Balanced, Avoidant or Preoccupied?

Attachment strategies of adults who attended independent boarding schools compared with those who attended independent day schools

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Attachment theory and psychoanalysis are both based on object relations and psychoanalytic principles such as the early influence of the parent on the child (Freud & Breuer, 1895), that a child creates expectations of parental behaviours and responses (Freud, 1917) and internalises them in attachment terms as working models and finally, that fear of loss or anxiety provoking situations trigger attachment responses of some kind (Bowlby, 1960)

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research was to assess the attachment styles of two groups of people from the same socio-economic categories 1 and 11 as defined by the Standard Occupational Classification system produced by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 1991. These two categories reflect backgrounds of professional, managerial or technical members of the middle class. The two groups attended either a fee-paying boarding school or remained at home, attending a fee-paying day school.

A review of the literature indicated positive opinions from those who run private schools but the real-life experience of those who attended boarding school, rather than private day school was less than positive.

Following a review of the assessment of attachment methodologies, this research utilised the Adult Attachment Interview with twenty-six people who were educated at independent fee-paying schools: fourteen ex-boarding school and twelve ex-day school adults. Their attachment strategies were classified according to the Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment as developed by Crittenden from her doctoral thesis (1983) following her work with Bowlby's colleague, Mary Ainsworth. This thesis also acknowledges the link between attachment and psychoanalytic theory and draws on examples from both

The findings were interesting in that only people in the boarding school group who had received therapy took part. While both groups used a similar attachment strategy, the boarding school group were more likely to be reorganising towards a balanced, secure attachment style than the day school group suggesting perhaps a positive outcome for therapy. However, the research findings demonstrated that the boarding school group had experienced more traumas both prior to and after being sent to boarding school than the day school group did. These findings are discussed together with the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS   **Page**

Chapter Six: The Dynamic Maturational Model of Attachment

Chapter Seven: The Research and Findings

Chapter Eight: Discussion of Findings

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

Chapter Ten: Self Reflections   191

Appendices

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES:

TABLES

Table number	Title	Page
Table 1	The number in each group in terms of the classifications, including modifications.	**120**
Table 2	Allocates the attachment strategies and reorganising	**120**
Table 3	The number of people with unresolved traumas across both groups	**124**
Table 4	Number of traumas under age 13 yrs	**124**
Table 5	Type of response to traumas across the two groups	**124**

FIGURES

Figure number	Title	Page
Figure 1	The Dynamic Maturational Model of Attachment	**94**

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THIS STUDY

Aristotle wrote that every child should be cared for by its mother because she would 'be more careful, loving and attendant than any servile woman or such hired creatures; this all the world acknowledgeth' (cited by Winnicott, 1965 p 23).

So why is it that children are not always cared for by their mothers? At different times in history, some affluent Mothers have given over the early care of their children to wet nurses and nannies. Perhaps this was either to be more available to the father of the child so that he would stay at home and fend for them rather than stray, or the mother perhaps preferred to live her own life unencumbered by the demands of a child so dependent on her. Sometimes, the mother has been unable to care for the child because of illness or some other unpreventable reason and the child has then been sent to boarding school. Sometimes if a parent had employment that took them from home regularly, or was part of the armed forces, the child was sent away to boarding school. Children have also attended boarding school as part of the socio-cultural demands for a perceived superior education and social training for the child's good in order to prepare them for leadership either in government or business, or historically, in the case of women, to make them suitable to be wives and mothers (Schaverien, 2015, p 34).

Autobiographical positioning

My original idea for this study came from my experience of working with prisoners as a forensic psychologist. Prisoners had often been in care, looked after by local authorities, mostly against their and their parents will. They spoke of rejection and abandonment when their parents had failed to retrieve them from care. I subsequently, having trained as a cognitive analytic psychotherapist, worked in a clinic in Harley Street, London. Harley Street is well known as being a centre of private medical practice and attracted people, on the whole, from the opposite end of the social spectrum to prisoners. In this context, I heard histories of rejection and abandonment but this time, the legacy of pain was related to having been sent

away from home to boarding school. The difference being that boarders were deliberately sent away, as they described it, while looked after children were mostly taken away from their parents under duress. One man in particular prompted my interest in rejection and abandonment as while he had come to therapy because he felt unhappy in his finance job in the City of London, on asking about his history, he told me that he had gone to boarding school. He laughed quite openly about such things as some boys being made to sit at the 'pigs table' because they had committed a misdemeanour of some sort but on asking what his first day there was like, he surprised himself by bursting into tears asking 'where did that come from?' It appeared quite clear to me that this feeling of unresolved upset had been lurking in his unconscious until taken by surprise by my question leading it to tearfully into the room.

This struck me as a fascinating area of research. Prisoners who were mostly but not exclusively, the children of working-class parents and those I came across in Harley Street from the middle and upper classes, both expressed the same terror of rejection, abandonment and fear of being unloved, as each other. This was despite boarding school being seen as a privilege available to the more affluent social classes and something to be envied. What could link the two?

A brief overview of the literature

My reading about separation from parents originally covered both those who were in the care system as looked after children and those who were in boarding schools. This reading included psychoanalytic writers such as Freud, Klein, Winnicott, Bion, Balint, Stern, Bowlby, Ainsworth, Main, Holmes, Josephine Klein, Crittenden and Fonagy, to name a well-known few. From this, what stood out as the most applicable theory to what both groups experienced was that espoused by John Bowlby; in particular his research and writings on maternal deprivation. In developing his theory of attachment, Bowlby explored both the internal experience of children as well as the rea life external experiential causal factors that he believed led them to be the adults they became. I therefore, decided to take an attachment

theory approach to my research while also drawing on psychoanalytic theories, notably from Freud, to support my explorations. Having previously sourced books and papers on the psychoanalytic literature regarding separation, I followed this by reviewing the methodology for assessing attachment styles. This review included books and articles written by the primary clinician and theoretician in this study; Bowlby, the context in which he lived and those with whom he discussed his theoretical position, such as Anna Freud, Melanie Klein, Robertson, Ainsworth and others. This included the tensions at the time as described in the Controversial discussions that set out to explore in a mature way the differences that had developed between different schools of psychoanalytic thought (King & Steiner 1999).

Briefly, because there is an enormous catalogue of literature in this area, in studying the childhoods of people retrospectively, Freud had stated that people are influenced by biology and an internal world of drives operating within concepts of Id, Ego and Super-ego which are acted upon by external circumstances. Melanie Klein however, thought that the child's world was dominated by internal forces. At the same time, Winnicott focussed on the internal world while acknowledging that a child's external world existed in relation to it as did Bowlby. Bowlby also accepted Freud's view that humans are biological beings but he aligned himself with Melanie Klein during the Controversial Discussions (King & Steiner, 1991) that spanned the years 1941 to 1945 that took place as a means of establishing clarity over the chaos that conflicting psychoanalytic views had brought about between the diehard Freudians and the usurping Kleinians; both camps fighting for position.

Bowlby gradually established a more independent position, and 'became alienated by what he saw as the intolerance of the Kleinians' (King & Steiner, 1991, p3). Bowlby's interests were captured by the harder science of the day based in animal biology and ethology and he became interested in the 1935 work of Lorenz on animal imprinting (cited by Sluckin, 2017)), Hinde's (1974) work on the social aspects of animals and Harlow's (1958) work on attachment in animals that demonstrated that attachment behaviour was related to safety and

comforting protection from danger rather than feeding as advocated by Freud. However, as an analyst Bowlby continued to maintain that psychoanalysis was an important basis for exploring greater knowledge and understanding of childhood experiences, albeit through an attachment perspective. Following this, I read more about boarding schools, children's homes and the experiences of children who had been accommodated in them. The review included books and articles that I already had in my possession as a forensic psychologist and cognitive analytical psychotherapist. PEP web and university libraries were extensively searched. Google scholar proved to be a very useful asset as well as academic articles published by Researchgate and other publishing houses were viewed online. Where it was not possible to source original texts, I have relied on academic researchers to have correctly identified their sources and have noted this by citing them.

Despite the vitriol that Bowlby's new thinking engendered from fellow psychoanalysts, he was nevertheless Deputy President of the British Psychoanalytic Society in 1956 and as such was part of the analytic world not separate to it. He began many of his chapter headings in his trilogy, Attachment (1969) Separation (1973) and Loss (1980) with quotes from Freud but the Society saw him as representing what could be called a biological determinism eschewing the more abstract notion of unconscious drives and psychic phenomena even though Freud accepted the biological basis of human beings. Both Freud and Bowlby were supported in this by Darwin who wrote of humans; 'with his God-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system- with all these exalted powers- still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin' (Darwin 1871, cited in Bowlby, 1973, p. 81). It would seem that this was too much for 'purists' of the analytic world to tolerate and indeed they saw him as a reductionist in aligning humans with animals; 'Bowlby treats humans as though they were animals' (Grosskruth 1987, p 406

Change of approach

However, despite trying various approaches such as direct contact with people who had been in care, trying to liaise with agencies such as social services and book publishers, it proved difficult, or rather impossible to find anyone who had been in care to participate in my research. As a forensic psychologist, I could have interviewed prisoners but that would have led to a biased cohort and that was something I wanted to avoid at the outset. Further, prisoners often feel obliged to participate in research so as to look compliant for the Parole Board and I wanted to avoid perceived coercion of any kind. Therefore, I decided to undertake research comparing those who were sent (I have purposely used the word sent to reflect how the boarding school group described the experience) to boarding school thereby suffering maternal deprivation, with those from a similar socio-economic background who remained at home. I considered it possible that one group remaining at home while the other attended school at a distance would reveal a difference in attachment strategy

Structure of the thesis.

Following my decision to change the focus of this research from people who had been in care, to people from a similar socio-economic background to those attending boarding school but who had remained at home and attended fee paying day school, chapter two provides a review of the literature on private education. I found that there is very little written on day school pupils and their educational context. However, there is quite an extensive literature on the history of boarding schools from the 1800s to the present day and also on those who attended. This review mainly coverers academic attainment and sociological writings rather than the psychological impact of the experiences found in educational settings.

Chapter three is a review of the literature on personal experiences of boarding. This includes authors such as C.S. Lewis, Roald Dahl, Stephen Fry, the psychoanalyst Bion and others less well known.

Chapter four gives the background to the transition from Bowlby as a practicing psychoanalyst to attachment theorist, set within the conflict that arose between his view of how real-world experiences impacted on children and traditional psychoanalytic theorists and practitioners who largely saw him as heretical in challenging concepts such as drive theory. There were, of course, ongoing conflicts within psychoanalysis at the same time (King & Steiner, 1991).

Chapter five reviews the various methodologies used to assess adult attachment styles as a means of selecting the methodology for this study. This chapter considers both the conscious, mainly self-report assessment methods used in social psychology as well as the assessments based on psychoanalytic concepts of the unconscious that can be found within developmental psychology. The review led me to the decision to use Crittenden's adapted Adult Attachment Interview and classify the subsequent transcripts according to Crittenden's Dynamic Motivational Model of attachment strategies.

Chapter six describes Crittenden's model of attachment that grew out of the attachment studies of Ainsworth and Main.

Chapter seven describes the research design, the recruitment of participants, the methodology, how the interviews were conducted and transcripts annotated and classified and the findings. Examples are given to illustrate how the discourse reflects the assessment strategies used by the participants of either Type A, B or C as well as the number and type of traumas experienced by both groups. Some of the findings were somewhat unexpected.

Chapter eight discusses the findings in relation to attachment theory and psychoanalysis and offers some explanation for the outcome.

Chapter nine concludes with my opinion on what the findings mean for children and families, highlighting that sending children away is the opposite of nurturing, care and concern for a child's welfare. Limitations are pointed out and options for further research are suggested.

Chapter ten focusses on my experience of writing this thesis acknowledging as far as I could where my biases lay.

CHAPTER TWO: PRIVATE EDUCATION.

Introduction

This chapter sets out the history of private education, both boarding and day school in the UK and considers some of the reasons for this. There is little in the literature about private fee-paying day schools but there is an extended history of boarding schools in Britain. This chapter explores the cultural and historical antecedents of what is largely but not exclusively a British experience and provides the social-economic context for the participants in the study.

It is generally the case, that families who access private education for their children have a middle or upper-class socioeconomic status despite attempts by the Pathfinder Project in 2005 to provide access to independent boarding schools for more children from working-class backgrounds who experienced 'strained and complicated family situations' (Maxwell 2009). By 2014, there were some state-funded places in independent boarding schools some of which catered for statemented pupils whose needs could not be catered for elsewhere in the state sector (Oxford Economics, 2014, p 55) and there were thirty-seven state -funded boarding schools catering, for example, for children living in remote areas with no access to local schools or with parents in the armed forces but largely, private education is for those who can pay the fees and boarding is even more expensive than private day school. These are the families that this study is concerned with and their socio-economic status will be defined in chapter seven when describing the participants.

Some considerations of why children attend private schools include the assumption that such private schools will provide what Ball (1997) calls cultural profits. That is, access to privileged social networks and the acquisition of certain cultural competencies, or social etiquette and highly paid jobs. Thus, the social capital of (who you know) and cultural capital (knowing the ropes), as well as academic capital (understanding the higher education system), play a part in parents' choice of private education over state education (Ball, 1997). The theory of Effectively Maintained Inequality (Lucas, 2001, Whitty, Hayton & Tang, 2015)

suggests that, as access to higher education expands, those groups of people who had previously had more exclusive access will attempt to maintain their advantage by seeking out supposedly better and therefore more expensive education and there may be no other reason for paying for education, other than to maintain that societal position.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher introduced the assisted places scheme in 1981, whereby the state helped pay for some pupils to attend private schools but Ball, Bowe, & Gewirtz (1996) point out that while 'the scheme has certainly benefitted large numbers of low-income families, children from professional and middle-class parents were predominant amongst place holders' (p 4) and that more than half of the parents of these children in their study had themselves attended selective or independent, that is, fee-paying secondary schools.

