on the YASR and YABCL in early adulthood had the highest association with mental health services and there was a strong association found between male suicidal behaviors in adolescence and deviant clinical levels on the Anxious/Depressed syndrome (Achenbach et al., 1998).

In the Dunedin Study (New Zealand), Feehan, McGee, Williams & Nada-Raja (1993) followed 890 individuals using a general population sample from ages 3 to 18 to assess mental health over time. They found significant continuity between adolescent and young adulthood psychopathology and problem behaviors, with approximately two-thirds (63%) of those with an elevated clinical level of disorder in adolescence manifesting a disorder in young adulthood. Specifically, when the associations between individual disorders at age 15 and at age 18 were examined, conduct disorders and depression, in combination with anxiety, were most strongly associated. The disorders with the weakest associations included simple phobias, oppositional disorder, and the residual form of Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD). Individuals who manifested multiple high level of disorders at age 15 (i.e., internalizing and externalizing) had the poorest outcome and evidenced the greatest number of disorders at age 18. They found that “23% had externalizing disorders, 23% had externalizing disorders only, and 54% had internalizing disorders only” (Feehan et al., 1993, p.1123). Of the individuals who evidenced new

disorders in young adulthood, 14% had multiple disorder, 20% had externalizing disorders only, with the greatest number of individuals (66%) manifesting internalizing disorders only. Interestingly, Feehan et al. (1993) found that those individuals who evidenced disorder at age 15 (with rates of disorder lower than those individuals who evidenced persistent disorder over time) but not at age 18, had similar overall levels of adjustment and outcome scores “that were not dramatically different from the scores of those without disorder at either age” (Feehan et al., 1993, p.1125). Again, such findings are crucial to clinical theory and interventions, underscoring the importance of interventions to help ameliorate risk across this time period. Moreover, “in addition to characteristics of disorder, disadvantage was strongly associated with recurrent disorder” (Feehan et al., 1993, p.1118). That is, when individual background was taken into account, it was found that individuals who evidenced multiple problems at age 15 and who were from disadvantaged backgrounds tended to have the highest rates of associations with subsequent multiple problems at age 18.

Thus, the results of these studies suggest that there is a strong correlation between elevated risk, including problem behaviors and psychopathology, in early adolescence and later outcome in young adulthood. Furthermore, such studies indicate that there are also variations in individual outcomes that require study to untangle the mechanisms that account for particular patterns and pathways of adjustment. In particular, the preceding studies provide evidence for the importance of focusing efforts on identifying those factors that account for decreasing levels of psychopathology and problems across this time period.

The Role of Sociocultural Context on Development

The role of social and cultural context in development has received increasing attention in the literature during the last 20 years (Burton, Allison, & Obeidallah, 1995). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory of development provides the framework for understanding the interaction between developmental processes and contextual variables. Bronfenbrenner considers individual adaptation to be inextricably linked and embedded within a social context that is commonly referred to as the "developmental-contextual approach" (Aber, Jones, & Cohen, 2000, p.115). In this model, transactions between individuals' psychological and physical/biological resources and environmental micro-, meso-, and macro-level contexts influence patterns of adaptation. Microsystems include influences of families, peers and teachers that directly affect an individual's daily life. Mesosystems include indirect influences and relationships that impact those whom adolescents come into direct contact with. Macrosystems include larger social systems, institutions and values, as well as prejudices and racist beliefs (Aber et al., 2000; Cicchetti & Aber, 1998; Aber, 1994).

According to Cohler, Stott, & Musick (1995) the study of risk and vulnerability cannot be separated from contextual and cultural influences. They argue "adjustment takes place within a culture that comprises shared understandings of meanings, including those about time, continuity of self and relations with other in both family and society" (p.770). For inner city youth, cultural and contextual influences serve as both risk and protective factors that potentially increase or buffer the effects of stressors present within high-risk environments.

The Impact of Poverty and Race/Ethnicity on Development

Growing up in poverty is a significant risk factor for adaptational difficulties, impacting development via indirect mechanisms associated with poverty-related risk. Poverty increases the risk for life stressors, including exposure to neighborhood violence, negative life events, daily hassles, and economic hardships. An association between family stress and emotional well-being and adjustment of children has been well documented in the literature (McLeod & Shanahan, 1993). In addition, poor families are more likely to live in households headed by single females and have greater rates of unemployment and welfare dependence (Aber, Bennett, Conley, & Li., 1997; Teachman, Paasch, Day & Carver, 1997). Furthermore, in the larger U.S. cities there is a concentration of poor families in poor neighborhoods, which limits educational and employment opportunities (Aber et al., 1997; Mayer, 1997). Blacks and Hispanics are more likely to live in poverty than any other ethnic group, further compounding the risk of discrimination. Moreover, ethnic minorities are faced with multilayered experiences of prejudice and discrimination, placing individuals at even greater risk for difficulties (Aber et al., 1997; Aber, 1994; Aber & Waters, 1992). Overall, research has found that “children who spend more time in poverty are less likely to graduate from high school, obtain fewer years of schooling and earn less” (Teachman et al., 1997, p.382).

Children and adolescents are the fastest growing segment of the population living in poverty (20% & 14%, respectively) (Aber et al., 1997). Black children have been found to have almost double the rates of psychological disorders than White children (Aber & Waters, 1992; McLoyd, 1990). Latino youth have been found to also to have steady rising rates of psychological disorder and school dropout (Aber & Waters, 1992;

Inclan & Herron, 1989). By the time youth are in adolescence, “rates of maladaptive outcomes via difficulties with low self-esteem, psychological symptomatology (e.g. depression and anxiety) and antisocial behavior (e.g. substance abuse and delinquency) peak among poor and minority youth” (Aber, 1994, p.23).

Although poverty and being of an ethnic minority group add increased psychological burdens to development, not all youth are affected and exposed to similar risks. In, The Truly Disadvantaged, Wilson (1987) criticizes the misconceptions and stereotyping that often occurs when referring to poverty. He discusses the misuse of the “culture of poverty” concept, whereby all individuals who are poor are considered to be “lazy,” “unmotivated,” “disorganized,” and “disadvantaged,” thus reinforcing a stigmatizing, negative and psychopathological view of people who are poor (Boyd-Franklin, 1993; Wilson, 1987). Similarly, Javier, Herron, & Yanos (1995) argue that “although poverty and the impact of race and ethnicity are expected to have clear consequences on the individuals psychological condition, these consequences are differentially experienced by each individual” (p.126). They suggest that “what can be said about the demands of poverty and racial and ethnic condition represent a number of important challenges to the psychic structure of the poor in ways not experienced by more privileged individuals” (p.127).

Aber (1994) found that poverty-related risks vary considerably and a diversity of outcomes of youth growing up in poor, inner city environments has been documented in the literature. In fact, a growing body of evidence documents numerous resilient outcomes of minority youth who grew up in the inner city, defying the odds and overcoming many challenges of circumstance (Garmezy, 1991; Werner & Smith, 1992).

Resilience and Research

The question of what makes some adolescents thrive and others have more difficulties continues to be a vast area in need of research. Researchers typically define resilience as “a process leading to enhanced protective (or coping) mechanisms transforming potential sources of threat to personal adjustment into opportunities for maintaining personal adjustment” (Rutter, 1990, p.67). Resilience “reflects the present outcome of the available repertoire of protective factors, including techniques for coping with misfortune, which are founded on the interplay of temperamental and environmental characteristics, and which become significant for adjustment as culturally constructed modes of dealing with misfortune” (Cohler et al., 1995, p.754). It is defined as the ability to overcome identifiable risk factors and avoid negative outcomes such as delinquency and behavioral problems, psychological maladjustment, and academic difficulties (Rak & Patterson, 1996). Resilience is moderated by “protective factors” which serve to “modify the relationship between risk and problem behaviors” and outcomes (Dekovic, 1999, p. 671; Luthar, Doernberger, & Zigler, 1993).

Although there are many different definitions and ways of operationalizing resilience, there are some commonly cited attributes that have been found to characterize resilience in children and adolescents growing up in poverty and low-income families and neighborhoods. Individuals who are most resilient generally have a combination of internal and social resources that aid them in coping with stress and adversity. Werner and Smith's (1982) longitudinal study of more than 4,000 Hawaiian individuals from infancy to adulthood found those who were most resilient in early adulthood had greater problem solving abilities, a sense of personal control, expressed greater confidence and

efficacy, and had a generally positive view of themselves and were more socially competent. Similarly, in a study Invulnerable Children, Anthony (1987) found that, among those children studied from childhood to adulthood, those they that were resilient “[were] responsive to others, took moderate risks, [were] realistic but hopeful about self and others, [were] both self-reliant and sociable, respond[ed] flexibly to new challenges and maintain[ed] a sense of personal coherence even when confronted by challenges” (p.67). Elder (1974, 1977) found that the meanings that individuals give to experiences impact resilience and experiences of self and others. In a study of children whose families suffered significant decline in income during the Great Depression, he found that those who were most resilient experienced economic distress differently and were determined to employ internal strengths to overcome obstacles (Elder, 1974, 1977).

Luthar’s (1997) & Luthar, Doernberger, & Zigler’s (1993) research found that resilience is not a unidimensional construct and is influenced by context, culture and developmental stage. What may be a resilience factor during a particular stage may be nonadvantageous or even a risk factor during a subsequent stage. Furthermore, when studying resilience, investigators often over-sample white, middle class populations and compare ethnic/minorities to such populations. This method fails to capture the within-group variance and diversity of resilient trajectories of inner city youth. Traditional measures of school achievement and the presence or absence of psychological symptoms, alone do not adequately capture the diversity of resilient outcomes specific to ethnic minorities and inner city youth and may over inflate rates of psychopathology (Luthar, 1997; Luthar et al., 1993).

McLoyd (1990) similarly argues that traditional theories of normative development may not be an appropriate framework for studying developmental trajectories of inner city youth (also see Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, & Boulin-Johnson, 1993). She argues that “[youth of color], particularly those who grow up in some economically deprived, high-risk neighborhoods, may follow developmental paths that are based on ideologies, role expectations, behavioral practices and ‘rites of passage’ that are contextually distinct from those reported in studies of white, suburban, middle-class teens” (Burton, Allison, & Obeidallah, 1995, p.114). Ogbu (1985) also found that there are diverse meanings of success and resiliency and that “developmental outcomes individual’s achieve are a unique function of group experiences dealing with the demands of physical, social, political, economic, and supernatural environments” (p.419). Spencer, Cole, DuPree, Glymph, & Pierre’s (1993) extensive research on African-American self-efficacy and coping methods found that, too often, the traditional psychological literature does not consider the impact of ecocultural contexts on development and that there is a “monocular focus on disordered behaviors both real and expected” (p.260). Furthermore, they have found that there are diverse resilient outcomes that are not accounted for by measures and indices of psychopathology typically employed in research investigations. Spencer and colleagues (1993) suggest that considering the interaction between quality of contextual conditions, personal and social resources will yield a more accurate depiction of the developmental trajectories of youth.

The extant literature thus demonstrates that contextual, internal, and social resources interact in complex ways to facilitate patterns of adjustment and

maladjustment. Furthermore, the study of resilience requires methods that account for the way in which the confluence of these processes affects developmental trajectories.

Mechanisms of Resilience Defined in the Current Study

Internal working models of attachment have been found to be associated with patterns of adjustment and well-being throughout the life course and will be investigated in this study as a resilience factor in the relation between poverty-related risks and adaptational trajectories. Research over the last few decades has documented the link between better quality of attachments, identity development, positive self-esteem, and self-efficacy during adolescence and early adulthood (Allen, Hauser, Bell, & O'Conner, 1994; Allen & Land, 1999; Allen, Moore, Kuperminc, & Bell, 1998; Hauser, 1999). Moreover, the literature on stress and coping has found that better quality of internal working models of attachment are associated with greater flexibility and coping resources available to employ in times of adversity and stress, which may be key to understanding how individuals respond and adjust to high-risk inner city environments. Internal working models of attachment are not only an internal resource, but also a social resource. Better quality of attachment is likely indicative of current patterns of support in adolescence and young adulthood, including relationships with both parents and peers that can be resourced in times of stress (Steinberg, 1990).

Attachment Theory and Research Methodology

Conceptual and Historical Overview

Attachment theory was first developed by John Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1979, 1988), who combined concepts from psychoanalysis, ethology, cognitive psychology and developmental psychology to explain bonding between infants and their caregivers in the first years of life. He theorized that the quality of an infant's attachment to their caregiver had long term-effects on personality development and psychological adjustment (Levy, Blatt & Shaver, 1998). According to Bowlby, infant attachment behaviors develop as a result of the repeated interactions between parent and infant and are a function of the mother's sensitivity and responsiveness to the infant's needs. The infant develops expectations or representations of the nature of these interactions, of the self in relation to the caregiver and of the social world (Klohn & John, 1998). These representations, or internal working models (IWM), incorporate both conscious and unconscious aspects of cumulative experiences with caregivers and serve as the foundation by which feelings, thoughts, and meaning are interpreted. IWMs are central in guiding interpersonal functioning in subsequent relationships (Bretherton 1985; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Aber, Belsky, Slade, & Crinic, 1999; Slade, Belsky, Aber, & Phelps, 1999).

IWMs of attachment have implications for identity development across adolescence and into young adulthood. IWM of attachment form the basis for a child's sense of self, and early experiences with caregivers – whether responsive or unresponsive – become internalized over time into a core set of beliefs about whether oneself is valued and important or not (Diamond, Blatt, Stayner, & Kaslow, 1993/1995). When an infant receives available and sensitive responses over time from a significant caregiver, he/she

develops a secure attachment style, which promotes the internalization of representational structures that are “comprised of a loving parent in interaction with a worthy and effective self” (Diamond & Blatt, 1994, p.76). In contrast, when an infant receives repeated responses from a significant caregiver which are rejecting and dismissing, “the internal working model will be composed of a representation of a rejecting parent interacting with a self that is unworthy” (Diamond & Blatt, 1994, pp.75-76).

During the second year of life, when infants are increasingly aware of their own self in relation to others, secure infants are more able to “identify themselves as the source of their accomplishments and, in doing so, develop a more enduring sense of effectance” (Crockenberg & Leerkes, 2000, p. 80). Thus, security of attachment allows for a fuller ability to explore environments while also maintaining a feeling of comfort and safety. Infants who have insecure and avoidant attachment styles tend to explore their environments less and remain more focused on their caregiver to elicit engagement and attentiveness. This focus constricts their ability to attain goals independently and has been shown to inhibit the development of subsequent autonomy (Stern, 1985).

Although self-structures develop and become more elaborated over time, early models of self and others are thought to be relatively enduring structures and characteristic of patterns of viewing oneself and others, negotiating interpersonal relations, and ways of coping and responding to environments. Stability of attachment, however, has been found to change in relationship to environmental stressors and when the stability of the caregiving system changes (Bowlby, 1982; Hamilton, 2000; Waters, Weinfield, & Hamilton, 2000; Waters, Merrick, Treboux, Crowell, & Albersheim, 2000). However, the extent literature suggests that the enduring nature of attachment

representations has long-term effects on identity development and adjustment in adolescence and adulthood.

Attachment in Adolescence and Early Adulthood

Traditional Psychoanalytic Perspectives

The relationship between attachment and adaptation during adolescence has generated considerable controversy in the literature. Whereas contemporary theories consider attachments during this phase as critical to optimal adjustment, the traditional psychoanalytic literature considers adjustment as stemming from increased separation from familial relationships, identifications, and emotional attachments, which together lead to greater emphasis on independence and self-reliance. Traditional theories term this a “second individuation process, “ which reflects the “emergence of the child from the family into the adult world” (Blos, 1979, pp. 6-25).

According to Blos, the first individuation process occurs at approximately age 2, which is defined by Mahler (1975) as the Rapprochement Phase. During Rapprochement, young children assert their autonomy in an attempt for differentiation and experience an emerging awareness of their own distinctness from others in increasingly complex ways. The second individuation process in adolescence is marked by even greater strivings towards autonomy and differentiation during which youth abandon internal parental images and, to a large extent, external connections to caregivers in order to develop their own identity and sense of self.

Blos indicates that significant turmoil and upheaval accompanies this period as “[adolescents] are suddenly deprived of earlier means of psychological self-bolstering

and the adolescent experiences intense vulnerability that can be a profound sense of isolation and loss” (p.12). Adolescents are essentially “left stranded and defenseless” and thus develop narcissistic tendencies in order to regulate their self-esteem and self-efficacy (p.13). However, there is great flux in their ability to develop self-sustaining mechanisms which account for much of the turmoil in identity associated with this period; perceptions of the self range from grandiose self-images to self-devaluation. According to Blos, once adolescents are able to integrate their self-images and regulate their mood and self-esteem, they can adequately consolidate their sense of self and are prepared to move into the adult world (Blos, 1979).

Contemporary Perspectives

Contemporary theories consider relational ties, patterns of support and attachments as critical to both adjustment and facilitative of identity development, self-esteem and self-efficacy (Allen & Land, 1999). Josselson (1988) argues that the developmental task of adolescence is to “negotiate a balance between an emerging sense of self as a competent individual on the one hand, and a transformed but continued feeling of connection with significant others on the other” (p.56). In one of the original studies of attachment and adjustment in adolescence, Grotevant and Cooper (1986) found that those youth who were most competent in terms of ego and identity development in late adolescence were those who had maintained close, although transformed, relationships with parents. Similarly, Allen, Hauser, Bell & O’Conner (1994) found that adolescent differentiation and autonomy is strengthened in the context of enduring relationships with parents.

Josselson (1988) outlined a model of attachment and adolescent development. She argued that adjustment depends on the ability to balance individuality and connectedness within the context of family relationships, in which individuals see themselves as both separate and distinct from others, are both assertive and autonomous, while still able to sustain relationships. Similar to traditional views, she argued that adolescents do experience a degree of loss as they develop due to changes in role expectations, identifications, and increasing distinction of the self from others, but not at the expense of attachment connections. Furthermore, attachments to peers and romantic partners take on increased importance during this period and are vital sources of regulation and support (Kobak & Cole, 1994). Contemporary theories argue that internal attachments and relationships with parents and peers provide an essential secure base as in earlier stages of development, thus promoting adjustment.

Individuals with secure attachment styles tend to have more positive views of themselves and others in adolescence and early adulthood (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). Secure individuals have been found to more likely have a wider array of coping abilities and internal resources they can access in times of stress and difficulty (Mikulincer & Florian, 1998). Secure attachment representations in adolescence have been linked with patterns of support and current aspects of relationships with parents that they can rely upon in times of stress (Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Those adolescents that have secure attachment patterns with parents predispose individuals to develop secure and supportive relationships with peers and other sources of support, which has been found to aid in developmental adaptation (Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Weinfeld, Ogawa, & Sroufe, 1997). A link between interpersonal functioning and attachment has also been

documented in the literature, in which securely attached adolescents are more likely to have better communication skills, affect regulation, and positive expectations from others (Allen & Land, 1999). Conversely, insecurely attached adolescents have been found to distort and have more hostile communications, and to have more negative expectations from others (Cassidy, Kirsh, Scolton, & Parke, 1996; Dodge, 1993).

Research and Models of Infant Attachment

Interest in attachment has burgeoned over the last few decades and has spawned an abundance of research and methods of assessment from infancy to adulthood. Research on attachment quality was first developed by Mary Ainsworth and colleagues (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978) who studied parent-infant interactions during a separation and reunion laboratory task, commonly known as the Strange Situation. During this task, Ainsworth and colleagues investigated the association between maternal sensitivity and responsiveness and infant exploration patterns. They described three categorical patterns of infant attachment which developed as a function of the parent-infant caregiving system during the first year of life, namely: secure, insecure-avoidant and insecure-resistant patterns (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Ainsworth found that when mothers were responsive to their infant's needs for comfort and security and provided the child with a "secure base," such infants exhibited greater exploration in the presence of the mother and sought comfort in response to separation. Parents of secure infants were found to be available, responsive and sensitive to their children's needs on home observation rating scales conducted over the year prior to the laboratory procedure. Infants whose mothers were rated on home observations as

rejecting, inconsistent and ignoring of children's needs were likely to avoid their mothers or could not be comforted or soothed upon reunion. These infants were classified as either insecure-avoidant or insecure-resistant, developing strategies to minimize their emotional displays or manifesting increased angry and negative emotions, respectively (Cassidy, 1994; Slade, 1999; Thompson, 1994).

Ainsworth's three-category classification model has subsequently become the standard for assessing the parent-infant attachment system in infancy and early childhood. Furthermore, this model has been extended to include a fourth category: the disorganized-disoriented type (Main & Solomon, 1986). Mothers of children classified in this category have been found to have experienced significant trauma and dissociation and are observed to manifest confusing, inconsistent and, at times, frightening behaviors which disorganize their infant's proximity seeking responses (Lyons-Ruth & Jacobvitz, 1999; Main & Hesse, 1990).

Research and Models of Adolescent and Adult Attachment: The AAI

To study attachment beyond infancy and early childhood, researchers have developed both interview and self-report measures applicable to adolescents and adults. These methods emerged from two distinct research traditions, with similar yet divergent theoretical underpinnings.

The first of these traditions was the development of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985). The AAI was initially designed to study the intergenerational transmission of attachment and how adult attachment patterns impact parenting behaviors and, in turn, infant attachment. Main and colleagues sought to

predict infant attachment in the Strange Situation based on parent attachment patterns on the AAI. The AAI is an approximately 1-hour interview which asks adults to reflect upon childhood memories, feelings, and experiences with primary caregivers. This measure is intended to elicit a parent's "states of mind" which reflect unconscious internal working models of attachment experiences from early childhood (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; George, Kaplan, & Main, 1985; Simpson & Rholes, 1998). Assignment of attachment classification is based primarily on patterns of speech, memory, and coherence of organization and is not based on the content of the interview. Main and colleagues found that adults organized their narratives in qualitatively different ways that reflect their individual attachment patterns and underlying internal representational structures.

The AAI attachment classification categories were derived from those developed by Ainsworth, with some variations that were found to be more relevant to adults and capture the dimensional aspects of attachment behavior. The categories include: secure-autonomous, preoccupied, dismissing-avoidant, and disorganized-disoriented. Main and colleagues found striking predictability of the AAI to infant classifications in parent-child dyads. Numerous research investigators have replicated these findings and have demonstrated that parent attachment classification is predictive of over 75% of child classifications (van Ijzendoorn, 1995; Levy, Blatt, & Shaver, 1998; Slade, 1999). Moreover, the use of the AAI has been extended to psychotherapy and trauma research and has demonstrated the power of internal working models in guiding behavior patterns and psychological well-being (Pianta, Marvin, & Morog, 1999). Although other interview-based attachment measures have been developed, the AAI is the most commonly used.

Measurement of Adolescent and Adult Attachment: Self-Report Instruments

Another method that has been developed to study adolescent and adult attachment involves the use of self-report measures to classify attachment patterns with parents, peers, close relationships, and romantic involvements. The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was one of the first self-report measures developed to study attachment in early and late adolescence (ages 12-19). This measure assesses attachment to both parents and peers and provides scores on a continuous scale to indicate whether individuals report secure (i.e. high) attachment behaviors or not. The measure is a multi-item inventory that is composed of 16 items for both parent and peer attachment. Using this measure, security of attachment to both parents and peers in late adolescence has been found to relate to psychological adjustment, self-esteem, and life satisfaction. Furthermore, Armsden & Greenberg (1987) found that attachment to parents and peers serves as a buffer that mediates the relation between negative life events and patterns of adaptation. Significant associations between attachment to parents and peers were found in tests of reliability of this instrument.

Hazan and Shaver (1987, 1990), were among the first to develop self-report measures of attachment, and were interested in studying the enduring effects of attachment from infancy to adulthood. They theorized that romantic love in adults was a form of attachment processes. Their measure was developed as a fairly straightforward instrument that asks respondents to choose which attachment category best fits their feelings and behaviors in relationships (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998). Hazan and Shaver's classification system mapped those of Ainsworth, fitting each person into one of the three categories: secure, insecure-avoidant, and insecure-resistant. This instrument

has linked different attachment strategies with patterns of relationship satisfaction, parental drinking, psychological well-being, communication styles, and support seeking behaviors (Shaver & Hazan, 1994).

Following Hazan and Shaver, researchers developed other systems and have, at times, added categories to their original measure and also revised assessment methods that include both self-classification responses and multi-item inventories (Collins & Read, 1990; Simpson, 1990). Debate has arisen as to whether attachment measures should use typological models or continuous measures that focus on the underlying dimensions of attachment patterns.

In response to criticism that Hazan's and Shaver's measure relies only on respondents fitting themselves into categorical descriptions of attachment patterns and has limitations in predicting attachment accuracy, researchers have developed both multi-inventory (Collins & Reed, 1990; Simpson, 1990) and dimensional measures to obtain a more complex and refined assessment. Bartholomew (1990) and Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991) were among the first to develop a dimensional instrument that also included topological classification of attachment patterns. They extended Hazan and Shaver's three-category system and developed a model of adult attachment that classifies respondents into four categories across two dimensions. These models draw on Bowlby's theory that representations of self in relation to others underlie attachment patterns and are similar to Main's dimensional construction of the AAI. Bartholomew's (1990)'s two dimensions include models of self and others that are categorized as either positive or negative: "The positivity of the self model indicates the degree to which individuals have internalized a sense of their own self worth and therefore expect others to respond to

them positively” (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994, p.431). “The positivity of the other model indicates the degree to which others are generally expected to be available and supportive” (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994, p.431). Bartholomew also classifies these dimensions as anxiety and avoidance, representing the degree to which respondents report being anxious of abandonment and avoidant of relationships. Respondents choose one of four classifications, composed of the above two underlying dimensions, that represent strategies for regulating relationships: secure, preoccupied, dismissing, and fearful types (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994).

Bartholomew’s attachment model was developed to apply to a self-report measure, The Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) (1991), and two interview instruments, (the Peer Attachment Interview, and the Family Attachment Interview). Validity of the self and other attachment dimensions has been conducted by Bartholomew & Horowitz (1991) with measures that assess models of self and models of others. Qualitative differences in individual self-concept and interpersonal functioning were found according to attachment classification on measures of self-esteem, self-confidence, distress (i.e., depression, aggression, and anxiety), and sociability (versus shyness) (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). Secure and dismissing individuals scored higher on measures of self-esteem and self-acceptance and lower on distress than preoccupied and fearful individuals. Secure and dismissing individuals also scored higher on sociability items, whereas preoccupied and fearful individuals reported less sociability and increased rates of shyness (Klohn & John, 1998).

Bartholomew’s model seeks to incorporate both a categorical classification while capturing the underlying experience and representation of individuals with respect to

views of self and others in relationships. Those respondents who express low anxiety about abandonment and low avoidance of relationships are classified as Secure. These individuals also have positive models of self and others, valuing others and seeking out support while also feeling worthy themselves. Respondents who are high on anxiety and nonavoidant of relationships are classified as Preoccupied. These individuals contain a model of self that is negative, while maintaining a model of others as more positive. Preoccupied individuals tend to view themselves as devalued, while their positive model of others leads them to seek out relationships and validate their self-worth accordingly. Respondents who report lacking anxiety about abandonment and who avoid relationships are classified as Dismissing. These individuals contain a model of self that is positive, whereas their models of others is more negative. They tend to maintain a high sense of self-worth, while avoiding relationships and closeness with others. Moreover, they stress independence while denying the importance of intimacy. Finally, respondents who score high on anxiety about abandonment and high avoidance of relationships are classified as Fearful. Fearful individuals generally have negative models of self and others and are highly dependent on others for validation, while avoiding relationships out of fear of pain and distress (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994).

Drawing on Bartholomew's and Horowitz's (1991) dimensional conceptualization of attachment, Brennan, Clark, & Shaver (1998) have recently developed a multi-item inventory to assess individual differences according to the attachment dimensions Anxiety and Avoidance. Their scales can also be used to categorize people into one of the four adult romantic attachment categories used by Bartholomew. Their instrument, called Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR), does not rely on self-classification as

Bartholomew's and Hazan and Shaver's measure, but is composed of two scales of 18 items, totaling 36 in all. The items in this scale are derived from over 280 attachment measures. Brennan and colleagues argue that their measure "circumvent[s] the unreliability inherent in single-item response formats" (p.67). Moreover, they argue their scale has high internal consistency and, because the items in their scale are based on a large item pool from other measures, has greater accuracy. According to Brennan et al. (1998), "this categorization procedure produces stronger results than Bartholomew's self-classification measure, at least in relation to measures of attachment-related emotions, thoughts, and behaviors regarding touch and sexuality in relationships...and is more conservative in placing people into secure categories" (p.67).

Both the interview and self-report measures of adult and adolescent attachment are widely applied in research. The AAI, the RQ instrument, and the ECR are used more commonly among researchers interested in clinical investigations and underlying personality dimensions, whereas Hazan & Shaver's instrument has been more applicable to normative populations and social science research (Brennan et al., 1998).

To date, the attachment research has had wide ranging implications for developmental and clinical psychology, particularly because of evidence of the long term effects of attachment patterns on psychopathology and adjustment (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994). Furthermore, additional studies investigating the relationship between childhood attachment patterns to parents and later attachment patterns to peers and significant others will yield further understanding of the long term effects of early attachment relationships on subsequent functioning and interpersonal relationships into adolescence and adulthood.

Self-Report versus Interview Measures of Adolescent and Adult Attachment

There is much debate about whether attachment interviews and self-report instruments are measuring similar constructs and over which measure is more accurate (Brennan et al., 1998). Clinicians typically argue that interviews are more valid because they tap unconscious aspects of respondents' experiences and thus more accurately assess attachment organization. However, the AAI is a time-consuming instrument and is often not practical for use in many research investigations. On the other hand, self-report measures, rely on respondents' honesty and reflective capacities and are "subject to response bias," which suggests that attempts at insight are often limited by defensive structures (Brennan et al., 1998).

Researchers attempting to assess how to utilize attachment instruments in investigations have generally found that convergence is greatest among measures when each (whether self-report or interview) measure similar content domains (Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998). For example, Bartholomew's RQ self-report measure was found to be more highly associated with the Bartholomew's Peer Attachment Interview because they both measure "two conceptually parallel" constructs (Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998, p38). Additionally, researchers have found that when "the same domain is examined with two conceptually parallel methods—for example, when attachment to peers is measured with Bartholomew's interview and self-report measures," there also appears to be high convergence (Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998, p.38). However, the least convergence between methodologies occurs when "an interview measure in the family domain (e.g. the AAI) is compared with a self-report measure of peer or romantic domain (e.g. Hazan-Shaver questionnaire)" (p.38). Nonetheless, some convergence exists. Bartholomew and

Shaver (1998) argue that attachment measures fit on a continuum of similarity ranging from the AAI, Bartholomew's Family Attachment Interview, Bartholomew's Peer Attachment Interview, Bartholomew's self-report measure and Hazan & Shaver's self-report measure. Such results have implications for longitudinal studies that attempt to make comparisons across developmental stages and suggest that consistency of method and/or content domain (whether interview or self-report) is important to consider.