There continues to be a perception that private schools, whether boarding or day, provide a better quality of education and that smaller class sizes and greater resources will raise a child's performance in national examinations but Graddy & Stevens (2005) found that while a lower teacher to pupil ratio had a positive effect on examination results at age 18, the resources available such as computers did not demonstrate any impact on those results.

Private education, both of the day school and boarding type is also believed to facilitate a child's independence of mind and enable them to take more responsibility in making the right choices for their future employment but this seems to be the thinking of people who live in the south of England more than the north. Bradford (1990) noted that there was a clear distinction in private education between the regions south and north of the Severn-Wash line, with much higher numbers of children taking up fee paying education in the south even though more places were offered to northern areas (p 4). According to Bradford (1990), this spatial divide cannot be accounted for by class alone and suggested that this may be because more people in the south are 'more receptive to private forms of consumption reflecting middle class rather than working-class aspirations (p7). He also noted that this bias towards private education had existed for the previous twenty years and believed

that this reflected the move towards more private consumption of goods and services during Margaret Thatcher's years in government.

The choice of day, rather than boarding schools may be made because they are closer to home or otherwise judged more convenient than the available public school. Or, middle class parents who fear the influence of less well-behaved children, whom they assume to be working class with few aspirations, prefer their children to 'mix with children who come from good homes' where they will learn discipline (Ball, 1997, p 8I). Mr Halls, who was the headmaster of King's College School, a day school in Wimbledon, preferred day school for his daughters as it 'is rooted in the activities and natural rhythms of a child growing up. It is the normal situation for the majority of young people in the world' (Country Life, 2009).

The marketing of boarding schools naturally promotes their positive aspects as represented by the following comments from headteachers such as William Richardson, general secretary of the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' conference (2014). He stated that parents may want their child to live away from home not only for their convenience but because they think it important for the child's development as leaders and that children in boarding schools do better in the graduate labour market than children from any kind of day school as they develop self-confidence, resilience and a readymade network of contacts. Richard Harman, the headmaster of Uppingham School, asserted that there is no need to worry about what children get up to after school when they are boarding as they will 'get care and attention'. The deputy headmistress at Repton boarding school stated that while it may seem unnatural to send children away, it can be a positive choice and it is more convenient for parents who do not need to ferry their children to extra-curricular activities such as music lessons. The headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College acknowledged that boarding school does not suit everyone straight away but asserts that even those children benefit eventually (Country Life, 2009).

Persell, Catsambis & Cookson (1992) state that culturally, the more upper class a family is, the more discerning they are in terms of the school they choose. Boarding schools are considered to offer greater opportunity in terms of future educational and social influence. Parents who send their children to these schools may argue that they have a right to freedom of association. That is the right for people to 'join together in groups to further shared ideas, values, beliefs and goals' (Hirschoff 1986, p 44). However, such choice means having the financial resources to support it and the benefits of small classes come at a cost. The cost of boarding in 2008, was approximately £26,000.00 per year, which is a substantial sum of money for those not in receipt of a scholarship or bursary (di Monaco, 2008). In 2014, this figure had increased to almost £40,000 (Jacobs, 2014).

Given that this research is concerned with the different attachment styles of those attending private day and boarding school, with the focus on maternal deprivation as a consequence of attending boarding school, an overview of boarding schools now follows. Boarding schools have a very long history and thus, this next section sets them within the cultural and social context of the upper and middle classes.

A historical view of Independent boarding schools

The historian Gathorne-Hardy (1977) wrote a history of public schools in which he stated that European children had been sent to boarding schools or other families for their education for over a thousand years beginning with the sending away of boys to be taught by clergymen in mediaeval times. Their education was either in monasteries or as pages in great households. The King's School in Canterbury is considered to be the oldest boarding school in the world with its development as a monastery school in around 597 AD. Monastic schools were generally dissolved with the monasteries by Henry VIII between 1536 and 1541 (Hoyle, 1995), although Westminster school survived and other schools were soon reinstated. Both

Winchester and Oswestry have continuously operated as boarding schools from 1382 and 1407, respectively (Gathorne-Hardy, 1977, p 20).

In the late eighteenth century, the daughters of wealthy families were sent to finishing schools. These were followed by public schools for girls such as Cheltenham Ladies College founded in 1854 and Roedean in 1889. Eventually, girls attended boys' public schools as those who ran them found it economically advantageous. However, at least one school expected the girls to take part in the boys sporting activities and another headmaster considered it to be 'the thin end of the wedge commenting that girls will only enter the cathedral choir over my dead body' (Brendon, 2009, p 184).

Boarding schools continued to operate as part of the fabric of the British upper and middle- class families seemingly unquestioned and unexamined until Royston Lambert (1975) wrote a sociological perspective of boarding school provision in England and Wales during the years 1964-8. His account included sixty-six boarding schools, their staff and pupils. The study was not able to include boarding for girls or preparatory schools or those not recognised by the Ministry for Education for reasons of funding and 'the attitudes of the schools' (1975, p 5). What this meant however, was not explained.

Lambert's (1975) review covered one in three of all boarding schools from the list of public schools, one in five of the 'progressive' schools such as Bedales and one in five of other independent boarding schools, known in the study as 'integrated' schools. Some of the latter had half or more of the pupils financially supported by the state or charitable funds and one in five were run by local education authorities.

Lambert (1975) described how by taking over the role of the family, boarding schools, can more effectively than day schools, inculcate the pupils they house in the basic functions that the society requires. These are 1) allocation to social roles, 2) integration of basic skills such as intellectual, physical, social and practical abilities 3) and act as administrators for society by providing shelter and welfare (1975, p 10). Further, in support of

boarding, Lambert described how something similar to this had for many years been a part of many primitive societies where adolescent boys were placed under adult control away from their families. He also gave examples from West Africa, Congo, Zanzibar, South Africa, Russia and Israel. Russia had approximately 9000,000 children in boarding schools by 1966 but following President Khrushchev's death in 1971 and pressing economic problems, numbers began to fall. However, Russians sent their children abroad for boarding and in 2014, The Scottish Council for Independent Schools stated that there were about a 100 pupils from Russia in their boarding schools as reported by Denholm in the Scottish Herald (2014). In other countries, however, boarders are looked on with pity and in Sweden and Hungary, boarding is seen as a punishment (personal communication from Nationals of those countries 2014).

Lambert (1975) asserts that while some countries appear to value the educative function of boarding schools, it is only in England that allocation to job roles and social status carries most weight and that public schools in particular prepare boys for the governing elite in politics, education, the military, law and religion.

Schools such as Bedales, Summerhill or Dartington Hall (the head of which Lambert became in 1968), offered a different approach to education with an ethos of creativity and freedom of expression and so were known as Progressive schools. There are also boarding schools that offer a more religious orientation such as Quaker or Catholic schools. Although these schools were set up as an alternative to the public schools, they were nevertheless influenced by the public schools and not the other way around as was intended (Lambert 1975).

Lambert also noted that in 1968, during a labour government, that the Public Schools' Commission suggested the function of public schools should change from accommodating the elite to meeting the social needs of more working-class children.

However, as Lambert pointed out the commission at that time appeared to fail to recognise that 13 state boarding schools provided full boarding.

More recent writing on Independent Boarding schools

The main argument for supporting independent schools in current times is that they promote British values and economic wealth for Britain rather than much emphasis being placed on the child. British values are considered to be 'democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance for those of different faiths and beliefs' (Gov.uk, 2014). The organisation that has oversight of independent schools is the Independent Schools Council (ISC). This council is a group of eight associations who have 1200 independent schools within their groups. In 2014, The ISC commissioned a report from Oxford Economics. The report presented the economic argument for schools some of which are presented below as this appears part of the argument for maintaining boarding schools in Britain and Natasha Dangerfield, the headmistress of Westonbirt senior school was clear when she stated that 'running a school is not just about education- it is also about finances. About 80 per cent of her time is spent overseeing the business and 20 per cent is devoted to the curriculum (cited by Jacobs, 2014). The full list of findings from the Oxford economics report can be found in appendix A. However, to emphasise the extent to which boarding schools are promoted as economic assets, as much as centres of education, I have below given several quotes emphasising the benefits to Britain in economic terms. In 2012, the ISC stated that there were 69,700 boarders in Britain which amounted to 14% of all pupils at ISC schools. Approximately 17 % were at schools which cater almost exclusively for boarders. The rest were a mix of day and boarding pupils. Their report estimated that in 2012, ISC boarding schools supported £2.2 billion gross value-added contributions to the British economy, 52,100 jobs and £840 million in tax revenue. The report also stated that boarders:

support a disproportionately large contribution to the economy as schools provide them with

additional services compared to day pupils' generating 'greater value, hire more staff and

spend more on buying goods and services' than for day pupils (Oxford Economics, 2014, p

63).

The report highlighted that being independent means that they rely on parental rather than

state contributions and that this self-reliance lies at the heart of independent schools. 'It is

what keeps school leaders grounded in what parents want and value for their children's

education' (cited by Oxford Economics, 2014, p 1).

Niall Ferguson in his 2012 Reith Lecture (a series of BBC radio lectures given by a

leading figure of the day) described independent schools as 'the best institutions in the British

Isles today'. Those of us who work in or with our schools know what an exceptional

contribution they make, not just to the development of their pupils' minds and spirits, but to

British society (Oxford Economics, 2014 p i).

Pupils from overseas also contribute to Britain's economy. The figures from 2012

demonstrate that 25,700 pupils including most from Hong Kong, China, Germany, Russia and

Spain contributed financially by the fees and extracurricular activities they pay for, the money

they spend while in Britain and by family and friends visiting them. By 2014, although

numbers had dropped possibly because of the global downturn, '32 per cent of the UK's

boarding school pupils were non-British' That is, of the total number of boarders, 68,453,

21,928 were international (Jacobs, 2014, p 66

The Oxford economics report also stated that the ISC schools, including boarding

schools, attract inward investment by companies who relocate to areas that have these high-

quality independent schools although it is not clear why. Perhaps it is for the children of

people employed by these firms. The CBI endorsed this report by stating that 'education lies

at the heart of a sustainable growth strategy and high-quality education systems lift output for

entire economies…. and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's

(OECD Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) studies place them (Independent Schools) amongst the top five performing countries and systems in the world' (Oxford economics, 2014 p ii).

The benefits of children going to boarding school apart from the economic benefits to the country, are said to be many: the children learn independence, are given the opportunity to gain academically, make contacts which can be used to gain employment, they develop self-confidence and often become good at sport. Such attributes were considered by state educated Alan Johnson, a member of Blaire's Labour government, to be a result of attending boarding school (Brendon 2009.) There is no mention of the emotional impact boarding has on the children attending.

The living conditions which include central heating and easier contact with families via mobile telephones and the internet have improved greatly in the last twenty years making then seem more like holiday camps for some as if they were out of an Enid Blyton story (Lemon, 2015). In addition, that more females are educated at boarding school could mean that the end of the old elitist myth that persists that men are seen as rational beings, in control of events, capable and practical, while women are seen as irrational, guided by emotion rather than reason, and therefore less competent as leaders (Clothier, 2014).

In praise of independent boarding schools, Mario di Monaco (2018) who had not attended one, wrote that while at University College London in the 1980s, he came across fellow students who had been to public boarding schools such as 'Eton, Harrow, Roedean or Wycombe Abbey' and that 'this breed of self- assured and wonderfully rounded individuals completely changed my way of life' (p 11). He does not state in what way, such people changed his life however but what is clear is that he is in awe of boarding schools and those who attend them when he writes, 'A classic example of this "breed" was an articulate and charismatic Old Etonian, who was capable of achieving excellent academic results whilst finding plenty of time to indulge his passion for music and drama'. In addition, he describes

'a well-spoken young lady from Wycombe Abbey, who was highly driven and had a strong desire to shine academically. In the end, she managed to bag an impressive number of academic prizes without being irritatingly over-confident or condescending' (p 12).

di Monaco continued by describing the success of boarding schools by naming many famous people who went there such C.S Lewis, Sir John Mortimer, Stephen Fry, Frederick Forsythe and John LeCarre' amongst others and indicated that their success was attributed to boarding school. There is no doubt that those educated in the private boarding school sector have the highest percentage of students going to the 'elite' universities such as Oxford or Cambridge and di Monaco quotes figures from 2007, where 48% were from Westminster School, 37% from Eton, Winchester 30%, Harrow 21% and of those who did not go to Oxbridge, many went to other universities considered to be highly rated such as Durham, UCL, Imperial College London, Bristol, Edinburgh, St Andrews, Warwick or the London School of Economics (p 13).

In di Monaco's book that largely describes the benefits of public schools and how different they are today compared with those of the pre-1970s, there is a chapter by a Dr Cohen, psychiatrist who while identifying some difficulties, some children at boarding school experience, such as eating disorders, depression and anxiety and substance abuse, also describes behaviours that he calls separation anxiety in younger children which if severe may manifest itself as regressive behaviour of 'bedwetting, soiling or traits such as nail biting, thumb sucking or night terrors' (2008, p 75). He states that these behaviours are usually more prevalent in children whose parents live abroad and they are unable to go home at weekends. However, he describes these as short-lived and that they require no specific attention other than 'TLC from housemasters, school nurses or other individuals who provide pastoral care' (p76). He also states that the larger public schools have their own in-service counsellors but each institution should have a designated person to whom students can go. Further, he notes that some schools have the services of a local general practitioner who is well placed to fulfil

such a role, and that on the rare occasion that separation anxiety leads to anti-social behaviour such as refusal to accept adult authority, bullying, stealing or lying, then specialist help is required but that any difficulties such as these are easily dealt with by providing an opportunity to discuss them (p 76).

He further states that some children frequently present with symptoms of physical illness, the cause of which is unknown and that they should be given the opportunity to discuss their feelings in an environment such as boarding school where they feel safe and supported rather than reinforcing such physical complaints by sending them to clinicians who may maintain the problem as it may be psychological rather than physical and that psychological problems are usually short-lived and sufferers emerge from episodes largely unscathed (Cohen, 2008). I would suggest that this is a rather surprising opinion from a person whose main concern should be mental health.