Method of Assessment of Adolescent and Adult Attachment in the Current Study

This study will utilize self-report measures to assess attachment in adolescence and early adulthood. Due to the fact that the participants in the study are administered a two-hour interview about their development from adolescence to early adulthood, it is not practical or feasible to administer the AAI. The Inventory of Peer and Parent Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) self-report of attachment to parents and peers will be utilized in adolescence. In early adulthood, two self-report measures of attachment will be utilized: The Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991) and the Experiences in Close Relationship (ECR) (Brennan et al., 1998). These two instruments yield both continuous and categorical scores for respondents and focus on attachment to peers and significant others. Although the instruments from the adolescent and early adulthood assessment differ in terms of their conceptualization of attachment and measurement of content domains (parents and peers verses only peers and significant others, respectively), the literature indicates that there is continuity in the underlying structure and elements that define infant and adolescent/early adulthood attachment (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Slade et al., 1999). It is likely that attachment to

parents predispose individuals to develop similar attachment styles with peers and romantic involvements from adolescence to early adulthood (Allen & Land, 1999).

Overview of the Current Study

The goal of the current study is to improve understanding of the patterns and pathways of adaptation and maladaptation of inner city youth during the transition from adolescence to early adulthood. Specifically, the study will investigate the association between attachment quality and developmental trajectories.

The study targets a sub-sample of subjects who participated in the Adolescent Pathways Project (APP), a short-term longitudinal quantitative study of ethnically and racially diverse, inner city youth (Seidman, 1991). The APP followed a cohort of more than 800 youth over a period of four time points to examine how youth growing up in the inner city make the transition from childhood to adolescence. The original APP participants are currently young adults aged 22-25, which will enable an investigation of developmental trajectories from early adolescence to early adulthood.

The study combines the use of quantitative and qualitative methodologies, which enables the ability to “transcend [some of] the limits of each method when employed alone” (Aber & Waters, 1992, p.5). Aber & Waters (1992) suggests that “although the APP quantitative study gathered valuable information on the psychological, developmental, and ecological factors that impact developmental trajectories of urban youth, even the most sophisticated quantitative studies contains significant limits in the ability to understand differences in specific developmental pathways” (p.6). Furthermore, they state that “qualitative interviews provide the ability to study personal meaning and

individual variation that accounts for pathways to adaptation. However, qualitative research is often limited by the difficulty of selecting a sample that is representative of the larger population, making it difficult to generalize research findings” (p.6). Although due to the small sample size of this study, research findings will not be able to be generalized, however, individuals were sampled based on a previous large scale investigation, which strengthens the ability to target a relatively representative sample of the larger population.

Research Questions

The current study will investigate the following questions using a combination of both quantitative and qualitative analyses to examine individual developmental trajectories:

- 1) What is the relation between individual developmental risk in early adolescence and developmental outcome in early adulthood?
- 2) Do developmental trajectories change or stay the same over time? What is the pattern of change and what can be said about this change?
- 3) What is the relation between attachment style in early adolescence and attachment style in young adulthood? Is there continuity between measures?
- 4) How is attachment style related to developmental trajectories; in particular, is there a link between attachment style and particular developmental trajectories?
- 5) What are the themes that arise from their narrative data that aid in the understanding of individual developmental trajectories? In particular, how do

individuals think about their attachment experiences, their life course, and their sense of self? How do they define success and adaptation? What additional themes and questions are generated by the narrative data? What are the clinical implications of the narrative themes?

Chapter II: Methodology

Study Subjects

Selection of participants in this study was based on a sub-sample of subjects who participated in the Adolescent Pathways Project (APP) (Seidman, 1991). The APP followed a cohort of more than 800 individuals over a period of four time points to examine how youth growing up in the inner city make the transition from childhood to adolescence. Data was collected on subjects during their last year of grade school (5th or 6th grade), through their first and second year of junior high school (6th–7th grade and 7th–8th grade), and in their first and second year of high school (either sophomores in a four year high school or juniors in a three year high school). During the time of data collection of this study, the original participants were now aged 22-25.

Sample Selection Goal Defined in the Dissertation Proposal

For the current study, 36 subjects were selected to participate based on their composite score on a self-reported index computed for this study, “The Adolescent At-Risk Score.” The index is comprised of an index of mental health, delinquency, substance abuse, and academic achievement in early adolescence. Further details of these measures are described in the measurement section that follows. The sample selection goal defined in the dissertation proposal was to collect data on the following subjects by grouping participants according to the following criteria: 12 of the subjects in the study were selected that had a total score on “The Adolescent At-Risk Score” 1 standard deviation above the mean, 12 of the subjects were selected that had a total score 1 standard

deviation below the mean and 12 of the subjects were selected that had total scores that fell in between these two groups. Thus, three “groups” of individuals were designated and labeled “high-functioning,” “at-risk,” and “average,” respectively. Within each group, subjects were selected so that they were evenly divided among black, latino and white individuals, with participants selected equally by gender within each major racial/ethnic group. Only subjects who completed all four waves of the APP were asked to participate. This sampling frame resulted in the following matrix:

	High Functioning	At-Risk	Average
Black Girls	2	2	2
Black Boys	2	2	2
White Girls	2	2	2
White Boys	2	2	2
Latino Girls	2	2	2
Latino Boys	2	2	2
Total	12	12	12

Revised Sample Selection for the Current Study

Due to the fact that it was not possible to locate many of the individuals targeted for the study, the sample selection criteria for the study needed to be expanded to include initiating contact with many more individuals than the thirty-six originally proposed. Telephone contact was attempted with over three hundred individuals. However, successful contact was completed with less than one quarter of these individuals. Prior to

this wave of data collection, the last telephone contact that the APP staff had with participants was in 1993-1994 (Wave 4), when participants were aged 15-17. This was approximately seven years ago and currently participants are between the ages of 22 and 25. The majority of the telephone numbers and addresses for individuals in the study were incorrect and/or disconnected. This writer, along with additional staff, worked to obtain current telephone numbers via internet research, telephone directory assistance, and extended family members for whom participants had designated in early adolescence would be most likely to be able to locate them in the future. This method proved unsuccessful for locating the majority of participants targeted. Most successful, was locating individuals through their parent's numbers that remained the same, whether people were living at home or elsewhere.

Approximately fifty individuals were located and contacted and were given the opportunity to participate in the study. The majority of these individuals who were successfully contacted agreed to participate in the study. Despite substantial interest, several individuals failed to show-up or cancelled their appointments. Twenty-nine individuals completed the study. Although the goal of collecting data on equal number of individuals in one of the three risk categories (i.e. high-functioning, at-risk, and average) was maintained in this data collection phase, it was not possible to achieve this goal. Additionally, it was also the continued aim to divide the sample evenly among black, latino and white participants, along with equal number of males and females. However, such specificity was not possible because only a very limited number of participants were located and agreed to participate in the study. The table below describes the data that was collected:

	High Functioning	At-Risk	Average
Black Girls	2	1	3
Black Boys	1	2	1
White Girls	2	0	3
White Boys	0	0	2
Latino Girls	0	2	2
Latino Boys	2	2	2
Asian Girls	1	0	0
Total	9	7	13

Method of Recruitment

The Original APP Study

APP participants were recruited during either their last year of public elementary school or in the beginning of junior high school in Baltimore, Washington D.C., and New York City from schools that had high concentrations of low-income children. Moreover, 80% or more of the student body in each school were black or latino or, in schools that were composed of mostly white students, 60% or more of the student body was eligible for reduced cost or free lunch.

Study participants were recruited in their classrooms and signed consents were obtained from either a parent or guardian and the student. Pizza parties or other rewards suggested by school personnel were used as incentives to participate and were given to those classrooms who returned the largest number of consent forms. Data were collected

in group settings by APP staff, which was a multiethnic and multiracial team. Instructions and questions were read aloud to the group, and staff were available to answer questions (Seidman, 1991)

The Current Study

Prospective participants were initially contacted by telephone and invited to take part in (1) an approximately two hour face-to-face interview, and (2) the completion of a few self-report questionnaires. Telephone contact was initiated because, as described above, the most recent contact information that existed on each individual in the original APP dates from their second or third year of high school. Thus, telephone contact was the most efficient and effective means to initiate contact as it was anticipated that many of the APP participants had moved. A description of the study and procedures was explained via telephone, along with the opportunity to ask questions. In addition, it was explained to prospective participants that participation in the study would be entirely voluntary, and consent forms describing the study in detail were reviewed and signed by all participants prior to any data collection. Subjects received monetary compensation for their time and paid \$40 upon completion of all study procedures.

Study Procedures

Data from this study includes responses to self-report questionnaires as well as narrative data from the interview. Participants took part in an approximately 2 hour face-to-face interview (The Qualitative Young Adult Transition Project Interview) and completed a few questionnaires, each of which is described below. Three members of the

research team conducted the interviews, all of whom are graduate students in clinical psychology and who were trained in accordance with the interview technique developed by Dr. Mary Waters, an expert ethnographic researcher at the Department of Sociology, Harvard University. The research team was comprised of two females and one male of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds.

All interviews were audiotaped with the participants' permission and transcribed by a professional transcriber who signed a confidentiality statement. One study participant declined to be tape recorded and the interviewer took copious notes instead. Due to the fact that the study asked individuals to discuss and reflect on potentially sensitive personal information, there was the risk that the interview could stir up feelings distressing to individuals. All participants were debriefed at the end of the interview and were provided with Dr. Larry Aber's phone number in the consent. They were directed to contact either Dr. Aber or the interviewer if they felt any post-interview distress. Appropriate referrals were given for psychological counseling services upon request of the participants and/or were offered at the end of the interview process when subjects experience obvious distress. This was offered to one individual.

Confidentiality of Study Data

Confidentiality of subjects was maintained in accordance with City University/City College and Columbia University IRB standards. Subjects were assigned an identification number that appears on all data collected for the study. Specific identifying information (e.g. names, contact information) is kept separate from individual data at all times and all information is maintained in locked storage cabinets at the National Center

for Children in Poverty, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University. As all interviews were tape recorded, the original tapes were also coded with each subject's assigned identification number, and are kept in a locked file cabinet. Only members of the research team have access to such information.

Measures and Key Constructs

Adolescent Assessment

Self-Report Questionnaires

Assessment of Psychosocial Functioning: "The Adolescent At-Risk Score"

The following scales were included as a composite measure of at-risk status in adolescence, designated "The Adolescent At-Risk Score." The score includes measures of symptomatology and behavioral competence, delinquency and substance use and grade point average.

Youth Self Report (YSR), (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1987)

This scale is used to measure psychological symptomatology by asking respondents to identify items that describe them now or in the past six months on a three-point scale. The APP adapted this measure by selecting only 38 items from the original measure, divided it into four subscales relating to depression, aggression, somatic complaints and thought disorder. Mean scores were derived for each scale. The YSR was given at all four time points of the APP and test-retest reliability was computed. One year test-retest reliability was $r=.54$ ($n=1027$) (Adolescent Pathways Project, 1995).

Delinquency Index, (Adolescent Pathways Project, 1994b)

The Delinquency Index is comprised of ten self-reported offenses (e.g., "broke into a building to look around," "stole something worth \$50 or more," and "hit an adult") that are weighted according to the seriousness of the offense according to criteria established by Tracy, Wolfgang, and Figlio (1990). Weightings range from 1 (bodily harm or stealing under \$5) to 4(intimidation of an adult or using weapon to steal something). The test-retest reliability of this index over the course of one year is $r(886) = .39$. In analyses with the Adolescent Pathways Project of at-risk adolescents, the Delinquency Index scores of boys were higher than those of girls and those of older children higher than those of younger children (Adolescent Pathways Project, 1994b).

Substance Abuse Scale, (Adolescent Pathways Project, 1994a)

The Alcohol Index is created based on five yes/no items weighted by their seriousness. Items and their weights are as follows: "I had a sip of beer, wine, or liquor" = 1; "I felt drunk from drinking alcohol" = 2; "I drink alcohol at least once a week" = 3; "I drink alcohol 2 or 3 times a week" = 4;and "I drink alcohol almost every day" = 5. Test-retest of the Alcohol Index over a year was acceptable, $r(853) = .36$; in the Adolescent Pathways Project (1994a), White adolescents report more alcohol use than Black, Latino/a, and Asian adolescents as do older more than younger.

Grade Point Average

This measures scales grade point average by classifying people according to an average of A (90-100), B (80-89), C (70-79), D (65-69) and F (below 65). Scores are designated 1-5 respectively.

Attachment Assessment

The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA), (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987)

A self-report multifactorial index of attachment to assess adolescent attachment in two distinct domains: with parents and with peers. Three separate subscales are derived from the measure for both parent and peer attachment: Trust, Communication and Alienation. In the original version, twenty-eight items are asked regarding each parent and twenty-five items are asked regarding a best, same gender friend on a scale from 1, “almost never or never true,” to 5, “almost always true.” Example items are: “I like to get my parents’ point of view,” “I trust my parents,” “My best friends listen to what I have to say.”

Validity results of this instrument demonstrate a strong association with a range of measures of well-being, including indices of self-esteem, social support, emotional regulation, and social self-concept (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Furthermore, high levels of attachment to mother, father, and peers has been found to be negatively correlated with antisocial and aggressive problem behaviors in adolescent samples (Marcus & Betzer, 1996). Additionally, studies have found an association between low levels of attachment to parents and peers and reporting high levels of depression

(Armsden, McCauley, Burke, & Mitchell, 1990). The IPPA has been validated for use with pre-adolescent and adolescents aged 10-20.

The APP employed a modified version of the IPPA in the study and it was administered during Time 4 of the study. The APP modified the measure to include 6-items for trust and communication with a primary caregiver, 4-items for trust and communication with a closest, similar age friend, and 2-items for alienation from a primary caregiver and similar age friend (Jones, 1998).

Young Adulthood Assessment

Interview

The Qualitative Young Adult Transition Project Interview

This semi-structured interview was designed for the purposes of this study in collaboration with Dr. Aber, Dr. Waters, this writer and other research associates involved in the project. The interview assesses how young adults think about their lives from early adolescence to the present. Questions are designed to gather information about participants' experiences with important people in their lives, including family, friends, and romantic involvements. In addition, participants are asked to reflect upon their experiences in their neighborhood, school, and work places. Questions further address how participants think about and define themselves. Specifically, questions are designed to explore participants' feelings about their racial/ethnic identity and religious affiliations, as well to ask participants to reflect on how they define themselves and understand their place in the world in general. Questions are also designed to gather valuable information about how young adults understand their transition from

adolescence to early adulthood and “what it means to be grown.” The interview takes approximately two hours to administer.

Procedures for Developing the Interview: Pilot Information

The interview was piloted on 8 subjects from the student body of City College. It has undergone several revisions based on interviewee and interviewer feedback and analysis of both the content and structure of the questions. Pilot participants were paid \$10 per hour of their time and signed consents in accordance with the IRB standards of the City College, CUNY.

Self-Report Questionnaires

Demographic Questionnaire

This instrument is a self-report measure that asks subjects to provide demographic information regarding their age, race/ethnicity, family and living structure, educational attainment, employment status and financial resources. Subjects will be asked to provide information by selecting among the fixed-response choices listed in the instrument. Participants in the original APP received a similar version of this questionnaire.

Assessment of Developmental Outcome

Young Adult Self-Report (YASR), (Achenbach, 1997).

This instrument assesses self-ratings of behavioral and emotional problems of young adults aged 18-30 and is an upward extension of the YSR utilized in the adolescent assessment. The YASR has 111 problem items plus 16 socially desirable items. Subjects rate themselves based on how true each item is now or within the past 6 months. Using a

3-point rating scale, the YASR has an approximately 5th grade readability level and can also be read to youth who have poor reading skills. This measure provides raw scores, T scores, and percentiles for the five adaptive functioning scales (including, Friends, Education, Job, Family, and Spouse), and a total Mean Adaptive Score. In addition, scores are obtained for three substance use scales (Tobacco, Alcohol, and Drugs) and a total Mean Substance Use Score. Eight syndrome scales are also obtained including, Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems. Scores are based on ratings by 1,455 clinically referred young adults and are normed on 1,058 young adults aged 18-30.

Although the full-item YASR symptom checklist was administered to participants, only a modified version similar to that used for the YSR scale was used in the data analyses of this study. As with the YSR, mean scores were derived for the internalizing, externalizing and total problems scales, and included only those items that were a part of other waves of the study. Thus, 36 items overlapped and were included in the mean scores of the three YASR symptom and problem behaviors scales. Two items that had been previously scored in the YSR were not included in the YASR modified due to the fact that these items were not developmentally appropriate for young adults. Using this modified version offered greater simplicity as well as validity of data analyses allowing for a repeated measure design in adolescence and young adulthood. Without using a modified version of the YASR - similar to the YSR - the early adulthood symptom and problem behavior scales would have been measuring different constructs than previously assessed in early adolescence. However, the disadvantage of using the modified version of the both the YSR and the YASR is that the mean scores were not normed on a large-scale population and did not enable a discussion about whether scores

were in the clinical, borderline, or normal range, as is possible when using the full-item YASR measure (Adolescent Pathways Project, 1995).

Attachment Assessment

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

This self-report instrument is designed to assess adult attachment in close relationships. Attachment categories are derived from Bartholomew's four-category framework, in which attachment organization is assessed on both a continuous and categorical scale. Styles A and B correspond to the secure and fearful-avoidant attachment patterns, respectively. Styles C and D correspond to the preoccupied and dismissing-avoidant attachment patterns, respectively. A more detailed description of this measure is included in Chapter I.

Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR), (Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998).

The ECR is a recently developed 36-item self-report attachment measure. These items were derived from a factor analysis of most of the existing self-report measures of adult romantic attachment. The measure can be used to create two subscales: Avoidance (or Discomfort with Closeness and Depending on Others) and Anxiety (or Fear of Abandonment) or four categorical subgroups (secure, fearful, preoccupied, and dismissing). A more detailed description of this measure is included in Chapter I.

Copies of all instruments are attached in Appendices A-G.

Hypotheses

Based on the literature, it is expected that although the presence of significant problem behaviors and psychopathology in early adolescence is likely to contribute to a sustained pattern of difficulties into adulthood, there will likely be individual discontinuities in such a pattern. It is also hypothesized that attachment quality will serve as an important factor contributing to the association between psychopathology and problem behaviors and that attachment quality will improve the ability to predict adaptation across this time period. Due to the limited sample size and nature of the task defined by this dissertation, much of the results that will be generated from this research represent exploratory analyses, intended to delineate further research questions. The hypotheses are as follows:

- 1) Developmental Outcome indices of problem behaviors and psychopathology (based on the Adolescent At-Risk Score, that categorized individuals into 3 subgroups in early adolescence: 1=high-functioning, 2=at-risk, and 3=average) will be associated with indices of psychopathology and problem behaviors in young adulthood (e.g., rates of internalizing, externalizing and total psychological symptoms) in a pattern similar to that found in early adolescence. Although those individuals categorized as high-functioning and at-risk will likely yield overall lower and higher scores, respectively, on psychopathology and problem behavior indices in young adulthood, there will be a subgroup of individuals who deviate significantly in their developmental course and who evidence improvement or decreased psychopathology and problem behaviors across this time period.

2) There will be an association between measurements of quality of attachment in adolescence and young adulthood. It is hypothesized that measurements of attachment quality in adolescence and young adulthood will demonstrate a relative degree of continuity in regard to primary caregivers, peers and significant others.

3) Quality of attachment in early adolescence and in young adulthood will be related to overall rates of psychopathology and problem behaviors reported at both of these time points. It is expected that those individuals who score higher on quality of attachment to caregivers, similar age peers, and romantic partners will be negatively associated with psychopathology and problem behaviors, while lower overall quality of attachment will be positively associated with psychopathology and problem behaviors. Specifically, it is expected that those individuals classified in the secure and dismissing categories will likely be categorized as having lower rates of psychopathology and problem behaviors in young adulthood than those individuals classified in the preoccupied and fearful categories. Thus, attachment quality will improve the ability to predict adaptation across this time period.

In addition to analyses designed to test these hypotheses, narrative data from study participant interviews will be examined on a case-by-case basis in order to enrich the understanding of individual developmental trajectories and to provide a more

complex picture of the participants' life course and stressors, attachment experiences, sense of self, and adaptation from adolescence to early adulthood. This examination is intended to generate further areas of exploration and to help explicate patterns found in the quantitative analyses.

Chapter III: Results

Quantitative Results

Overview

Two main sets of results are presented. In an initial set of analyses, the relationship between psychological symptomatology scores was examined from early adolescence (Time 1) to young adulthood (Time 3). Analyses were first performed for the full sample and were then repeated after dividing the sample into three risk category groups based on classification at Time 1 in the high-functioning, at-risk, or average group. In a second set of analyses, the association between attachment measures in adolescence (Time 2) and young adulthood (Time 3) and risk category group classification at Time 1 and developmental outcome (i.e., symptomatology scores) at Time 3 was examined. Analyses were first performed for the adolescent attachment measure (IPPA) administered at Time 2 to determine the relationship between the attachment to friend and attachment to primary caregiver subscales of this measure. Analyses were subsequently performed to examine the association between these two subscales and developmental outcome at Time 3. Next, the association between the measures of attachment at Time 2 (the IPPA) and Time 3 (the RQ and the ECR) were examined. Finally, analyses were performed to test whether categorization on the young adult attachment measures at Time 3 (e.g., secure, fearful, preoccupied or dismissing subcategories) was related to patterns of risk category classification at Time 1 and to developmental outcome at Time 3.

Full Sample Analyses: Symptomatology Scores from Time 1 to Time 3

Before testing hypothesis #1, analyses were performed comparing symptomatology scores at Time 1 and Time 3 for the full sample without accounting for risk category group. This initial analysis was intended to first explore trends in the data since reducing an already small sample (N=28) into even smaller risk category groups (high functioning (N=9), at-risk (N=7), and average (N=12) further limits the ability to statistically test these relationships in any empirically meaningful way.

Correlations for Internalizing, Externalizing, and Total Symptoms at Time 1 and Time 3 (N=28).

Pearson's correlations (two-tailed significance) were computed for the entire longitudinal sample to examine the relationship between internalizing, externalizing and total psychological symptoms at Time 1 and Time 3. No significant correlations were found between the scales at Time 1 and Time 3, suggesting that, for the entire sample, there was no significant association between symptom profile scores at Time 1 and Time 3 on any of the three subscales. As expected, the internalizing and externalizing scales at Time 1 were highly related to Time 1 total psychological symptoms, with correlations of $r=.89$ ($p<.01$) and $r=.83$ ($p<.01$), respectively, since the total psychological symptom scale is made up, mostly, of each of the two subscales at Time 1. In addition, Time 1 externalizing and internalizing scales were moderately related to each other, with correlations of $r=.55$ ($p<.01$), suggesting that individual scores at Time 1 on both the externalizing and internalizing subscales were related.

There were no significant correlations found between the subscales at Time 3, suggesting that there were no statistically significant associations between scores on any

of the three symptom subscales. This result at Time 3, is in marked contrast to Time 1 analyses, that indicated strong associations among the three subscales.

T-tests for Internalizing, Externalizing, and Total Symptoms at Time 1 and Time 3.

Paired sample t-tests were employed in a closer examination that compared differences in mean values for symptom subscales from Time 1 and Time 3. Examined as a whole, total symptomatology scores decreased significantly from Time 1 ($M=.51$) to Time 3 ($M=.32$), [$t(26) = 2.39, p < .05$]. This significant difference, however, was not evident at the individual variable level suggesting that internalizing and externalizing symptoms scores remained relatively stable across Time 1 and Time 3.

Given that the total psychological symptom score decreased significantly across this time period and that the internalizing and externalizing subscales make up most of the scores included in this scale, the stability observed by the t-tests did not make intuitive sense. This result may have been effected by the small sample size utilized in this study and a closer, qualitative mean analysis of the data was required to better examine the relative stability of internalizing and externalizing across Time 1 and Time 3.

Table 1

Mean Symptom Scores for Time 1 and Time 3

Symptom Subscale	Time 1 (Mean)	Time 3 (Mean)
Internalizing	.52	.47
Externalizing	.36	.27
Total Symptoms	.51	.32

Qualitative examination of the data in Table 1 shows, in contrast to the t-tests computed, that mean symptom scores decreased for all three subscales from Time 1 to Time 3. Consistent with the statistical tests, the total symptoms score evidenced the greatest change. Though not statistically significant, externalizing symptom scores seemingly decreased more than internalizing symptom scores across this time period. Thus, while the t-tests performed on this sample suggest relative stability in internalizing and externalizing symptoms across this time period, a qualitative examination of the data implies a decrease in symptom profiles for all three subscales. Nonetheless, a larger sample is needed to more accurately assess this hypothesis.

Examination of Mean Differences on 3 Symptom Subscales x Risk Category Group

Following examination of symptomatology scores from Time 1 to Time 3 for the full sample, the sample was divided into the three risk category groups designated at Time 1 (i.e., high-functioning, at-risk, and average). Prior to testing hypothesis #1, analyses were performed to examine the relationship among these subscales and internalizing, externalizing, and total psychological symptoms scores (separately) at each of the time points. This examination was conducted to determine whether risk category group at each of the two time points was differentiating scores among the three subscales.

Early Adolescence (Time 1): Symptom Mean x Risk Category Group Analyses

Table 2

Time 1: Descriptive Subscale Means x Risk Category Group

Risk Category Group		Internalizing	Externalizing	Total
High Functioning	Mean	.19	.09	.18
	N	9	9	9
	SD	.13	.10	.07
At-Risk	Mean	.90	.72	.89
	N	7	7	7
	SD	.41	.33	.33
Average	Mean	.57	.36	.55
	N	12	12	12
	SD	.39	.21	.20

Table 3

Time 1: Analysis of Variance of Between Risk Category Group Comparisons x Symptomatology

Variable	Df	Mean Square	F (between group comparisons)
Internalizing	2	1.02	9.06 **
Externalizing	2	.80	16.01 **
Total Symptoms	2	.93	22.04 **

**=p<.01

Table 2 includes descriptive data for means in the three risk category groups on each of the three symptomatology subscales at Time 1, when the age of the participants was between 10-12. Analysis of variance (ANOVAs), included in Table 3 were computed to determine if there were significant differences between risk category groups on the internalizing, externalizing and total symptoms subscales. Results from these analyses point to significant mean differences for all three groups.

Table 4

Time 1: Post Hoc Test: Bonferroni Multiple Comparisons to Determine Significant Group Differences from ANOVA

Symptom Scale	Risk Category Group Comparisons	Mean Differences
Internalizing	High Functioning vs. At-Risk **	-.71
	High Functioning vs. Average*	-.39
	At-Risk vs. Average	.33
Externalizing	High Functioning vs. At-Risk **	-.64
	High Functioning vs. Average *	-.28
	At-Risk vs. Average **	.36
Total Symptoms	High Functioning vs. At-Risk **	-.70
	High Functioning vs. Average **	-.38
	At-Risk vs. Average *	.32

*p<.05; **p<.01; Bold=not significant

Based on the ANOVA (Table 2) results, Bonferroni's post-hoc multiple comparisons tests were computed to determine where the specific differences were found. Table 4 illustrates that all three symptomatology subscales for each risk category group were significantly different from each other at the p<.05 or p<.01 level, with the exception of no significant differences found between the average and at-risk groups on internalizing symptoms. These results indicate that internalizing symptoms did not differentiate between these two groups at Time 1. However, the at-risk group differed from the average group, with higher externalizing scores at Time 1. Furthermore, the high functioning group differed from both the average and at-risk groups and had lower internalizing, externalizing, and total psychological symptoms scores than both of these groups.

Young Adulthood (Time 3): Symptom Mean x Risk Category Group Analyses

Table 5

Time 3: Descriptive Subscale Means x Risk Category Group

Risk Category Group		Internalizing	Externalizing	Total
High Functioning	Mean	.40	.16	.23
	N	9	9	9
	SD	.47	.29	.33
At-Risk	Mean	.36	.31	.31
	N	7	7	7
	SD	.13	.18	.13
Average	Mean	.60	.33	.40
	N	11	11	11
	SD	.36	.42	.38

Table 6

Rank order of Symptomology Subscale Means x Risk Category Group for Time 3

Risk Category Group	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Problems
High-functioning	2 (medium)	3 (low)	3 (low)
At-Risk	3 (low)	2 (medium)	2 (medium)
Average	1 (high)	1 (high)	1 (high)

The analyses conducted for Time 1 were repeated for Time 3 where the mean age of participants was 23.7 years old. ANOVAs were computed to determine whether there were significant differences between risk category groups on the three symptomatology subscales in young adulthood. There were no statistically significant mean differences found for the groups on any of these subscales. The small sample size necessitates looking at mean differences from a qualitative perspective to examine possible trends in the data. Thus, Table 6 rank orders each symptom subscale by risk category group. As expected, individuals in the high functioning group evidenced the lowest externalizing and total psychological symptom scores at Time 3 and medium internalizing symptoms

scores. Surprisingly, individuals in the average, rather than the at-risk, group evidenced the highest symptom scores on all three subscales. Again, a larger sample is needed to better understand the pathways of psychological symptomatology for the three risk category groups and to further address these qualitative findings.

Comparison of Time 1 and Time 3 Symptomatology Scores x Risk Category Group

T-tests for Risk Category Group x Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Symptoms at Time 1 and Time 3

Table 7

Risk Category Group	Mean Comparisons T1-T3	T-Value
High Functioning	Internalizing T1-T3	-1.35
	Externalizing T1-T3	-.66
	Total Symptoms T1-T3	-.46
At-Risk	Internalizing T1-T3 **	4.01
	Externalizing T1-T3 *	2.82
	Total Symptoms T1-T3 **	5.42
Average	Internalizing T1-T3	-.24
	Externalizing T1-T3	.24
	Total Symptoms T1-T3	-1.31

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Paired sample t-tests were computed in Table 7 to test hypothesis #1 by comparing differences in mean values between Time 1 and Time 3 for each of the symptom subscales according to risk category group classification. Analyses performed for the high-functioning and average groups were not statistically significant for Time 1 and Time 3 internalizing, externalizing, and total psychological symptoms, suggesting that symptomatology scores remained relatively stable for these two groups across this time period. However, the at-risk group evidenced a statistically significant decrease in

symptomatology scores on all three subscales. Although these analyses provide an overview related to patterns of developmental trajectories from T1 to T3, they do not enable an investigation of potential individual variation within each group. In order to examine this question on an individual level, a more in-depth exploration of developmental trajectories is included in the qualitative section of this study.