However, Cohen does acknowledge that children do not necessarily have the vocabulary to express their emotions but such rare instances of depression can be observed through changes in their behaviour. Such behavioural changes that may include over-eating or restricting food as a consequence of bullying or scapegoating can draw attention to the child who may be suffering. 'Accordingly,' he states, 'boarding schools are particularly well placed to encourage pupils to adopt a healthy lifestyle to include sensible eating, adequate amounts of exercise and an understanding of how the body works.' This, he writes, provides major dividends not only at school but also in the future (2008, p 77). Dr Cohen notes that the benefits of public school are that: 'Living with many different people at school also helps nurture respect for the feelings and needs of others, as well as learning to become independent in preparation for the future' (Cohen, 2008, p 75).

Summary

This chapter has given a historical and a more recent view of private education; focussing mainly on boarding schools from the perspective of those running and working in them.

However, emphasis is mostly stated to be the way boarding schools benefit the British economy with a rather dismissive view of children's psychological problems. It has also demonstrated how they have provided for children not only in Britain but for children from other countries such as Russia and China. The experience of adults who spent their childhood at boarding school is now be considered.

CHAPTER THREE: THE CHILD'S DOCUMENTED EXPERIENCE OF BOARDING SCHOOL

Introduction

The following chapter documents some of the experiences of ex-boarders. There are many authors from Hughes (2009) who wrote the well-known, Tom Brown's School Days, and Darwin in the 19th century to Renton (2018) who have written either about their own experiences at boarding school or how others experienced their time there. Bullying and compliance are the central themes in the literature and notably autobiographies referred to, supply a different perspective to the previous chapter. I have selected just some of these authors almost at random, from the many.

Boarding schools

As written in the previous chapter, Boarding School England (2015) maintain that attendance at boarding school gives children a good academic foundation and contacts for future employment and for some, this is no doubt true. However, Boarding School England (2015) omit to say that the psychological impact of enforced separation from home for prepubescent children, that is prior to the teenage years (OED, 2008) and possibly for all children, is detrimental to their mental wellbeing and the impact that has on their ability to form mutually satisfying relationships. The evidence for this comes from the auto-biographies and biographies written by ex-boarders and psychotherapists and academics such as Schaverien and Duffell. This will be presented below.

During the latency stage of development, beginning around five or six years of age, children learn how to relate to their own families but being sent to boarding school, particularly at a young age, sometimes as young as four years old, can only be described as a traumatic experience. This shock of separation is exacerbated by having no-one close to confide in and having to eat and sleep with many strangers from day one. Such a situation can

cause the child to psychologically withdraw and inhibit them from learning the language of emotions (Schaverien, 2011). They also learn to fear adults who may treat them coldly or older boys who bully them. The consequent internal conflict creates a psychological dissonance as being at boarding school is supposed to be a privilege and so they must somehow be at fault if they feel so unhappy at being given such a privilege, (2000, p 3).

Despite the psychiatrist Dr Cohen's (2008, p7) comments in the previous chapter that children speak up if they are frightened or in need of comfort, Nick Duffell (2010) an ex-border, maintains that children do find it difficult to speak up about how they really feel in the face of such privilege paid for at great expense by their parents and that this is not a lack of verbal ability as stated by Dr Cohen (2008, p7) but a fear of distressing their parents. The actor Jeremy Brett is quoted as saying' you never told your parents you were unhappy because you knew, especially me, the youngest of four, that it was costing them practically everything they had to keep you there' (Duffell, 2010, p 56).

Duffell (2010) described how ex-boarders continue to suffer emotional distance in relation to others as well as to themselves. That is, they cut off feelings of pain associated with rejection. They may have become successful in their careers as a consequence of the contacts they made at boarding school but many ex-boarders are less able to sustain a confident presentation to the world long term and some seek out therapy to help with this but in doing so, they have to speak of their boarding school experiences and risk the unimaginable pain that would be released should they do this. These experiences are discussed further in Chapter eight.

One man described himself in Duffell's book as personality disordered, not being really sure if he did survive boarding school. Others have committed suicide unable to face a life fearing more rejection and abandonment (Duffell, 2010, p 59). Others self-sabotage such as selling one business after another when each was on the brink of success, (personal communication, 2015). For this man, it was as if success would prove his parents right and so

he punished them for sending him away at age eight, in return for feeling punished having been sent away.

Boarding schools in current times present themselves as different from the 1800s as described in Tom Brown's Schooldays (Hughes, 2009). This well-known book originally written in 1857, captured the essence of a traditional boarding school when children were sent away to gain a classical education to prepare them, in Tom's father's view, to be a 'brave, helpful, truth telling Englishman and a gentleman and a Christian that's all I want' (2009, p 47). Tom's father warned him that 'If schools were what they were in my time, you'll see a great many cruel blackguard things done and hear a deal of folk bad talk' (p 46) and yet Tom was still sent away and was also bullied a great deal culminating in having his legs burned in front of a fire. However, according to more recent autobiographies such as Rhodes (2015) and Renton (2018), cruel blackguard things continue; both were sexually abused at their boarding schools. Two other men in their late 20s and early 30s recently used the phrase 'one had to man up' (personal communication, 2013). Both were sent to boarding school at age eight years of age and both found the experience de-humanising in many ways and both threw themselves into sport to lose themselves. Like C.S. Lewis (1955, p 30) they described their boarding school as like the concentration camp, Belsen. They too were unable to express their unhappiness when they visited home for fear of being called cry-babies and of letting their parents down.

Boarders effectively become looked after children when they are sent away to school. There is a sad irony in that whereas the parents of children in the social care system fight against the authorities who want to take their children away from them, the parents of boarders choose to send their children away and pay a great deal of money for it asserting that it would prepare them for a life of being toughened up in preparation for leadership. George Monbiot (2015) also an ex-boarder has commented that sending children to boarding school is seen as a privilege and yet sending children into care is something which involves social

services as if being sent away from home, away from one's parents is acceptable and a privilege but the other is shameful. Both children experience the same broken attachment (2015). He wrote (1998) that sending children to boarding school appears to be acceptable cruelty. He explained this acceptability as:

> A few decades earlier, the role of such schools was clear: they broke boys' attachment to their families and re-attached them to the institutions – the colonial service, the government, the armed forces – through which the British ruling class projected its power. Every year they released into the world a cadre of kamikazes, young men fanatically devoted to their caste and culture (The Guardian, 2013).

Children who are sent away willingly by parents with the message that they are loved creates in the child a double bind (Bateson, Jackson, & Weakland, 1956); a mixed message that makes no sense to a child who is rejected from home and everything they know. How does a child resolve the conflict of being told they are loved and rejected at the same time? Such rejection to a life away from home at an early age ill prepares them to trust others and be able to engage in loving affectionate relationships as adults (Schaverien, 2004, 2011,2015, Duffel 2000, 2014).

Roald Dahl amongst others described his first experience of boarding school as 'I had absolutely no idea what was in store for me. I had never spent a single night away from our large family before…. "Right," the headmaster said to me, "Off you go and report to the matron" and to my mother he said briskly," Goodbye, Mrs Dahl. I shouldn't linger if I were you. We'll look after him". The headmaster moved away to another group and I was left standing there beside my brand, new tuck-box. I began to cry' (Dahl,1984, location 781). Psychoanalyst Wilfred Bion had a similar experience when he was left alone at his preparatory school. Watching his mother's hat disappearing behind a hedge, he felt 'Numbed, stupefied' (1986, p 33). Author Simon Wilson (2012) wrote of his arrival at boarding school,

'There were other new pupils waiting with their parents to talk with the matron. I don't want to be left here. I feel sick. I am eight years old' (Wilson, 2012, location 54).

The loss of home is repeated time and again with the return to school after holidays and over and over, the need for self-protection becomes stronger and stronger, affecting, according to Schaverien, the ability to invest in intimate relationships, causing a breach between what the psyche needs and what the body has to do when having to leave home (2011, p 141). In her paper, Boarding School Syndrome: Broken Attachments A Hidden Trauma, Schaverien refers to a GP who worked in a public school for 18 years. He noticed that illnesses reported by boys were linked to homesickness and through this they were able to spend a few days in the sanatorium cared for by matron who may have provided a modicum of safety through the child's connection to a person in a caring if not attachment role. According to Wilson (2012), however, the matron in his school used a slipper on the boys mercilessly and stole the contents of any unlocked tuck box.

Duffell (2010, p 60) believes that public schools distort society's values by creating high ideals which are not sustainable in the real world, causing a sense of failure. How would such people survive in the outside world, having left boarding school? According to Duffell, they cut themselves off emotionally, both from their own failure and from their own lack of tolerance and empathy for those who appear to be less successful than themselves. The real success is considered to be more a measure of being able to present to the world what Duffell (2010) calls a strategic survival personality. That is, the ability to hide inside oneself and project to the outside world a false self as described by Winnicott (2007). This strategic survival personality is a self-protective mechanism of unmet childhood needs that effectively helps protect boarders from feelings of emptiness, and indeed fear. In support of this concept, C.S Lewis described his coping mechanism at boarding school as a form of false self:

> The best route to safety is, of course, to become one of them. …Identify with the school ethos. Your reward is to be one of the winners and if you need to, you will be able to take your revenge when it is your turn at the top of the ladder. You take on the

values and repeat them'… 'At school, the overt version of this identification with the more powerful position is to despise those who show their vulnerability. The covert form is to just keep your head down and be a good chap, for after all life is a compromise and you will only attract worse if you make a fuss. But the essential evil of public-school life, as I see it, did not lie either in the sufferings of the fags or in the privileged arrogance of the Bloods. Spiritually speaking, the deadly thing was that school life was a life almost wholly dominated by the social struggle; to get on, to arrive, or, having reached the top, to remain there, was the absorbing preoccupation. It is often, of course, the preoccupation of adult life as well; but I have not yet seen any adult society in which the surrender to this impulse was so total. And from it, at school as in the world, all sorts of meanness flow; the sycophancy that courts those higher in the scale, the cultivation of those whom it is well to know, the speedy abandonment of friendships that will not help on the upward path (C.S. Lewis, 1955 p).

Lewis (1955) referred to the need to comply in order to be successful that caused the most damage. This compliance had 'symptoms of something more all-persuasive, something which, in the long run, did the most harm to the boys who succeeded best at school and were happiest there. This compliance 'effectively means that you have to betray yourself' (1955, p108).

The psychoanalyst Patrick Casement who also went to boarding school found too that presenting 'a compliant surface' worked with people in boarding school. 'This surface way of being, even if hiding much of what I really felt, seemed to be what was most required in order to be accepted' (2006, p 27).

Such compliance also involves working hard academically and while that in itself is not a bad thing, hard work driven by fear of failure is a bad thing according to Duffell (2010). Failure attracts ridicule at school and disappointment at home. Unless of course, one can distance the self from the experience. This is what actor Stephen Fry appears to have done. In

his autobiography (1997) he states that he would have felt left out and neglected had he not been sent to boarding school but he avoided whenever possible, having to join in even to the point of being expelled from one of several boarding schools he attended. When there, he managed to spend most of his Wednesday afternoons not on the sports field but in his room reading. He adamantly denies that it was being sent away to school at the age of seven years old which led him to be 'fucked up' (p 17) and he denies that he suffered from a lack of love at home but interestingly, his attachment to his mother is visualised by him as curled at her feet while she worked at her typewriter. Such an image seems more sad than happy. In Attachment Theory, this could be indicative of an insecure child who lacking a secure base, is unable to engage in exploratory behaviour for fear of weakening the bond (Ainsworth, 1969) and has to maintain proximity to his mother (Main, 1979).

Although Bowlby was against the separation from home, he stated that in cases where 'the child is maladjusted, it may be useful for him to be away for part of the year from the tensions which produced his difficulties' (1965, p 106). In support of this suggestion, Schaverien (2011) quoted one ex-boarder from a wealthy family who had experienced constant insecurity, neglect and abuse at home, who stated that, 'At school at least you knew where the punishment was coming from' (p 149). Maladjustment as a consequence of boarding school, however, leaves some adults unable to say goodbye, (as if they are leaving their parents) travel on a train, (as if travelling to school) or have a shower (as if they have to endure once more communal showers). Some even dream of killing their headmaster (Brendon, 2009).

Christopher Butler (2012) described his parent's intention in sending him to a choral boarding school as 'Our parents had hoped we would enjoy a broad-based education centred largely around the pursuit of choral excellence- what they actually achieved was to place us into the hands of a cruel, unstable genius whose mood was as unpredictable as his behaviour was unforgivable' (location 23). Butler cites many examples in support of this assertion

including that of a boy who was; 'Condemned to spend the entire mealtime standing in the corner with his arms outstretched in the crucifix position while his meal cooled and eventually congealed' (2012, Location 109). Butler too was mercilessly hit for the slightest misdemeanour that he did not realise was a misdemeanour at the time. He wrote:

When accused of talking on the stairs I said "I didn't know it wasn't allowed sir" I whimpered, betraying the terror that was fast overwhelming me. Suddenly I was rocked sideways by the force of my assailant's right-hand making contact with my left ear "Nobody said I couldn't". "Well I'm telling you now" came the response as his left hand landed an equally violent compensatory blow on my right ear. The one operated on only six weeks earlier (Butler, 2012, location 130). This event was in the 1950s. In the1980s, an ex-boarder witnessed boys who had committed some small misdemeanour, being made to eat at the 'pigs' table as a form of public humiliation (personal communication, 2014). It seems that over time that nothing much had changed.

Interestingly, while some reviewers praised Butler's book, one critic wrote on the Amazon website about it: 'There's nothing much here which suggests "hell" to me. A fairly normal boarding school albeit with a few doses of violence' (Timothy, 2015). The critic did not state whether he went to boarding school or not but appeared to think that cruelty to children is acceptable. Perhaps this is an example of how the awfulness of the abuse is suppressed and denied through splitting off the trauma and burying it out of conscious awareness so that their vulnerability is not exposed, even to themselves. In such cases, 'independent and intellectual thought are encouraged; emotional autonomy is not fostered' (Schaverien, 2011, p 143).