Attachment in Adolescence and Young Adulthood and Developmental Outcome

The next set of analyses test hypothesis #2, which predicts an association between quality of attachment in adolescent and young adulthood attachment measures, and will also address hypothesis #3, which predicts that there will be associations between adolescent and young adult attachment classification and risk designation at Time 1 and developmental outcome at Time 3. It is hypothesized that higher scores on the IPPA scales, attachment to primary caregivers and attachments to friends, will be negatively associated with rates of psychological symptomatology found in young adulthood. Additionally, it is hypothesized that individuals categorized in the secure and dismissing subcategories on the ECR and RQ young adult measures of attachment will be more likely to exhibit lower scores on the three symptomatology subscales at Time 1 and Time 3 versus individuals classified in the fearful and preoccupied subcategories.

Analyses for the Adolescent Measure of Attachment: The Inventory of Peer and Parent Attachment (IPPA) (Time 2)

IPPA Subscale Correlations: Attachment to Friend and Attachment to Primary Caregivers

Before testing hypothesis #2, it is important to review the adolescent measure of attachment (IPPA) administered at Time 2 (when participants were aged 11-13) to determine whether the measure's two subscales are statistically related. The IPPA comprises two continuous subscales yielding mean attachment scores to friend and to primary caregiver. Because the young adult attachment measures – the RQ and ECR - measure romantic attachment and do not account for attachment to primary caregivers, it is important to determine whether peer attachment was statistically related to primary caregiver attachment in this sample. The analysis revealed no significant correlations between the two IPPA subscales, suggesting that on this measure of attachment the subscales, attachment to friend and attachment to primary caregiver, yield two distinct types of attachment scores that are not statistically related to each other.

IPPA subscale scores and Developmental Outcome at Time 3

Next, the first part of hypothesis #3 was tested to examine the association between the adolescent measure of attachment and developmental outcome in young adulthood. Correlations were computed for the entire sample to determine the relationship between the two subscales of the IPPA measure and developmental outcome at Time 3. As predicted, attachment to friend at Time 2 was negatively correlated with Time 3 externalizing ($r = -.52$, $p < .05$), internalizing ($r = -.388$, $p < .05$) and total psychological symptoms ($r = -.50$, $P < .05$), indicating that, symptomatology scores decreased as peer attachment increased for all individuals in the sample. Contrary to expectations, primary

caregiver attachment was not significantly correlated with symptomatology scores at Time 3, which suggests that this measure was not associated with statistically significant patterns of symptom scores in young adulthood.

The Relationship between Adolescent Measures of Attachment (IPPA) at Time 2 and the Young Adult Measures of Attachment (RQ and ECR) at Time 3.

ANOVA's were next computed to test hypothesis #2 by determining whether there was a relationship between attachment measure (IPPA) at Time 2 and the young adult measures (ECR and RQ) at Time 3. Whereas the IPPA yields two continuous mean subscales scores for attachment to friend and attachment to primary caregiver, both the ECR and RQ measures yield four distinct attachment categorical classifications: secure, fearful, preoccupied and dismissing. The ECR and RQ measures can also yield two dimensional categories that include, anxiety and avoidance subscales that represent the degree to which individuals are anxious about abandonment in relationships and avoidant of relationships.

No significant differences in the means were found for attachment to friend and attachment to primary caregiver (Time 2) for any of the attachment group categories (secure, fearful, preoccupied and dismissing) on the ECR or the RQ, suggesting that attachment category classification at Time 3 was not able to differentiate a score on either subscale of the IPPA attachment measure in adolescence. Contrary to expectations, there was no continuity found between the adolescent and young adult attachment measures.

Young Adult Measures of Attachment: Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR) and The Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) (Time 3)

Chi Square Test For Attachment Category at Time 3 x Risk Group Category (Time 1)

Chi square analyses were conducted to test the second part of hypothesis #3 in order to determine the relationship between the young adult attachment measure classifications on the RQ and ECR and risk category group designation in early adolescence (Time 1). These analyses were not significant for any risk category group, suggesting that there are no statistically significant patterns for attachment classification according to risk category group. Despite the lack of significant findings in this analysis, the small sample size (N=27) likely influenced the ability to detect significant differences. Thus, a qualitative description of these findings is included below to reveal potential trends in the data that can be better assessed with a larger sample.

Table 8

Chi Square distribution for ECR x Risk Category Group (N=27)

Attachment Category	High Functioning	At-Risk	Average
Secure	4	3	3
Fearful	1	2	4
Preoccupied	0	1	1
Dismissing	4	1	4

Table 8 shows that the majority of individuals classified in the high functioning group in early adolescence (Time 1) were classified in the secure or dismissing categories on the ECR young adult measure (Time 3). Only one individual in the high functioning group was in neither of these subcategories and was found to be in the fearful subgroup.

While more than half (7 out of 12) of the individuals in the average risk category group were classified in the secure and dismissing subcategories, there were proportionally more individuals classified in the fearful and preoccupied categories (4 and 1, respectively), than in the high functioning subgroup. Interestingly, there were nearly as many individuals in the secure and dismissing subcategories as there were in the fearful and preoccupied subcategories for the at-risk group. While qualitative patterns are revealed in the data, it is important to note that there were a different number of individuals in each risk category group, thus reducing the interpretability of these patterns. Moreover, the small sample size does not allow for any significant generalizations about these findings.

Table 9
Chi Square distribution for RQ x Risk Category Group (N=24)

Attachment Category	High Functioning	At-Risk	Average
Secure	4	3	1
Fearful	2	1	7
Preoccupied	1	0	1
Dismissing	2	1	1

Table 9 reveals that a majority of individuals in the high functioning risk category group were classified in the secure and dismissing attachment subcategories combined on the RQ (6 out of 9). However, the fearful and dismissing subcategory groups had the same number of individuals (2) in each group. A majority of individuals in the at-risk group were also classified in the secure and dismissing categories, with only one individual classified in the fearful subcategory. However, data is missing data from

several respondents in the at-risk category who did not choose an attachment classification and it is difficult to find any meaningful qualitative trends given that there are only five individuals in this group. As with the ECR, there were proportionally more individuals classified in the fearful (7) and preoccupied (1) categories in the average group than in the other two risk category groups. Additionally, the average group had proportionally more individuals classified in these two groups than in the dismissing and secure categories. Again, a larger sample size is necessary to detect any statistically meaningful trends.

Young Adult Attachment Quality (ECR and RQ) and Relationship to Time 3 Symptom Scores

Finally, ANOVAs were computed to complete analyses for hypotheses #3 to determine the relationship between T3 attachment categorization (ECR and RQ measures) and developmental outcome (i.e., whether there are significant mean differences on symptom subscales according to attachment classification). The ANOVA for the ECR indicated a statistical trend at the $p < .10$ level for attachment style by the internalizing subscale [$F(3) = 2.92, p < .10$]. Although post-hoc tests cannot be conducted on this trend to yield any meaningful quantitative result, these tests were nonetheless computed in order to get a qualitative sense of trends in the data that could be better tested with a larger sample. Bonferroni's post-hoc multiple comparisons tests revealed a trend difference at the $p < .10$ level between the a higher internalizing subscale mean score for individuals in the fearful subcategory ($M = .79$) as compared with the secure ($M = .37$) and dismissing ($M = .34$) categories. Thus, testing a larger sample might reveal that individuals in the secure and dismissing subcategories have statistically significant lower

scores on the internalizing scale when compared with individuals in the fearful subcategory in young adulthood. Notably, there were only two individuals in the preoccupied category and no analyses could be performed due to this limited sample size.

The above analyses were repeated for the RQ attachment measure. The ANOVA for RQ by symptom subscale was statistically significant for the internalizing subscale [$F(3) = 6.00$; $p < .05$] and a trend was found for the total problems subscale [$F(3) = 2.62$; $p < .10$]. Similar to results found by the Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test for the ECR, the RQ differentiated higher internalizing symptoms at the $p < .10$ level for those individuals in the fearful category ($M = .76$) than those in the secure ($M = .25$) and dismissing ($M = .17$) categories. Again, though it is not statistically valid to compute the Bonferroni post-hoc multiple comparisons test for the trend result found for the total psychological symptoms scale, this test was employed to assess trends in the data that could only be legitimately tested using a larger sample size. Post-hoc tests indicated no significant or trend differences between each attachment category and the total problems subscales. Thus, results of these analyses suggest that, as with the ECR, individuals in the secure and dismissing subcategories may have lower internalizing scores in young adulthood when compared with individuals in the fearful subcategory.

Qualitative Sample Selection

Due to the small sample size employed in this study it was not possible to perform complex analyses to concurrently test multiple variables in order to determine whether attachment categorization is predictive of developmental outcome and risk category classification from Time 1 to Time 3. Thus, a qualitative narrative investigation will be used to discuss and highlight these relationships on a case-by-case basis for a subset of

six individuals of this study. Selection of these cases was based on risk category group and attachment classification, with three individuals chosen from the high-functioning group, two individuals chosen from the average risk category group, and one individual chosen from the at-risk category group.

Qualitative Analyses

Overview

This section includes six case studies based on narrative analyses of transcripts from participant interviews. In order to remain true to the voice of each participant, numerous verbatim quotes from these interviews are included along with thematic analyses. In particular, analyses focus on themes related to how participants define their developmental course into young adulthood. Attachment experiences will be highlighted and hypotheses about individuals' quantitative attachment classification and narrative themes will be discussed. The relationship between individual developmental trajectories and attachment experiences will also be a focus of the narrative themes. Additionally, themes address sources of resilience and obstacles experienced from adolescence to early adulthood. Though a summary of salient themes is included at the end of each case study, similarities and comparisons among the narratives – in addition to general thematic trends – are included in the discussion section.

DEMI

Risk Category: *High Functioning*
Age: *24*
Sex: *Female*
Ethnicity: *Caucasian (Greek)*
ECR Category: *Secure*
RQ Category: *Secure*

Symptom Scores:

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Symptoms
T1	.09	.00	.12
T3	.08	.00	.06

Case Summary:

Demi is a twenty-four year-old female of Greek descent. She was born in Greece and immigrated to the United States, along with her parents, when she was eight-years-old. She currently lives at home with her parents and fifteen-year-old brother. Demi was classified in early adolescence in the high-functioning risk category group based on her high G.P.A. and low scores on a delinquency risk and alcohol use index, in addition to low scores on all three of the symptomatology subscales. In young adulthood, Demi's symptomatology profile scores continued to be low, with relatively little change in scores across all three subscales. She was classified in the secure attachment category on both the ECR and RQ measures. Demi's apparent resilience, reflected in the quantitative data, is further illustrated by her narrative themes that include an emphasis on ways in which her strong connections to family seemed to mediate her adjustment to immigrating to the

United States, and the ability to develop significant peer and romantic attachments, a stable sense of identity, and career aspirations.

In her narrative, Demi described herself as being “pretty successful right now.” Her definition of success encompassed a number of academic accomplishments, including completion of her BA in speech pathology and near completion of an MA in this area, in addition to her intention to enter another MA program in Special Education in the Fall. She also described enjoyment and pleasure in the work arena, where she is employed part-time as a speech pathology assistant for the Board of Education, working with autistic preschoolers. Demi is particularly proud of her ability to be financially self-sufficient, despite that she continues to reside in her parents’ home, something she describes as a cultural norm in Greek families:

I have my own income...career...If I moved out into an apartment, I can pay my bills, and I wouldn't ...you know, I can put my money aside. I am saving up. I don't have a problem with money...I'm just still living with my parents because I am from a Greek family. You don't get...you get married. You move out (laughter). It's the way it works.

She also prides herself on her ability to be “responsible” and to maintain close friends who rely on her:

Sometimes I'm a little bit of a perfectionist. I like things done, you know, nicely and done on time. I'm a great listener, and I might sound, cocky, but I am. I'm the one everybody comes to for advice, the psychologist of the group. And I could be trusted. I'm the person that keeps what other people tell me. I keep it to myself and I'm very open [to listening].

Additionally, she has been in a relationship with her current boyfriend for the past five years, something she also sees as a measure of success, and they have plans to become engaged in the next few months after Demi graduates from her Master's program.

Demi's path from adolescence to early adulthood, however, has not been without significant challenges and obstacles, including her immigration to the United States at age eight, occasional struggle to define her identity, her place in her family and her social world at school, and negotiating her career path. Despite these obstacles, she attributes her resilience to sustained connections with family members and also with close friends. These strong relationships are characteristic of her secure attachment categorization on both the young adult measures.

Of all her relationships, Demi considers those with family members to be the most important in life. Her family has been a cornerstone of support throughout her development:

I have an extremely close family. We all have a close bond – me and my father, me and my mother and me and my brother, uh, everybody from my family. And I think we have had that family setting...we've had that family bond. This...kids don't grow up [with a strong sense of family]. I feel like I did. I feel I grew up successfully. I think my parents had a lot to do with my...my upbringing and the kind of person I am...And I see a lot of other people my age that haven't been able to get through as much as, you know...as far as I have.

In addition to her mother, father, and fifteen-year-old brother, Demi has an uncle that lives in New York, but the rest of her extended family remain in Greece and she has limited contact with them. Her mother is a "housewife...and also a cosmetologist, so she does facials and stuff on weekends." Demi described her mother as very caring and said that, in many ways, she holds the family together: "She's an amazing human being...she just tries to make sure that everybody...you know, when my father's upset, he's calm and when my brother's upset or when I'm upset, she's just...She just swallows everything and tries to take care of everybody's problems." She also described her relationship with her mother as being consistently close from junior high school to the present, indicating

that she feels they are “best friends.” Demi attributes some of this closeness to the fact that they are only fifteen years apart in age:

My mom was really young when she had me, so we kind of grew up together. She was fifteen when she had me, so we really grew up as best friends. So I feel I can tell her a lot with the exception of certain (laughter) little things. But, um, she...we...we are...we're a lot like sisters, I think...'cause I know my friends have sisters and they could tell them a lot with the exception of things they don't want their mothers to find out. So I really feel like...I feel like she's my mother and my sister many times since I don't have a sister.

Whereas Demi's mother provides sustaining emotional support in her life, her father has been a role model for the value of hard work and the ability to overcome obstacles. He started his own construction business upon immigrating to the United States and he has since made a successful life for his family:

It was really hard for my father when he came here from the East. He was like starting all over. He had a daughter, a wife to take care of and my mother was pregnant at the time. So there was a lot of expenses for somebody that has just moved here and didn't have all that much, but he did...he did an amazing job...He bought a house here. He bought a house in Greece, so he's doing really good.

Although Demi revealed that she was “very close” to her father, she also said that he played a different, albeit central, role in her development. She described their relationship by saying:

My relationship with my father isn't necessarily closer than my mother, but I...it's...you know, to him I feel...when you see him interact with me and my brother, you...you can tell that I'm Daddy's little girl – the way he interacts with me. I'm very close with him. I can't tell him as much as I can tell my mother 'cause he's my father (laughter), but, um, other problems...it's like you can tell him a lot...he was always there...he was more of a, 'You can't do this and that's the bottom line' She was always in the middle trying to figure out what's the right thing to do, so I think that's the reason I'm closer with her.

Demi considers the values and beliefs she learned from her family to be central in her life. Specifically, she identified self-respect as being a fundamental value that she learned from them:

The most important value is that they taught us respect, to me and my brother – to also respect ourselves because that’s the only way other people are gonna respect us, and also to respect others and to treat people accordingly, not, you know...don’t let people step all over you just because you’re too nice. And don’t be mean to everybody just because you don’t like them – to give everybody a fair chance.

She believes that her family has played a key role in teaching her how to “deal with life” and “become a strong person:”

Family and relationships...I think that plays a huge role in what children and adults [learn] to deal with life...the way that parents support them of the values that they were taught. It hasn’t only been the good example that [my] parents set, sometimes the bad example is what a makes a...a person stronger...it was true for me.

Demi’s relationships with both her parents have served as an important foundation for security and stability and were particularly important to her adaptation to life in the United States after immigrating from Greece at age eight. Despite that their move proved financially beneficial, this relocation has also been one of the greatest obstacles in her life, as she encountered many cultural changes and hardly understood English at the time: “...I had to learn a whole language, a whole new system, and getting used to it and especially...I...I...was still young, but seeing my parents having to get used to it, who lived in Greece all their life.” Demi also said that this was a particularly difficult time for her because most of her extended family, except for her uncle, remained in Greece. In junior high school, she was a “very shy person” who didn’t interact with many people beyond her nuclear family. But although they provided a bedrock of

support, she still felt isolated. She revealed that there was really “nobody...It was only my family [that I was really close to]. I didn’t know that many people.”

In junior high and early on in high school, Demi remained in a relatively insular social circle comprised of friends and family members who spoke Greek and who shared a similar culture. She strongly identified with her Greek heritage during this period as a way to maintain a sense of coherence and identity: “I was Greek and that was...that [was] mine. And I couldn’t hardly be anything else ‘cause I hardly new the English language, so [being Greek] was very important to be...it was all I had.” As Demi was able to draw significant support and stability from her family and cultural of origin, she increasingly developed the confidence to extend her network beyond her family members. Her family, in a sense, served as a secure base from which she was able to eventually branch out and develop new relationships and explore new experiences. By the eleventh grade, Demi began to “get involved in more activities” and to “build [more] relationships” beyond her community, which helped her to begin defining her individuality and future goals.

Demi reported that, as she progressed in high school, she developed “a lot of close friends.” In particular, she described two friends who are still important in her life today: “I’m extremely close to [them]...like sisters...I can tell them anything. Even the things I can’t tell my mom. It’s all been really helpful.” Demi recounted having friends from a variety of ethnic backgrounds in high school, while still being loosely connected to the Greek community: “I still got involved with the House of Representatives for senior class for the Greek Club in high school but I also had a lot of [other] friends.” She explained that only one of her best friends was Greek and “all of my other friends weren’t.” Moreover, Demi felt that a part of her disidentified with the Greek Community in high

school as a way of fitting into the larger culture and she sometimes “felt more identified with the Spanish kids.” It was not until college that she began to again embrace a strong sense of Greek cultural identity, while finding ways to develop her sense of individuality. Demi reported that in college she also maintained close connections with family members, but that she also began to explore career options and develop an increased sense of independence.

Her sense of individuality and independence is particularly reflected in her goal orientation and desire to become successful “at a career.” Demi reported that she underwent a series of career explorations in junior high school and that her career goals “changed a million times over” since then: “[in junior high school] I was thinking that I want to be a lawyer pretty soon... You know, just... I saw myself as a lawyer, just like one of those lawyers on TV and then I changed my mind a million times after that (laughter).” She said that by the end of high school she “wanted to be a pediatrician. I knew I wanted to work with kids and I wanted to work in the medical field, so that’s what I saw my future as... in... in the medical field working with kids basically.”

Demi identified and developed her passion for her current career goal in college, where she pursued several different internship experiences:

I started, uh, getting involved with people that had disabilities and stuff like that, and I think that showed me a lot. ‘Wow.’ You know, these people are going through so much and sometimes we think we have little problems because we can’t get what we want. And I think that particular moment is when... it turned me into what I became now. It made me want, you know, to do what I do. And I’m... I’m working with something I love and it just gave me new insight on life.

In addition to developing a sustained network of close friends in late adolescence, Demi’s ability to form significant attachment relationships is reflected in her long-term relationship with her current boyfriend. They have been together for the past five years

and have plans to become engaged over the next several months. She explained that they met at the beginning of her freshman year of college and have been together since. She adoringly described many of his attractive qualities:

My boyfriend must be the most amazing person in the whole entire world. I think he, you know...he plays...you know, he's there when I need him – equally as my parents...He was my first love and probably my last one 'cause we are planning on getting engaged by the end of this year...probably before the summer. He is...he's so understanding and so sweet and so helpful and extremely outgoing and funny. He has all the good things. Everybody wants to clone him...(laughter)...I think that just says it all.

Demi was also able to articulate thoughts about her future and what life will be like at age 30:

I don't know if I want to have kids by then. Yeah. Probably be married and start having...thinking about having kids or at least having my first kid at that age. (laughter)...I'll be must out of the second Master's. I'll be working with, you know...specially education and getting all...starting to work as a speech pathologist.

The only potential obstacle to this success, Demi anticipated, is “bad grades.” She described herself as a very motivated and hardworking student, but she also said that she has some concerns about being able to maintain a 3.0 G.P.A. in her current Master's program and that she has “had to work really extra hard to keep up her grades...it's doable and I am doing it.”

Thus, despite that Demi had some difficulties assimilating and had to contend with adjusting to the larger culture of the United States when she initially immigrated, her developmental outcome in young adulthood appears to be quite successful. Demi's narrative emphasizes the importance of the role of her strong attachment relationships with her family in providing her with a foundation to adjust to cultural differences in the United States, to ultimately form a network of intimate relationships in late adolescence

including close friends in high school and a significant romantic attachment, and to development a satisfying career trajectory. Her characteristic pattern of relating to others and adjusting supports her secure attachment classification designated in the quantitative section. In many ways, it seems as if Demi's family served as a secure base for her in early childhood thus enabling her to form strong attachments in later adolescence and early adulthood and has been a significant factor leading to her resilience and ability to develop a sense of individuality and independence.

ERICKA

Risk Category: *High Functioning*
Age: *23*
Sex: *Female*
Ethnicity: *African-American*
ECR Category: *Dismissing*
RQ Category: *Fearful*

Symptom Scores:

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Symptoms
T1	.29	.00	.22
T3	.54	.00	.21

Case Summary:

Ericka is a twenty-three-year-old, African-American, female. She was born in the United States and grew up with both her parents and five older sisters in a predominantly Latino neighborhood in New York City. Ericka recently moved out of her family's home and now lives in Brooklyn, where she is a third year medical student. She is engaged to marry a Dominican man and plans to marry upon completion of medical school. While in school, Ericka supports herself through a combination of parental assistance and part-time jobs. She was classified in the high-functioning risk category group in early adolescence based on her high G.P.A., and low scores on a delinquency risk and alcohol use index, in addition to low scores on all three of the symptomatology subscales. In young adulthood, Ericka's symptomatology profile remained low for total symptoms and externalizing scores, but she had a slight increase in her internalizing symptoms score. She was classified in the dismissing attachment category in young adulthood on the ECR

measure, and in the fearful category on the RQ measure. Despite her many indices of external success and resilience in early adulthood, Ericka's narrative themes reveal that she is struggling internally to define her identity and individuality. Her relationships with family members seem to play a key role in both her current successes, as well as, in her conflicts.

In her narrative, Ericka explained that, "I think my life is going as planned, which isn't a good thing...There are just things that I wish I could do right now, as opposed to what I am doing." She indicated that she was partly "confused" about "where I am right now," and stated, "I know I want to be a medical doctor but I don't know if right now if I want to spend my time right now doing that instead of experiencing something else."

Ericka misses the more "carefree" side of herself and she recounted that in high school "I did a lot more things that I enjoyed." She elaborated that "Because I am in medical school, I just can't do [the activities I enjoy] as much as I assume most twenty-three-year-olds do it...I can't act like a twenty-three-year-old most of the time." Ericka reminisced that in high school, she had been involved in many different activities:

I was just into so many different things. I [was] able to complete everything...I have a lot of talents...I used to be part of a dance school but right now I just...they have little clubs at school where you can dance so I every once in a while go there and join those groups. I play the piano. I read. I try to swim. I go skiing when I can. I like to roller blade. I go to the movies when I can...I really don't have much time.

Ericka added that, over the next five years, "I would like to travel. Just take five years off and travel and experience the world...take an extended vacation...I hope to be happily married, have some children, I guess just take more time for me." However, she did not consider that "this [was] realistic" because of school constraints and high family

expectations for achievement. She stated that, as she has matured from adolescence to early adulthood she has begun to look forward to the future less than before:

When you're young, you can't wait to be eighteen, and then when you're eighteen, you can't wait to be twenty-one. Once you're twenty-one, it's kind of... What more is there? (laughter)... I mean as far as marriage and children and spending the rest of your life with someone, you have stuff to look forward to, but getting older, no.

According to Ericka, being "an adult" comes with a price in that you have to be "stiffer" and that you become mired in responsibilities and lose time for yourself.

Ericka's path from early adolescence to the present has been essentially linear. She has been goal-oriented since junior high school and her professional goal of becoming a medical doctor has not changed: "I knew back then that I would be in medical school." She said that she never considered changing what she wanted to do with her life and that she would still not change her professional goals, but she regrets missing out on many experiences because of this intense focus:

I would have taken more time to experience college. I would have just experienced a lot more just to see who I was as a person... [I would have liked to have gone] to college and [have been] able to search and figure out what [I wanted] to be, instead of going in and knowing this is what I plan to be..stating that although wouldn't change path, might have explored other options.

Ericka credits her family members with perpetuating her goal-orientation and she reported that her parents have been central in teaching her the value of education and hard work. Perhaps most important, Ericka's family taught her the importance of gaining others' respect as a measure of success. She stated that "for most twenty-three-year-olds I think [success] would be money and cars and material worth, but for myself it's more just aiming for respect... Money and all that comes into it later on but initially it's just having people respect you." Ironically, Ericka admitted that it is most important to earn her

family's respect and that her drive to succeed stems from her need to gain their approval. She views her strong attachment to her family as an essential source of support, but also as a significant obstacle to her developing individuality. "They annoy me...but also my family challenge[s] me," she explained, "I doubt if I would be where I am right now if they didn't annoy me. If they didn't push me to be the best that I could be." She also explained that she "tr[ies] to please other people even if it doesn't please me." Right now, Ericka is confused about whether to continue on her current path, living her life in a way that her parents "would approve" or exploring her own aspirations.

Ericka is the youngest of six girls and was born and raised in New York City, where she lived with her parents and sisters until they were each old enough to move out on their own. Both of Ericka's parents are from the South and all but one sister were born to her parents, the eldest being her father's child from a previous relationship. Ericka's parents are currently married, but her mother moved back down South two years ago because "she took [Ericka's] two nephews with her because she didn't want them to grow up in New York." Ericka explained their separation by saying that "my father still lives here but he [hasn't left to join her] because he doesn't want to leave me here by myself...But my mother felt I was old enough, so she just left." Ericka had lived in the family home until recently, when she moved out to be closer to her school and to gain the increased independence she felt she lacked during her adolescent years. She revealed that her mother's move was the most important negative experience in her life so far, and that it led her to feel very much alone:

Well, it's been hard...Yes, [miss her]. She gets on my nerves...I miss my mother every day so I get kind of...she's usually the one I talk to a lot when she was up here so I don't really have anyone who I can go to like her. My fiancé I can talk to but there's some things that only a mother can understand. So when I'm down, it

gets pretty hard cause she's not there. Even if I talk to her on the phone, it's not the same.

Furthermore, though Ericka indicated that she was close to her mother, she also revealed many different dimensions of their relationship. For example, she described her mother as quite goal-oriented and said that she sometimes felt her mother pushed her too hard to achieve her own goals. She also described her mother as both "caring" and "lacking emotion." Despite their conflicts, Ericka's mother is the person in whom she has confided and from whom she has sought support since adolescence:

It's easy with her. Caring. Stubborn. At times lacks emotions...she doesn't express anything. I don't want to say she doesn't feel it. She doesn't express [her emotions]...She's very (laughter). It's weird. It's difficult to explain her. She is very goal-oriented. I could sit here and talk about her for a half hour...She is one of those people who say what's on her mind. And she doesn't mean to hurt your feelings but she has to say what's on her mind. And she says it.

Ericka explained that, in order to understand her mother's goal orientation and lack of emotionality, it is necessary to know about her background and influences:

She was born in the South, she was born in a really nice, upper middle class black community. She went to all-black schools and everything. And came to NY. [She has a college degree]. She came to NY, put herself through nursing school. She was a nurse until I was born. And she just believes that all of her children should strive for the best. And so she is very strict when it comes to that. She wants us to always be proper and speak well and hold yourself well, which are good things to teach your daughter, but to hear it every day, it's crazy. That's how she is. She's a go-getter and when she wants something, she will not let anything stop her.

Although she sometimes experienced her mother's high expectations as demanding, Ericka revealed that she appreciated her mother's efforts to make sure she "experienced the world...She wanted to make sure nothing was closed off to us. So she would take us to Broadway shows and fancy restaurants...I would do that with my kids." However, she also revealed that she wished her mother's "teachings" had not come at the expense of being more emotionally available. Ericka wished her mother had been more able to

provide her with emotional support, explaining that “There wasn’t a lot of hugging and kissing in my family. You just kind of knew you were loved. [With my kids], I think I would be a lot more emotional...kiss them.”

Ericka described her relationship with her father as very important in her life and stated, “I’m a daddy’s girl.” She described him, unlike her mother, as being more reserved and not as involved in her daily business. She also said that her father grew up very differently than her mother and that he is not as educated or wordy. Despite that he sometimes makes efforts to be giving to Ericka, she revealed that he, like her mother, is not very emotionally expressive with her and she seemed disappointed by his style:

My daddy, I love my daddy. Love my mother but my daddy...I’m a daddy’s girl. He’s...I never had to describe him before. I think he tries his best and sometimes he doesn’t feel it’s enough so he tries too hard...I can’t give you an example right now...Like I said he was born in the South...in more of the country...with pigs and horse and farm. I hate that. I think he encountered a lot more racism than my mother did. He didn’t finish high school...Now he’s a construction foreman, which is pretty good...he’s not as vocal as my mother a lot of times. I don’t know if it’s because we’re all girls and so he feels she probably knows a lot more about raising us. But I think a lot of times he just feels that he can’t...that he’s not able to give us as much emotionally. I don’t know how to say it but I get that feeling from him a lot of times...he’s not able to talk about emotional stuff...he’s a very reserved type of person.

Ericka described her relationship with her sisters as “great,” but, as with her parents, she did not include a description of the emotional content of these relationships and there is a sense that they lacked the emotional support that she had also wanted from her parents:

We’re a bunch of...when it’s all five of us together, which is rare, we’re like a comedy team. We know each other’s weak spots and we pick on that. Make everyone else laugh. But I think as I’ve gotten older...when I was younger I was always the quiet one and the shy one so they used to pick on me about that but I as I got older I became more outspoken so I guess my relationship has changed with them a lot.

All of Ericka's sisters graduated from college except for one. She described this sister, who instead earned her GED, as a "role model" in terms of her "whole demeanor." Ericka admired how she "deal[t] with being the middle child" and how her sister did not seem to be as constrained by their family's values and expectations as Ericka was:

She was overweight most of her life and got teased for that...I used to just watch her come out of it and how she would defend herself and stand up for herself and she was such a powerful person. Like when you meet her, her personality is just so...you are just drawn to her as a person. She has all these ideas and goals and she is always trying to achieve everything at once...And she just made you want to be like her.

Ericka also reported that she aspired to her sister's independent attitude. She stated that there were many facets to her own personality and many different perspectives she would like to explore, but she has faced ridicule from her family and censors herself because of her continued need for their support. She also said that her need for family support and approval prevents her from taking time off from medical school to reconsider her career path because "they wouldn't understand." Her desire to individuate from her family began forming in high school, but she has had difficulties asserting herself for fear of family "ridicule":

I think I am more...I don't see the world in black and white and they see everything as it's either like this or it's like this. And that's it. There's no other way it can be. And I'm always searching for the in-between solutions...[I became increasingly] more restricted as far as what I said in the household [throughout high school]. Because I didn't want my thoughts to be questioned. And to defend yourself to six people, seven people, it's...after a while you just don't want to say anything.

Ericka specified that she feels bad about herself "when I don't confront my family...I have a hard time confronting them and that makes me feel worst because I feel like I am being walked over, all over." Thus, while Ericka clearly has aspirations to assert herself and develop her individuality, it appears that she is having difficulty reconciling ways in

which she can remain connected to her family, while developing increased autonomy. At present, it seems that Ericka has opted to remain on her current path, even at the expense of her own happiness.

In addition to the transmission of the value of education and hard work, something that has been central in guiding her developmental course, Ericka also credits her family with teaching her the importance of spirituality and a strong sense of ethnic identity. The sense of spirituality she learned from her parents played an important role in both her early development and her current life. She explained that she doesn't follow any particular religion but that spirituality "plays a huge role [in my life]:"

I just believe that there's a higher being guiding all of us and it may or may not be God or Allah or whatever but we all have a destiny and we all have this higher spirit and I believe in ancestors and spirits protecting you. I'm nuts...I think most of the time [this belief] is the main reason I can actually get up and leave my house. I just makes my feel really protected and safe and just really secure going through my day knowing no matter what happens I'm going to be taken care of regardless.

Additionally, one of the most important values transmitted to Ericka – one that has directly impacted her identity development – by both her parents, particularly by her mother, has been a strong sense of pride in her ethnic identity. However, just as Ericka's mother steadfastly promoted views on education and goal-orientation, her pride in being black was often forced upon Ericka as well. Ericka said that this ethnic pride has been a source of conflict in the family because she has sometimes had difficulty integrating her family's sense of pride into her identity and she has experienced times when she felt that being black was a hindrance:

I think that at times I may see being African-American as a hindrance sometimes. My parents see it...I'm not sure how to say this...I guess they see the positives in it, just because they've been through the whole period of racism and civil rights

and everything so they've had to go through the struggle so they see the possibilities of being black. And I've never had to do that so.

In particular, Ericka indicated that being African-American was a source of isolation for her in junior high school. At that time, she wanted to be "anything but black:"

Because I grew up in [a mostly Latino neighborhood] and my junior high school was ninety percent Hispanic, so it kind of isolated me. I was left out of things. It was my main identifying thing, because I was black and even though you can have black Hispanics, it's different because [self name] is black. She's not part of us.

Ericka said that she didn't "stand out" as much in high school because she went to school in a diverse neighborhood, one that was different from the area she had grown up in. According to Ericka, her ethnic identity in high school faded more into the background of her experience. "High school it didn't really play a big part just because there were so many diverse ethnicities and I mingled with so many different people," she explained, "it was just more about who I was as a person, not my ethnicity." She said that in high school "I was getting more comfortable with being black." She also developed an increasing number of black friends, which was important to her: "I think it's important to be close to people of your own race."

Ericka also reported that she has had trouble integrating her and her family's experiences of discrimination into her sense of "what it means to be black in America:"

A lot of times you're treated...speaking from personal experience...like you're second class citizen. People make generalizations about you, without knowing you. I guess that goes for any ethnic group but I just feel as an African-American it's a lot worse. Especially an African-American female. They make a lot of generalizations when they see you. And it doesn't matter if you're dressed professional, people are still going to make it regardless.

Ericka said that in her adult life she has begun to develop a stronger sense of ethnic identification and "appreciate [her] own history," stating that, "It's such a rich history and

to learn about it, it's amazing...there is such a lack of African-American history of us being here in America from slavery to now. So just seeing that we've done so much. It makes me proud to see where I've come from."

Ericka explained that for her, as an "African-American person living up North," she has had "a lot more opportunities because I was [black]:"

If I hadn't been [black], I wouldn't have been...I was in a math and science program in high school which was mainly...the purpose of the program was to help Hispanic and Black children increase their interest the math and science area. So If I hadn't been black I wouldn't have gotten into that. I wouldn't have gotten into [the college program for sciences] if I hadn't been black.

Interestingly, Ericka has chosen to marry a Dominican man. She feels that many of her "mannerisms and expressions" are similar to those of Dominicans because she grew up in a largely Hispanic neighborhood. She described her fiancé by saying:

He's thirty-two-years-old, Dominican male. He was born in the Dominican Republic. Came here as a kid. And got into some trouble, his parents sent him back to live with his grandmother and then he came back here to New York to finish high school. And he wanted to be a lawyer and he went to [name of college], studied pre-law, meant to go to law school. But decided, "I'll take a year off." And the year turned into two years and three years and four years and so his law plans went out the window. So right now he's working for an advertising agency and he wants to open his own restaurant. He has two older brothers, a younger sister. Two nieces and one nephew...our relationship is good. He seems to be the only person that understands me, or at least doesn't try to knock me down for me views.

Despite that a sense of the influence her family has played on her developmental course and identity formation pervaded Ericka's narrative, there appeared to be a lack of long-term close peer relationships in her story. Moreover, while she described her fiancé as "the only person that understands me," the interviewer was not able to elicit a more in-depth description of the quality of their relationship, other than short phrases, such as it is "good." Similarly, Ericka provided only a limited sketch of peer relationships with no

sense of the intimacy or emotional closeness in their interactions. She spoke briefly about having two best friends since junior high school who continue to be important in her life today, but she could not answer inquiries about what makes her feel close to these friends. Ericka also mentioned that she relied on a high school acting coach for support and guidance, but said that they are currently out of touch and she did not want to provide further details about this relationship. When asked to describe how her friends now are different from those in high school or junior high, Ericka took a lengthy pause and then had difficulty answering this question. Her response was more a reflection of her own current internal conflicts about feeling “stifled” and losing the “more carefree side of herself” than about the quality of these friendships. Ericka stated, “I think my friends now are just goal oriented. They don’t...back then my friends...the sky was the limit. Anything is possible. They were up for anything. And right now people are just focused that no one really wants to have fun.”

Furthermore, Ericka’s guarded and often seemingly reluctant style of engaging with the interviewer seems also to point to conflicts about relating to others and expressing her more vulnerable side. For example, she responded curtly to the interviewer’s inquiries and some questions seemed to put her off. When asked at the beginning of the interview to tell a little about herself, she responded by saying: “I hate questions like that. I’m twenty-three years old. Youngest of six girls. Born and raised in New York. Currently third year medical student. I’m engaged. That’s it.” Ericka also laughed frequently during the interview and when asked in these instances if she wanted to say something, she often responded “No, not really.” Furthermore, she answered questions in a rejecting manner, with truncated statements such as, “No,” “Not very,”

“Yes,” “Yes, What else do you want to know?” “Why do I what?” Notably, she described herself as someone who is suspicious of others’ motives, stating, “Never take anything for face value. (laughs). Always be suspicious...of people being overly generous. Just anything that makes you go “Hummmm?” Or anything that makes you just wonder for a quick second, be suspicious of it.” However, as the interview progressed, Ericka became increasingly open and engaged with the interviewer.

Thus, while Ericka appears to have forged a successful developmental trajectory based on external definitions of success including high educational achievement and an ability to attain defined goals, her narrative themes suggest that she feels much less successful than these accomplishments indicate. Ericka’s family relationships seem to have been an important mediator of her developmental outcome and hypotheses can be ventured about the narrative themes and Ericka’s dismissing attachment categorization on the ECR and her fearful categorization on the RQ. It seems that her mixed attachment classifications might reflect her conflicts about these relationships. On the one hand, her fearful categorization is reflective both of the high value she places on her family relationships and her intense fears of being abandoned by them if she were to explore her own aspirations. In addition, her fearful categorization seems consistent with the value she places on her relationships with family, yet these relationships seem to lack intimacy and closeness. Similarly, the lack of intimacy and emotionality evident in her descriptions of important people in her life is often characteristic of individuals classified in the dismissing attachment category, and her emphasis on independence at the expense of relational needs is further characteristic. This style enables her to remain goal-oriented and focused, while preserving her sense of self-esteem in relation to others. Thus, while

Ericka's characteristic attachment style is unclear and seems mixed between the fearful and dismissing categories, elements of each style seem to enter into her relational style and view of herself. Furthermore, both her strong attachment to her parents and her fear of being rejected by them, seem to maintain her developmental course and impact her internal conflicts.

PETER

Risk Category: *High Functioning*
Age: *25*
Sex: *Male*
Ethnicity *Latino*
ECR Category: *Dismissing*
RQ Category: *Dismissing*

Symptom Scores:

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Symptoms
T1	.14	.31	.28
T3	.31	.17	.18

Case Summary:

Peter is a twenty-five-year-old Latino male who was born in the Dominican Republic and immigrated to the United States before age five. He is married and has two children, a seven-year-old daughter and a two-year-old son. Peter rents an apartment in a building owned by his uncle in the Brooklyn neighborhood where he grew up. Peter lives with his current wife and son, while his daughter lives with her biological mother and stays with Peter on the weekends. He graduated from a two-year college, completing his Associate's Degree in Administrative Assistance, and he is employed full-time for a prestigious city agency. Peter was classified in the high-functioning risk category group in early adolescence based on his high G.P.A. and relatively low scores on a delinquency and alcohol use index, in addition to low scores on all three of the symptomatology subscales. In young adulthood, Peter's symptomatology profile decreased even further for externalizing and total symptomatology scores, with a small increase in his internalizing scores. He was classified in the dismissing attachment category on the ECR and RQ

measures. Despite some difficulties during adolescence with his commitment and focus toward the future, Peter has forged a successful developmental trajectory into young adulthood, reflected in both his quantitative results and his narrative themes. Although his relationships with family members appear to have been important to his development, particularly to the development of early values, his emphasis on independence and self-agency over dependence on relationships is characteristic of his dismissing attachment style and has served as an important source of adaptation contributing to his resilient developmental outcome.

Peter's development from junior high school to the present has included a great deal of change and growth, during which he has been forced to make choices about which path he wanted to follow in life. He reported that he faced a turning point at age eighteen, when he graduated from high school and had his first child. At that time, he remembered thinking that "I have to get my act together." He revealed that he felt he was "too young" when he had his first child because he "wasn't stable." He also explained that he has learned "You can't just go in there and just pop them [out] and now have no job and not have no house to put them in." Having a child forced him to confront some of this issue and become more responsible:

I definitely got more responsible. Back when I was in junior high school, everything was fun and games, girls and parties. Now that I'm a parent, I don't have time for any of that. I have to go to work, take care of the kids, take them to school, focus more on my kids and responsibility with them than anything else from back then in high school.

Peter said that in high school he really did not think about his future and didn't do particularly well academically. It was only after he graduated that he began to examine the path he was taking and to make decisions that changed his life direction:

After high school I really wasn't thinking because I was just having fun. I wasn't thinking about anything else...I didn't go directly into college. I graduated in '93, I believe. And I wasn't thinking about [my future] when automatically I went to work in a factory. I went to work in a factory and it was like, "I can't do this. I don't like this. I don't like taking orders from other people. This is hard work." So that's when I hit the books and I saw my friends being locked up and being dead and stuff. I didn't like this. Not for me. I need to get out. So that's when I started focusing more on working hard, hitting the books, getting a job and getting out.

Peter also revealed that he had never imagined that he would graduate from college and work at a prestigious city agency. He recalled that, in junior high school, he had dreams of being a pro football player and had been intensely focused on this goal:

I was thinking more of going to play football, going pro. That was my aspiration back then but then things didn't work out for me in that aspect so I had to hit the books. It wasn't football, football and no books. But football didn't work out but I had my books to land on.

Football did not work out for Peter because of his poor academic performance and injuries, which forced him to choose a different path. However, he remarked that it took him time to figure out what direction to choose:

It was more like academically it wasn't really all there. It was...from high school I didn't have a good portfolio, you could say from high school to go to college or whatnot, because I was usually playing around, getting in trouble, stuff like that. I wasn't actually hitting the books as much as I should have been. But then I got hurt. I hurt my knee. So it was various things that it wasn't going to work out for me to go to the next level.

Thus, despite Peter's disappointment over football, he considers his life to be "better" than he expected. He said that what makes him feel most proud about his current situation is the hard work that he has dedicated to reaching his goals and his ability to provide financially for his children and family:

I work hard for what I have right now. I work for it...When I was going to college, I went to a two-year college and everything was like, "you have to hit the books. You can't really have fun here cause if you don't hit the books you're not gonna get the job you want" So after I graduated from college, I went, I got the job at a law firm. And now I'm working at [the city agency]...when you work

hard, you get what you want so that's what I've been doing. I work hard, I get what I want. I provide for my kids so I'm happy for what I've done.

Peter explained he has faced a number of obstacles to success in the workforce because he is Dominican and that he has been overlooked and undervalued at times. However, despite these obstacles Peter revealed that he is determined to succeed and to achieve his goals:

You have to deal with a lot of racism, meaning if you're Hispanic, black or whatever, you have to deal with those obstacles, meaning that you know you're going to get underpaid even though you're doing more than you usually do. And sometimes they don't see what you do, they just give you work and then he going to get paid for doing this work. But they don't see that you do other things that...they think that you're just their work slave. "Here, take the paperwork, go file it, go process it," whatever. That's the biggest obstacle. But I see that as a...I don't see that as much of an obstacle. I just see it like...I don't let it bother me. I just keep going and mind my business.

Peter also said that his life is much different than most of his childhood friends, many of whom are in jail or dealing drugs:

Right now I have friends that are my age that I grew up with. Some of them are in jail, dealing drugs there. We are close friends but they don't see it like me. They have kids but they think they have to stay on this corner to provide for them. They don't see, "Yo, if I get a job, I could provide for them too." They see that easy money is the easiest way to provide for them. I think otherwise. I got to work because I don't want to go in jail and lose my kids by being locked up."

In contrast to many of his high school friends, Peter feels that he has complete control over his life. "I have to have control of my life," he said, "nobody else tells me otherwise. I make my own decisions, I'm my own man, nobody tells me otherwise."

Peter defines success for people his age as "get[ting] out of the hood." He stated his motivation in getting out has aided his commitment to his current success and to continue moving forward in the future:

Maybe not actually just getting out of the hood, but meaning if you feel comfortable where you at, but you are financially secure and your kids are fine,

then you are a success. Then you are a success. You don't need to just get out of the hood. That's my personal opinion. I feel successful if I get out of the hood. I don't feel comfortable living in the environment that I have to watch out if they are shooting at me or something like that.

Peter also said that he does not want to raise his children in his neighborhood because of all the drugs and violence there:

There are many drugs and drug dealers in my community, selling drugs, and selling to their own man...They tell the little kids coming out of high school, "Yo, you want to run for me?" That gets me heated because...they are putting their own people down.

Despite that Peter continues to reside in his old neighborhood, he is hoping to move in the next few years and his goal for himself at age thirty is to have his own business:

I would like to have my own business, meaning I would like to have real estate, have buildings. Build them from the ground up. Provide for the community. Like for minorities cause right now there's not a lot of businesses with minorities in them. Like real estate. The rents are high. I want to provide for people that don't have that type of money, that they could provide for their kid, they could live comfortably but also have a job to provide for their kids. I want to create jobs for the community.

Moreover, he considers this goal to be "very realistic:"

My wife and I work, we save and right now we're working on buying a building. We go to the bank for the loan to see if it is approved. If it is approved, then we can get some contractors, get the building fixed, cause it's burned out so we get it running, we get the utilities, and we make it so it could be like rent free. Not free from [rent], but the rent won't go as high as other people would be.

Peter's family is also a key aspect of his success. He has two children, including a daughter from a previous relationship, and a son with his current wife. He met his wife in college and they have been together for the past three years. They recently married, but had been living together for two years before that. He described her as being unlike his high school friends, someone who has helped him to stay on a positive path and achieve success. He also said she is "someone who has helped make me the way I am today. She

sets me right. She is the works.” Peter said that she is “fun,” but also mentioned their conflicts over raising their son, and he feels that she is too overprotective:

You can’t throw [my son] up in the air and catch him. Nothing like that. You can’t just fling him around. “Stop, he’s going to get hurt.” Eventually he’s going to get hurt. He can’t even walk from there to there without her screaming, “Don’t go there.” But she is so fun to be with...I would rather see that than the opposite, where the parents are, “I don’t care. Let him do what he wants.” And I see enough of that. Especially in these neighborhoods. So I would rather see a mother that’s stifling a child, too overprotective, I would rather deal with that. At least she cares. You know what I’m saying.

Peter revealed that, not only did having children and his wife’s help change the negative path he was following in high school, but these influences have also helped him to modulate his anger, something which had been a problem during high school:

[Having my daughter] kept me in check...I thought my daughter can’t see me like this. Can’t see my angry. I used to be a very angry person. So when she came into the picture, all that went out the door. I was, “She can’t see me like this. I can’t hang around with these people.” And every time they used to knock on the door, I used to tell them, “I’m not here. I’m not here.” Leave me alone, so [my friends] would get the picture.

When Peter was in junior high school, he used to get into fights about once a month and described himself as always being angry:

Like there was a month, I believe, I got into a fight every day for a whole week. For no reason. I just was an angry kid because my parents they didn’t go to none of my baseball games and you get pissed off because you do this for them and they don’t come and so then I dropped it and so it was that whole week that I fought for no apparent reason. Just fighting...I used to get out of my house angry.

Peter also said that he was in a gang in junior high school, which also caused him to get into a lot more fights and trouble:

In junior high school, when you were Dominican, you affiliated with a certain type of people, with your own race, you have to do whatever just to represent where you’re from. And we did whatever it took to represent where we were from. We tagged up. We fought. Everything...it’s what you and your crew go out and do. If you go out and rob you have to put your tag on there, like it was your territory and this is the school you represent...And everyone knew the

Dominicans were here. Whatever you tagged up, [the other people in the school] knew what it was. [The interviewer inquired, "What do you mean by tag?"] Meaning like you put your peace sign, your gang, your gang sign on the wall or whatever. You spray canned it.

Peter reported that being in a gang gave him a sense of belonging and support from others. However, he also reported that such membership was confusing and troubling because being part of a Dominican gang meant he could not affiliate with people of other ethnicities:

If you were Dominican you can't hang out with the Puerto Ricans. I was, "What is that? He's in the same classroom, why can't I talk to that person right there? He's sitting next to me. Why can't I talk to him." I was, "I'll talk to the next man. I don't have no problem with that." Now the problem was in a gang from a different neighborhood, then I would be in trouble. So there was a conflict in that.

Peter explained that being in a gang and fighting was something he felt he had to do in order to fit in and earn respect in junior high. "When you are dealing with gangs and stuff you have to [fight] because you don't want to be disrespected," he said, "and plus you want to have the respect from your peers." Peter revealed that he witnessed shootings, participated in knife fights, and was suspended numerous times in junior high school. Despite these problems, he said that he made good grades. He fought less in high school because he "was more focused on going pro [football]...I [spent my time] going to practice and whatnot. I was focused most on that." He also "tried to stay gang-free, fight free" by limiting his affiliation with gang members. Peter gradually became less dependent on fitting into the gang and more able to venture out on his own. He reported that having limited gang affiliations enabled him to expand his network of friends to include people from a variety of diverse backgrounds.

Despite that Peter's narrative primarily focused on the negative influence peer relationships had on his developmental course in high school and that it stressed the

ability to disconnect from these influences and develop an increased sense of individuality over time, he clearly believes that the strong values taught by his family have enabled him to make these changes. "My family was my guide," he said. "They pushed me to who I am right now. Not anybody else on the street."

Peter was born in the Dominican Republic and moved to the United States, along with his parents, at age five. He grew up in Brooklyn, where he lived with both his parents and sister and brother throughout childhood and adolescence. Peter described his mother as someone who has been very involved in his life, always keeping tabs on him and worrying about "everything:"

You go outside, she worries constantly. Like right now, I said I was going to meet you for an interview, "Who is he? What he doing? Where he lives?" I be, "I don't know. I'm going on an interview. I don't know the man." But she worries about everything, "You call me." "No problem, when I get home."

In contrast to his mother, Peter said that his father has a similar personality to himself and that they share a characteristic style of relating that includes being easy going and joking around a lot. "[He is] nonchalant. He takes everything easy," he explained, "he's smooth. He could sit here and stay watching TV and he don't say nothing. And he is real smooth. He cracks jokes everyday. He call on the phone just to crack jokes with us."

Although Peter did not say that he felt particularly close to his parents or that they were emotionally intimate, he revealed that it was important to him that they "get along very well." He reported that he did not communicate well with them during high school and that he spent most of his adolescence hanging out with friends and ignoring his family's warnings that he would likely end up in jail, as had many of his peers, if he did not change his path:

Actually, half of my family thought that I was going to be locked up in jail or something like that...because I usually, every time I went around [to see my friends], I used to get into fights like every day and it wasn't just because I looked for it. I just went to say "hello" and what not and people came to me and I was whatever. It wasn't for me. I just come to say "hello." It's not that I looked for it. They were looking for me or something. I didn't have no problem dealing with it. I changed all that. It's not that I do that anymore. Just let it be, man. I keep walking away.

Peter feels that he now has much more open communication with his parents and that they understand him better than when he was in high school. He partly attributed this difference to his changed behavior and openness with them, but also to his willingness to share more of his feelings: "I'm a straightforward person," he explained, "I don't hide anything. I let them know what I feel. If I feel that I'm being disturbed or they say any comment that I didn't like, I let them know so that they do understand where I am coming from."

Peter explained that his family transmitted a number of essential values to him from an early age. Their strong work ethic and the fact that they have always provided well for the family has perhaps been most influential:

They used to get up real early in the morning, 5:00 in the morning to go to work to provide for us. They never depended on anybody else. They didn't depend on the government. They went, they got up, they went to work, they came, especially my mother, she came real late to cook and stuff like that. And my father, my father worked two jobs. He worked from 6:00 in the morning to 4:00 and then from 4:00 to 1:00 in the morning. And to provide for us. And that was hard on him and then when we got older, we started chipping in. I worked at McDonald's. My brother worked in grocery stores and stuff like that. And we provide for my Moms. When my Moms got laid off. But when she got back on her feet, and I went to school, she said, "Don't worry about it." But she always worries. She think that they still have to provide for me now. I'm like, "You don't have to do that. I could provide for myself." But they are real cool about it.

Peter also credits his parents with teaching him the value of taking care of his kids and being responsible, saying "My parents taught me, if they need anything, give it

to them. Push them to be the best that they can be. They said, everything is education. They told me and that is what I'm portraying to my kids now."

Peter learned this sense of family responsibility early in life. Because he grew up in a Hispanic community and was the oldest son, it was expected that he would help with family responsibilities and he believes these expectations forced him to grow up more quickly than other kids:

You expect to do everything as a young kid born in Dominican Republic, you have to do certain things at a certain age...you have to help your mother carry grocery bags home, you got to carry water from wherever you have to carry the water from... You have to do that at an early age and they give you...as the oldest they give you that type of responsibility, because they trust you.

In addition, his sense of responsibility was also fostered through taking care of his two younger brothers since age seven:

When I was in elementary school I had to take care of both of my brothers. I had to pick them up from school, I had to take care of them at home, I had to cook for them. I had to do everything because they were a lot younger than I. If I had to go grocery shopping...my mother used to give me money to go do grocery shopping and gave me a list and I would get everything. I had to do it like at an early age. Seven or eight.

Peter's commitment to his family is further reflected in his ability to take on increased responsibilities and help put the family back together after his brother died in a car accident three years ago. He said that his parents were "total wrecks" at the time and that he temporarily put his college plans on hold to earn money and help support the family:

I had to pick up the pieces for both of my parents. And it was hard for me being in [college at the time] and coming home and seeing my mother cry and stuff like that so I dropped out for a while and I started working in a casting company, making ceramics and so I worked and I did that for a while and then I decided I wanted to go back so I went back.

Peter revealed that, in raising his own children, he would mostly like to follow the model set by his parents, but he would also like to spend more time with his children than his parents were able to spend with him. He also stated that he wanted to find more of a balance between his career aspirations and time with his family. "I want to focus more into my kids than my parents were with me [because they were too busy working]," he said, "That's what I'll do."

In addition to his wife, children, and family of origin, Peter currently has a network of what he calls "good friends" comprised mostly of people he met at work or in college. He reported that he severed contact with his junior high and high school friends because of their negative influences on him and because he saw this separation as the only way he could progress in life. "They are still doing the same things," he said, "I don't want to deal with that. They sometimes ask me, How come you don't hang out? I don't have no time. I have responsibilities. I can't be hanging out in the corner, 24/7 the way you do. I have to go to work. I have to take care of my kids." However, when Peter described his current relationships, he did not include descriptions of friendships with any sense of emotional intimacy or closeness, but highlighted superficial connections centered on having "fun" and "joking around." He said that he truly values being "an upbeat person" and he believes that this attitude is what helps him to get along at work and to make friends:

I'm a fun person to be around. Anybody that you say, How's [Peter]? They will tell you, He is fun. He'll cracks jokes for things. He got jokes for things. And at work it's the same thing. Everybody calls me if they down because I'll make you laugh. I am the type of person that if you down, I want to see you happy. I don't want to see you down, because if you down, then you're going to mess up my day and I don't want to see that. I'm happy as it is, I want you to be happy.

It is evident from Peter's quantitative results and narrative themes that he has forged a successful trajectory into young adulthood, including the elimination of involvement in delinquent acts and violence as well as the development of a stable sense of identity and a successful career. Peter's dismissing attachment classification on the ECR and RQ measures has afforded him an adaptive style of relating to others. His preference for independence over dependence on relationships enabled him to sever ties with negative peer and neighborhood influences in adolescence and helped him to develop an increased sense of independence and goal orientation in young adulthood. Furthermore, though Peter appears to emphasize self-sufficiency and independence over relational attachments, there are some relationships that he highly values and has maintained over time, including his relationship with his parents, wife, and children. However, there seem to be few, if any, people with whom Peter is emotionally close. Yet, despite this lack of intimacy, his style of relating to others through "joking" and having "fun" has been adaptive towards achieving his goals.

JON

Risk Category: *Average*
Age: *25*
Sex: *Male*
Ethnicity: *Latino*
ECR Category: *Fearful*
RQ Category: *Fearful*

Symptom Scores:

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Symptoms
T1	.86	.85	.92
T3	1.15	.50	.65

Case Summary:

Jon is a twenty-five-year-old Latino male who is currently in his seventh – and final – year of community college in New York City, where he majors in finance. Jon also works full-time as an administrative assistant at an investment bank in Manhattan. He was born in the United States and grew up in the house where he currently lives, along with his mother and two younger sisters. He is single and does not have any children. Jon was classified in the average risk category group in early adolescence based on his high G.P.A. and low scores on a delinquency risk and alcohol use index, in addition to average-high scores on all three of the symptomatology subscales. In young adulthood, Jon's symptomatology profile decreased for externalizing and total problem scores and increased for internalizing scores. He was classified in the fearful attachment category on both the ECR and RQ measures. Jon's narrative themes suggest that, although he has a number of indices of success in young adulthood – including near graduation from college and full-time employment – he currently views his

developmental outcome as problematic. His increased internalizing symptoms since adolescence are reflected in his narrative themes, which include difficulties with depression, identity development, and significant peer relationships. Moreover, Jon's fearful attachment categorization is suggestive of characteristic ways of relating to others and viewing himself, including a high value placed on relationships and a fear of rejection by others. Though he described a strong attachment to family members in his narrative, his themes also reflect feelings of isolation.

Jon described himself since junior high school as having undergone a number of changes in his self-perception and his engagement with others. While in junior high, he was "very timid and shy" and he revealed that he was "scrawny and skinny." He also said that his appearance often made him feel like "an outsider" and different from other kids. He explained that such feelings "were a little bit embedded in me [when I went to high school]" and he said, "It's what made me [go on] a quest to be popular in high school."

Jon described himself as being completely different in high school and he said that he engaged more in social and school activities. He attributed some of this change to switching schools and getting a chance to start over again. Jon attended a school outside his neighborhood, one to which he applied and was accepted for admission. He described high school as a time when "I started being cool... I was kind of in the in crowd:"

After junior high school I went to a totally different high school from where everybody else went and I loved it. My high school years were the best. I often think if I could go back, I wished I could go back to those years. I would do it in a second...I wish I could be seventeen forever.

He also explained that he took advantage of the many opportunities, particularly extracurricular and social events, available through school:

It was a small school...I took advantage of every opportunity that I had. I did everything. While I was in high school I was able to live my life. I played baseball which [I loved] since I was a kid. I was on the baseball team. I tried to be an architect. Didn't quite work out but I gave it a try. I met the girl who kind of had my heart for those four years and then some. I had a best friend, we were more like brothers. I often...whenever there was a function, I was there. Parties, ice skating in Manhattan. I was there.

In high school, Jon gained self-confidence and lost much of the shyness that he had felt for most of his life. "In high school I was more of a outgoing person and I thought that the world revolved around me kind of so in high school when I was mad at somebody I let them know," he said, "whether speaking to them or yelling at them."

He was also involved in several fists fights during high school, but he described himself as not being the type of person who got into trouble enough to be suspended. He said that the school's dean of students was a close ally, who looked out for him throughout his high school years. "[He] wasn't so much a mentor but he was a really cool guy," Jon explained, "thanks to him I never got suspended. Pretty much he would discuss it with my mother. [He] always gave me second chances...Maybe being the same race as I am, or culture. Colored. It made the relationship easier." Jon also said that the only time in high school that he really got into fights was when he was with his friends and he asserted that "it is not in my nature." He said, "I'm not the type of person to make a scene so usually nothing happens [when I get angry]. I just hold it in until I'm able to release it somewhere" and, he added, "I am a pretty passive person."

Jon revealed that, since leaving high school, he has become largely isolated and lacking in self-confidence. He said that he feels more similar to the person he was while in junior high and he attributes much of this change to the increased sense of responsibility that he has felt as he matured into young adulthood. Furthermore, he said

that he felt a sense of belonging in high school because he was involved with a clique of friends and, now that he has moved beyond the security of this peer group, he feels isolated and alone:

My self-confidence is different [now] from when I was in high school. I am not the confident person I was in high school. When I was in high school I didn't think about confidence, it was just sort of [a way] of life, which I guess gave people self-confidence or what not. But after high school, I guess I started working and what not and I started focusing on mature responsibilities. Back then I didn't have any responsibilities.

Some of the burdens and pressures that Jon experiences have come with increased financial responsibilities:

Financial instability is the big thing. I have acquired some debt and I'm [paying for] school, but also foolish expenses so that is always heavy on my mind. My debt. It's not something that is going to affect me, in terms of where I live but it is something that I want. And I have to help out in the house as well.