Monbiot wrote in The Guardian (1998) of being bullied:

> Good at work, bad at sport, with heterodox opinions and a crippling stammer, I
> would have been bullied at any school, but at boarding school, the bullying was
> remorseless and inescapable. Sometimes it lasted through much of the night. To have
> "sneaked" would only have made it worse, so from the age of eight I was thrown

upon my own puny resources. It is hard to believe that the teachers didn't know what

was happening: perhaps they thought it was character building (Monbiot, March,

1998).

For the boarding school child, the need to survive is paramount and this means

conforming to the rules and regulations of lights out at the same time, sharing bedrooms and

bathrooms and putting up with being slaves to the older boys as fags, that effectively

condoned bullying. Thierry Smith (2013) wrote in his autobiography that having received

20% in a maths test he was summoned to the Dean's room where he 'picked up what was the

longest and most frightening cane I had ever seen… I quite literally shut down; my mind went

numb. I was in deep shock' (p 486).

Even where such overt bullying is not carried out, the psychological threat to the self

is present through feelings of shame, fear and vulnerability following the rejection to school.

This effectively means that they are unable to talk to anyone about how they feel and certainly

not their parents as stated earlier by Jeremy Brett. Should they put their trust in older boys

they risk being taunted and teased adding to the lasting emotional damage.

Schaverien described a pattern of relating to others by ex-boarders as 'boarding

school syndrome' (2011, p 140). She asserts that this distancing of others and the self from

the self results from the disruption of early primary attachments and not the ostensible

problems presented by the ex-boarders in terms of generalised depression, difficulties at work

or of intimate relationships when they attend therapy. Schaverien writes of how clients in

analysis have eventually revealed how the unconscious pattern of forming dependent intimate

relationships is curtailed by the ex-boarder through emotionally cutting off or actually

abandoning their partner, repeating the pattern of rejection and abandonment by parents.

Schaverien (2011) argues that that the 'intimacy of the mother-child bond can never be

recaptured but the yearning for it which begins with homesickness at school may

unconsciously dominate later life' but that fear of another rejection means they hide their

innermost feelings away (p153). She also states that this can also play out in the transference during therapy when the fear of dependency rises threatening to reveal vulnerable and unmanageable feelings and the client then terminates analysis (2011, p 140). Transference, in this case, refers to a repetition of past patterns of relating to others or as Freud wrote, 'what might be described as a stereotype plate (or several such), which is constantly repeated—constantly reprinted afresh—in the course of the person's life' (1912, p 99). It follows that counter-transference is that which is elicited from others in response.

Having been caned at his boarding school for running away, MP Jack Straw concluded that:

> Feelings were really dangerous. The best way of surviving was not to have them, to be numb, an approach I continued to adopt until my mid-thirties. I had made my point; but they had won (2012, p 770).

Being sent to single-sex schools during the developmentally important times such as puberty is also problematic as separation of normal interactions with the opposite sex comes at a time of 'demands made upon them by normal sexual life' (Freud, 1905, p 170). Several psychoanalysts have recorded the enduring effects of their experiences of boarding school such as Wilfred Bion, Patrick Casement and John Bowlby. Bion describes how 'I learned to treasure that blessed hour when I could get into bed, pull the bedclothes over my head and weep. As my powers of deception grew, I learned to weep silently' (1986, p34). Casement was sent to boarding school at eight years of age. The reason given was that his father was in the Navy but the idea that boarding school would give him stability was usurped by his distorted development and relationships to others such that he formed an attachment to the buildings of his public school rather than to people as they were unreliable but the buildings remained the same. Others compensate for the loss of family by throwing themselves into team games to give themselves a sense of belonging (Schaverien, 2001). Bowlby, of course,

was vehement in his objection to children being sent away from home except in severe cases of family dysfunction (1965).

Girls suffered too as evidenced by a woman now in her 50s who had forgotten until having therapy, the humiliation of the initiation ceremony in her first year at boarding school aged nine when she had been stripped naked and beaten with a slipper (Schaverien, 2011, p145). Again, this was not the late 1800s of Tom Brown's Schooldays but the 1960s. The phrase initiation ceremony, puts a gloss over and tries to make acceptable the behaviour of bullying.

Brendon (2009) suggested to her younger cousins who had attended prep schools in the 1980s that they had had a better experience as they were more pleasant places to be by that time. This was denied by those who experienced:

> enduring terrible homesickness, of writing the weekly letter to parents without being able to talk by telephone, of being addressed by their surnames, of suffering under bullies and beastly slipper for talking after lights-out (p 9).

In 2015, writing about North American boarding schools, referred to by Duffell (2000) as a British export, one student gave the following advice:

> living with bullies, as opposed to merely going to school with them, can magnify typical high school bullying problems. To keep dorm life as stress-free as possible, try not to engage with them. Handle them with politeness but keep your distance (Muchnick, 2014, p 129).

Not everyone had a negative view of boarding school, however. Some professed to enjoy the busyness of school. One boy commented that 'I think most boys had better things to do on their Sundays than spend them with their parents' (Brendon, 2009, p 195), There are other supporters of boarding school such as Hannah Lemon writing in the Telegraph (2015). She stated that:

school taught me that an education is more than just learning sums; it is forming an understanding and an attitude to life. I ask anyone to read The Good Schools Guide review for Hanford school hidden in the Dorset countryside and decide whether I was better off there or in an inner-city school in Dhaka.

Commenting on Joy Schaverien's idea of the 'Boarding school syndrome' in which children learn to cut off their feelings, fear to trust others with their feelings and put other's needs first, Lemon wrote:

> Schaverien suggests that people who are packed off to boarding school at an early age would suffer from depression, an inability to talk about or understand emotions and the urge to escape from or destroy relationships. None of my school friends (with whom I have had a ten-year relationship that I have not managed to 'destroy') suffer from depression as far as I know, unless the 'Monday Blues' count. The boarding school syndrome may apply to the older generations school. It was here that I spent the weekends from the age of 8-13 climbing trees, performing plays, making clothes and creating mischief. You may think it sounds very Enid Blyton and, in truth, it was (The Telegraph, 2015).

Perhaps this is an honest account, but Wenkert, in the same year (2015), wrote in The Telegraph: 'You have to have perseverance and resilience, and be prepared to work on your personality, because friends and teachers don't have the same unbreakable attachment to you that your family does', suggesting that resilience in the face of rejection is a necessary attribute for everyday survival at boarding school and that presentation of a false self as previously advocated by C.S Lewis is the way to manage this.

Brendon acknowledged that some changes had been made such as allowing children to telephone home if their parents were in the UK and some schools in the 1980s aimed to provide a more caring family atmosphere but this did not stop the homesickness. A discussion

of homesickness will be explored in Chapter eight. Other schools though continued to follow a hostile and authoritarian regime. In one school, a child was physically kicked out of the classroom, although corporal punishment was supposed to have been stopped (Brendon 2009). The cane or slipper in state schools was outlawed by the government in 1985 and by 1998, thirteen years later, the ban was extended to all schools including independent ones. In 1989, the Children Act placed a legal duty on independent boarding schools to safeguard and promote pupils' welfare as did the UN convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Initially, this was feared by some schools as putting boarding schools in a bad light should they be inspected for their ability to provide social care (Brendon, 2009). Other ex-boarders found that even in the more modern schools of the 1990s that some were bullied if not as overtly as in earlier times. Such bullying ranged from name-calling to social exclusion, much of which was missed by the staff. while others felt keenly the experience of being separated from the families even when they had weekend visits home.

Over time more changes have occurred including calling pupils by their first names although this proved a difficult challenge for some schools even in 2004 (Brendon, 2009) but at least in one school, boys were given a voice through a Nurturing Programme which included circle time; a means of allowing the freedom to speak up. However, no evaluation of how this was run in practice was given.

Brendon (2009) noted that the headteacher has the most influence on the culture of the schools. One Head in particular, changed his school from a rather barbarous regime of punishments and production line methods of instruction to achieve good examination results, to a more benign approach that included closer links to state school education. A report of the Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI, 2014) confirmed Brendon's impression that the more progressive approach of Summer Fields boarding school, had 'moved with the times' stating that the 'boys are not terrified'. The boys here have private contact by email and telephone with their parents and can take any worries to their tutors or boarding house supervisors' (p

199). These comments sound rather like Dr Cohen's view in the previous chapter that all is fine if no one says otherwise. However, the ISI (2014) report also noted that their inspection of the progressive school, Summer Fields carried out in 2009:

> considered an educational perspective only and that 'individual safeguarding concerns, allegations and complaints…. will not usually be referred to in the published report but will have been considered by the team in reaching their judgements' (2014, preface).

The report pointed out that the recruitment of staff had not followed safeguarding procedures such as checking references, qualifications, a list of those barred from working with children and medical checks. The result of such omissions meant that any harm that may have been caused to the children in the school remained within the school and the Inspectorate. This effectively left the school open to criticism of potential malpractice.

There are many, many more examples that could be quoted of the psychological and physical abuse suffered by children in boarding schools in the name of providing a good education and contacts for the future. Since the 2000s, more comfortable surroundings, more contact via telephone and email and time to visit families should they live nearby rather than many miles away or abroad have been put in place. However, sending children to boarding school at an early age continues to create an elite separated not only from other social groups but also from their own feelings (Schaverien, 2011, Duffell, 2010, 2014) and no matter how much the physical conditions have improved, separation from home at an early age is surely the opposite of what would be considered to be a nurturing experience.

Schaverien suggests that being sent to school at a more chronologically mature age such as thirteen may make a difference to the experience of being away from their families but those older children can still experience loneliness, sexual abuse and bullying (2011, p

149) and that the child continues to feel unsafe at a physiological and psychological level even in adulthood; fearful and vigilant of either attack or betrayal of trust.

Summary

This chapter has documented the various but similar experiences when sent away to live with and be educated by strangers. The main themes running through all the above accounts are of bullying, psychological and physical abuse and the strategy of compliance needed to try to avoid that bullying and abuse.

The next chapter describes how this study traverses the path from Bowlby's psychoanalytic beginnings to attachment theory and thus introduces the model used in this research, namely Pat Crittenden's Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment.

CHAPTER FOUR: FROM PSYCHOANALYSIS TO THE DYNAMIC MATURATIONAL MODEL VIA JOHN BOWLBY

Introduction

In this chapter I will first set the context for the relationship between attachment theory and psychoanalysis. As such, I do not intend to enter into a debate between the psychoanalytic theorists mentioned below or enter into much detail of each theory and so I apologise if I treat each one with less than depth but rather, my intention is to present the contextual history in which Bowlby developed attachment theory and the hostility shown towards him by psychoanalysts at the time.

To try to contain such history within some boundary, I have presented this overview into what seem to be areas of agreement and disagreement between Bowlby and other psychoanalysts, highlighting the biological basis, anxiety and maternal deprivation, and Bowlby's research that underpinned his attachment theory. I then write of the further developments in attachment research from Bowlby, Ainsworth, Main and Crittenden.

Freud onwards

First, in setting the context of attachment theory, I must begin with Freud as he set the foundations for the development of attachment theory through his concept of Anlehungstypus, translated into English as anaclitic relationship and originally described by Freud as: 'where people who have become precious through satisfying the other vital needs are chosen as objects by the libido as well' (1916, XVI, p 426). Or, explained by Anna Freud 'It means, shortly, …. the relationship to the mother' (Freud, 1954, p 11).

In describing the context in which Bowlby worked, one needs to be aware that there were a variety of deviations or developments from Freud's classical psychoanalysis as could be expected when a new theory, (at the time), such as psychoanalysis, is expounded and more thinkers apply themselves to it. Freud too developed his theory from the topographical: unconscious, preconscious and conscious to the structural model: id, ego and superego and

continued to adapt his thinking over the years. Consequently, psychoanalysis is a theory that has changed over time and has had a wide influence and it has become 'a fertiliser that can enrich other disciplines' (Hinshelwood, 2001, p 218). These disciplines are not only those within the world of psychology but are also outside of it where Freud's concepts such as wish fulfilment have been applied in propaganda and marketing by people such as Freud's nephew (Bernays, 1928). Thus, Freud's thinking had a huge influence and that continues today.

Within psychoanalysis, developments led to conflicts and differing claims as in the Freud-Klein controversial discussions that spanned the years 1941 to 1945 (King & Steiner, 1991). These discussions took place as a means of establishing clarity over the chaos that conflicting psychoanalytic views had brought about between the diehard Freudians and the usurping Kleinians, both camps fighting for position although it appears that the thrust of the conflict was more political than academic (Holmes, 1995).

The main protagonists, Anna Freud and Melanie Klein, claimed that their methods of psychoanalytic treatment would be most useful in treating people. Anna Freud continued and defended the work of her father, Sigmund, making a case against Klein's view, for example, that analytic interpretations could be made with children as in adult analyses. Indeed, Anna Freud believed that not all children could be analysed and criticised Klein's use of play therapy stating that this was not equivalent to free association with adults. Klein had much else to offer psychoanalysis though such as, for example, introjection; the psychological taking in of another inside ourselves and projective identification; sending a part of ourselves into another.

Other psychoanalysts contributed to the development of psychoanalysis such as Bion who introduced the importance of containment of parts of the other in relationships and developed Klein's concepts such as projective identification, a means of putting into others that which one cannot tolerate; described as 'the mechanism employed by the psyche to dispose of the ego fragments produced by its destructiveness' (Bion, 1959). Fairbairn,

Guntrip, Balint and Winnicott became the British Object Relations school of Independents that Bowlby also joined having supported Klein initially. In the United States of America, the emphasis was on ego psychology as espoused by Hartmann, Jacobson and Erickson (Fonagy, 2001) and self-psychology by Kohut (Bateman & Holmes, (1995). According to Fonagy (2001), Sandler strode across them all by conceptualising a structural model inclusive of the British and North American schools. Against this background, by far the most audacious in new thinking was John Bowlby who began as a Kleinian but saw the impact of real-world experiences, rather than phantasy, as of major importance to the developing child and the adult they became.

Bowlby gradually established a more independent position, and 'became alienated by what he saw as the intolerance of the Kleinians' (King & Steiner, 1991, p ix). Bowlby's interests were captured by the harder science of the day based in animal biology and ethology and he became interested in the 1935 work of Lorenz on animal imprinting (1969), Hinde's (1974) work on the social aspects of animals and Harlow's (1958) work on attachment in animals that demonstrated that attachment behaviour was related to safety and comforting protection from danger rather than feeding as advocated by Freud.

 Bowlby was concerned that real-life events needed to be taken seriously and not treated as if they were phantasies as part of what Fonagy (2001, p 7) calls '(pseudo) biological determinism – one based on the theory of libidinal and aggressive instincts' (Klein, 1940). In attempting to update psychoanalysis, (Ainsworth, 1969), his view that there should be scientific debate rather than entrenched views in psychoanalysis engendered antagonism from others in the psychoanalytic society but he was able to withstand the arguments against him by offering his more scientific approach and filmed evidence to be discussed below.

A further anathema for the psychoanalytic society was Bowlby's developing interest in cognitive information processing approaches and thus his explorations of a child's real-world experiences led him to lay more emphasis on a cognitive internal representation of a

person's relationship to the world generally and in relation to attachment specifically (Bowlby 1969). This internal representation, through repetition with the main mother/carer, developed into an internal working model of relationships for the future. Stern (1998) later suggested that this occurs through micro-experiences of the interactions between mother and child. Lyons-Ruth, Bruschweiler-Stern, Harrison, Morgan, Nahum, Sander, Stern & Tronick, (1998), offered an updated understanding of working models by including the concept 'implicit relational knowing' into object relations. Such a concept allows for a mutual co-created experience rather than the child taking in from another (p 282) as in introjection and was based on a child's expectation of the mother's availability and the sense of felt security that extends from infancy through to adolescence and adulthood (Cicchetti, Cummings, Greenberg, & Marvin, 1990). This more biological and cognitive view of the world created anger towards Bowlby, leading his theory of attachment to be kept outside of mainstream psychoanalysis for approximately twenty years (Holmes, 1995).

However, as an analyst, Bowlby continued to maintain that psychoanalysis was an important basis for developing a greater knowledge and understanding of childhood experiences, albeit through an attachment perspective., cited by Fonagy (2001, p 2).

Bowlby's Attachment theory grew out of his view that external events impact on a child's way of relating to self and others from childhood, via adolescence and into adulthood. He wrote several books and articles and gave many lectures on this subject (1944, 1952, 1958, 1965, 1969, 1973, 1980, 1985, 1988). These works were enthusiastically accepted in the United States of America but less so in the United Kingdom where the ongoing antagonism from the world of psychoanalysis continued to debate whether Attachment Theory was analytic enough, or even at all (King & Steiner, 1991).

The stark difference between Freudian, Kleinian psychoanalysis and pragmatic attachment theory can be illustrated by Bowlby's rather mechanistic definition of attachment behaviour as:

> the output of what might be called a safety regulating system, namely a system, the
>
> activities of which, tend to reduce the risk of the individual coming to harm and are
>
> experienced as causing anxiety to be allayed and a sense of security to be increased
>
> (Bowlby, 1982, p 374).

A further description is:

> attachment is conceived as any form of behaviour that results in a person attaining or
>
> retaining proximity to some other differentiated and preferred individual, who is
>
> usually conceived as stronger and/or wiser' … and this 'is held to characterise human
>
> beings from the cradle to the grave (Bowlby, 1989, p 154).

The main tenet was that unlike many in the animal world that can stand and walk within a few hours, humans require many years of attention from a sensitive adult or adults who will nurture and provide protection from external danger. Bowlby (1960, 1973) wrote that should the child feel that it can trust such carers to protect them from danger then a state of security is achieved. Such ideas provided one of the early shocks to the psychoanalytic world as it diverged greatly from Freud's theorising on libidinal development and the structural models in which the primary drive of feeding, or internal phantasy, according to Klein, was most important.

Some of the dissenters such as Zepf (2006, p 1534) considered that there were various aspects of attachment theory that were flawed such as; the theoretical assumption that the observation of children allows for predicting their future, that sexual behaviour is only about reproduction and ignores the pleasure principle. He stated that in attachment theory, there is no discussion of what the unconscious is. In his view, attachment theory had lost depth and complexity by focussing on interpersonal relations. However, Bowlby took it as read as a result of his psychoanalytic training that psychoanalytic unconscious processes in the internal world relate to the external environment and that attachment-based clinicians work with the unconscious working model of relationships that people bring to therapy (Bowlby, 1973).

Further critics such as Knudson-Martin (2012) felt that while attachment theory was acceptable to feminists, it should not mean that Mothers be condemned to the home and that attachment theory needed to be placed within a 'larger societal context such as gender, culture, and power' (p 299). However, Bowlby's (1973) attachment theory had already acknowledged that others could be attachment figures too for children whose mothers were absent but they needed to be consistently available and reliable. (Hunter, 2015). This was supported in studies by Schaffer and Emerson (1964) and Ainsworth (1967).

Other points of difference include, amongst others, that Freud considered a child to be separate from the mother, while Winnicott considered that there is a joint relationship as Bowlby did, Freud was concerned with feeding as the primary drive whereas Bowlby stated that it was a sense of security in terms of having a psychologically and physically available attachment figure that determined a child's response to fear. Fonagy (2001) has given a comprehensive account of these points of contact and difference and I do not intend to debate these as the focus of this study is on attachment strategies but as Fonagy wrote, 'attachment theory and psychoanalytic theory have common roots but have evolved in epistemologically distinct ways' (1999, p 11). Indeed, Anna Freud had already written that:

> severe disturbances of socialisation arise when identification with the parents is disrupted through separations, rejections and other interferences with the emotional tie to them has been emphasised first by August Aichorn (1925), abundantly proved by John Bowlby (1944) and has been generally accepted as established fact (1965, p 179).

While Bowlby's insight in linking human biology to that of the animal kingdom created some public derision from psychoanalysts, attachment theory has continued to gain acceptance not least by other psychoanalysts, to name just a few, such as Eagle (1997), Holmes (1994, 1996) and Fonagy (1999, 2001, 2007). Holmes, in particular, has espoused the view that:

by the strange bedfellows of Klein and Bowlby and based on the work of Bion,

Winnicott, Kohut and, more recently, among others, Mitchell (1988) and

Benjamin (1988) Alvarez (1992), a truly interpersonal or

intersubjective psychoanalytic psychotherapy is beginning to evolve (Holmes, 1994,

p 67).

Holmes (1996) saw Klein, Freud and Bowlby as addressing different aspects of

human psychology and as such, need not be in competition with each other (Holmes, 1996, p

46). Fonagy (2001) wrote that there are various points of contact and difference between

psychoanalysis and attachment theory such as both believing that early parental influence was

central to a child's model of the world, second; that the child has expectations of parental

behaviour and anticipates their response and these mental models are carried into future

relationships and third; that attachment behaviour is triggered by the fear of loss or anxiety

producing situations.

In support of psychoanalysis Bowlby wrote, 'I was a qualified analyst, I thought

analytically, but I didn't happen to go along with the particular theory that Freud had

advanced — not because he was convinced of it, but because he couldn't think of anything

better' (Bowlby, 1986 p 42). His reasons were:

> The first is that my early thinking on the subject was inspired by psychoanalytic
>
> work- my own and others'. A second is that, despite limitations, psychoanalysis
>
> remains the most serviceable and the most used of any present-day theory of
>
> psychopathology. A third and most important is that, whereas all the central concepts
>
> of my schema- object relations, separation anxiety, mourning, defence, trauma,
>
> sensitive periods in early life- are the stock in trade of psychoanalytic thinking, until
>
> recently they have been given but scant attention by other behavioural disciplines
>
> (Bowlby, 1969 p xv).

Bowlby was at the forefront of what is known as the Unity of Science or consilience that is, the search for agreement across disciplines rather than maintaining strict boundaries between disciplines. He believed that maintaining a conflictual stance between theoretical positions was not helpful in understanding the human condition, stating that such understanding 'will never come from our talking theory at one another. Rather, differing positions on the internal or external worlds would benefit from a 'systematic discussion of their meaning' (Bowlby,1952, p 92). In this, he was inclusive of other's theories as was evident when he set up the 'Tavistock Mother-Infant Interaction study group …this was international and interdisciplinary' (Ainsworth, 2016, p 88).

Indeed, his appointment as the psychoanalytic society's training secretary in 1944 was most likely because he was acceptable to both Freudians and Kleinians following the controversial discussions or rather, what seem to have been arguments, of 1941 to 1945 (Holmes, 1995). While collaboration may risk dilution of mainstream thought in a particular area, Bowlby believed that communicating with others could only help understand human beings better. Further support for what could be called, a combined approach to sharing knowledge, was offered by Krystal, when he argued that 'We cannot keep rehashing the theories of object relations derived from archaic models' (1990, p 222). Bruner (1990) also supported Bowlby, by advocating the inclusion of other theoretical positions in order to more fully understand the cultural and biological expression of man (1990 p xv).

In recent times the psychotherapist and neurobiologist, Allan Schore (2001) has advocated a more interdisciplinary approach bringing together affective neuroscience and developmental psychology disciplines in areas of self-regulation that integrate psychological and biological models of emotional and social development, including attachment across the lifespan, thus, continuing the work that Bowlby began.

Biological Basis

Bowlby's interest in developmental psychology, ethology, systems theory and psychoanalysis informed his Attachment Theory version of British object relations, a term which he disliked as he found it unclear. While Bowlby set his attachment theory within a biological basis, as Freud had done with his theories on psychoanalysis, his view was that the need for comfort in the face of threat was more important than Freud's theory that food was the primary drive in a child seeking its mother. Bowlby asserted that the five responses of a child; 'sucking, clinging, following, crying and smiling' (1986, p 362) involved in attachment behaviour, have survival value as these behaviours keep the mother close and protective. In the 1958 paper, The Nature of the Child's Tie to his Mother, Bowlby gave a critique of psychoanalysts who continued to focus on the need for food rather than safety. In this paper, he agreed with the Hungarian school of Ferenczi and ethologists 'who postulate primary drives of clinging and or following are what tie the infant to its mother' (1958, p 358). While he noted that Freud's ideas of libido and life instinct also follow the same theme of survival, he gave a clear view that the child's need for its mother as a secure, protective base is of the greatest importance. Bowlby saw the hunger for mother's love and her presence as paramount and the anger a child expresses when the mother is absent is not at the loss of the breast (Klein, 1935) but at her absence; the breast symbolising a representational model of the mother.

Bowlby's use of a scientific approach sought to provide evidence to support his theory of attachment and ground his position in observable fact rather than theory based on mythological concepts taken from Oedipus (Quinodoz, (2013, p 63). He drew on ethologists such as Hinde (1974) and in particular, Harlow's 1958 experiments with rhesus monkeys to secure his argument that comfort is the first need when an animal is under threat. In these experiments, when the monkeys sensed danger, they fled to a covered wire frame in preference to a wire frame with a feeding bottle. Thus, what was once advocated in

psychoanalytic terms as the primary drive of feeding, Bowlby then recast as the need for protection from danger.

The disgust felt by analysts regarding the biological basis of attachment theory was evident when one said 'Bowlby? Give me Barabbas' (Grosskurth, 1987). Even Winnicott initially found that 'I can't quite make out why it is that Bowlby's papers are building up in me a kind of revulsion although, in fact, he has been scrupulously fair to me in my writing' (cited by Bretherton 1991).

In contrast, Bruner wrote,' to understand man you must see him against the background of the animal kingdom from which he evolved'. Lyons-Ruth, while acknowledging that attachment occurs is across species, offered a more nuanced view when she wrote 'human attachment is radically different from the organisation of attachment in all other species. This is because of the unique capacities of the human infant for intersubjective exchange' (2005, p 598).

Anxiety and maternal deprivation

Bowlby pointed out that there is no more central concept to psychoanalytical theory than that of anxiety. He wrote in 1960 that:

> In the absence of the mother the infant and young child is subject to the risk of a traumatic psychic experience and he, therefore, develops a safety device which leads to anxiety behaviour being exhibited when she leaves him. Such behaviour has a function: it may be expected to ensure that he is not parted from her for too long. I shall term this the Signal theory (p 93).

Signal anxiety was a term introduced by Freud (Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety, 1926).

Freud's position on anxiety fluctuated somewhat. As Strachey pointed out, Freud had previously written in his first paper on the anxiety neurosis (1895) that 'The psyche is overtaken by the affect of anxiety if it feels that it is incapable of dealing by an appropriate reaction with a task (a danger) approaching from outside (p 80) but then in 1917, Freud

considered anxiety to be a result of a child's libido remaining unsatisfied and followed from the conflict aroused via the Oedipal complex. However, he then later returned to his previous idea that anxiety in the child was a reaction to a traumatic situation: 'we shall no longer maintain that it is the libido itself that is turned into anxiety in such cases' (1926, p 80).

In this same paper, when writing about mourning and loss he raised two questions: 'When does loss lead to anxiety and when to mourning and pain?' Freud described the situation of the infant when he is presented with a stranger instead of his mother, pre-empting Ainsworth's strange situation experiment (1970):

> He will exhibit the anxiety which we have attributed to the danger of loss of object. But his anxiety is undoubtedly more complicated than this and merits a more thorough discussion. That he does have anxiety there can be no doubt; but the expression of his face and his reaction of crying indicate that he is feeling pain as well. It cannot as yet distinguish between temporary absence and permanent loss. As soon as he misses his mother he behaves as if he were never going to see her again; and repeated consoling experiences to the contrary are necessary before he learns that her disappearance is usually followed by her re-appearance (Freud, 1926, p 169).