He explained that many of these pressures exist because he is the oldest male living in his house and he is thus responsible contributing financially:

I am the oldest [son] in the house so when I was in high school my mother had to carry that burden all by herself. Once I started making some money, then I started helping out and I feel that I do have to carry that responsibility. It's a responsibility that I like. [My sisters] who are working don't have to carry that responsibility. They can do whatever they like.

Jon currently works full-time, forty hours a week, as an administrative assistant at a prestigious investment bank in Manhattan. He works this job while attending college full-time in the evenings and he is enrolled in four classes per semester. However, despite these accomplishments, Jon reported that he is currently unhappy and that he does not feel successful. He said that he does not like his job because "there's not enough work to do. And I hate going somewhere I'm supposed to be working and just sitting around all day. I would rather just be working all day." He also shared that "I hate [majoring in

finance],” explaining that he majored in this field because he saw it as a way to become economically self-sufficient:

I never really knew what I wanted to do. I know there’s money in it. So I would like to do it for that but in all honesty, what I’m good for is actually something that has to do with English. I’m not a very good math person. It has to do a lot with being a math person...When I was at [first community college attended] I took a business class, I always thought I wanted to be somebody in business. But when I went [upstate university], I went to economics and when I went here [to current college] I went to do finance. This was the image of what I [thought] I should be doing...In terms of financial terms, it’s what I should be doing but in terms of what is right for me, it’s not what I should be doing. [I would like to] other than music, teaching...teaching some type of English subject. I’m pretty good with words, writing, etc...Teachers don’t make any money really.

Jon said that he often feels sad and depressed for days or weeks at a time. He indicated that this depression began when he was eighteen or nineteen years old, subsequent to leaving high school. These feelings worsened after he moved upstate to attend college, one that that he had struggled to get into from the community college he attended after high school:

I thought during high school I wanted to go away to college, which I kind of got to do but it was only during my fourth year in college already [he had previously done three years at a community college] and I didn’t really know how to appreciate it so much. [I had] been trying to get into [this school] right after high school. And when I went over there the first week it was okay. But I got homesick, depressed, I ...basically had no friends, no security, no job. Just relying on credit cards. So I was just on my own. And I don’t know if that’s what got me depressed or not but I gave it a shot and in retrospect I would go back. I would have stayed because I probably would have graduated by now, but I didn’t appreciate it. It was the best school I’ve been to so far...I was depressed my first semester, but I did pretty well in school...I really cried a lot but talked to people...I had a best friend then which made it a little easier.

Jon reported that, when depressed, he feels like “Sort of there’s no purpose to anything...like there’s no purpose to me. I’m often wondering what is going to happen after I graduate...so it makes you think.” He thinks his depression is a problem and that it sometimes interferes with his ability to get through school. He also revealed that he used

to think about dying, two or three years ago, but he no longer has these thoughts and he never considered harming himself. Nonetheless, Jon said that he experiences a lack of self-confidence on most days:

I always feel insecure. A lot of times it's without cause. But I am insecure. Like I said, I don't even know why...[I'm] not very outgoing. A lot of time I'm to myself, very quiet. Not too many people know my inner thoughts and feelings. But I am a very friendly person. I am always thinking about other people and their well being, even before mine. That's pretty much it really.

He also described himself as someone who has difficulty making friends and being comfortable around new people, but he feels that he is able to sustain relationships. He said that he is "a pretty typical person...I don't interact much. I am really careful about who my friends are. In the past ten years, I have had three best friends maybe."

While discussing his discomfort with social situations, Jon explained that people often think "I'm a nice person." He also said "you just have to look at [me] and [see] a pretty reserved person, laid back but pretty attentive when it comes to other people." Jon stated that he often feels different from most people his age because he is "always serious" and he analyzes others' intentions because he is skeptical about trusting them:

I dissect everything so always for looking for the lowest denominator...you could say a joke and ...while I may laugh at it, I'll start thinking about it and then I will think maybe you might have tried to throw an indirect comment at me, which I would pick up. So I do a lot of thinking. And I don't enjoy a lot of things...a lot of people my age are partying on the weekend.

Jon worries that his insecurities and difficulty with new relationships may get in the way of his ability to achieve his goals. For example, he would like to be engaged to be married and be a music executive by age thirty. He thinks this is realistic if can overcome his lack of self-confidence and distrust of others:

To be a successful music executive or involved with entertainment, you have to be someone who is totally confident in yourself. You can't be timid or shy. You

have to be able to do whatever it takes for you to get your mission accomplished and I'm not one of those people. I'm usually constrained by what is this person thinking about me?

Despite his difficulties with peer relationships, Jon described his relationship with his family members as "very close" and said that he ultimately relies on them when he needs somebody to talk with. He said that his mother and two sisters are "actually like my best friends too. Pretty much we talk." He also described his mother as someone who was "always been involved in my life:"

She was always involved in my schoolwork. Since I was a boy she always helped me with my schoolwork and she's a pretty intelligent person.. So she always helped me with my schoolwork and when she couldn't she was still involved and tried to help and tried to find ways for me to solve problems and what not and she was pretty much always on top when it came to that.

However, Jon reported that their relationship is not close in some ways and that she does not fully understand him. He explained that his mother is "pretty much traditional" in a cultural sense. Because she immigrated to the United States when she was an adult, he said, she hasn't "adapt[ed] to the ways here." She was also traditional in the rights and freedoms that she allowed him and he often felt restricted during adolescence. He stated, "God forbid I was gay or something. That's tradition. Tattoos are bad. Multiple ear piercings are banned. It was hard enough for me to get one ear pierced. It's very traditional. Very old school." When asked later about his sexuality, Jon said that "Being gay, it's just not in my nature so I've never had to grapple with it or whatever." He explained that Dominican men "tend to be very macho and the women pretty submissive. But that is changing." Jon feels that he doesn't fit into these gender stereotypes largely because "I didn't grow up with a father. So I don't know much about that. I don't really know how that would or has affected my life." Jon also reported that his mother

continues to have a significant influence on him, saying that “Pretty much a lot of things that I do now, is with her in mind. I don’t want to let her down. Because she put so much effort into everything.”

Jon’s father left when he was six and moved to the Dominican Republic. He has infrequent contact with him and speaks to him “once or twice a month or every two months and [sees him] once a year for a month or two.” Jon described his father by saying that “He’s a very smooth character. Very smooth with the ladies. Intelligent person. Wise person. And that’s pretty much all I can say about him, because I don’t know him like I should. But he is that type of person.” He said that he identified mostly with his mother, but there are aspects of his father’s personality that he admires:

I would like to think it’s a mixture of her and my dad. Some thing’s of my dad too. His way of being a very social person. My mom is kind of an introvert, which is where I get it from. Then again, she is more warm-hearted than he is, so I kind of want of mixture of both...he knows how to live his life. He is always into the nightlife and whatnot, which is what I would like to do but to a point. And she is an amazing person. She raised three kids by herself. So I would like to have that strength and morality.

Jon reported that he is close to his two sisters – one of whom is in college and the other a senior in high school – and that he relies on them for emotional support:

Once they started coming of age, [we got closer]. Once they started hitting teenage years or whatnot, they always felt comfortable talking to me and I always felt comfortable talking to them. [I can now rely on them for support], at times. One of them is just very blunt so if I need emotional support, that’s not the one to go to. And the other one is really sweet and if I need emotional support, she’s the one to go to.

Jon is also close with several cousins that live in his apartment building. He explained that they are “like brothers to me” and “It’s like a tribe with these guys.” He also said that “when I am hanging out with my cousins or with my best friend [who I

have a whole bunch in common with and a lengthy history], I can be very outgoing...[otherwise] I am aware and cautious about myself.”

Beyond family relationships, Jon reported that he spends time with his girlfriend, with whom he has been involved for about a month. He described her as “a very sweet person. She is very stylish. Pretty attractive. She’s not a model or anything but I think she is pretty attractive. That’s pretty much all I can say for her.” He said that romantic relationships have been difficult for him since his high school girlfriend “broke my heart” and he has not been able to be close to anyone since. He explained that “We were best friends” and, although they have a friendly relationship today, he continues to experience their break-up as a major loss. Jon reported that he would like to be close to someone again and that he sometimes feels that he would like to be married, but he is uncertain about whether it will happen. “I could still see it a lot more when I was younger but now I feel comfortable with the idea of not getting married,” he said, “I would like to do it but it isn’t something that’s high on my priority list...I would love to have kids someday.” When asked to elaborate his thoughts about marriage, Jon was unable to do so.

Jon reported that he is the type of person who would like to remain in the neighborhood he grew up in because he feels strongly connected to and identified with this community, a feeling that is reminiscent of his difficulty with transitions and with ending romantic relationships. In particular, he likes his neighborhood because it is largely comprised of Dominicans and people he identifies with and he feels that “There’s a sense of pride.” He said that the neighborhood is also rife with drugs and violence, but he has managed to stay clear of these problems by “minding my own business.” He also explained that he has been involved in some “police harassment,” as a result of “being

caught up in [drug] raids but I've never been to jail or anything like that. Just placed up against the wall. [*Interviewer inquiry*] No. [I wasn't involved in drugs]. But I happened to be at the wrong place at the wrong time." Jon said that, despite his wish to remain in the neighborhood, he realizes that he will have to leave in order to progress in life and be successful:

I wish that I never...I'm going to have to, but I wish that I would never have to leave it....After you reach a certain level of maturity or economic stability, professionalism, this is not the place to be. It's the place to be perhaps to identify with your people, because most of them that are there are low income to middle income and it's the place to be because the rent is low, etc. And it's the place where you can always be comfortable but then again it's a place where you always have constant police harassment and constantly people outside your doorway of the building. After a certain age, I think you would like to live in a ? place to be...[I might move somewhere like...] I love Atlanta, Georgia. I love Miami, Florida. But I think I will probably end up somewhere in New Jersey, close by. Like Teaneck or something...close to the neighborhood and most likely I'll probably be working somewhere in Manhattan so it's a nice place to be.

Jon hopes he will become "financially stable and successful" in the next five years. He said that this would give purpose to his life and that he doesn't have to be "rich." He also hopes to "graduate from college finally." Jon said that, without becoming successful, he will feel like "there's no purpose."

Although Jon has achieved a number of external measures of success including his near graduation from college and full-time employment, his narrative themes suggest that he does not feel successful at this point and that he is struggling with several issues related to problems with self-esteem, identity formation, and career development, in addition to difficulties with forming relationships outside of his family. His quantitative results in young adulthood reflect an increase in internalizing symptoms, with early adolescence and young adulthood scores that are relatively much higher than most individuals in the study sample, further indicating his internal conflicts. Jon also revealed

problems with depression and his feeling that his life sometimes has no purpose and he shared that these problems stem from a lack of self-confidence and his inability to find a peer group to fit into since leaving the security of high school. On the one hand, Jon highly values and depends on relationships to maintain his sense of self-esteem and self-worth, which is characteristic of his fearful attachment style. At the same time, he is tremendously conflicted about how close he can be to others, whether people will reject him, and how much he will let people see his vulnerabilities. Jon reported that he currently spends most of his free time isolated at home and he mostly has contact with family or extended family members. While he acknowledges that his difficulties with relationships and self-confidence are an obstacle to future success, he appears uncertain about how to overcome these challenges.

LISA

Risk Category: *Average*
Age: *23*
Sex: *Female*
Ethnicity: *Latina*
ECR Category: *Fearful*
RQ Category: *Fearful*

Symptom Scores:

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Symptoms
T1	.36	.15	.22
T3	.62	.08	.26

Case Summary:

Lisa, a twenty-three-year-old female, was born in the Dominican Republic and moved to the United States at age six to seek medical treatment for Leukemia. She is a single parent and currently lives with her mother and six-year-old son in Manhattan. Lisa is a full-time student at a local university, where she majors in sociology, with a minor in psychology. Additionally, Lisa completed an Associates degree in Education prior to attending her current University. She works part-time as a security guard in a hospital and is “head of the household,” supporting both her son and her mother, who is on disability due to severe diabetes and hypertension. Lisa is the youngest of four children, the rest of whom live with their father in the Dominican Republic. Her parents separated when she was seven years old and she and her mother are the only family members who live in the United States.

Lisa was classified in the average risk category group in early adolescence based on her average G.P.A, and average scores on a delinquency risk and alcohol use index, in

addition to relatively low scores on all three symptomatology subscales. In young adulthood, Lisa's symptomatology profile decreased slightly for externalizing scores, remained the same for total symptom scores, and increased – nearly doubling – for internalizing scores. She was classified in the fearful attachment category on the ECR and RQ measures. Lisa's developmental outcome in young adulthood, based on her quantitative results and qualitative themes, appears mixed. Her narrative themes highlight a number of successes, including the ability to overcome significant obstacles including teenage motherhood and attain several goals including graduation from high school and college enrollment, along with part-time employment. However, she currently feels mixed about her developmental path, feeling on the one hand that she has accomplished more than most people her age with her ability to meet both her family and work responsibilities, while on the other she feels she has not attained the level of success, particularly career and school achievement, that she had envisioned earlier in her life. Despite such difficulties, her narrative themes suggest that her relationship with her mother, in particular, has provided her with support and guidance and appears to be an important mediator between the obstacles she has experienced and the achievements she has accomplished thus far.

Lisa described herself as currently in “transition to maturity.” When reflecting on the changes she has experienced since adolescence, she reported that she has become increasingly responsible since the birth of her son at age seventeen. This event forced her to mature rapidly:

I was crazy in high school. I was wild...I always had good grades and passed all my tests but yet I always had time to fool around. To be really...to do things that actually were a waste of time...I guess at that age you're more innocent. Now you have your doubts and almost at that age you can be more curious about things. To

do things you don't care much about the risk and now I do. I think about things twice before doing them. At that time you don't care...once I had my son it was, Okay, I need to put my foot on the ground and stop wasting time because I have a son. I have to be someone for him.

Lisa has struggled since adolescence to develop her identity, define her goals, and meet the often overbearing responsibilities of motherhood. She said that she was "Very shy. One of the ones that people don't notice much" in her early adolescent years, but also that she became increasingly social as high school progressed, particularly because she attached herself to a clique of friends who provided a sense of belonging and stability:

[I became more social] towards the end of freshman year when I met the friends that I'm still friends with them now. I had my little clique so my next couple of years I had girls I could hang out with ...and a BUNCH of guys...guys that were considered the popular guys. And I was just always dating one of the guys...because I was always hanging out.... towards the end of ..I should say my sophomore through junior ear, that year was...I was more into having fun, going out than [concentrating on] my classes...I failed some classes and was cutting a lot...that's when I came up pregnant.

Lisa revealed that this clique was called the TDP's, or "Dominican Power," and she said that most of her friends were affiliated with this group. In addition to this affiliation, she had many other friends from a variety of diverse backgrounds. However, she explained that her desire to be accepted by the clique influenced her decision to focus less on school and more on her social life because these peers were more into being wild and hanging out than anything else. Lisa admitted that the naïve life she learned from this group led her to become pregnant.

Lisa said that, although her basic personality has not changed since high school, her approach to life has changed a great deal since she became a mother. She endured many challenges and obstacles as a teenage mom and she reported that she was initially shocked by the responsibilities of motherhood:

Wow. All the responsibility right. It's like...it was a lot of emotions together. Having someone that you know is going to depend on you twenty-four hours, seven days a week, and you have a life in your hands and you have to make sure that everything goes well. That you do a good job. I was excited. Yes, I was excited. I was scared. Scared how I was going to...was I going to be a good mother? Just being young and not knowing and how was I going to handle the situation.

Lisa revealed that she was not prepared to take on these responsibilities and felt torn between wanting to care for her child and also wanting to live her own life. "And I guess even after I had my son," she explained, "I still even [though] I had my responsibility, I still wanted to live like an adolescent...[and] just go out." She recalled that leaving school for a semester to have her son was a significant loss. She felt that she missed out on many events and rites of passage in high school:

I left school for a semester. Then when I came back in September I was full force, wanted just to...because I missed a semester I was supposed to graduate in. And then when I saw the people graduating and some of the girls I was in class with and I missed all that. I missed the graduation and I missed the prom. I missed my friends who were going at that time. And I didn't have a graduation either.

Lisa revealed that her mother was an important source of support who took care of her son so that she could graduate only six months behind her peers. However, Lisa reported that she "got carried away" and took advantage of this situation:

My mother took care of him but she wasn't into that. At first it was fine with her especially when I left my son's father, since I was very sad and very depressed and she saw that as a way of me going out and do something I like...but then I was always constantly going out.

Lisa married her child's father when she found out she was pregnant, but the relationship lasted only three years and she divorced him due to the fact that she "got tired of him." She described him as being very unfaithful and said that "I caught him a few times, more than once, so I just got tired." Currently, he has infrequent contact with their son and provides little financial support.

Although Lisa is not as successful now as she had envisioned she would be when she was in junior high school, she explained that her ability to meet her responsibilities as a mother and to pay nearly all of the family's bills have been important achievements. She reported that, though these responsibilities generate significant stress for her, she is also proud of her accomplishment:

I'm twenty-three now. I thought I was going to have a better job. I was going to have more successful...I used to think to myself, Okay by 2000...I thought I was going to be more successful. Have accomplished more. Have a stable family. Like I said, a good job or my own place or a nice car or something. I guess I have things going on for me but not probably at that time what I thought. I do have a car. I am working. But I am working to make ends meet. It's not...I'm still working on it. So at that time I thought that by the time I was twenty-three, I was going to be out of school and making big money.

She further specified that her identity and sense of self is intertwined with her accomplishments or lack thereof:

Everything I have accomplished or not accomplished [makes up my identity]...I would say that. I guess there are times that I have compared myself with other people and I could think I haven't accomplished anything but then again I could compare myself with someone else the same age and I could say I think I have a lot more going on than that person. I do have a child, I do take care of him. I do got this going on for myself and maybe the other person doesn't.

When considering her current path, Lisa said that she is most frustrated with her struggle to define and commit to a career trajectory. She described four different career paths that she is pursuing and acknowledged that this involved much "confusion." "The thing is I'm very undecided so I guess that's my problem," she said, "I take time making decisions so that's why after I even had a major in education...I switched to sociology and psychology." Her stated goal is to be a social worker and she discussed her dilemma and the choices she is considering:

The other choice could be I had taken the test for the police department and now I failed the physical test so I have to wait for the next class so I could take it again.

So I don't know. Maybe they will call me again, and then I'll pass is so by the time I'm thirty I could be working for the police department. I have many things in mind. I could do any....there are so many choices and things that could happen along the way.

Lisa also said that she could be "working for the City...because they got good benefits." However, despite her challenges, Lisa also revealed that she has become increasingly proud of her accomplishments as a mother and her ability to meet her responsibilities:

[I am proud of] the fact that I know that I have a lot of responsibilities, and I have been able to handle them. I haven't given up. I'm still going to school and I'm still working towards my goal. I just haven't stopped and say...or taken that as an excuse that I have a child or I have to work and I can't go to school. But I try to do my best.

Lisa attributes much of her success and ability to overcome significant obstacles, including Leukemia and teenage motherhood, to the support her mother provides. She underwent painful Leukemia treatment for three or four years and said that she is fully recovered. She did not want to discuss how her illness impacted her development, but she did reveal that her mother "sacrificed a lot," including moving away from her extended family and her father, to make sure that Lisa received the best possible treatment. Since making this move when Lisa was seven years old, her mother has functioned as a single mom and Lisa said that her parents ultimately divorced because of this move. Lisa also said that her mother "always helped me out...she did everything for me. She gave me all she had and having the mother that I had [was the greatest benefit I had growing up]."

Lisa reported that their relationship has always been "close" and that, despite that her mother currently suffers from diabetes and has to spend the whole day "drinking medicine and insulin and this and that," she continues to be very involved in Lisa's life and helps a great deal with her son:

She wants me to get a career. She wants me to get my degree. Especially [good at] taking care of my son. She says, "if you're going to school to get your career, good. Your kid shouldn't have no problems. I'm taking care of my grandson as long as I know you're going to school and not just wasting time."

She also described their relationship in terms of the ways her mother pushed her to learn and helped make opportunities available to her:

She was the one that actually when I turned sixteen, came with me so I could get my permit so I could get into driving school so I could learn. She always told me, "Try to learn as much as you can."

Lisa also said that she "confided in" her mother throughout childhood and added that she was the person to whom she looked for advice.

However, their relationship is not without conflict and Lisa admitted that they had some difficulties during her adolescence. These problems were related to her mother being "a very restrictive person" and Lisa reported that there was no negotiation or discussion allowed regarding her mother's rules. She explained that her mother was very strict with curfews and didn't like her going out with friends or boyfriends:

Let's say as far as me going out. She didn't like the fact. When I was fifteen or sixteen at the time [and had a boyfriend] and she was very strict with me, as far, "There's a party. I'm going," "No," it was, "No, no no." I could actually count the times that I went out. And if I did I had a curfew like be back at ten or something like that. So I hardly went out then. When I was with my son's father, we didn't go out together at all so I was together with him 'til I was twenty. Then after that, that's when I was, Okay, let's go out for the times I didn't go out, the times I missed out. I'm doing it now...I think I give my son a little more freedom than [I got]...I don't see anything wrong if a kid is adolescent, fourteen, fifteen, that wants to go out to the movies after school with friends. As long as I know the friends...My friends could go to my house and it was fine and we were the same age. Yet I couldn't go to their house."

She also characterized her mother as "very religious," an active participant in the Catholic community who has transmitted to Lisa values about belief in God and in self:

You have to believe, first you have to believe in God...if you don't have faith than you don't have anything. She has shown me how to be confident of myself.

If I want to do something she tell me, "If you're going to do something, think about it and do it. Don't look back. Don't start regretting. If you make a mistake, try to get up and move forward."

Her mother, a restaurant cook until she became disabled by her illness, also taught Lisa about "strength and how to raise a kid by yourself." She further described some of her mother's characteristics and the impact she has had on her:

My mom, she is adorable. She has been there for me a lot of times. Even though she doesn't understand me most of the time...I wouldn't have accomplished [all that I have] if I didn't have her...she raised me on her own and now that that's what I'm doing with my son...I look up to her. Maybe I won't say it to her but I do. I admire her now.

As for the rest of her family, Lisa visits her father and siblings in the Dominican Republic approximately twice per year, during which times she stays with her grandmother. Nonetheless, she feels distant from them. Lisa described her dad as, "He's there. THERE. I care for him. He is my dad. We don't keep in much contact but any chance I get I do make, when I go down there, I never come back [from the Dominican Republic] without seeing him. I have to go and see him. Spend the day." She also described him as "very sweet. Very laid back." She reported that he makes limited efforts to keep in contact with her. "Only when I am over there," she explained, "When I go visit him, he would go all out for me and take me out to make sure that I'm alright when I'm over there." She denied that this was difficult for her and stated, "they always make me feel welcome. I never feel like an outsider." However, this statement belied a sense that there are deeper feelings underneath, which she alluded to in her earlier description.

Lisa asserted that family is most important to her. "I value my family," she stated, "That's my top priority. Because they are always there, good and bad times. Times of confusement, times of happiness. That's something, that they are always there,

particularly my mom.” However, this statement contradicts the lack of involvement her father and siblings seem to have in her life.

In addition to her family, Lisa discussed several important relationships in high school, some of which remain in her life today. Yet, despite these relationships, she revealed that she has difficulty sustaining friendships over time. Furthermore, though she described herself as being part of a larger clique in high school, she admitted that there were few people with whom she was actually close. Moreover, she said that she does not recall any significant friendships from junior high school:

I guess [in junior high school] I did have people in and out of my life. I can't think of anyone in junior high school but in high school I would say I had my son's father. He was my first. He was there for me. I guess he meant a lot to me in my life and helped out a lot. I do have two close friends that we were together in high school but we still keep in contact. We still call each other even after all these years...[they are not my closest friends now.] After high school one of them went away to upstate. The other one lives here in Manhattan but yet all of us took a different way. They are very different. One of them is very wild, very crazy. The other one is very calm, very submissive. And I'm in between them. So they are my good and my bad side. But I have other friends that are very close to me now. I have a person that I'm seeing at the moment and that's nice. And the person that went away, [who I talked about missing a lot earlier in the interview. We were very close]...He was someone that gave me a lot of advice as far as school and about work because we used to work together. He used to give me advice about work. About bettering myself and about how to be a better parent. We spent hours talking and I could call him with any problem any time. [Lisa further discussed that despite being close to this man, they do not keep in touch because]...it's not going to be the same [as when we] spent hours talking and I could call him with any problem, any time.

Lisa's discussion of relationships seemed to indicate that she values friendships and engagement with others, but there is something that prevents her from getting too close to people. Additionally, her description of a friend with whom she had been very close but who recently moved away revealed a sense of distrust in her ability to remain close after such separations. This theme is reminiscent of her description of her father

from whom she was separated at an early age and with whom she has not maintained a close connection. As for entering into other important relationships, Lisa reported that she would like to marry again and have two or three more children, but she is ambivalent and somewhat skeptical about the possibility of getting into a stable relationship. She revealed her fear that being involved with another person means being controlled by them and the loss of autonomy and independence:

I guess sometimes I say it's fine, me being alone because I'm very independent and I don't like to feel controlled by no one. But then again, there are times that it is good to have that special person with you. And sometimes I don't know if it is because it's time for me to settle down and that's the way I see it now. But now, I think a lot more about having a partner, I guess. Someone who is going to love my son too.

Lisa has been involved with one man, who is separated from his wife, for almost a year and she explained that "it is not going well." She added that "he is separated but I see that the relationship can go back any minute and I don't have anything for sure." The relationship makes her "confused" and "fearful" and she described him as "handsome but I think he cares more for me than I care for him. But he is nice. He is very involved in my life and all the things I do and the choices that I make. He tries to be there for me all the time."

Throughout the interview, Lisa appeared to have difficulty providing descriptions of the complexity of her emotions and she seemed to try and put a positive spin on any negative experiences around relationships. It is clear from her narrative that she values relationships, but her themes suggest that she is uncertain about how close she wants to get to others, about whether she can trust others, and whether she will lose her independence or autonomy if she does let down her guard. Though, by her own standards, Lisa's developmental outcome in young adulthood appears relatively

successful, it is perhaps less successful than she imagined in terms of career and financial stability and more successful in terms of her ability to meet her responsibilities, particularly that of motherhood and aiding her mother with bills. While Lisa's mother provided her with a strong foundation of support and guidance, her narrative suggested a lack of emotional intimacy between them. Although Lisa confides in her mother, she also holds back her feelings at times. Connections between Lisa's ECR and RQ fearful attachment categorization and her narrative themes suggest that such difficulties with emotionality and intimacy in relationship may be a characteristic style she employs in most of her relationships. On the one hand she highly values relationships, but she also has significant reservations about what it means to be close to others, including if she will lose herself or if she can fully trust another person. Although the value she places on relationships has enabled her to remain connected to her mother, which has aided her achievements, she is also struggling with issues related to identity formation and connections with others.

ERIC

Risk Category: *At-Risk*
Age: *23*
Sex: *Male*
Ethnicity: *Latino*
ECR Category: *Fearful*
RQ Category: *Did not endorse*

Symptom Scores:

	Internalizing	Externalizing	Total Symptoms
T1	1.36	1.23	1.33
T3	.46	.33	.35

Case Summary:

Eric is a twenty-three-year-old, Latino male who is currently living with his mother and eight-year-old son in Manhattan. Eric dropped out of high school at age fifteen, after his girlfriend gave birth to their son, and completed his GED at age seventeen. He has been earning a living by selling drugs – “hustling” – on the street since age sixteen. Eric was born in the United States and lived with both of his parents until his early teenage years, when they separated and his father moved to the Dominican Republic because of legal problems. Eric is the oldest of three children and has two younger sisters. He was classified in the at-risk category group in early adolescence based on his low G.P.A. score and high scores on a delinquency risk and alcohol use index, in addition to high scores on all three symptomatology subscales. In young adulthood, Eric’s symptomatology profile decreased significantly for all three subscales. He was classified in the fearful attachment category on the ECR measure and he did not endorse

a response for the RQ measure. The combination of Eric's quantitative scores and qualitative narrative themes suggest that his developmental outcome in young adulthood has improved somewhat since early adolescence, with a reduction in involvement in violence and other delinquent activities. However, despite this improvement and Eric's increased sense of awareness of his difficulties, his developmental outcome does not appear to be successful at this point.. He continues to struggle with a number of issues, including drug dealing, substance abuse, financial instability, and a lack of intimate and significant relationships. Although Eric reports a particularly strong attachment to his mother and highly values his family, his narrative conveys very little about the impact of his mother or other family members on his development. Relationships with peers and neighborhood role models seem to have been most significant in influencing his developmental trajectory.

Though Eric sensed that he had matured since junior high school, he described his trajectory since then as being relatively static. He said that his "devotion towards [his] future" has not changed and stated that he "has not really dedicated...I know I could do better if I applied myself to things but I always wanted the easy way out." Eric revealed that in junior high school he "kind of pictured myself like I am right now. The same. The streets and things." There was a part of him that had wanted to go to school, but he stated, "I didn't even finish high school. I took my GED...I mean, you know, It's hard to make things go your way unless you make an effort."

Eric believes that his peers and pressure to make money are what kept him from making forward progress. He explained, "I would have to say just...I'll be

honest...society I guess. I mean I guess from at least where I live, peer pressure.” Eric stated that he had to put his experience into rapper’s words in order to describe it:

It’s like everybody gets they turn to live but then you can’t burn your bridges, you know. You can’t...if you have an opportunity that I ...a lot of opportunities I’ve had, one way or other, I just mess it up. Just cause, like I said before peer pressures and the environment and all.

He would like to change his current situation, but feels stuck for now and lacks motivation as a result of involvement in drugs and other “bad habits:”

Wow...I would say I guess...(laughter) it makes me uncomfortable to say but anyway but you know, anyway, bad habits you pick up along the way like drugs or what not, it slows you down, makes you less motivated...And, of course [if I could change anything about my life], I would be dedicated to school, my education.

In addition to peer influences, Eric considers the birth of his son when he was fifteen to be the most significant event in his life that has impacted his trajectory. At that time – he was fifteen years old – Eric dropped out of the ninth grade to support his girlfriend and baby. He began working legal jobs, which didn’t earn him much money, explaining “I would say...around that time I started learning about life a little, getting a taste of it. My girl had just given birth so I had to make money whatever way I could cause I wasn’t going to make \$4.25 an hour, you know. That wasn’t to get us anywhere.” Eric said that, as a consequence of his pressure to support his son and baby’s mother, he became involved in selling drugs:

I just had to make money fast. I couldn’t be no part-time and going to high school or whatever...I have been hustling on the streets, I ain’t going to lie to you. And I made money. I made good money when I was in the streets but it’s easy comes, easy goes. You don’t pay too much mind to it.