Just as Freud did, Bowlby believed that anxiety was firstly a biological, instinctive response to fear of abandonment by a child and that when the mother is unavailable, attachment behaviour is activated. When the mother continues to be unavailable, distress indicative of the mourning process continues and that should the loss of the mother occur between the ages of six months and four years of age then there is a high risk of pathology. Bowlby called this Primary Anxiety which was part of 'a natural disposition, moreover, that stays with him in some degree from infancy to old age and is shared with animals of many other species' (1960, p84).

Analysts such as Hermann (1936) and Fairbairn (1952) agreed that separation anxiety is the most important primary anxiety and Anna Freud (1965) described threats to the child

from the outside world in the following terms; anxiety begins with 'fear of annihilation due to loss of the caretaking object' (p 132). In addition, her description of children in the Hampstead Nurseries during World War Two was described in attachment terms; 'We agree with Dr. Bowlby that the infant's attachment to the mother is the result of primary biological urges and ensures survival' (1960, p 55) and 'such experiences of separation prepare the child to act in a manner adapted to reality conditions' (1960, p 172). Nevertheless, she upheld Sigmund Freud's theory without revision and related all observations to the concepts of Id, Ego and Super-ego and saw external experience as processed through these concepts.

Klein acknowledged the importance of separation anxiety albeit her theoretical position meant that she accounted for it differently considering that: 'The ego is driven by depressive anxieties (anxiety lest the loved objects as well as itself should be destroyed) to build up omnipotent and violent phantasies, partly for the purpose of controlling and mastering the 'bad', dangerous objects, partly in order to save and restore the loved ones' (1940, p 131).

Bowlby criticised those who continued to believe in phantasy rather than real life events as they were doing a disservice to patients who were therefore not listened to (Hunter, 2015). He acknowledged however, that it is difficult to be clear that what people say about their childhood is accurate given that so 'embittered and distorted is the information patients commonly give about their childhood experiences' and so, ' many psychiatrists and even psycho-analysts have regarded their stories as no more than phantasies and have wholly discounted the really adverse effects of an unhappy childhood' (Bowlby 1952, p 46).

Bowlby (1986), said that on the whole, he and Anna Freud were mainly in agreement in clinical matters, 'But when it came to theory, things were different' (p 47) and in an interview with Hunter said she would not accept his view that 'real life happenings are very important' and in this the practice of Anna Freud did not match their theory (Hunter, 2015).

For the psychoanalyst Otto Rank, the anxiety shown on separation of young children from their mother is a reproduction of the trauma of birth, so that birth anxiety is the prototype of all the separation anxiety subsequently experienced (1924).

Bowlby (1960) noted that while Freud made these observations, he failed to comment on the possible future psychological consequences for the child of that loss but perhaps this was because Freud did not know what those consequences might be when he said that 'so little is known about the psychology of emotional processes' (1926, p 169).

In terms of the immediate effects of loss and mourning, Bowlby agreed with Freud that these can be observed in children as well as adults and drew 'attention to the very striking similarities between the way a child, a small child, responds anxiously to a separation experience and the way an adult responds to bereavement' (1986, p 47). He described the phase of Protest as 'raising the problem of separation anxiety; Despair that of grief and mourning; Detachment that of defence' (1960, p 1). He stated that these are parts of the whole involved in grief and mourning and occur when a child is deprived of its mother, provoking an anxiety response and this can lead to adverse development of the personality.

Research.

The single most important approach taken by Bowlby that differed from his associates in the British Psychoanalytic Society was his scientific approach to understanding the effects of mother and child separation. He was concerned that real-life events needed to be taken seriously and not treated as if they were phantasies as part of what Fonagy (2001, p 7) calls '(pseudo) biological determinism – one based on the theory of libidinal and aggressive instincts' (Klein, 1940).

It should be noted that Freud too believed in real events impacting on peoples' lives. In Moses and Monotheism (1939) Freud discussed the case of an adult man who had observed sexual acts between his parents in his first years of life, that is, an event outside of himself. Freud noted that at the onset of puberty, that the boy experienced a:

furious hatred of his father and insubordination to him' and that it 'was not hard to recognise off-shoots of his early observations of intercourse between his parents. .... this extreme relation to his father, reckless to the pitch of self-destruction, was responsible as well for his failure in life and his conflicts with the external world (p 79).

Further, in discussing the role of the Ego in moderating the Id, Freud wrote:

The ego is in control of voluntary movement. It has the task of self-preservation. As regards *external* events, it performs that task by becoming aware of the stimuli from without, by storing up experiences of them (in the memory), by avoiding excessive stimuli (through flight), by dealing with moderate stimuli (through adaptation) and, finally, by learning to bring about appropriate modifications in the external world to its own advantage (through activity). As regards *internal* events, in relation to the id, it performs it by gaining control over the demands of the instincts, by deciding whether they shall be allowed to obtain satisfaction, by postponing that satisfaction to times and circumstances favourable in the external world or by suppressing their excitations completely. .... The ego pursues pleasure and seeks to avoid unpleasure. An increase in unpleasure which is expected and foreseen is met by a *signal of anxiety*; the occasion of this increase, whether it threatens from without or within, is called a *danger*. From time to time the ego gives up its connection with the external world and withdraws into the condition of sleep, in which its organisation undergoes far-reaching changes (Freud, 1940, P 28).

It seems strange then that the analyst, Joan Riviere should state that she believed that psychoanalysis had nothing to do with the real world (Holmes, 1995). The irony yet again is that Bowlby supported Freud's view of the external and internal worlds in relationship to one another, while the psychoanalytic society often condemned him for focussing on external events as if he had ignored internal ones.

The next section gives an overview of the research into the impact of external events on the internal emotional responses following from maternal deprivation.

In 1944, Bowlby's research into Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves who had spent long periods of time away from home paid: 'Great attention…. to the elucidation of the mother-child relationship in each and every case' (p 20). This included the mothers conscious and unconscious attitude that sometimes revealed an intense, though perhaps unadmitted, dislike and rejection of them.

Bowlby's focus was that 'prolonged mother-child separations are associated to a high degree both with chronic delinquency in general and with certain types of chronic delinquent in particular' (1944, p 110). While maternal deprivation became espoused as a cause of many disorders including, affectionless psychopathy there was also evidence of prior unstable relationships; of children being unwanted and having 'fathers who hated them outright' (p 113). These parental attitudes to their children continued to impact on older children too, although Bowlby thought the main psychological damage occurred in the first years of life.

Bowlby also noted that a deleterious early environment is not only applicable to people of low economic status. He wrote that four 'Mayfair Men' who came from privileged backgrounds and had attended public school; thus, being deprived of their mothers, were also capable of committing crime (1944, p 116).

Bowlby was greatly impressed by Goldfarb (1945) who stated that psychological deprivation resulted in a basic defect of total personality that affects the maturation of intellect and emotions and noted a difference between children in institutions and those at home but also who suffered emotional rejection. Children in institutions demonstrated an extremely limited ability in performing abstract tasks such as goal striving, and a lack of consequential thinking and a tendency for concrete thinking. Their behaviour was passive, random, and undirected whereas the emotionally rejected children who remained at home, were more similar to other non-rejected children in their personalities; although more suspicious of others and although they were more anxious, they had a greater capacity for self-insight than the institutional children. Goldfarb (1945) also commented that the institutionalised

children's concrete and undeveloped modes of perception and ability to use concepts had a definite effect on their emotional relationships.

Goldfarb (1945) had suggested that the cause of such difficulties resulted from broken homes but Bowlby believed that there were too many variables within the broken homes concept and offered that a more informative description such as maternal deprivation captured more clearly a parent-child relationship that was disturbed. Rutter (1979) explored this further and suggested that maternal deprivation in itself was too general a term and that the quality of the reciprocal relationship between mother and child was as important in forming security or insecurity in children; while acknowledging that separation had important emotional effects. He also questioned the link between Bowlby's concepts of maternal deprivation and anti-social behaviour pointing out that it is discordant parent-child relationships that are central to a child's distress and that poor attachments already in place may instigate a greater than otherwise, adverse reaction on separation.

At the request of the Social Commission of the United Nations in April 1948, Bowlby was asked to research the effects of homelessness on children. The report was published by The World Health Organisation (1952) and included many international studies on this subject and although some studies lacked scientific rigour, they all concluded that maternal deprivation in infants resulted in pathology.

Bowlby began this study with a review of the literature beginning with Durfee and Wolf (1933), Bakwin (1942), Spitz and Wolf (1946) and Roundinesco and Appel (1951) who found that the longer children were deprived of their mothers, the lower their general developmental quotient fell compared with those who had remained with their mothers. Developmental quotient refers to a numerical measure of an infant's performance on a developmental schedule relative to the performance of other infants of the same age. This difference was found consistently at ages between the second and fourth years of age.

Bowlby's review also found that while some infants had improvements in development on reuniting with their mothers, those who had been separated for at least three months failed to recover entirely and separation at three years old, was considered to have as adverse an affect as for the younger children and this was also accompanied by a rejection of a substitute mother. The report culminated in the statement that every child should enjoy 'a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother (or mother-substitute) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment' (1952, p 11). When this failed to happen, the effects ranged from 'acute anxiety, excessive need for love, powerful feelings of revenge leading to guilt and depression' (1952, p 12). Should there be no one at all who cares for the child, then Bowlby considered this to be complete maternal deprivation leading to a crippling of the capacity to make relationships. Such conditions were found in 'institutions, residential nurseries and hospitals' (1952, p 12). He acknowledged that the effects of maternal deprivation could be ameliorated should there be someone available whom the child has learned to trust and that following removal from, for example, hospital into the care of a sensitive person, the young child began to improve in their development (Bowlby, 1952). Rutter (1979) supported this, stating that 'children from severely disturbed homes who later experience a more harmonious family environment' have marked social and behavioural improvement (p 292). Bowlby nevertheless maintained throughout his life that the care of a loving mother is most conducive to the good mental health of a child (Hunter, 2015).

Bowlby (1952) pointed out however, that maternal deprivation arising from separation or 'outright rejection' was just one way to create a parent-child relationship that was 'pathogenic' (p 13). A relationship without physical maternal deprivation but one that creates emotional rejection also leads to insecurity in the child. He stated that the most common were '(*a*) an unconsciously rejecting attitude underlying a loving one, *(b)* an excessive demand for love and reassurance on the part of a parent, and (c) a parent obtaining unconscious and vicarious satisfaction from the child's behaviour, despite

conscious condemnation of it' (Bowlby, 1952, p 13). In 1926, Freud proposed this as possible

when commenting that 'A hysterical woman, for instance, may be specially affectionate with

her own children whom at bottom she hates' (Freud, 1926, p 158).

For the World Health Organisation's (1952) report, Bowlby wrote that the

vulnerability to the effects of separation reduces after the age of five and reduces even further

thereafter but he also cited evidence in the report from an adult who, placed in hospital for

three years at the age of six felt:

> desperate homesickness and misery of the early weeks [which] gave way to
>
> indifference and boredom during the subsequent months. He described how he made
>
> 'a passionate attachment to the matron which compensated for the loss of home, but
>
> how, on returning, he felt out of place and an intruder'…. In the end, this barrenness
>
> led me away from home again . . . but no second mother-figure came my way, and
>
> indeed I was not then capable of creating stable relationships... … my responses were
>
> exaggerated, often uncalled for, and I became extremely moody and depressed . . . I
>
> also became aggressive (Bowlby 1952 p 27).

Thus, separation continues to have detrimental effects beyond infancy. Bowlby wrote of

this:

> Intimate attachments to other human beings are the hub around which a person's life
>
> revolves, not only when he is an infant or a toddler or a school child but throughout
>
> his adolescence and his years of maturity as well, and on into old age (Bowlby, 1980,
>
> p. 422).

In conjunction with Bowlby and following his observational training with Anna

Freud, James Robertson made several films of the experience of children separated from their

mothers, including the important film, 'A two-year-old Goes to Hospital' (Bowlby &

Robertson, 1953). In this film, Robertson demonstrated the power of observational studies in

capturing the effects of separation of a child from its mother, placed in an institution, over a

period of eight days. The distress and change in demeanor of the girl is described as

transforming from protest to despair to detachment. The process involved repression and displacement of her feelings onto a toy steam roller and a boy with whom she wanted to go swimming. When visited, her relationship with her mother changed from overtly asking for her, to not greeting her when she saw her and having a blank facial expression as if this was not her real mother. Bowlby's psychodynamic explanation of this drew on Kleinian concepts of the child splitting off the good mother from the bad. This psychological splitting helped the child manage the loss of the mother and cope with her reappearance.

Robertson's film was intended to influence detractors who said that mother-child separation was not psychologically harmful. Such studies promoted social action that had not been part of Freud's thinking in only criticizing the sexual repression of the society in which he lived (Fromm, 1970). Bowlby was supported in this social action by Winnicott, who valued his 'drive on towards a translation of the psycho-analytic findings of the past half-century into social action' (Winnicott 1989, p 23). More currently, Bacciagaluppi (2016) has suggested that psychoanalysis together with attachment theory may go some way to consider the impact of societal demands on the human being.

However, Robertson and his wife (1971) disputed Bowlby's generalization of maternal deprivation to all cases following their research into children whom they and others had fostered for a period between ten and twenty-seven days. They made daily records of the experiences of children between the ages of seventeen months and two years and five months and found that children in foster care were less distressed than those in institutions where they were looked after by numerous carers and lacked attention from a substitute mother. Their criticism seems unfounded as their argument would seem to support Bowlby's requirement of a consistent caring mother substitute.

Attachment over time.

Attachment relationships can change over time. Beginning in infancy and continuing through adolescence, Mahler, Pine & Berg (1977) called this a psychological birth that unfolds over

several phases. By adolescence, other people may come to assume an importance equal to or greater than that of parents, including people in school, university, work and religious and political groups and of course, sexual attraction to others can engender a further influence. Ainsworth (1969), also wrote that some adolescents may cut themselves off from parents or remain intensely attached and are unable or unwilling to direct their attachment behaviour to others; between these two are the majority of adolescents whose attachment to parents continues but whose ties to others are also very important. Bowlby (1958) noted that attachment behaviours may wane with maturity but that they do not disappear completely as a person matures, 'Like old soldiers, infantile instinctual responses never die' (p 371) and that attachment behaviour formed in childhood continues into adult life and is demonstrated when proximity seeking behaviours aimed at trusted individuals are elicited in dangerous circumstances. Such dangerous circumstances are considered in this research, to be separation from home at a young age.