By the time Eric was sixteen, he considered himself an adult. He lived with his girlfriend for one year after the birth of their son, after which they split up and they have

not gotten back together. Eric described himself at that time as being very much on his own and dependent on himself. "I was independent," he said, "I wasn't living with my moms, you know. I was on my own...I was driving my own car. I could stay out as late as I wanted. Everything was on me. I made my own moves." Despite that he felt like an adult, his family did not consider him to be an adult at the time and he reported that they still don't feel that he has achieved this role. "They know how I am," he said, "They know how careless I am and how I don't think before I act. That I never think about the future."

Eric reported that success for people his age is "to be retired." He explained the importance of money in making it through life:

It takes a life, it makes you realize the value of a dollar, you know. How far it can go. So before you would think...when I was in junior high...I would think probably \$50, \$200, \$1000, would be alright. Now you realize that you can blow that like that...unless you invest it right and use your head.

Success for Eric would also be to "have a nest egg and live in the Caribbean." He realizes that it is unlikely that he will be retired by age thirty. He thinks that he may secure a stable profession and quit hustling, but he is uncertain if this will meet his financial needs:

I better start pushing myself to get an education, I think...I guess I will be working professionally in whatever field I decide to go into, if I do. At least have...being financially secure and have a little house or something, a family, of my own. Even though if I was to ever have my family, whatever, I would like to take my moms with me, you know. I would always want to be with my moms. She was always there for me...One way or the other I am going to have to make it somewhere...even though you got to hustle you don't want to struggle, you know what I mean? That's the way I feel. I don't want to be worrying, what's going to happen if I can't meet my mortgage payments or something.

Recently, Eric has been struggling on the streets, stating, "...especially now, I'm making no money in the streets so I have [to consider other options]. These things didn't go my

way and I started realizing this, it ain't worth the risk sometimes." He also expressed his ambivalence about quitting hustling. "You Get caught up," he said, "and then you get to a point that you don't even want to come out but you have to. Cause if I would have still been making money I would have had no worries. I would have been making a stash of money." According to Eric, being a drug dealer and hustling on the streets is "like a tradition" in his neighborhood. He explained that being Dominican means "living a lifestyle." For Eric this lifestyle includes "the streets and things:"

It's the lifestyle I was living. Mostly everybody around me was...yeah around where I live is Dominican and there's a lot of drugs out there so it was like a tradition you know...around my area, you see, it's been around since...I don't know since when but I know from a couple of generations back, I knows it's been in my family for a while. And families from around, the peoples around me where I live too..they cleaned the street so much, wow, so now that's kind of why a lot of people are better start looking into a different direction.

Eric continued to describe his experience on the streets and ways in which he has felt "sucked in" to this lifestyle because of financial pressures and wanting to have a sense of community and belonging. In addition, Eric said he enjoyed the "excite[ment]" of his lifestyle. However, there is little sense of agency in Eric's narrative, as he described having little choice but to fall into his current lifestyle:

The way of making money, everybody is...it's kind of fun. You know what I mean. Ever since I haven't been in the streets for a couple of months now so I miss that. I miss being in the streets. The hustle. Hanging out and all that. Even if I get into a profession or whatever, It's not going to be as exciting as that was...But the style, it's living like that, it was cool. That's all I've known, that's what I've seen since I was born...[It's] not the best thing for me. Just how I feel comfortable...The best thing for me would have been for me to be in medical school right now. But I got sucked in. You get caught up. And then you get to a point that you don't even want to come out but you know you have to.

Although Eric said that he "wasn't into risks and things" and that his profession "wasn't dangerous," he also revealed that he was seriously injured several times in his

neighborhood during his adolescence. He said that he was “shot” one time and “stabbed, a lot of times. Physical and mental injuries.” He described an incident in which he was shot with his own weapon:

Some guys came sneaking up and I had a gun...and when I went to pull it out, they stopped me and it went off.” He also discussed that “some people got killed in my face...by cops as a matter of fact. The cop had to anyway. The guy was shooting at the cops and it was like, I guess, in my neighborhood or any real drug-infested neighborhood, some people feel like they got an ego to maintain, you know. Not ego but a reputation.

Eric also alluded to being in a gang, stating that he has been in many fights in his neighborhood over “turf...territorial dispute[s]” and “stuff.” He summarized the meaning of all these experiences by stating, “It’s a lifestyle...It’s very realistic...here you can see how life is really for mostly all Americans cause it’s not everyone that’s out in the suburbs.” He reported that his participation in fights and violence has greatly diminished over the last few years. “I’m not around that as much now,” he said.

Eric has only recently started to reevaluate his life and to think more about the future and his values. He explained that in high school he “just wanted to have money and live happy. Just go out spending on everything.” He did not consider the consequences of his actions and did not plan for the future. Now, he “thinks about the future...I think of my son. You know? A lot of things.” He said that “in junior high and high school, you know, in my eyes, money was what was most important. That was what was in my eyes. But now I would have to say, a nice little house, financially secure and a family.” He considers “love” to be the most valuable asset. However, up until now, Eric has not been able to maintain any significant intimate relationship:

That’s what I want. That’s what life is to me. To me I see life, like I said before being financially secure, a family....Love you know. Money, I’ve had it...to be honest with you, I’ve had money and money doesn’t make someone happy. That’s

the way I see it. Money doesn't make someone feel full, full of life and happiness when you wake up. You know what I mean?

Eric revealed that he has not been able to experience the feeling of love since he broke up with his ex-girlfriend, the mother of his child:

My girlfriend...my ex-girlfriend. She really affected my life...I haven't been able to experience nothing like that anymore. I don't know. I don't what it was. I thought at first it was the fact that she had the son and it was really love. I don't want to be with her no more because so much that she's done, you know...I would want to have the same kind of feelin I had with her with someone who I know really appreciates me and desires and has the same mutual feelings as me.

He explained that he has been involved in a romantic relationship with a woman, whom he met on the internet, for the past year, but they broke up just prior to the interview. This relationship did not give him the "love" he is seeking, and, as with his description of lacking choice or agency in becoming a drug dealer, his account of how he entered into this relationship included reasons such as "fate" and "destiny" rather than attraction to specific qualities in his girlfriend. Furthermore, Eric denied having had any significant attachment to this woman and suggested that he had been confused about whether he has "even want[ed] to be with her:"

I would have liked to have a relationship with her but it wasn't nothing like with my baby's mother. It was like sometimes I feel I'm never gonna get that feeling again...I met her on the internet. It's not a habit of mine to...I was just downloading some music there and I went to the chat room and then we just clicked and I thought it was fate. Maybe it still is, I don't know. But I thought it was fate. Or destiny. I don't know. So she kept on...I gave her my number and she gave me her and she kept on calling me. But I never wanted to really go by but I finally took the risk and I went out and I met her and she was nice. She was cool, you know. So we hit it off about til now...[The relationship]...I would have to say wasn't easy. I know she was getting tired of me. Maybe I didn't even want to be with her. I mean, it certainly didn't affect me [that we broke up]. It didn't hurt me, you know.

In addition to romantic relationships, Eric described a limited network of support from family members - including his "moms" and two younger sisters - with little

description of the quality of these relationships. He currently lives at his “moms” home along with his sisters, a four-year-old nephew, and his son. His son has lived with him for the past year, which has been a change for him, but he did not explore the reasons for this change in the interview. Eric also keeps in periodic touch with his grandmother, who spends part of the year living at their home and the other part in the Dominican Republic with other extended family members. Eric grew up living with his father until age thirteen, when his parents separated and his father was incarcerated for unspecified legal and immigration problems. Eric did not want to discuss these problems, but said that his father was deported to the Dominican Republic four years ago and he has had relatively little contact with him since then.

Eric’s mother worked in a factory, making buttons, for most of his childhood. He described her by saying that “she cooks, maintains the house. Pretty much.” He initially had difficulty describing his mother, but after some inquiry stated, “She’s like a God to me...There’s no love like mother love. It’s unconditional, you know. She’s supportive of me regardless” and he described their relationship “pretty close, I guess.” Upon inquiry, he elaborated a bit more, but his descriptions were mostly positive and general, with no sense of her as a multidimensional person and no substantive account of their relationship. His generalizations included that their relationship was “Really close, open, honest...[can talk with her] about anything. Yeah. She’s like my best friend.” There was no sense during the interview about the ways in which his mother has supported him or impacted his trajectory and, despite his assertions, there was no sense of their closeness.

Eric's feelings about his father were much different. He said, "I'm not as appreciative towards him, as much as I am towards my moms" and he elaborated on these feelings:

I would have to say he's like...he was cool, he was big and he was there for us when we was growing up. But I would have to say when we most needed him, he wasn't there. When we most needed him, he wasn't there....He really didn't want to be a part of our family no more, I guess...[After he got deported], he actually went back over there to the Dominican Republic...That's pretty much it.

Other than his parents, Eric described his relationship with his two sisters as "alright." His older sister is going to college to become a registered nurse while his younger sister is about to start college. Eric recalled having a lot of arguments with the older sister. "There's always a lot of arguments at home but still...that's what makes us understand each other, I guess," he said, "You understand? Sometimes we need to argue, you know what I'm saying...I know who is my sister though." He said that he basically raised his younger sister since their father left and that he had made efforts to keep her on the "straight and narrow." He also described her also as being "in her own little world" and, unlike him, she has not been impacted by the negative influences of the streets:

She's a good girl and everything. I'm very happy that we didn't have all those problem child cause when my father left it was like I became her father, you know. So I been trying to keep her on the straight and narrow. Yeah. So I'm glad she didn't turn out to be a problem child cause I would have had some headaches...I'm glad she's going to start college.

In contrast to the relatively positive relationships he feels that he has with his sisters, Eric described his relationship with his son as "not good at all" and he acknowledged that some of the difficulties they experience result from his not being around much during his son's first few years and from his inability to show his son love:

It could have been better but in the first few years of his life I really wasn't...only in the weekends, you know so it's like everything I wanted as a father for a son

relationship, I couldn't get it. I mean, he didn't even...you know what I mean...you know how like a son takes after his father like all the little habits, the way he walks. He didn't pick those things up from me.... Sometimes I regret it. I regret things like that...I don't show him that much love as I'm supposed to. I don't know why either. Just cause of that, maybe it's cause I really wanted to have a family. I don't know what it is, man.

Eric elaborated on this relationship later in the interview by discussing his disappointment about not having the family he envisioned and his desire to raise his son along with his ex-wife. He recalled that, when his son's mother took his son to Florida for a year, he resigned himself to not being involved in his son's life and closed himself off emotionally from any painful experiences about this separation stating that "I tried to forget about him." Eric also admitted that, since his son moved back to NYC, he has had difficulties opening up to him and has thus felt closed off emotionally:

[It's] not what I thought. Not what I wanted it to be like. What I really wanted was I just take him to the park with my wife by my side. Or take him wherever, you know, to the beach, movies, things like that. And now it's like I have to do it with him alone, just me and him. Even though, cause she took him away for a year so I couldn't...that kind of hurt me and I thought that she was going to leave forever. That's what she had told me, that she was going to move to Florida. So I guess before he had gone to Florida, it was like I had the good relationship with him. I take him out, take him to the part. I would see him. I feel like I can hang out with my little son, you know. But after she left and she came back, I think I kind of closed myself from him, trying...I tried to forget about him already. He will never be your son no more. So when he came back, I don't know, it wasn't the same...I guess I [had] tried to emotionally separate myself from him in a way.

When asked about the positive and negative things that his son's birth brought to his life, Eric had difficulty naming any positive aspects of this experience and revealed that his son's birth has led to mostly negative consequences for him:

Wow, I don't see no positives really. I do see a lot of negatives but I hate to say it because he's my son, but it's true. I would have never dropped out of school....before he was born I went to school. That's when I had mine, going to school, getting my education and all that. When he was born, I had to...I dropped out of so I could support them.

These sentiments and his earlier descriptions of his relationships suggest that, although Eric has experienced a significant reduction in symptomatology scores from early adolescence to young adulthood, his developmental outcome in young adulthood does not appear to be successful. Moreover, Eric has had difficulties with substance abuse and with drug dealing. However, he has a number of strengths, including an increased ability to reflect on his life course and a significant decrease in his involvement in violence and delinquent acts. Additionally, he has demonstrated a continued commitment to provide financially for his son and, though he struggles with how emotionally available or intimate he can be, Eric maintains a presence in his son's life.

Eric's fearful categorization on the ECR attachment measure and his qualitative themes suggest a number of hypotheses about the ways in which his attachments have contributed to his developmental course. For example, while Eric seems to value and desire intimate relationships, including a wish to be closer to his son and regain the feeling of love he once had with his son's mother, it seems that his characteristic style of relating to others has been to close himself off from intimate experiences and potentially painful attachments. Eric described no intimate or close relationships with family members, friends, or romantic attachments and he seems avoidant of these types of relationships, which is characteristic of individuals classified in the fearful attachment category. Instead, his major influences have included negative peer and neighborhood identifications, reflected in his strong desire to maintain a sense of belonging and community. Although he described his mother as "a God" who gives him "unconditional love," there was no sense of closeness in his descriptions of their relationship. Eric also seems to harbor a great deal of resentment towards his father, who essentially abandoned

the family during Eric's teenage years. Hence, Eric's characteristic style of relating to others, which appears to be mostly avoidant and fearful of intimacy while his identity and sense of coherence seems to be closely linked with a strong desire to "fit in" and belong, has inhibited his ability to move beyond the negative influences of his neighborhood and left him "stuck" in his current problems. While the reality of having a child at a very young age forced him to endure significant financial pressures to support a family, it seems that Eric has chosen a path riddled with violence, risk, and illegal activities. Though Eric discussed in his narrative that he is aware that this choice has not proven successful, he lacks the agency and motivation to make any changes at this time.

Chapter IV: Discussion

Overview

This study examined the developmental trajectories of inner-city, ethnically diverse youth from adolescence to early adulthood. The study targeted three subgroups of individuals categorized in early adolescence as belonging to one of the following groups: high-functioning, at-risk, and average-level of risk. Specifically, the study examined the association between attachment quality and developmental outcome from a quantitative and qualitative perspective. The quantitative segment examined the association between self-report measures of attachment in adolescence and young adulthood and psychological symptomatology and problem behaviors at these two time points. The qualitative segment augmented the quantitative findings, highlighting specific themes and patterns of development based on individual phenomenological experience.

Combining both quantitative and qualitative investigations enabled the generation of broad based findings specific to the sample as a whole, while also capturing the complexity of individual experience and personal meaning systems (Aber & Waters, 1992). Strauss & Corbin (1998) suggest that the use of quantitative and qualitative methods together can serve as complementary approaches, with “each add[ing] something essential to the ultimate findings, even to the final theory if that is the aim of the particular research project” (p.28). Aber and Waters (1992) argue that combining the use of qualitative analyses within larger quantitative methodologies “can serve to frame and sharpen the questions best investigated by the qualitative method” (p.12). Furthermore, the addition of qualitative methods also “may be the only viable method for assessing individual differences in personal meaning system [and developmental processes] in their full complexity...and personal, idiosyncratic...meaning” (p.13). The

qualitative sample selection and questions can be guided by quantitative findings and themes generated from qualitative analyses can aid in defining future research questions and hypotheses. Thus, given the limited sample size employed in this study, the use of these two methods increases the ability to formulate hypotheses about the experience of at-risk, inner-city youth during the transition from adolescence to early adulthood and thus facilitates a better understanding of those factors that impact resilience and positive outcomes across this time period.

Quantitative Findings

Quantitative analyses were conducted in two phases. First, the whole sample was analyzed to determine overall trends in the data from adolescence to early adulthood that would be better explored with a larger sample. Second, the sample was divided into three risk categories – high-functioning, at-risk, and average risk in early adolescence – to test the predicted hypotheses. Analyses following this division revealed few statistically significant results. However, a qualitative examination highlighted a number of trends in the data. This section thus includes a summary of both the whole sample analyses and the analyses testing the three study hypotheses, including statistically significant results and general trends.

Whole sample analyses revealed a statistically significant decrease in total mean symptomatology scores from adolescence to early adulthood. However, this decrease was not evident at the individual variable level, suggesting that internalizing and externalizing symptom scores remained relatively stable for the entire sample across this time period. Qualitative examination of mean internalizing and externalizing changes revealed a non-

significant decrease from adolescence to young adulthood. Though a larger sample is required to better assess this trend, the data seems to indicate an overall decrease in symptomatology profiles from adolescence to young adulthood.

A number of trends were also found after the sample was divided into risk category groups. Separate analyses were performed for the adolescent and young adult time period in order to assess differences among risk category groups on the three symptom subscales at each of the two time points. As expected, there were statistically significant differences among the three groups in adolescence, according to symptom scores. The high-functioning group evidenced the lowest scores across all three subscales, while the at-risk evidenced the highest externalizing and total symptoms scores and the average and at-risk groups evidenced equal, but higher, internalizing scores.

Despite these differences, there were no statistically significant mean differences found among the risk category groups in young adulthood, suggesting that mean scores across all three subscales were similar for all three groups. Given the small sample size, the data was submitted to a qualitative examination to examine possible trends. As expected, this trend analysis found that individuals in the high-functioning group evidenced the lowest externalizing and total psychological symptom scores in young adulthood and, unexpectedly, had medium internalizing scores. Surprisingly, individuals in the average, not the at-risk, group evidenced the highest symptom scores on all three subscales. However, this difference was very small for the externalizing and total symptom scales and was slightly larger for the internalizing subscale. These trends further suggest that a larger sample is needed to better understand these associations.

Next, analyses were conducted to test hypothesis # 1. As predicted, no statistically significant mean differences were found for the high-functioning or average subgroups from Time 1 to Time 3 suggesting that mean symptomatology profiles for these two subgroups remained relatively stable across time. However, a statistically significant decrease in symptomatology scores across all three subscales was found for the at-risk group. As predicted in Hypothesis # 1, differences in symptom changes were found when individual developmental trajectories, instead of mean rates for the group, were examined on a case-by-case basis in the qualitative section. There were subgroups of individuals who evidenced improvement or worsening of symptomatology profiles which was not explored in the quantitative analyses.

Analyses were next performed to examine the relationship between the attachment measures and developmental trajectories. For the IPPA measure in adolescence at Time 2, no statistically significant associations were found between the two subscales – attachment to friend and attachment to primary caregiver – indicating no statistical relation between peer and primary caregiver attachment quality observed with this measure. Next, the relation between the IPPA adolescent attachment measure and the two young adulthood measures, the ECR and RQ, were examined to test Hypothesis #2. Contrary to predictions, there was no statistically significant association found between attachment sub-category (secure, fearful, preoccupied, and dismissing) in young adulthood and either of the two IPPA subscales – attachment to primary caregiver and attachment to peers – suggesting that there is no continuity between adolescent and young adult attachment in this study.

Examination of the relation between attachment quality and psychological symptoms in young adulthood yielded some statistically significant findings. Consistent with Hypothesis #3, which predicted that better quality of attachment would be associated with lower rates of psychopathology, the attachment to friend subscale of the IPPA in adolescence was found to be negatively associated with psychological symptomatology in young adulthood. This result suggests that greater attachment to peers in adolescence was associated with lower rates of psychopathology into adulthood. However, no statistical association was found for the attachment to primary caregiver subscale.

Statistically significant differences and trend level differences were found between individuals categorized in the fearful attachment subcategory on the two young adult measures as compared to individuals categorized in the secure and dismissing subcategories on internalizing symptoms. These results indicate that individuals in the fearful category reported statistically significant higher internalizing scores on the RQ and trend level differences on the ECR in young adulthood when compared to those in the secure and dismissing categories. Such results are consistent with the literature and replicate earlier studies reporting an association between lower rates of distress and psychological symptomatology in individuals categorized in the secure and dismissing categories versus those categorized in the fearful subcategories (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994; Klohnen & John, 1998).

Examination of the relationship between young adult attachment classification and risk category group designation in early adolescence yielded no significant findings. Contrary to predictions in Hypothesis # 3, these analyses suggested that there were no

statistically significant patterns for attachment classification according to risk category group. General trends in the data were found when the data was submitted to a qualitative examination. These trends, however, should be noted with caution as the limited sample size of the study reduces the interpretability of these patterns. For example, on the ECR and RQ measures, the majority of individuals classified in the high-functioning group in early adolescence were categorized as secure or dismissing. Whereas more than half of the individuals in the average risk category were classified in the secure and dismissing subcategories on the ECR, there were proportionally more individuals in the fearful and preoccupied subcategories as compared with the high-functioning group and at-risk groups. As with the ECR, there were proportionally more individuals classified in the fearful and preoccupied categories in the average group than in the other two groups on the RQ. Interestingly, there were nearly as many individuals in the secure and dismissing subcategories on the ECR as there were in the fearful and preoccupied categories for the at-risk group. In contrast, the majority of individuals in the at-risk group were classified in the secure and dismissing categories on the RQ.

Overall, the majority of quantitative analyses yielded trend level associations, with a few statistically significant results, thus indicating that a larger sample size is required to better assess these trends. While total symptomatology profiles decreased for the entire sample from adolescence to young adulthood, stability across all three subscales was found for individuals in the high-functioning and average risk categories. However, there was a statistically significant decrease in symptomatology profiles across all three subscales for the at-risk category group, suggesting that this subgroup evidenced the greatest comparative change – an overall reported improvement – across this time

period. Nonetheless, a case-by-case data analysis, explored in the following qualitative section, revealed individuals in each subgroup who evidenced either improved or deteriorated symptomatology profiles across this time period.

Results suggested that being classified in the secure and dismissing attachment categories, as compared to the fearful category, was associated with lower internalizing symptom scores in young adulthood. Individuals who reported higher attachment to peers in adolescence, though not significant for primary caregiver attachment, were found to have lower symptomatology scores in young adulthood. However, no statistically significant association was found between the attachment measure in adolescence and young adulthood, as was predicted. Contrary to predictions, there were no statistically significant associations between risk category group designation and attachment classification in young adulthood. Despite this finding, qualitative trends in the data indicated that individuals in the high-functioning group tended to be classified in the secure and dismissing categories, whereas those in the average group were classified proportionally more as fearful and those in the at-risk group seemed to be classified relatively equally among subcategories. The qualitative section that follows highlights and expands on the trends found by the quantitative results.

Qualitative Themes

Narrative data helped bring to life six of the participants in the study, enriching and expanding upon data generated from the study's quantitative segment. This material offered a more in-depth illustration of individual developmental trajectories from adolescence to young adulthood and enabled concurrent examination of multiple

variables. A number of themes were highlighted, with a particular focus on the relationship between attachment quality and developmental outcome. Thus, what follows is a discussion of themes generated by these six individuals and a summary of conclusions, clinical implications, and future research questions to be considered.

Defining a Trajectory: Measures of success and adaptation

While the quantitative section of this study measured “developmental outcome” from adolescence to young adulthood using symptomatology and problem behavior profile comparisons, the participant narratives augmented these findings by enabling individuals to discuss their own definitions of success and failure as well as those aspects of development that have been most meaningful or problematic.

For the most part, participants discussed the process of maturation they experienced from adolescence to early adulthood, which led them to define their goals, sense of identity, and values most important to them. For many of these individuals, the very process and rites of passage intrinsic to this period precipitated a re-evaluation of or commitment to a trajectory. Examples included having to face increased responsibilities in a variety of forms, whether due to external demands – such as graduation from high school, responsibilities of children, family pressures and responsibilities to succeed monetarily – or to internal processes related to developing a career or settling with a family or partner.

Individuals in the study identified career achievement, including monetary stability, and goal attainment as key measures of success. For Ericka and Demi, success was intertwined with career achievement, as each reported being driven to define a career

path early in the adolescent period. Ericka, in her last year of medical school, described how she planned her life beginning in junior high school and that her professional goal of becoming a doctor had not changed since then. Demi revealed that defining her career path was also a focus in high school and college, and that she explored a variety of career options through jobs and internships. This exploration ultimately led her to develop a passion for working with disabled children and she is in the process of completing an MA in speech pathology, soon to embark on another MA in special education. Whereas Demi reported her achievements with delight, Ericka expressed conflict about her desire to continue on her current path or to take a break and explore other areas of interest previously closed off from consideration. She viewed her successes as requiring the loss of her “more carefree” and youthful self, saying that she had become “stiffer” as she matured. In contrast, Demi viewed her success as a way of gaining increased independence and accessing more opportunities. Demi’s quantitative developmental outcome, with stability of low symptomatology scores from adolescence to young adulthood, is reflective of the success that she reports in her narrative themes. Similarly, Ericka’s quantitative scores, with low symptomatology scores for the total problems and externalizing subscales and an increase in internalizing symptom scores in young adulthood, is also reflective of the internal conflicts she reported in the narrative themes.

For Peter, Lisa, Jon, and Eric, the path to developing a career goal was not as clear early on as it was for Demi and Erika. A major theme in these narratives was that of defining moments or family responsibilities that ultimately led to a reevaluation of trajectories forged in high school and to the definition of goals that were, for the most part, a result of a more mature vision of self.

Having a child was just such a defining moment for Peter, Lisa, and Eric. Each had a child either before or shortly after graduating from high school. Peter revealed that his family had been concerned that he would end up in jail, like many of his friends, for dealing drugs or other delinquent activities and they worried about his ability to make successful choices. He indicated that he was struck by the responsibility of having to support a child and remembered thinking after his daughter was born that “I have to get my act together.” He subsequently made a commitment to himself and became more focused on “working hard, hitting the books, getting a job, and getting out.” He maintained this focus and went on to earn an Associates Degree in Administration Assistance and currently works at a prestigious city agency. Peter’s definition of success includes the pride he feels in being able to meet his responsibilities as a parent and his narrative conveyed a strong sense of agency. Moreover, Peter’s quantitative results that indicate a successful and improved developmental outcome in young adulthood, with low scores across all three symptomatology subscales, are further supported by his own sense of success described in his narrative.

Similarly, Lisa revealed that the birth of her child when she was seventeen prompted her to mature more rapidly than she otherwise would have. She, like Peter, reported having been “wild” and “more into fun, going out than [concentrating on] my classes” in high school, paying little attention to future goals. However, although she admitted that the birth of her child was a responsibility she initially found overwhelming and one she did not fully take on, she also reported that this event forced her to re-examine her goals and to become more future-oriented. She stated that “once I had my son it was, okay, I need to put my foot on the ground and stop wasting time because I

have a son. I have to be someone for him.” She also said that it took several years for her to fully accept the responsibilities of motherhood, but that she has become increasingly able to meet these challenges. However, Lisa’s developmental outcome in young adulthood appears to be mixed. Like Peter, she also spoke about being proud of her ability to meet responsibilities, graduate from high school, attend college, and hold a job. Nonetheless, she also discussed that she is not as successful as she thought she would be at this point, and she reported that she is confused about her career path and unable to sustain a meaningful romantic relationship. Furthermore, in contrast to Peter’s expression of feeling more settled with his family and job, Lisa’s narrative contained a sense of struggle over how to balance her own desires and needs with family responsibilities. Thus, her narrative themes seem to highlight internal conflicts that are reflected in her quantitative developmental outcome, as her internalizing score nearly doubled in young adulthood, whereas her total symptomatology and externalizing scores remained stable and decreased, respectively.

Eric, the youngest of the group to have children, also revealed that the birth of his son when he was fifteen was the most significant life event that impacted his trajectory. Becoming a father precipitated a reevaluation of his goals, leading him to drop out of high school to support his family. He was initially employed in legal jobs, earning minimum wage, but soon became involved in selling drugs on the street as a consequence of feeling pressure to “make money fast.” For Eric, this trajectory was not an unexpected path and he revealed that when he was in junior high “I kind of pictured myself like I am right now. The same. The streets and things.” He said that he saw very few positives about having a child because he had to give up many of his goals, including earning his

high school diploma. Like the other participants, Eric felt that getting an education and having a career providing financial stability were measures of success. Despite that his quantitative developmental outcome indicates a decrease in symptomatology scores across all three subscales, his trajectory into adulthood is not adequately captured by these results and he does not appear to be successful at this time. While he has reduced his involvement in violence since adolescence, he continues to struggle with identity, substance abuse, and drug dealing problems. Though he realizes that his current path is not successful, he is conflicted about whether he will stop selling drugs.

Although Jon does not have children, he reported that financial pressures and expectations to help provide for his single mother and the siblings with whom he lives have impacted his trajectory. As the oldest son in his family, he is essentially head of the household and he revealed that he decided to pursue a degree in finance rather than English or another area better suited to his interests and skills in order to meet his financial obligations. For Jon, success is tied to monetary stability and career achievement, and he aspires to become a music executive. However, he revealed that he lacks self-confidence and struggles with depression, which have both impacted his ability in young adulthood to meet his goals and to form relationships beyond his family network. These internal conflicts, highlighted in Jon's narrative, further support his quantitative developmental outcome reflecting an increase in internalizing symptom scores from adolescence to young adulthood, with scores at both these time points that are markedly higher than the majority of individuals in this study.

Attachment Relationships: Parents, Peers and Romantic Involvements

The importance of relationships with family members and other attachment figures, including peers and romantic partners, emerged as a significant theme associated with individual developmental trajectories. Particularly salient sub-themes within this category included a reliance on family members for support, guidance, and transmission of values; family relationships as positive or negative role models; and peer relationships as positive or negative role models and influences. Attachment relationships seemed to play a key role in impacting decision-making processes, the ability to overcome obstacles, and identity development. Furthermore, associations between quantitative attachment classification and narrative themes generated a number of hypotheses, which are highlighted in this section.

Demi reported that having sustained connections and strong relationships with her parents and a sibling from adolescence to early adulthood provided both a base of support and role models to guide her development. Her secure attachment classification is reflected in her narrative themes that indicate ways in which relationships, particularly those with her parents, have impacted her ability to make positive choices, overcome obstacles, and develop significant and sustained relationships into young adulthood. She asserted that her relationship with her parents is what she values most and that they have provided a cornerstone of support that greatly influenced her resilient trajectory. Demi revealed that during early adolescence, shortly after moving to the United States, she remained relatively insulated by her family and the Greek community, which provided a sense of security and a buffer from cultural differences and language barriers she experienced at school. Her ability to remain connected with her family and to ultimately

branch out to form significant peer relationships and get involved in many high school activities is a testament to her resiliency and the security her parents provided for her. She revealed that she has always felt close to her mother, who is fifteen years her senior, and described her as a “best friend” from junior high to the present. Her father has always played an important role in her life, less as a source of emotional support and more as a stable role model for the value of perseverance and achievement. Demi reported that the value of respecting others and in turn, oneself, was an important lesson taught by her parents and one that still guides her thinking and impacts her sense of self worth today.