Summary

While some analysts may still find attachment theory difficult to accept, attachment theorists such as Eagle (1997) have reminded psychoanalytic thinkers of the value of insight awareness, remembering and self-reflection. This includes a relationship between what is observed and subjectively experienced by both the observer and the observed and that internal working models not only reflect real interactions, as described by Bowlby, but they also include inner forces or phantasies, as highlighted by Freud and Klein.

Despite their different theoretical positions, psychoanalysts of whatever school have agreed that separation from a primary care giver, usually the mother has detrimental effects on a child's development. In support of further reconciliation, Grosskurth (2001) wrote:

> some of the recent developments in psychoanalysis suggest a broadening tolerance of
>
> other views. Recently I attended a conference co-hosted by attachment and object
>
> relations theorists. Such a phenomenon would have been impossible during the

lifetimes of John Bowlby and Melanie Klein. Perhaps psychoanalysis has reached a commendable stage of maturity, and I should like to think that honest, hard-working historians have played a not-inconsiderable part in that development. If psychoanalysis has attained a reputation for infighting, do not blame the historians for describing the splits and dissensions. Those who cannot learn from the past are bound to repeat its mistakes (2001, p386).

For the purposes of this research, I take the Freudian/Bowlbyan view that biology has psychological consequences.

From Ainsworth to Crittenden

Given Bowlby's attention to real life situations and his aversion to psychoanalytic concepts such as the Oedipal complex and phantasy over reality, it is interesting that according to Main (1999), Ainsworth who worked closely with Bowlby had been in receipt of psychoanalysis herself and was well versed in the psychoanalytic approach. She used psychoanalytic principles such as condensation and over-determination with her PhD students, Main and Crittenden. During her analysis, which focussed on what she believed was the source of her unhappiness- the oedipal complex, Ainsworth had increased energy to focus on her work leaving her troubles for the daily session with her analyst whom she used as an attachment style secure base maintaining the link between psychoanalysis and attachment (Main, 1999). Thus, personally linking psychoanalytic principles to attachment theory.

Ainsworth's contribution to developmental psychology was her work that began when observing mother child interactions in Uganda that then lead to her ideas of individual patterns in attachment. She developed the Strange Situation Procedure (SSP) in the 1970s in which the main focus is to look at the infant's use of the attachment figure as a secure base for exploration in times of stress and need for comfort. Using the SSP the, infants are classified into securely attached and two categories of insecurely attached: insecure-avoidant

and insecure-resistant (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). The secure child in the SSP is described as relatively comfortable when exploring the surroundings, using the mother as a secure base and not being disturbed by the presence of a stranger. When the mother leaves the room, the secure child is likely to show signs of intense distress and preoccupation with the mother's absence. However, on return of the mother, a secure mother-infant attachment relationship is characterized by the infant's ability to be quickly comforted by the mother's return and his/her ability to return to play and exploration (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). Conversely, insecurely attached children do not assume a consistent responsiveness from the caregiver that means they have to adopt strategies to overcome this inconsistency and unresponsiveness because previous requests for attention have been met with indifference or anger (Bowlby, 1973). Therefore, the insecure-avoidant child in the SSP treats the stranger in the same way as the mother, shows no interest in play and exploration and avoids the mother on her return. The insecure-resistant child shows signs of anger at times and passivity at others and oscillates between seeking contact from the mother and resisting her (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1969). Bowlby's advice to Ainsworth was to give these attachment types simple letters until the meaning of such behaviour was understood. Thus, the secure child was given the letter B, the insecure-avoidant, letter A and the insecure-resistant, letter C. Main later added letter D for those children who exhibited disorganized behaviour, typified by 'a diverse array of odd, fearful, disjointed, contradictory and seemingly inexplicable behavioural responses' when reunited with their mothers (Waters, Bretherton and Vaughn, 2015, p xxxi).

Main and her colleagues further developed the Strange Situation Procedure and then developed the Adult Attachment Interview and they were then able to link the two by demonstrating that the sensitivity of the mother in relation to the child's needs were in direct relation to her attachment style (Main, Hesse & Goldwyn, 2008) as referred to in chapter five on the assessment of attachment.

Goldberg, Grusec, & Jenkins (1999) argued that Bowlby's original thesis was based on a behavioral system to protect the young of all primates including humans and that the more recent expansion of attachment theory to cover all relationships has lost the focus of protection from danger. Goldberg, Grusec, & Jenkins (1999) suggested that research should again reconsider Bowlby's original view that a child requires what they termed, 'confidence in protection' to reflect security of attachment as originally intended by Bowlby (p 476) and Crittenden returned to this focus in her Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment that is used to assess attachment styles in this study.

Attachment theory's applicability to this study.

It is pertinent that Bowlby grew up in an 'unattached' family with father and mother both often absent physically and psychologically in what was the typical, emotionally distant British middle and upper-class upbringing of the time that involved nannies and boarding school. Bowlby commented that he had a very stable background but that was not the same as a warm, secure and emotionally caring one (Scarf, 1976). He described himself as 'sufficiently hurt but not sufficiently damaged' by having nannies rather than his mother caring for him and by being sent to boarding school (Van der Horst, 2011, p 28). He defended his parent's decision to send him away to school, aged ten years old, by attributing it to the fear of air raids on London during the first world war (Hunter, 2015). Prior to this, aged four years old, he lost one of his nursemaids, Minnie, with whom he had a close relationship, when she left the family (Richard Bowlby, 2004). It could be surmised that by seeing his pain in others, he was perhaps better able to describe the reality of separation that what would become Attachment theory.

The experience of having nannies was applicable to many upper class British and European children at that time, including Freud (Partridge, 2014). Breger, (2009) wrote that the young Freud had several nannies and the loss of them and the resulting separation from

his mother not only day to day but also when she had seven more children, compounded by the death of his younger brother, was a contributory factor in 'Freud's avoidance of the centrality of attachment' and 'is the most pernicious effect of his failure to come to terms with his own history of traumatic losses' (p 108).

This thesis then, falls naturally towards attachment theory as the focus is on separation and Bowlby studied separation because; 'Adverse patterns of family interaction were the run of the mill of what we were doing clinically'… 'So, I picked on separation and loss as being my focus because they could be documented and also, I reckoned that some of the consequences in terms of a child's responses were pretty unmistakable' (Bowlby, 1986, p 39) and therefore observable. This documentation included observable evidence such as those written by Anna Freud and Burlingham at the Hampstead child therapy clinic (Freud, 1965) and Robertson's films of what happened when children were separated from their mothers. Bowlby's claims of the negative effects of maternal separation were clearly visible but a few, including psychoanalysts such as Wilfred Bion, despite his painful experiences of boarding school described earlier, continued to doubt what they saw, dismissing the observations that the children were upset at their separation from their mothers. 'Bion maintained that the little girl's pain and trouble were a manifestation of her envy of her mother's pregnancy, rather than a response to the separation itself' (cited by Holmes, 1995 but unreferenced). Nevertheless, Robertson's films such as A Two Year Goes to Hospital (1953) prompted the foundation of the National Association for the Welfare of Children in Hospital and eventually, parents were allowed to stay in hospital with their children.

Bowlby acknowledged from a psychoanalytic point of view that:

> A major criticism which will of course be levelled at our study of Laura (*one of the children observed)* is that we had next to no knowledge of the state of her internal objects before the separation experience occurred, nor can we do more than guess at how this experience has changed them. This deficiency, however, can be made good next time. We hope in future to use analytic play and projective techniques to explore

the child's internal world before, during and after the separation experience so that we have a more lively and exact understanding of her interpretation of the experience and of the internal changes which have followed it. In this way we hope to combine some of the advantages of the traditional methods of analytic exploration with these newer ones……A particular merit of recording observations of the infant and young child's responses to his real love object is that such observations can be made by more than one observer, they can be repeated, and when films are made can be scrutinized by many workers (Bowlby, 1952, p 91, my italics).

The argument for the biological basis of attachment theory has been made and that there are psychological consequences of importance is also in my opinion clear. Undoubtedly, there are contributing factors, as pointed out by Bowlby (1952) and referred to above such as cold hostile parenting, that lead to pathology prior to separation that impact on a child's attachment to its parents. These will be evidenced as far as it is possible to do so, in the interviews undertaken for this study through the discourse analysis of Crittenden's adapted Adult Attachment Interview and her Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment.

Protection from the risk of danger is the main focus of this thesis in terms of childhood maternal separation as a consequence of boarding school and how that impacts on emotional health regarding states of security/ insecurity. An overview of the DMM follows in chapter six but first the methodologies used to assess attachment styles are assessed will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: ASSESSING ATTACHMENT

Introduction

This chapter sets out the reasons for using the Adult Attachment Interview, its background, what it aims to achieve and how it has been modified for the purposes of the Dynamic Maturational Model used to allocate adults to attachment styles in this study. Initially, however, I will set out alternative methods of assessing attachment with adults, not children, which differ according to the purpose of the research. There has been a huge amount of research looking into attachment styles available on Google scholar, Jstor and university libraries for example and far too many to reference but for the purpose of this chapter, I have referred to what are considered to be the major contributions on the assessment of adult attachment including those written by Main, Goldwyn and Hesse, Crowell, Cassidy & Shaver (1999, 2008), Mikulincer (2002, 2007, 2008), Crittenden, (1997, 2005, 2011, 2015) and Steele & Steele (2007). I have also considered writers on the difficulties of qualitative interviewing as a method of assessment such as Potter & Hepburn (2005).

As Bernier and Dozier (2002) and Shaver and Mikulincer (2002, 2007, 2008,) point out, most research into adult attachment derives from one of two assessment traditions: 1) developmental psychology using observation and interviews such as the Adult Attachment Interview, both original (George, Kaplan & Main, 1995) and modified by Crittenden to fit the Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment (Crittenden, 1999, 2004) and 2) social psychology perspectives, that has included both interviews and also self-report, forced-choice, Likert rating scales, and couples' observational procedures.

Both approaches assess secure and insecure attachment styles thought to be psychodynamically similar to those first identified by Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall (1978). As Crowell, Fraley & Shaver (2008) note, any measure of attachment needs to 'be normative, that is, relevant to the development of all people and active and important in adult life'…and that these measures assess 'differences in attachment behaviour and the working

models that underlie it' (2008, p 600).

Normative is used throughout this thesis as that is the word used by researchers in the attachment field to describe non-clinical or non-psychiatric populations.

Assessment

The range of studies by social psychologists include assessment of attachment and love relationships, (Hazan and Shaver, 1987), an investigation into attachment style and fear of the universal state of death (Mikulincer, Florian, Birnbaum, & Malishkevich, 2002), the quality of relationships as a function of attachment style at relationship break down after 6 months. Simpson (1990) and others have assessed relationships and attachment style using scale measures of closeness, dependability and anxiety (Collins & Read,1990). Feeney reported (1996) that Feeney and Ryan (1994) used a short- term longitudinal study. What this meant was repeating an attachment and health questionnaire after a ten week interval. So short term but not very long term. The intention was to investigate a link between attachment style and health as a reflection of how illness was experienced growing up and how this may have influenced their attachment styles. Declercq and Willemsen (2006) investigated attachment style and post-traumatic stress disorder in professionals in high risk occupations. More recently, attachment researchers have focused on adult attachment and affect regulation. Mikulincer and Shaver (2008) in a review of the social psychology literature in this area note that:

> social psychologists who study normal adults take the developmental literature on attachment for granted but we rarely study actual links between childhood attachment and emotional regulation processes in adulthood (Mikulincer and Shaver 2008, p 526).

Schore, in the same year (2008) suggested that more strides within attachment theory had been made by linking the theory with affect and Fonagy's mentalization to produce a

conceptualisation of development as affect regulation and therefore self-regulation. This linking has gone further by creating a 'biopsychosocial perspective …that operate at the unconscious psychobiological core of the intersubjective context, the brain-mind-body-environment relational matrix out of which each individual emerges' (Schore, 2008, p 10). This relational matrix being the child and caregiver. He also asserts that what this means is that the affect regulatory function of the mother-infant dyad 'acts as an essential promoter of the development and maintenance of synaptic connection' of brain development in the infant that goes beyond the mother, child relationship as protector and protected from danger (2008, p 10). The methodology used in such studies utilises functional magnetic resonance imaging that is too far outside the realm of this study for me to comment on further.

 A brief over view of assessments tools and how they have been employed in attachment research follows.

Forced Choice

Shaver and Hazan (1987) employed a forced choice self-report measure of attachment style and love relationships in two samples N= 620 and N= 108 drawn from a questionnaire in a local newspaper and undergraduates respectively. The participants were asked to choose which of three descriptions of attachment styles drawn from the literature, and based on the Main's ABC model, that they considered best fitted them and they were then asked to choose which paragraph best fitted their feelings in close relationships. There did appear to be some correlation between how they saw their attachment style. For example, in the first study, '56% classified themselves as secure…. 25% as avoidant …19% as anxious ambivalent and similar results were found in the second sample. The limitations of this study were that the participants focused on one relationship and circumstance rather than any of the other relationships they may have had which may or may not have prompted the same response. Further, this forced choice method asked participants to 'choose from complex alternatives'

covering a range of themes (Feeney & Noller, 1996 p 47). The responses tended to be brief and may have reflected that respondents had perhaps not had sufficient romantic experiences to answer the self- report with self -reflective or integrated knowledge. The advantage of forced choice measures is that they are quick and easy to administer (Feeney & Noller, 1996) but as Belsky (2002) states there is no direct evidence that romantic attachment styles stem from differential parent–child attachment relationship histories.