Ericka also emphasized many positive influences of her family members, who function as a source of continued support and as role models for the value of hard work and education as a pathway to success. However, she described her relationships with them as conflictual, stating that her family has been one of the greatest benefits and also the biggest obstacle she experienced growing up. Ericka revealed being close to both her parents and, growing up in a two-parent household, she – like Demi – relied primarily on her mother for support. However, Ericka’s mother was often emotionally unavailable and remained more focused on transmitting the value of future goal orientation. For example, Ericka reported that her mother holds a strong belief in achievement and education and that this value has greatly impacted her intense career focus. She also reported that her mother’s often “bossy, opinioned” style not only pushed her to succeed, but also stifled her self-exploration. She admitted that she highly valued her family’s opinions and, most importantly, sought to earn their respect. Because of her continued need for family approval, Ericka is in the midst of a difficult struggle over how to remain connected to her family while integrating her individuality and perspective into her life view and goals.

She is currently stuck between living life in a way that her parents “would approve” and exploring her own possibilities and dreams. At present, Ericka has resigned herself to staying on her current path rather than exploring other options.

Thus, while Demi’s secure attachment style seemed to provide a base from which she explored and developed her individuality and through which she expanded her social network to include close and sustained friendships, Ericka’s attachment style seems to have inhibited her growth. Her mixed fearful and dismissing attachment classification yields hypotheses about the relation between her narrative themes and categorization. Her fearful classification suggests both the high value she places on family relationships and on deriving her self-worth from relationships as well as her apparent fear of being abandoned by them if she were to explore her own aspirations. In addition, while she tends to value these relationships, they appear to lack intimacy and closeness. Furthermore, her dismissing categorization is suggestive of both her lack of intimate relationships, despite her expectation of soon becoming engaged, and her emphasis on independence at the expense of relational needs as an adaptive way to achieve her goals.

Peter, like Demi and Ericka, described having strong relationships and connections with family members and he also grew up in a two-parent household. He described his parents as role models for a strong work ethic and said they taught him the value of education and taking care of his kids, specifying, “My family were my guide, They pushed me to who I am right now. Not anybody else on the street.” Peter reported that, because he is the oldest son, he had early family expectations of responsibility, including taking care of younger siblings and helping his mother with errands and in the house. He attributed his ability to meet his own family responsibilities into adulthood to

these earlier experiences. Despite that he described his parents as important role models, Peter's attachment to his friends seems to have been most influential during adolescence. He had a large network of friends in junior high and high school, most of whom were negative influences and involved in delinquent activities and gangs. As a Dominican male, Peter reported that he had to affiliate with a gang of "your own race, you have to do whatever just to represent where you're from" in order to fit into the larger social environment at school. He reported that following this path would likely have led him to jail, like many of his peers, in young adulthood. He indicated that severing ties from these attachments was an important step in his maturation process. Peter's dismissing attachment style, in which he seems to prioritize independence and self-agency over reliance on relationships, has served an important adaptive function, enabling him to sever his adolescent relationships and focus on forging a successful career trajectory. Unlike, Demi and Ericka, whose family relationships seemed to guide decision making processes, Peter's developmental course, though admittedly influenced by internalized values transmitted by his parents, seems to have been more influenced by his self-reliance. However, Peter has been able to form intimate romantic relationships, as he is currently married and has two children with whom he is very involved and connected.

Jon also discussed the importance of attachment relationships in his development, particularly his relationship with his mother. His father left the family when he was six years old and he was raised by a single mother who was actively involved in his daily life from a very young age. As he matured, siblings and cousins were also a strong source of support and he described these relations as his closest friends. However, Jon reported difficulties forming relationships outside his family network and described himself as

“shy” and “timid” in junior high school. He became increasingly social in high school because he found a clique of friends to affiliate with. This group was not a gang, like Peter’s, but served a similar function as a base of support and a social network that enabled him to become more involved in high school activities and events. However, beyond the confines of high school he had difficulties forming new relationships and experienced depression, an obstacle to his growth and adjustment to college life. Jon said that he is currently relatively isolated and distressed by his fear and reluctance to form new relationships, recognizing that this fear inhibits his growth and may serve as an obstacle to future success. Like Ericka, his fearful attachment classification seems suggestive of both the value he places on relationships and his avoidance of them. This avoidance seems to relate to his fear of not fitting in or being accepted by others, as he discussed that he feels most like himself and most secure when he is with family.

Lisa also shared the importance of family relationships, particularly with her mother, in providing a bedrock of support. She reported that her mother raised her as a single parent and has always been there for her. She transmitted a number of values to Lisa, including a strong belief in God and oneself, the importance of education and hard work, and the value of “strength and how to raise a kid by yourself.” Lisa reported that her mother enabled her current accomplishments, saying that she has been a major source of help in taking care of her son so that she could complete high school, attend college, and hold a job. Although she described their closeness, she also reported that her mother does not understand her most of the time and she did not express the nuances of their relationship, but instead shared general characteristics during the interview. Lisa also reported having a relatively distant relationship with her father and siblings, who live in

the Dominican Republic. Like Jon, she revealed that she was shy and reserved in junior high school and became more social in high school once she developed a clique of friends. Also similar to Jon, her fearful attachment classification is reflected in her difficulties forming sustained relationships apart from her mother. Interestingly, she seems to highly value relationships, particularly that with her mother and friends in high school, but she also seems reluctant, like Ericka and Jon, to form relationships and expose her vulnerabilities. She described short-lived or conflictual romantic involvements, stating that she is pessimistic about finding someone with whom to enter into a stable long-term relationship, despite that she has more recently considered this possibility. She also reported concern that relationships involved being controlled by another and, because of this perspective, she prefers to be independent.

Eric reported a limited network of support from family, including his mother and siblings, and friends who were negative influences during his adolescent years. His parents separated when he entered adolescence and his father was deported to the Dominican Republic due to legal and immigration problems. Consequently, he had limited contact with his father and was left to be raised by a single mother. He described his mother using general, idealized descriptions, such as “She’s like a God to me...there’s no love like mother love.” Eric also stated that, through all the difficulties he has endured, “she is supportive of me, regardless [and we are] pretty close, I guess.” He described more conflicted and angry feelings towards his father, whom he felt abandoned the family “when we most needed him.” Eric explained that he became an adult at age fifteen, after the birth of his child, when he moved into an apartment with his girlfriend and son and became the sole financial supporter of his family. As with Peter,

negative peer relationships and pressures seem to have been most influential in his developmental course. However, unlike Peter, who was able to sever these ties to form a successful trajectory, Eric continues to rely heavily on these relationships for support and guidance. Whereas Peter described a high sense of agency in his narrative, Eric reported a significant lack of agency and that he felt “sucked-in” to his current lifestyle. Furthermore, although he described wanting and valuing a significant and loving romantic relationship, he reported that he has not been able to find one since being involved with the mother of his child. His most recent girlfriend, he said, represented a reliance on fate and destiny rather than an acknowledged choice.

Cultural and Ethnic Values and Identifications

The role of cultural and ethnic values and identifications was also a prominent theme associated with identity development and developmental trajectories in many of the narratives. Sub-themes included how such values are transmitted from parents, the experience of immigration, the role of ethnic group identifications, and the experience of discrimination on peer group affiliations, career achievement, and identity development.

Demi revealed how immigrating to the United States at age eight required her and her family to make adjustments and to learn a language, culture, and customs that were unfamiliar. Maintaining strong ethnic identifications and traditions helped her family to remain stable and provided her with a network of support in early adolescence, when she did not fit in and had numerous cultural and language barriers. Interestingly, when Demi acculturated in high school she became less identified with her ethnic background, and she said that the majority of her friends were not Greek and that she felt “more identified

with the Spanish kids.” It was not until college and beyond that Demi embraced a strong sense of Greek cultural identity and became more involved in the Greek community. She reported that her parents continue to maintain traditional values and that she lives at home because, in her community, it is not part of the culture to move out unless you are married.

Ericka also revealed that ethnic and cultural identifications played a central role in her family life and values. Both of her parents maintain strong ethnic identifications and a sense of pride in their African-American heritage. Her mother grew up in the South, was raised in an upper-middle-class black community, and attended all-Black schools. In contrast, her father faced more discrimination because he was raised in a more rural area of the South. According to Ericka, her parents maintain strong connections to ethnic roots because of their childhood experiences. She also stated that “they’ve been through the whole period of racism and civil rights and everything so that they’ve had to go through the struggle so they see the possibilities of being Black.” However, she said that “at times I may see being African-American as a hindrance” and she indicated that because she grew up in a mostly Latino neighborhood, being African-American was a source of isolation in junior high school. She wanted to be “anything but black.” In high school, she “did not stand out as much” because she attended a school with a more diverse student body, which led her to gradually feel more “comfortable with being Black.” Currently, Ericka has developed an increased sense of pride in her cultural heritage and she identifies more strongly with the black community, surrounding herself with more friends of her own ethnicity despite that she is engaged to marry a Dominican man. Being Black, she said she is sometimes “treated...like you’re a second class citizen.” Additionally, she

felt that she has had many opportunities that she may not otherwise have had, like getting into a math and science program for minority students.

Peter, like Demi and Ericka, was raised by parents with strong ethnic identifications and traditional values. As described above, such values included a strong belief in family and the importance of taking care of children, with the oldest son meeting responsibilities from an early age. Like Demi, he reported that his parents immigrated to the United States when they were adults and were able to provide well for the family because of their strong work ethic. Peter also reported that his peers were a major source of ethnic identification during his adolescent years. He revealed the importance of affiliating with a gang, comprised of Dominican males (see above section for further details). He also shared that, although this affiliation provided a network of support and social stability for him – particularly in junior high school – it was also a source of conflict because such ties limited his contact with people of other ethnicities out of fear that they may be in a competing gang. Peter said that his ethnic identification diminished in high school and, although he maintains a sense of pride in his heritage, he also enjoys having friends from diverse backgrounds. He reported that he “just want[s] to be seen as a person. I don’t want to be seen as, ‘There’s a Dominican’.” Peter reported that he has had to deal with many obstacles, particularly in the workforce, as a result of being Hispanic and he expects to face continued discrimination and to be underpaid and undervalued for the work that he does.

Jon also described his mother as being strongly identified with his family’s culture-of-origin and said that she is “pretty much traditional.” She, like Demi’s and Peter’s parents, immigrated to the United States during adulthood and maintains strong

cultural ties. He described his mother as not having acculturated “to the ways here” and said that she was very traditional and “old school” in her parenting style. He reported that she was strict in the freedoms that she allowed him in high school. Jon also reported that he holds some of his mother’s traditional values, particularly the importance of family and family responsibilities. He said that, because he grew up with a single mother, with relatively little contact with his father, he does not fit into the traditional gender stereotype of Dominican men. “[Dominican men] tend to be very macho and the women pretty submissive,” he indicated, “I didn’t grow up with a father. I don’t know much about that.”

Lisa also described coming from a traditional family and reported that her mother restricted many of her freedoms in junior high and high school. For Lisa, the cultural difference between them was reflected in her mother’s difficulty in understanding her perspective. She reported that her mother did not want her to date in high school, attend social events, or even go to other friends’ homes. Lisa also reported that her sense of cultural identification was relatively strong in high school, despite her defiance of her mother’s values. She affiliated with a Dominican clique called the TDP’s – or Dominican Power – and most of the people she surrounded herself with were of a similar ethnicity. However, Lisa said that being Dominican is only one aspect of her identity and that, while she is proud of her heritage, it is not the primary focus of her identity and how she relates to others.

Eric reported that his mother and father immigrated to the United States in adulthood, like the parents of many of the other study participants. He did not describe their ethnic identifications and whether such values were transmitted to him. However, he

reported that both his parents have strong ties to the Dominican Republic and that he lives in a community comprised mainly of ethnically similar people. Eric clarified that cultural identifications have been a big influence in his development. According to him, being Dominican means “living a lifestyle,” that includes “the streets and things.” He also revealed that most of his social environment and his neighborhood include people who sell drugs and hustle. Drug dealing is “like a tradition” in his community dating back for generations. Moreover, his affiliations with a gang were also tied to ethnic identifications. According to Eric, his way of life is intertwined with his ethnic and cultural identification and that “is who I am.”

Leaving One's Neighborhood: The Men in the Study

The theme of leaving one's neighborhood as a pathway to success was particularly salient for males in the study and, interestingly, rarely mentioned by female participants. For male participants, just getting out of the “the hood” was reported to be a significant measure of success. Peter expanded on this view by saying, “I feel successful if I get out of the hood. I don't feel comfortable living in the environment that I have to watch out if they are shooting at me or something like that.” He also said that he does not want his children to be exposed to the many negative influences that have affected him, including violence, gangs, and drugs. Similarly, Jon reported that in order for him to progress in life, he would have to leave his neighborhood, stating that while he wished he never had to leave, it is not a place to be once “you reach a certain level of maturity or economic stability, professionalism.” While acknowledging the pressures to join gangs and get involved in drugs and violence, he reported that he essentially stayed clear of

these things by “minding his own business.” Eric also shared that his neighborhood environment is not conducive to making successful choices and he stated that he was influenced by peer and financial pressure to hustle in the streets. A decision to embark on a different career path including legal work would mean severing ties with his community attachments.

Summary of Themes

Narrative analysis generated a number of interesting themes and questions. For example, family attachment experiences seemed to be a key factor impacting development during this period. In particular, being close to or identified with one parent, seemed to more positively impact developmental trajectories, especially identity and decision making processes. Participants described parents as role models of hard work and perseverance, as transmitting the value of education, and as role models for overcoming hardships, discrimination, and cultural barriers and differences. For some, parents – particularly fathers – were absent from their experience and this absence impacted gender role identifications and was described by participants as a loss. Despite that they discussed cultural differences between themselves and their parents’ more traditional values, participants generally described family members – particularly mothers – as foundations of support and guidance. Of course, this support was not always without conflict, which varied among participants. Moreover, those individuals who described their families as a “guide” seemed to convey a greater sense of agency in their narratives as well as greater career attainment and goal orientation.

Family attachment themes generated by the narratives are consistent with the literature, demonstrating the association between quality of family environments and well-being (McLeod & Shanahan, 1993). Additionally, the narrative themes overlap with many themes generated by quantitative research of African-American inner city adolescents by Connell et al. (1994), who examined the relation between attachment experience in terms of individual perception of family support and individual achievement. Connell et al. (1994) found that better quality of attachment experiences was related to individuals' "sense of control over their success and failure in school and of their feelings of self-worth and emotional security with others" (p.503). They also found that such experiences impacted school achievement "over and above the risks associated with family and neighborhood poverty" (p.503).

The narratives also highlight the importance of peer group experiences and relationships on development during adolescence. Particularly salient themes included the impact of these relations on school achievement, career choice, childbearing decisions, and identity development. Fitting into a peer group was a theme evident in many of the narratives and such identifications were based on inclusion in social cliques and ethnic-identified gangs or groups. Peer group relations not only impacted adjustment to high school, but also impacted the course of individual developmental trajectories, including motivation to complete high school, to go on to higher education, and the choice of a career path. Furthermore, the narratives suggested that consideration of the impact of an individual's social milieu is critical to understanding those factors influencing decision making processes and developmental trajectories during this period.

When examining attachment style and developmental outcome a number of trends were found in the narratives. Individuals who had the most successful developmental trajectories were predominantly categorized in the secure or dismissing categories, with one person overlapping between the dismissing and fearful categories. These individuals described strong family foundations that enabled them to, ultimately, develop a sense of clear identity, individuality and independence into young adulthood. Whereas the individual in the secure category seemed to have a larger network of close and intimate relationships, the individual in the dismissing category had some close relations, particularly family, but seemed to prioritize self-agency and independence over relational needs. In contrast, individuals categorized as fearful appeared to have more mixed developmental outcomes, with each reporting aspects of their development that has been successful (e.g., some reported educational attainment and employment, low symptomatology profile in young adulthood) and other parts that they continue to struggle with (e.g., some reported substance abuse, drug dealing, depression, problems with education and/or career goals). For the most part, fearful individuals tended to value and highly depend on relationships, some emphasizing family and others peer relationships, while most had difficulties with intimate relationships and had limited support networks. Interestingly, the majority of individuals classified as fearful reported a strong attachment to at least one parent, despite the lack of emotional closeness and intimacy often described as part of this relationship. However, definitions of attachment seemed to differ among this subgroup. Some described closeness as having parents who were always involved in their lives, and did not emphasize the quality of relationship. For

others, attachment was associated with family obligation or knowing who you can depend on most.

In addition, the narrative data also highlights several themes linked to motivating change and choice of developmental pathways. Having a baby or being faced with increased family responsibilities, particularly monetary pressures, significantly influenced decision-making processes and career choice, the decision to complete or to drop out of school, and peer group identifications.

Moreover, the narratives demonstrated the importance of understanding the influence of contextual and neighborhood experiences on individual development. This theme was particularly salient for men in the study, who described the impact of neighborhood violence, gangs, and drugs on individual developmental trajectories. How individuals make critical decisions about participation in these activities seemed to impact their trajectories during this period and ultimately affected their ability to forge successful pathways. Interestingly, many of the men indicated that leaving behind friends who served as negative influences was a significant factor impacting their ability to achieve success.

Clinical Implications

Thus, the results of the study suggest a number of clinical implications that require consideration when understanding development during the transition from adolescence to early adulthood in inner city youth. First, when considering developmental trajectories and definitions of adaptation over time, it is important to consider the many areas of influence that include family, peer, neighborhood and the

individuals interaction with larger social structures and systems. Often in the literature, there is an overemphasis on educational achievement, as well as indices of psychopathology and adjustment as measures of success, which appear to be only one source of measurement and may not adequately capture the diversity of successful trajectories for many high-risk youth (Luthar, 1997; Luthar et al., 1993; Spencer et al., 1993). For example, in this study indices of psychopathology alone did not adequately address developmental outcome, as there were several individuals examined in the qualitative section who had low symptomatology scores in young adulthood but who had problematic outcomes based on narrative themes. Gaining insight into individual phenomenological experiences and the complexity of external and internal factors – including contextual and environmental influences, decision-making, attachment, and internal processes – provides invaluable information about the multitude of factors that impact resilience and positive outcomes across this time period (Allison, Burton, Marshall, Perez-Febles, Yarrington, Kirsh, & Merriwether-Devries, 1999).

Future Research Directions

When considering attachment status as a resilience factor and its association with developmental outcome, particularly psychopathology, the study's results suggest that such constructs should not necessarily be considered synonymous. Despite the literature documenting associations between psychopathology and attachment status, such linkage was not found across all symptomatology subscales and all individuals in the study (Rosenstein & Horowitz, 1996; Kobak & Sceery, 1988). Whereas for the whole sample it appeared that those individuals classified in the secure and dismissing categories seemed

to have lower overall scores on the internalizing symptom scale in young adulthood as compared with individuals in the fearful category, such was not the case for all the individuals when examining the data on a case-by-case basis. For example, though categorized as Dismissing on the ECR measure in young adulthood, Ericka had a relative increase in internalizing symptoms from adolescence to young adulthood. On indices of educational and career achievement, she appeared to be highly successful, while describing a number of internal and identity conflicts. Similarly, while Eric was classified in the Fearful subcategory in young adulthood, his symptomatology scores across all three subscales – internalizing, externalizing, and total psychological symptoms – were very low. However, these scores were not an accurate reflection of his “developmental outcome,” which appeared to be quite problematic, including difficulties with drugs and drug dealing, identity, and relationship issues. In addition, no significant patterns were found between attachment status and the externalizing and total problem subscales. While the limited sample size likely impacted the ability to examine such associations, further investigation is required to more fully determine the relationship between psychopathology and attachment classification in this sample. Such investigation would likely include a larger sample size to determine associations not fully testable in this study. Additionally, there is a growing body of research and theory that integrates psychoanalytic concepts and definitions of psychopathology with attachment and developmental research which could enrich the understanding of the complexity of issues that impact adaptation during this period (Blatt & Levy, 2003; Fonagy, 1999).

Blatt and Levy (2003) highlight ways in which the relationship between psychopathology and attachment classification can be more fully investigated. Instead of

using symptomatology measures as indices of psychopathology, they apply psychoanalytic concepts of personality development and psychopathology to investigate these links. Moreover, they view attachment along two continuums, interpersonal relatedness and self-definition, or the tension between attachment to others and separation (Blatt & Levy, 2003; Blatt & Blass, 1996). These concepts include investigations into “two fundamental configurations of psychopathology – anaclitic psychopathology, the dependent (or infantile) and hysterical personality disorders – that are preoccupied with issues of interpersonal relatedness, and introjective psychopathology, the paranoid, obsessive-compulsive and depressive personality disorders in which issues of self-definition and self-worth are dominant” (p.103). Blatt and Levy argue that the blending of psychoanalytic concepts with attachment theory enables a fuller integration of a developmental perspective on adult psychopathology (Blatt & Levy, 2003; Diamond, Blatt, & Lichtenberg, 2003).

Combining psychoanalytic concepts of development with the attachment theories investigated in this study would be useful for further research. This integration would enable a deeper examination of the many developmental issues not addressed in this study. Diamond, Blatt, and Lichtenberg (2003) suggest that concepts requiring investigation in attachment theory include the role of oedipal relationships and sexuality, a key developmental phenomenon during adolescence, on attachment and development. For example, two of the females – Ericka and Demi – discussed the special nature of their relationships with their fathers, describing themselves as “daddy’s girl.” Appreciating the impact of this relationship, both real and imagined, could further enhance understanding of individual developmental trajectories and relational experiences. Furthermore, many

individuals in this study were raised by single mothers and they alluded to unresolved feelings about their fathers. Exploring how such attachments impact development and subsequent relational experiences could prove to be an interesting area of inquiry. Ammaniti and Sergi (2003) integrate psychoanalytic and attachment theories along these lines in a case study of seventeen-year-old adolescent boy. They address “how complex changes in adolescence may specifically influence the organization of attachment” (p.59). They focus on how both internalized working models of relational experiences with primary caregivers and “the progressive detachment from primary attachment figures,” as the adolescent world becomes focused on peer group and romantic affiliations, impact central developmental issues related to separation-individuation and identity formation during this period (Diamond et al., 2003, p.5). Furthermore, they discuss ways in which oedipal issues and triangular relationships, as sexual development comes to the forefront of experience, become key to development, attachment organization, and, ultimately, adjustment during this phase. Thus, while the current study did not incorporate many of the issues that are emphasized in the psychoanalytic literature as central to development during the adolescent and young adulthood period, such integration in future studies could prove key to understanding those mediating processes that impact adaptation.

Limitations of the Study

There are several notable limitations of this study. Perhaps most significant, is the fact that the study sampled a subgroup of individuals who were part of a larger study, the APP, and who were last contacted nearly 5-6 years prior to conducting this follow-up study. There were significant difficulties in locating and contacting targeted individuals

for this study due to high incidence of address and telephone number change and relocation of this population. Most of the individuals who were contacted and who participated in the interview were located through their parents, who had remained in the same home or maintained the same telephone number as in the previous wave of data collection. These families were likely a skewed subset of the total population of the APP study and it is possible that they represent more stable homes and situations than other people who could not be contacted. Furthermore, the majority of individuals who participated were living at home or close to their parents, which also likely skewed the data since these individuals had at least reasonably good contact and potentially close relations and connections with family. Alternatively, several parents who were contacted reported that their child had moved out of state or was living at college. These individuals were not represented in the study, which would have offered another perspective on possible developmental trajectories. Additionally, the relatively large subgroup of individuals who were not contacted and given the opportunity to participate might have reflected a wider range of trajectories, such as people who may have been most at-risk.

As discussed above in the overview of quantitative results section, the relatively small sample size included in this study limited the power of the statistical analyses and the ability to examine the relationship between multiple constructs at the same time (i.e. the interaction between risk category group, symptomatology, and attachment quality). The small sample size also limited the ability to find statistically significant results and, instead, trends were found that require a larger sample size to better assess. Moreover, only two time points of developmental outcome (i.e. symptomatology and problem behaviors) were compared in this study as a measure of change. Using only two time

points fails to adequately capture the many changes that occur rapidly during development from adolescence to early adulthood and, instead, portrays a snap-shot view, which may not yield the most accurate source of information. Furthermore, while the measure of psychological symptomatology and problem behaviors captured some aspects of psychopathology, a standardized clinical diagnostic instrument would have been more comprehensive. The APP used a modified version of a measure of psychopathology, the YSR, due to the fact that this instrument was included as a part of a large study assessing many domains of functioning, with many self-report questionnaires. As such, a similar modified version of the YASR (the adult extension of the YSR) was used in this study. While the use of this essentially repeat measure more easily enabled comparisons between these two instruments, both of these instruments used mean scores and were not normed on larger populations as is the full-item measure. The full-item measure yields information about clinical ranges (i.e. whether individual score is in the borderline, normal, or clinical range). Such categorization would have been useful in developing a more complex picture of individual psychopathology. Furthermore, the small sample does not enable the generalization of findings to larger populations. Rather it is a beginning point in generating future research questions and areas of inquiry.

Another limitation of the quantitative segment of the study was that only self-report measures of attachment were given to participants. Due to the study's time constraints, this was the only feasible method possible. However, administration of the Adult Attachment Interview would have provided valuable information about individual attachment experiences and internal working models. The self-report measures, while

useful in assessing broad-based attachment, did not generate information about the complexity of individual attachment experience.

A limitation of the qualitative interview was that, while detailed information about relationship and attachment experiences was gathered for individual adolescent and early adult development, relatively little information was obtained about early developmental and familial history. Such was not the aim of the interview and time constraints did not allow for this more psychobiographical inquiry. However, since attachment experiences and development of a sense of self begins prior to adolescence, in the first few years of life, such inquiry would have been useful in delineating the complexities of individual developmental trajectories.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: QUALITATIVE YOUNG ADULT TRANSITION PROJECT

[Put in your own words – key is to orient them to what we are asking about]

Thanks for agreeing to talk with me today. I am going to ask some questions about what your life is like because we are trying to understand how young adults think about their lives and important issues in the world. We are interested in how you think about your family, your neighborhood, and your relationships with friends and romantic involvements, about school and work. We are also going to ask you some questions about how you think about yourself and the world in general since junior high school. The questions in this interview are going to cover three time frames: your last year in junior high, high school and the period of time since high school to the present. If you don't want to answer any of the questions just let me know and we will skip to the next one. You don't have to talk about anything you don't want to. I would like to tape record the interview so I don't have to write everything down. We will keep this confidential -- which means that we will not release your name to anyone. We let people know what the people in the interview said, but we would never tell them what their names are. Do you have any questions or concerns before we start?

INTRODUCTION:

1. Could you begin by telling me a little bit about yourself?
2. Think back to when you were in your last year of junior high school, would you describe yourself in the same way now? [Probe]: In what ways are you different? In what ways are you the same?

AGE RELATED CHANGES

1. Think back to when you were in your last year of junior high what did you think you would be like when you were (current age)?
2. Is life better or worse than you thought it would be? [Probe]: What have been the greatest benefits you have encountered growing up? What about the greatest obstacles?
3. Do you think your life is different or the same as other people your age? [Probe]: What is the same or different?
4. How much control do you feel you have over your life now?
5. What about your life would you change to make it better if you could?

6. What would you like to be doing when you are 30 years old? [Probe]: What do you hope your life will be like?
7. How realistic do you think that is?
8. [IF THEY SAY UNREALISTIC]: What else do you think you might be doing?
9. What kinds of things could prevent you from reaching this goal?
10. How would you define success for people your age? [Probe]: For yourself? Has your definition of success changed since junior high? Since high school?
11. What do you value in life? [Probe]: Why is that? Has that changed since junior high and since high school? Why? How?
- 12- At what age did you start considering yourself an adult? [Probe:] Why?
13. At what age do you think your [primary caregiver/family] started to consider you an adult? Why?
14. Could you tell me what changed that they considered you an adult? [Probe for concrete examples]
15. Did you experience any new rights or responsibilities when you were considered an adult? [probe: more freedom/less freedom].
16. Did you experience any added worries or concerns?

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS:

1. Could you tell me a little bit about your family?
2. Who is in your family? [probe: keep in mind family could be many extended relatives and friends. Get interviewee's sense of what they mean by family]
3. What is your mom like?
4. What is your dad like?
5. What is your relationship like with your (probe significant family members)?
6. Who would you say has had the greatest influence on you? How? Why?

7. Did that person play a similar role in your life back when you were finishing junior high school and in high school? Probe for change and continuity in relationships.
8. Are there any values or beliefs that your family has taught (or instilled in) you that have played an important role in your development? [Probe]: In your understanding of the world?
9. Do you have family members that play a role in your life now? How much support would you say you get from them?
10. Who do you live with? [probe:What made you move out? Or, Why did you stay? What's it like to live with your family?]
11. Do you feel your family understands you? [Probe]: How about during the period from the end of junior high school through high school?
12. Who in your family do you identify most with?

Romantic Involvements and Friendships:

1. Can you tell me about other people who have been important in your life?
2. Are these the people who are important to you now?
3. Were these the same people who were important in your life when you think about the time near the end of junior high school? [Probe]: And what about in high school? If not, how would say your friends then were different than your friends now?
4. Are you involved romantically with anyone right now?
5. Can you tell me a little bit about this person? [probe nature and quality of relationship]
6. **[If not dating or involved with any one, ask]:** Were you romantically involved in past?
7. Is there a reason that you are not dating someone right now?
8. Can you think back to when you were in junior high, did you go out with anyone then? [Probe]: And in high school? How would you compare your relationships in junior high and in high school?
9. At what age did you become sexually involved with someone?
[probe: what was that like for you? How did you think about it then? Now?]
10. **[if know that they are not married ask]:** Do you see yourself getting married sometime?[probe: find out how important it is to them and why].

11. What would be a good age to get married? Why? [probe: What percentage of your friends would you say are married?]

PARENTING:

1. Do you have any kids? Ask how many. [if yes, go to question 4, otherwise continue]
2. Would you want to have a child sometime?
3. What is a good age to have a child?

[SKIP if no kids]

- | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. When did you have your (first, second etc.) child? What's it been like for you? 5. Did you feel that your life changed in anyway after your first child was born? How? [probe: positive or negative experience] |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
6. Would you raise your kids the same way that your parents raised you? What are the things you would change?

SELF SECTION :

1. How do you feel about yourself and the way your life is going?
2. What is the most important thing(s) to know about you to say who you are as person?
3. What is important to defining who you are and what your identity is?
4. What are the things that make you feel best about yourself?
5. Do you have any hobbies, activities things that you are interested in and enjoy?
(**probe if says no:** ask more specifically about activities involved in, sports, organizations, hobbies, talents, interests..)
6. What are the things that make you feel worst about yourself?
7. What kinds of things do you think you are not good at?

ETHNIC IDENTITY/ASSIMILATION

Now I would like to ask you some questions about your background.

1. What is your ethnic/racial background? [**probe if not addressed:** ask about how they identify themselves (Latino, Hispanic, black, African-American, from specific island in caribbean,etc.)]
2. Did you identify the same way when you were in junior high school? What about high school?
3. What did your ethnicity mean to you when you were in junior high? How about in high school?
4. How about now does it still mean the same thing [probe if relevant: Why did you change the way you identify?]
5. Do other people sometimes think you are a different race or ethnicity? [probe if relevant: What do other people think you are? How do you feel about that?]
6. Can you recall the last time someone asked or commented on your ethnic/racial identity? What happened?
7. In junior high and in high school were most of your friends ETHNIC [insert ethnic identity here]?
9. What about now?
10. How important is that to you?
11. What is the best part about being ETHNIC?
12. What is the worst part about being ETHNIC?
13. Would you prefer to be from another racial background?
14. What about when you were in junior high or high school?
15. What was the ethnic background of people in your neighborhood when you were in junior high and high school? What about now?
16. What about at school, in junior high? In high school? [probe at work or college now]
17. Is there discrimination against ETHNIC people?
18. Have you ever been discriminated against? [Probe]: What happened? Why did you think that happened?
19. Do you feel that being ETHNIC has impacted any possibilities or choices that you have in life? [probe: why? How?]

20. What about at junior high or high school, were there any ways that ETHNIC kids were different from other kids? How?
21. Are there ways in which ETHNIC parents raise their kids different than other kids?
22. What does it mean to your parents to be ETHNIC? [probe each depending on who is primary caregiver in home growing up]
23. What does it mean to your [insert primary caregivers] to be ETHNIC?
24. Do [primary caregivers] see it differently from you?

IF PARENTS OR CHILD ARE IMMIGRANTS:

25. Have you ever been to visit your parents country? When? For how long?
26. Would you ever want to live there? Why or why not?
27. Would your parents ever want to go back there to live?

RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

1. Do you follow any religion or religious tradition? [probe: do you consider yourself a spiritual person?]
2. What role does religion or spirituality play in your life?
3. What about when you were in junior high and high school? [probe: why is it different]

BEHAVIORS SECTION:

Now I am going to ask you some questions about getting into conflicts with people.

1. Have you ever been really frustrated with or mad at someone? [Probe: What did you do?]
[if no, use the word “upset”] [note to interviewer – could be group fighting]
2. Do you think you reacted the same way when you were at the end of junior high?
3. When you have been really mad at a teacher or a boss or supervisor how did you deal with it? [**if no probe:** Have you been really mad at other people in authority? Describe story. How did you deal with it?]

4. Have you ever been in a physical fight with anyone? (PROBE: if no, have you threatened anyone with a physical fight or has anyone threatened you). FOLLOW-UP remaining questions with threatening behavior probes if no actual fighting.

5. Do you get into physical fights often?

6. What are the reasons you fight with (hit) people?

7. When was the last physical fight you were in? Tell me what happened.

8. Did you also fight in junior high and in high school? What were the reasons you fought with people then?

NEIGHBORHOOD EXPERIENCE (Note all questions about neighborhood lived in longest!)

1. Have you always lived in the same neighborhood? (**NOTE**: FIND OUT WHAT NEIGHBORHOOD HAS LIVED IN THE LONGEST and then ask questions in the section about neighborhood lived in longest and not about present neighborhood!)

2. Since you were at the end of junior high, what neighborhood have you lived in the longest?

3. Can you describe your neighborhood (the one they lived in longest)

4. How safe is your neighborhood? Do you always feel safe there?
[If don't feel safe: what kinds of things make it unsafe? Friends? What about when you lived in (fill in other places they have lived)?]

5. Have you always gone to school in your neighborhood? [if no, ask where they went]

6. What was the best thing about living in your neighborhood when you were a teenager? Explain.

7. What was the worst thing? Explain.

8. If you could change anything about your neighborhood what would it be?

9. Imagine a good friend your age visited your neighborhood or just moved in, what would be important for you to tell them about your neighborhood?

10. What would be important to tell them so they would be safe?

11. What would be important to tell them so they would have support and people to turn to in the neighborhood?
12. Do you think there are hassles in your neighborhood when compared to other places?
13. Have you ever seen someone be injured by any kind of violence in your community/neighborhood? (If yes) Could you describe the incident that first comes to mind?

[Probes]:

- Did you know the person it happened to? How old were they (your age? younger? older/adult?)
- Did you know the person who did the violence? How old were they (your age? younger? older/adult?)
- Did you know at all what the incident was about / why it happened?
- When did it take place (or how old were you when that took place)?
- Where did that happen (e.g., in street, school, home, etc)?
- Can you remember how you reacted (how you felt) when that happened?
- Were you alone or with people you knew? If with others you knew, do you remember how they reacted?
- Do you ever still think about what happened?
- Have you seen things like this or other acts of violence happen before?
- Describe briefly? How often?

14. Have you ever been injured by any kind of violence in your community/neighborhood? (If yes) Could you describe the incident that first comes to mind?

[Probes]:

- Did you know the person who did the violence? How old were they (your age? younger? older/adult?) Were they acquaintance, friend, or family?
- When did it take place (or how old were you when that took place)?
- Where did that happen (e.g., in street, school, home, etc)?
- Can you remember how you reacted (how you felt) when that happened?
- Were you alone or with people you knew? Did anyone help or try to help you in the situation?
- Do you ever still think about what happened?
- Have things like this or any other acts of violence happen to you before? Describe briefly? How often?

SCHOOL AND WORK SECTION

1. What was your high school like? [things you liked and things you didn't like]
2. Did you feel safe there?

3. Did you get into trouble a lot in school? [tell me a little about that? What about your friends]
4. What kinds of things made a guy popular with other people at your school? (see with pilot)
5. What about a girl?
6. What did other people think about you in school? Did you have a reputation for anything?
7. How popular were you? How was that? Was popularity important to you?
8. Do you do well at school? What about your friends?
9. At your school, did people ever have to choose between being popular and being successful?
10. Did you have to choose? What was that like for you? Looking back now, would you make the same decision? Why? Why not?
11. Did you think that graduating high school would be useful in the future?
12. Did you graduate high school? [probe: has it been useful]
13. What percentage of your friends graduated? What about people in general at your school?
14. Was there any adult at your school who you felt close to or looked out for you?
15. Do you know people in your school who didn't graduate? What happened to them after high school?
16. What kinds of things have you done since the end of high school? How has that been? [probe: are you attending college, do you have a job? What is that like?]
17. – **If in college or completed college:** What is/was your major? How hard has it been to get through college [or how hard it was to get through college]? Explain.
 - A – How do/did you support yourself in college? Was that a source of stress? Why or why not?
 - B – Would you say your family has been supportive of your education? Why or why not? How important was it to your family for you to go to college?

18. **If has a job, ask:** How do you like your job?

CONCLUSION

1. What is the most important good thing that has happened to you in your life so far?
2. What is the most important bad thing that has happened to you in your life so far?
3. How do these affect your life today?
4. What gives meaning to your life? Why? How?
5. How do you feel about getting older? Are you looking forward to it? Why or why not?
6. What do you think the next five years will bring to your life?
The best things?
The worst things?
7. Finally, are there any issues I did not ask you about that you think are important in understanding how your life is going?
8. Ask about how experienced the interview and debrief.

APPENDIX B: YOUNG ADULT SELF-REPORT (YASR)¹

Below is a list of items that describe people. For each item, please circle 0, 1, or 2 to describe yourself over the past 6 months. Please answer all items as well as you can, even if some do not seem to apply to you.

0= Not true

1=Somewhat or Sometimes True

2=Very True or Often True

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0 1 2 | 1. I act too young for my age | 0 1 2 | 38. I get teased a lot |
| 0 1 2 | 2. I make good use of my opportunities | 0 1 2 | 39. I hang around with others who get in trouble |
| 0 1 2 | 3. I argue a lot | 0 1 2 | 40. I hear sounds or voices that other people think aren't there (describe): _____ |
| 0 1 2 | 4. I work up to my ability | 0 1 2 | 41. I am impulsive or act without thinking |
| 0 1 2 | 5. I act like the opposite sex | 0 1 2 | 42. I would rather be alone than with others |
| 0 1 2 | 6. I use drugs (other than alcohol) for nonmedical purposes (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 43. I lie or cheat |
| 0 1 2 | 7. I brag | 0 1 2 | 44. I bite my fingernails |
| 0 1 2 | 8. I have trouble concentrating or paying attention | 0 1 2 | 45. I am nervous or tense |
| 0 1 2 | 9. I can't get my mind of certain thoughts (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 46. Parts of my body twitch or make nervous movements (describe): _____ |
| 0 1 2 | 10. I have trouble sitting still | 0 1 2 | 47. I lack self-confidence |
| 0 1 2 | 11. I am too dependent on others | 0 1 2 | 48. I am not liked by others |
| 0 1 2 | 12. I feel lonely | 0 1 2 | 49. I can do certain things better than others |
| 0 1 2 | 13. I feel confused or in a fog | 0 1 2 | 50. I am too fearful or anxious |
| 0 1 2 | 14. I cry a lot | 0 1 2 | 51. I feel dizzy or lightheaded |
| 0 1 2 | 15. I am pretty honest | 0 1 2 | 52. I feel too guilty |
| 0 1 2 | 16. I am mean to others | 0 1 2 | 53. I eat too much |
| 0 1 2 | 17. I daydream a lot | 0 1 2 | 54. I feel overtired |
| 0 1 2 | 18. I deliberately try to hurt or kill myself | 0 1 2 | 55. I am overweight |
| 0 1 2 | 19. I try to get a lot of attention | 0 1 2 | 56. Physical problems without known medical cause: |
| 0 1 2 | 20. I destroy things | 0 1 2 | a. aches and pains (not stomach or headaches) |
| 0 1 2 | 21. I destroy things belonging to others | 0 1 2 | b. headaches |
| 0 1 2 | 22. I worry about my future | 0 1 2 | c. Nausea, feel sick |
| 0 1 2 | 23. I break rules at school, work, or elsewhere | 0 1 2 | d. Problems with eyes (not if corrected by glasses (describe): _____) |
| 0 1 2 | 24. I don't eat as well as I should | 0 1 2 | e. Rashes or others skin problems |
| 0 1 2 | 25. I don't get along with other people | 0 1 2 | f. Stomachaches |
| 0 1 2 | 26. I don't feel guilty after doing something I shouldn't | 0 1 2 | g. Vomiting, throwing up |
| 0 1 2 | 27. I am jealous of others | 0 1 2 | h. Heart pounding or racing |
| 0 1 2 | 28. I get along badly with my family | 0 1 2 | i. Numbness or tingling in body parts |
| 0 1 2 | 29. I am afraid of certain animals, situations, or places (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | j. Other (describe): _____ |
| 0 1 2 | 30. My relations with opposite sex are poor | 0 1 2 | 57. I physically attack people |
| 0 1 2 | 31. I am afraid I might think or do something bad | 0 1 2 | 58. I pick my skin or other parts of my body of my body (describe): _____ |
| 0 1 2 | 32. I feel that I have to be perfect | 0 1 2 | 59. I fail to finish things I should do |
| 0 1 2 | 33. I feel that no one loves me | | |
| 0 1 2 | 34. I feel that others are out to get me | | |
| 0 1 2 | 35. I feel worthless or inferior | | |
| 0 1 2 | 36. I accidentally get hurt a lot | | |
| 0 1 2 | 37. I get in many fights | | |

¹ Note that this is a copy of the form given to participants. This measure is has copyright such that researchers need to pay per copy given to subjects. This was done in accordance with standards.

ID# _____ Date: _____ Interviewer: _____

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0 1 2 | 60. There is very little that I enjoy | 0 1 2 | 90. I drink too much alcohol or get drunk |
| 0 1 2 | 61. My school work or job performance is poor | 0 1 2 | 91. I think about killing myself |
| 0 1 2 | 62. I am poorly coordinated or clumsy | 0 1 2 | 92. I do things that may cause me trouble with the law |
| 0 1 2 | 63. I would rather be with older people than with people my own age | 0 1 2 | 93. I talk too much |
| 0 1 2 | 64. I would rather be with younger people than with people my own age | 0 1 2 | 94. I tease others a lot |
| 0 1 2 | 65. I refuse to talk | 0 1 2 | 95. I have a hot temper |
| 0 1 2 | 66. I repeat certain acts over and over (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 96. I think about sex too much |
| 0 1 2 | 67. I have trouble making or keeping friends | 0 1 2 | 97. I threaten to hurt people |
| 0 1 2 | 68. I scream or yell a lot | 0 1 2 | 98. I like to help others |
| 0 1 2 | 69. I am secretive or keep things to myself | 0 1 2 | 99. I enjoy a good joke |
| 0 1 2 | 70. I see things that other people think aren't there (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 100. I have trouble sleeping (describe): _____ |
| 0 1 2 | 71. I am self-conscious or easily embarrassed | 0 1 2 | 101. I have a good imagination |
| 0 1 2 | 72. I set fires | 0 1 2 | 102. I don't have much energy |
| 0 1 2 | 73. I meet my responsibilities to my family | 0 1 2 | 103. I am unhappy, sad, or depressed |
| 0 1 2 | 74. I show off or clown | 0 1 2 | 104. I am louder than others |
| 0 1 2 | 75. I am shy or timid | 0 1 2 | 105. I like to make others laugh |
| 0 1 2 | 76. My behavior is irresponsible | 0 1 2 | 106. I try to be fair to others |
| 0 1 2 | 77. I sleep more than most other people during the day or night (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 107. I feel that I can't succeed |
| 0 1 2 | 78. I have trouble making decisions | 0 1 2 | 108. I like to take life easy |
| 0 1 2 | 79. I have a speech problem (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 109. I like to try new things |
| 0 1 2 | 80. I stand up for my rights | 0 1 2 | 110. I wish I were of the opposite sex |
| 0 1 2 | 81. I worry about my job or school work | 0 1 2 | 111. I keep from getting involved with others |
| 0 1 2 | 82. I steal | 0 1 2 | 112. I worry a lot |
| 0 1 2 | 83. I store up too many things I don't need (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 113. I am too concerned about how I look |
| 0 1 2 | 84. I do things that other people would think are strange (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 114. I fail to pay my debts or meet other financial responsibilities |
| 0 1 2 | 85. I have thought that other people would think are strange (describe): _____ | 0 1 2 | 115. I have nightmares |
| 0 1 2 | 86. I am stubborn, sullen or irritable | 0 1 2 | 116. I worry about my relations with the opposite sex |
| 0 1 2 | 87. My moods or feelings change suddenly | 0 1 2 | 117. In the past 6 months, about how many times per day did you use tobacco (including smokeless tobacco)? _____ times per day |
| 0 1 2 | 88. I enjoy being with other people | 0 1 2 | 118. In the past 6 months, on how many days were you drunk? _____ days. |
| 0 1 2 | 89. I am suspicious | 0 1 2 | 119. In the past 6 months, on how many days did you use drugs for nonmedical purposes (including marijuana, glue, cocaine, and any other drugs)? _____ days. |

Please write down anything else that describes your feelings or behaviors: _____

APPENDIX C: THE RELATIONSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE, (RQ)**PLEASE READ THE DIRECTIONS!**

1. 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 uncomfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I 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.

2. Please rate each of the following relationship styles according to the *extent* to which you think each description corresponds to your general relationship style (1 is least like you and 7 is the most).

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 uncomfortable getting close to others. I want emotionally close relationships, but I find it difficult to trust others completely, or to depend on them. I 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.

	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: EXPERIENCES IN CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS INVENTORY

The following statements concern how you feel in romantic relationships. We are interested in how you generally experience relationships, not just in what is happening in a current relationship. Respond to each statement by indicating how much you agree or disagree with it. Write the number in the space provided, using the following rating scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Disagree</i>	.....	.....	<i>Neutral/</i>	.....	.....	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>			<i>Mixed</i>			<i>Strongly</i>

- ___ 1. I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down.
- ___ 2. I worry about being abandoned.
- ___ 3. I am very comfortable being close to romantic partners.
- ___ 4. I worry a lot about my relationships.
- ___ 5. Just when my partner starts to get close to me I find myself pulling away.
- ___ 6. I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them.
- ___ 7. I get uncomfortable when a romantic partner wants to be very close.
- ___ 8. I worry a fair amount about losing my partner.
- ___ 9. I don't feel comfortable opening up to romantic partners.
- ___ 10. I often wish that my partner's feelings for me were as strong as my feelings for him/her.
- ___ 11. I want to get close to my partner, but I keep pulling back.
- ___ 12. I often want to merge completely with romantic partners, and this sometimes scares them away.
- ___ 13. I am nervous when partners get too close to me.
- ___ 14. I worry about being alone.
- ___ 15. I feel comfortable sharing my private thoughts and feelings with my partner.
- ___ 16. My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Disagree</i>	.....	.....	<i>Neutral/</i>	.....	.....	<i>Agree</i>
<i>Strongly</i>			<i>Mixed</i>			<i>Strongly</i>

- ___ 17. I try to avoid getting too close to my partner.
- ___ 18. I need a lot of reassurance that I am loved by my partner.
- ___ 19. I find it relatively easy to get close to my partner.
- ___ 20. Sometimes I feel that I force my partners to show more feeling, more commitment.
- ___ 21. I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on romantic partners.
- ___ 22. I do not often worry about being abandoned.
- ___ 23. I prefer not to be too close to romantic partners.
- ___ 24. If I can't get my partner to show interest in me, I get upset or angry.
- ___ 25. I tell my partner just about everything.
- ___ 26. I find that my partner(s) don't want to get as close as I would like.
- ___ 27. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my partner.
- ___ 28. When I'm not involved in a relationship, I feel somewhat anxious and insecure.
- ___ 29. I feel comfortable depending on romantic partners.
- ___ 30. I get frustrated when my partner is not around as much as I would like.
- ___ 31. I don't mind asking romantic partners for comfort, advice, or help.
- ___ 32. I get frustrated if romantic partners are not available when I need them.
- ___ 33. It helps to turn to my romantic partner in times of need.
- ___ 34. When romantic partners disapprove of me, I feel really bad about myself.
- ___ 35. I turn to my partner for many things, including comfort and reassurance.
- ___ 36. I resent it when my partner spends time away from me

APPENDIX E: YOUTH SELF-REPORT (YSR)

Below is a list of items that describe teenagers. For each item that describes you now or in the past 6 months, please put an "X" on the [3] if the item is very true of you. Put an "X" on the [2] if the item is somewhat or sometimes true of you. If the item is not true of you. If the item is not true of you, put an "X" on the [1].

	Not True	Somewhat or Sometimes True	Very True or Often True
1. I brag or tell people how great I am.	[1]	[2]	[3]
2. I can't keep my mind off certain thoughts.	[1]	[2]	[3]
3. I feel lonely.	[1]	[2]	[3]
4. I feel confused or in a fog	[1]	[2]	[3]
5. I am mean to others.	[1]	[2]	[3]
6. I deliberately try to hurt or kill myself	[1]	[2]	[3]
7. I destroy things that belong to others.	[1]	[2]	[3]
8. I disobey my parents.	[1]	[2]	[3]
9. I disobey at school.	[1]	[2]	[3]
10. I have aches and pains without known medical cause.	[1]	[2]	[3]
11. I feel that no one loves me.	[1]	[2]	[3]
12. I feel that others are out to get me.	[1]	[2]	[3]
13. I feel worthless and inferior.	[1]	[2]	[3]
14. I have headaches without known medical cause.	[1]	[2]	[3]
15. I get teased a lot.	[1]	[2]	[3]
16. I hear things that nobody else seems to hear.	[1]	[2]	[3]
17. I am nervous or tense.	[1]	[2]	[3]
18. I am not liked by other teenagers.	[1]	[2]	[3]
19. I physically attack people.	[1]	[2]	[3]

20. I have stomach aches and cramps without known medical cause.	[1]	[2]	[3]
21. I repeat certain actions over and over.	[1]	[2]	[3]
22. I scream a lot.	[1]	[2]	[3]
23. I see things that nobody else seems able to see.	[1]	[2]	[3]
24. I am self-conscious or easily embarrassed.	[1]	[2]	[3]
25. I show off or clown.	[1]	[2]	[3]
26. I am shy.	[1]	[2]	[3]
27. I am stubborn.	[1]	[2]	[3]
28. I steal things at home.	[1]	[2]	[3]
29. I steal things at places other than my home.	[1]	[2]	[3]
30. I do things people think are strange.	[1]	[2]	[3]
31. I have thoughts that other people would think are strange.	[1]	[2]	[3]
32. I think about killing myself.	[1]	[2]	[3]
33. I destroy my things.	[1]	[2]	[3]
34. I worry a lot.	[1]	[2]	[3]
35. I have a hot temper.	[1]	[2]	[3]
36. I threaten to hurt people.	[1]	[2]	[3]
37. I cut classes or skip school.	[1]	[2]	[3]
38. I am unhappy, sad or depressed.	[1]	[2]	[3]

APPENDIX F: ALCOHOL & DRUG USE INDEX

(from Adolescent Pathways Project – Time 1)

Some teens use alcohol and drugs and some do not. In this part of the interview, I am going to ask you questions about whether and how often you've used alcohol and drugs. We know that young people do things like this from time to time, but we don't know how often. That's why your honest answers to our questions are so important. As you know, no one else will ever know your answers to these questions. Since your privacy will be completely protected. I hope you'll answer these questions as completely as you can.

	[Ask #1 about each substance (a-g) first.]		[if yes to #1 ask, #2 and #3.]			[if yes to #3, ask #4]
	1. Have you ever used or tried [substance] ?		2. How old were you the first time you used or tried [substance]?	3. Have you used or tried [substance] in the last 12 months?		4. How many times did you use or try [substance] in the last 12 months?
a. Alcohol (beer, wine, hard liquor)	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
b. Marijuana or hash (grass, pot)	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
c. Hallucinogens (LSD, mescaline, peyote, acid...)	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
d. Amphetamines (uppers, speed, whites)	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
e. Barbiturates (downers, reds)	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
f. Cocaine	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
g. Crack or crack cocaine	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	
h. Heroin (horse, smack)	No [1]	Yes [2]		No [1]	Yes [2]	

APPENDIX G: DELINQUENCY INDEX

(from Adolescent Pathways Project – Time 1)

Some young people do illegal things and some do not. In this part of the interview, I am going to ask you questions about whether and how often you've done illegal things as I did before about alcohol and drugs. As you know, your privacy will be completely protected. I hope you'll answer these questions as honestly and completely as you can.

[Ask item A. for each question first, then go back and ask B – E for those questions the teen said “yes” to.]

A. Have you ever [stem]?	No Yes		[If Yes ask B-E]	C. How many times in the last year did you [stem]?	D. In the last 12 mos. Have you [stem] alone, with a group or both alone and with a group?			E. In the last 12 months... [ask specific questions:]
					Alone	Grp	Both	
1. Intentionally damaged or destroyed property not belonging to you?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	How many times was it property belonging to -your parents or a family member? ___ -school property? ___ -property other than school or family? ___
2. stolen a motor vehicle such as a car or motorcycle, or gone joy riding?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	XXXXXXXXXX
3. stolen or tried to steal something besides a motor vehicle?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	How many times was the property stolen worth -less than \$5? -between \$5 and \$50 -more than \$50?

A. Have you ever [stem]?	No Yes	[If Yes ask B-E] B. How old were you the first time you [stem]?	C. How many times in the last year did you [stem]?	D. In the last 12 mos. Have you [stem] alone, with a group or both alone and with a group? Alone Grp Both	E. In the last 12 months... [ask specific questions:]
<p>[continued]</p> <p>3. stolen or tried to steal something besides a motor vehicle?</p>	<p>[1] [2]</p>	<p>_____</p>	<p>_____</p>	<p>[1] [2] [3]</p>	<p>How many times was it property -something belonging to parent/family member? ___ -something from school (like someone's coat from a locker? -something from someplace other than a family member or school? ___</p> <p>Did you ever use force to steal something? [if yes] How many times did you use force to steal something from - a parent or family member? ___ - someone or someplace at school (i.e. a locker, cafeteria? ___ - someone other than your family or someone at school? ___</p>

A. Have you ever [stem]?	No Yes		[If Yes ask B-E]	C. How many times in the last year did you [stem]?	D. In the last 12 mos. Have you [stem] alone, with a group or both alone and with a group?			E. In the last 12 months... [ask specific questions:]
					Alone	Grp	Both	
4. broken into a building?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	How many times did you - break in just to look around? ___ - break in to steal something?
5. attacked or hit someone?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	How many times was the person - another student/person your age? ___ - your parent or family member? ___ -teacher or other adult at school? ___ - an adult outside your family or school? ___ How many times was the other person seriously injured? ___
6. been places on probation by a juvenile court judge?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	XXXXXXXXXX			XXXXXXXXXX
7. been questioned by the police as a suspect for a crime?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	XXXXXXXXXX
8. been caught shoplifting by someone who works in a store?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	XXXXXXXXXX
9. sold drugs?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1]	[2]	[3]	How many times have you sold -hard drugs (heroin, cocaine, LSD?)

A. Have you ever [stem]?			[If Yes ask B-E]	C. How many times in the last year did you [stem]?	D. In the last 12 mos. Have you [stem] alone, with a group or both alone and with a group?	E. In the last 12 months... [ask specific questions:]
	No	Yes					Alone	Grp	Both
10. as far as you know, bought, sold or kept stolen goods?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1] [2] [3]	XXXXXXXXXX
11. been involved in gang fights?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	XXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX
12. been paid for having sex with someone?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	XXXXXXXXXXXX	XXXXXXXXXX
13. had (or tried to have sexual relations with someone against his/her will?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1] [2] [3]	XXXXXXXXXX
14. carried a hidden weapon other than a plain pocket knife?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1] [2] [3]	XXXXXXXXXX
15. set fire to someone else's property?	[1]	[2]	_____	_____	[1] [2] [3]	XXXXXXXXXX

APPENDIX H: THE QUALITATIVE YOUNG ADULT TRANSITION PROJECT

PILOT CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the interview for the Young Adult Transition Project. The goal of this project is to learn more about how young adults think about their lives. We are interested in your thoughts about your family, your neighborhood, your relationships with friends and romantic involvements, and also about school and work. We will also ask you some questions about your own experiences since the end of junior high school. The questions will focus on three time periods in your life: the end of junior high school, high school and the period of time since high school to the present.

Your participation in the interview is voluntary, and you are free to stop the interview at any time. Since the interview will be asking you about personal aspects of your life, you may experience some discomfort. If you do not wish to answer any question please let the interviewer know and that question will be skipped. Furthermore, sometimes people find they want to speak with someone further about some of the issues that came up in the interview. The interviewer will be available to give you referrals for psychological services after the interview. Please note that your decision whether to participate or not in this study in no way will affect your academic standing at City College.

We would like to tape record the interview so that we don't have to write everything down. The tape, and the things we discuss here today will be kept completely confidential—which means your name will not be on the tape and will not be released to anyone. The tapes will be given a number and stored in a locked file cabinet at our office. While the interview will be discussed with project staff, your name and any other information that identifies you will remain completely confidential and will not be given out to anyone. If you have any questions or concerns about this, please let the interviewer know.

As payment for your participation in the study, you will receive \$20 for your time. The interview should take approximately 2 to 2.5 hours.

If you have any questions or concerns after participating in the interview, please feel free to contact Jennifer Cohen (Doctoral Student in Clinical Psychology at City College) at 212-650-6602 or Dr. Liz Gershoff at 212-304-7143. This project is being conducted as part of Jennifer Cohen's dissertation, and further questions can be directed to the faculty adviser Dr. Steve Tuber at 212-650-5672 (Professor of Clinical Psychology at City College). This project is also part of a pilot study for a larger project conducted under the supervision of Dr. J. Lawrence Aber, Director of National Center for Children in Poverty, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University. Furthermore, if you have

questions concerning your rights as a participant in this study, you can call Ethel Breheny, IRB Administrator at the City College Office of Research Administration at 212-650-7903.

In order to participate, please sign the following consent:

I agree to participate in the Qualitative Young Adult Transition Project, which has been explained to me. I agree to allow the researchers to tape the interview. I have been assured that all my responses and records will be kept confidential. I understand that the researchers will let people know what was discussed during this interview, but that my name and all other identifying information will not be released to anyone. Furthermore, I understand that the tapes will be kept in a locked and secure file cabinet in the research office. I also know that I may refuse to continue with the interview at any time and I may refuse to answer any questions I wish. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and all questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that the researchers will be available to answer any questions I have about the study and to give me referrals for psychological services should I want to speak further with someone about any of the issues that came up in the interview. I have also read and understand everything on the first page of this document. I have been given a copy of this form.

sign your name

today's date

print your name

witness

APPENDIX I: QUALITATIVE YOUNG ADULT TRANSITION PROJECT

CONSENT FORM

Thank you for agreeing to participate in our interview for the Young Adult Transition Project. The goal of this project is to learn more about how young adults think about their lives. We are interested in your thoughts about your family, your neighborhood, your relationships with friends and romantic involvement's, and also about school and work. We will also ask you some questions about your own experiences since the end of junior high school. The questions will focus on three time periods in your life: the end of junior high school, high school and the period of time since high school to the present. We will also ask you to complete three short questionnaires that ask questions about school, work, significant others and about your feelings, behaviors and interests.

We want to remind you that your participation in the interview is voluntary, and you are free to stop the interview at any time. Also, if you feel uncomfortable answering any question please let the interviewer know and that question will be skipped.

We would like to tape record the interview so that the interviewer does not have to write everything down. The tape, and the things we discuss here today will be kept completely confidential—which means your name will not be on the tape and will not be released to anyone. The tapes will be given a number and stored in a locked file cabinet at our office. While we will let people know what was discussed during this interview, your name and any other information that identifies you will remain completely confidential and will not be given out to anyone. If you have any questions or concerns about this, please let us know.

As payment for your participation in our study, you will receive \$40 for the time to complete the interview and questionnaires. The interview should take approximately 2 hours and the questionnaires should take about 20 minutes.

If you have any questions or concerns after participating in the interview, please feel free to contact Jennifer Cohen at 212-304-7103, Project Coordinator, National Center for Children in Poverty, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University. Furthermore, should you feel any distress or discomfort after the interview, please contact the director of the project, Dr. J. Lawrence Aber at 212-304-7102, Director of the National Center for Children in Poverty, Mailman School of Public Health, Columbia University. Should you have any questions about the project, you can also contact the Institutional Review Board at 212-305-5883. In order to participate, please fill out the top portion of the next page:

I would like to participate in the Qualitative Young Adult Transition Project, which has been explained to me. I agree to allow the researchers to tape the interview. I have been promised that all my responses and records will be kept confidential. I

understand that the researchers will let people know what was discussed during this interview, but that my name and all other identifying information will not be released to anyone. Furthermore, I understand that the tapes will be kept in a locked and secure file cabinet in the research office. I also know that I may refuse to continue the interview at any time, or I may refuse to answer any questions that I am not comfortable answering. I understand that the researchers will be available to answer any questions I have about the study and to speak with me after the interview. I have also read and understand everything on the first page of this document.

sign your name

today's date

print your name

interviewer eliciting consent

Your address:

Phone number:

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