Likert Rating Scales

In attachment studies, Likert rating scales have been used to investigate the extent of stability of attachment. The Likert rating scale is commonly used to rate 'mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories' ranging from either strongly agree to strongly disagree in a three-item scale or three either side of a neutral category if seven items of choice are given (Wilson, 1996 p 101).

These studies have mostly used college students, couples about to marry and a 'four - year follow- up of a sample of newspaper respondents' (Kirkpatrick & Hazan, 1994). The results were that there was stability of attachment style across time spans of 75% females and 80% males. However, the wording of the attachment styles presented to them may also have influenced how people responded (Feeney & Noller, 1996 p 41).

Questionnaires

Stein, Koontz, Fonagy, Allen, Fultz, Brethour, Allen & Evans (2002) used a range of questionnaires in examining whether they could find the underlying dimensions of attachment style in people. The measures used were; Revised Adult Attachment Scale; 17-item Adult Attachment Scale; Relationship Questionnaire; Relationship Scales Questionnaire; Attachment Style Questionnaire. They noted that: 'confusion remains about what the questionnaires actually measure: adult attachment behaviours or expectations and wishes

about forming relationships, an individual trait present across most relationships or a state of mind that is at least partly relationship-specific' (p 78). They found that there was very little correspondence between measures and only two respondents indicated that they had a stable attachment style. They suggested that participants reporting feelings about relationships whether close or in general 'may force them to alter or average their expectations or responses in more socially acceptable ways (2002, p 87).

Pottarst and Kesslern (1982) developed the Attachment History Questionnaire and Armsden and Greenberg (1989) the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment. A further two measures of attachment developed by West & Sheldon- Keller (1982); the Reciprocal Attachment Questionnaire for Adults and the Avoidant Attachment Questionnaire for Adults. However, these latter measures do not capture the patterns of attachment as measured in the strange situation procedure which is considered to be the means of validation for the Adult Attachment Interview (Hesse, 1999, 2008; Crowell, Fraley, & Shaver, 2008) and therefore deemed to be less reliable as measures of attachment. A further criticism of self-report instruments is that they are unable to assess 'unconscious or automatic processes' (Gjerda, Onishi, & Carlson, 2004). As Crittenden, (1997) and many others note, as with any measure, there is a requirement that measures of attachment need to be reliable and valid. 'While self - report measures can reliably capture conscious feelings and perceptions about relationships, they cannot access factors outside conscious awareness' (Crowell & Treboux, 1995).

Projective tests.

Mikulincer and Shaver (2008) found in a review of studies, that self-report measures of adult attachment such as the Rorschach test, lexical decision tasks and the Separation Anxiety test, do tap into aspects of unconscious processes, although how or why such measure operate remains unclear. Such tests reveal striking examples of disorganization not found in for example, Main and Goldwyn's adult attachment interview where the information revealed

about disorganized states is more subtly revealed. Interestingly, Ainsworth worked on a revision of the Rorschach test in Toronto prior to joining Bowlby in 1953 (Main, 1999).

Observational methods

Robson (1993) has stated that there are 'two polar extreme types' of observation. One is the participant observer in which the observer is present in the interaction and the other a structured observation where observation is from the outside; that is, the observer is not present (Robson,1993, p 190).

In attachment research, observational methods have generally been used for observing children and their care givers such as in the Strange Situation Procedure which was developed following Ainsworth's studies with African families (Ainsworth, 1978). Between 1950 and 1953, Ainsworth was a research assistant with Bowlby and a co-worker of Robertson, who impressed Ainsworth with his 'natural manner of note-taking and remarkable observational skill' (Main, 1999 p 683) having been trained in methods of observation by Anna Freud (1965) for the Hampstead nursery studies.

In research on adults, a standard couple-observation methodology has also been used to observe how adults relate to each other when problem solving. In such studies, two sets of coders blindly and independently score video recordings of the behaviour observed.

One benefit of observational methodologies is they allow behaviour to be observed that may not be reflected in what is said and also allow people to express themselves in ways that may be inhibited by speech but there remains the difficulty of participants knowing that they are being observed leading to demand effects where people may change their behaviour as a consequence of being observed from how they present in other situations (Díaz, Jimenez-Buedo &Tiera (2015). Zizzo (2008) pointed out however, that reducing this risk to zero is very difficult to achieve and that experiment demands effects may have to be worth the risk. The observed results may also be filtered by the perception of the observer (Sapsford & Jupp,

1996). In psychoanalysis, observation of the client has been used since Freud (1896) and involves the transferential and counter-transferential relationship, thus the observed influences the observer and vice versa and what we see is not always what is there, to paraphrase Hinshelwood (2013) thereby complicating the process of observation and to paraphrase Freud, (1938), there is no clear observation when the observer is conducting the observation. It is better perhaps to see the psychoanalytic process as a subjective one rather than objective which takes us back to transference; how a person transfers a model of relationships onto another and counter-transference; the feeling response of the other. Indeed, knowing this is helpful to the assessment of attachment styles Szajnberg & Crittenden (1997) as procedural memory (to be explained below on page 97) is reflected in the relationship between interviewer and interviewee.

Although the above measures seem to have intuitive appeal and, in some cases, findings of adult attachment style have been related to major infant attachment styles (Campos, Barrett, Lamb, Goldsmith, & Stenberg 1983; Bartholomew & Shaver, 1998). They are open to the criticism that such methods of investigation may lead to response sets such as social desirability and experimenter demand as mentioned above. Factor analysis has been applied to bring out themes of attachment style but because different studies used different factors, this was not successful.

In my opinion, questions and measures mentioned above are likely to be responded with conscious awareness of what is socially desirable or how they would like to portray themselves at the time of questioning and therefore not reveal the more unconscious aspects of how people relate to others, as a consequence of the attachment process of which they may not be aware.

Interviews

Given the caveats above, Hughes, Hardy & Kendrick (2000) suggest therefore that one of the

most valid ways of assessing attachment is the narrative technique found in interviewing. Robson (1993) considers that interviews are 'conversations with a purpose' and include a wide range along a dimension 'from totally structured to completely unstructured' depending on intentions and actions of the enquirer' (p 229).

Powney & Watts (1987) distinguish between respondent interviews and informant interviews. The former is intended to be dictated by the interviewer's agenda while the latter allows the interviewee to speak more freely about their perceptions. It is suggested that the distinction derives from the historical approach of structured interviews used in survey research and that of clinical interviews.

Hollway & Jefferson (2000) draw a distinction between question and answer interviews and narrative approaches in which the interviewer's responsibility is to be a good listener and the interviewee is a story teller rather than a respondent (p 31). This is usually the methodology applied in psychoanalytic case studies where meaning is looked for in the story people tell about themselves. One of the problems with this can be that people's memories can be selective and informed by their own perceptions which may differ from others who were there at the time. The value however, is in considering how a person may defend themselves from painful experiences through exploring the themes that emerge. Hollway & Jefferson (2000) argue that these interviews, based on free association, reveal contradictions, avoidances etc. that allow analysts 'to pick up on incoherencies' (p 37). This can then be thematically analysed to reveal psychodynamic material.

In attachment research, Crowell Fraley & Shaver (1999) state that narrative measures of assessment that include interviewing were derived from observations based within naturalistic settings and based on the view that behaviour and mental representations are reflected in language. Potter & Hepburn, (2005) also describe such interviews as 'conversational, active, qualitative, open- ended or even sometimes …semi-structured' and that they are almost taken as read as the method of choice as an alternative to standard

experimental research (p 282).

Of concern for Potter & Hepburn, (2005) is that the collection of data has focused on interviews as providing facts and that interviews and have been said to reveal a person's authentic emotional experience without evidence that this is the case. Hollway & Jefferson, (2000) note that social science research has often made basic assumptions that questions will be perceived by everyone in the same way and that the responses can be categorised producing standardisation that can be measured and quantified when is not actually the case. Potter & Hepburn (2005) indicated that the interaction between interviewer and interviewee would need to be considered before standardisation could be considered. Often research interviews have taken extracts out of context to support the interviewer's point, pauses have been omitted and reactions of the interview omitted. All this leads to an inadequate evaluation of the material gathered through interviews. Potter &Hepburn (2005) gave three factors that they believe are necessary for good research when using an interviewing methodology. These are briefly:

1)The inclusion of the interviewer needs to be acknowledged as they had a role to play in the construction of the interview session. For example, in some analyses of interviews, a block of speech is presented which has been constructed with the interviewer that have aspects of the interview collapsed together with the interviewer's speech missing. Further, no matter what the analytic approach and reason for the interview may be, inferring things appropriately from interviews involves understanding what is going on in them interactionally. 'Such analysis is rarely done with any degree of seriousness in current interview research, and where it is, the analysis often highlights just how much the interviewee's talk is a product of specific features of the interview' (Potter & Hepburn, 2005, p 300).

2) The interpretation of the interview needs to be made explicit in the research. In addition, interview transcripts are very hard to analyse well. Generally speaking, attention needs to be

paid to the practical role of the language used in order to fully understand what is going on in qualitative interviews.

3) Although qualitative interviews are considered to be rather easy to deliver, and are often conducted with no training, but are in fact very hard to do well.

Hughes, Hardy & Kendrick (2000) found that there was 'insufficient evidence to suggest that it is possible to assess adult attachment status using clinically-orientated interviews' (p 279) compared to the interview schedule devised specifically to assess attachment style known as The Adult Attachment Interview; the gold standard in adult attachment research that will be discussed in the next section.

Miller-Bottome & Daniels (2017) developed the Patient Attachment Coding System (PACS) to track 'specific patterns of interpersonal behaviour enacted by the clients in session' (p 150) and suggest that a coded transcript of a therapy session can reveal the attachment strategy of a patient without the need to talk about threatening topics such as trauma and loss. This would make sense and in light of this, one could expect that the Patient Attachment Coding System (PACS) promoted by Talia (2014, 2017) to be a useful measure of attachment styles as it has been stated to have strong inter-rater reliability and a high convergent validity with AAI classifications (Talia, Miller-Bottome and Daniel 2017). However, the PACS specifically excludes an 'Unresolved classification since it was expected that, as in the AAI coding system, the occurrence of its indices may depend upon there being a discussion of loss and trauma' (Talia et al., 2017, p 160). Loss and trauma lie at the heart of this study and so I considered that the AAI was a better measure to use as the questions related to loss, trauma and other dangers are specifically asked about ensuring a response of some sort indicating the triggering of a resolved or unresolved trauma in relation to maternal deprivation in particular and other potential traumatic events.

In summary, Riggs, Sahl, Greenwald, Atkison, Paulson & Ross, (2007) suggest that 'the bulk of the literature on adult attachment consists of studies using self-reports because they require less effort, less time, and less expense'. However, they state that:

> the validity of self- reports has been questioned by developmental researchers. Skepticism regarding the ability of individuals to reliably report on their own attachment styles may be particularly justified in the case of self-dismissing avoidant adults, who defensively exclude attachment-related information from awareness (p 265).

Against this background, I argue next for the use of the Adult Attachment Interview.

The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI)

First, I will give a brief history of the context in which the AAI was developed and subsequently applied.

Freud of course first brought to attention that assessing 'verbal activity …. was of an aim in itself rather than a means by which doctors obtain information' and that verbal expression must be given to affect (Goldman-Eisler, 1958, p 59). Goldman-Eisler was supervised by Freud in her work on developing a psycho-linguistic interview for psychiatric patients. She considered that 'the act of speech is a meeting-ground for functions and activities of the organism (mental and physiological) at all levels. Speech production is achieved through the coordination of muscular, respiratory and neural activities on the one hand and of cultural, intellectual and emotional forces on the other' (1958, p 60).

She stated that speech carried with it 'meaning derived from a variety of sources, unconscious, developmental, historico-cultural', and that 'speech is a process by which the complex web of intra- and inter-organismic relations is externalised'. Further, speech is 'the only window through which the psychologist may view the dynamic patterning woven of motivating, controlling and environmental forces' (p 60). Her work indicated that high rates of breathing correlated with excitation and long pauses with down regulation of emotion. This

related to the expression of speech as a means of 'discharge of affect' (Goldman-Eisler, 1958 p 72). This discharge of affect is also considered when assessing attachment classifications as high breathing rates equate with the attachment strategies of Type C and down regulation of breathing and therefore emotion, with Type A (Crittenden, 2011 p 271) as will be discussed in the following chapter.

Ainsworth's PhD student Mary Main, began her career with an interest in psycho-linguistics but ironically, as she spoke very little in seminars upon which her course grades were dependent, she was not accepted onto her first choice of course to continue her interest in psycho-linguistics and she reluctantly agreed to study attachment on the basis that researching infants may lead to studying their language acquisition (Main, 1999).

Following observational work with infants, and the development of the Strange Situation Procedure referred to in chapter four, she, together with Goldwyn and Hesse developed and refined the semi-structured Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) that aimed to explore the attachment styles of adults using discourse analysis. The seminal work which projected the AAI into prominence was the work by Main in 1985 published as 'Security in Infancy, childhood and Adulthood: A Move to the Level of Representation'. This enabled attention to move from observational studies of infants and mothers to the analysis of narrative discourse and subsequent clinical work with adults. The AAI was a continuation of the early childhood work in that there was found to be a remarkable amount of overlap between the attachment styles of parental AAIs and the infant's response to that parent in the strange situation procedure that assessed a child's attachment to its' mother (Main, Hesse, & Goldwyn, 2008).

Just as Goldman-Eisler discovered in 1958 and 1972, Hesse, (2008) found that lapses in reasoning or speech occurred when people spoke of abuse or loss and further, that lapses in speech could be 'attributed to the arousal of and interference from partially dissociated fear connected with the experience under discussion (Main, Hesse & Goldwyn, 2008, p 33). Thus,

coherence of mind and speech is considered to be indicative of whether a speaker can be classified as insecure or secure. In the AAI, the task for the interviewee is to respond fairly quickly to questions which may never have been asked before about meaningful relationships and at the same time, keep track of what has earlier been said in order to present a coherent conversation with the interviewer. The failure in coherence and resultant dysfluence, contradictions, inconsistencies, exceptionally long or short answers or those difficult to follow, indicate insecurity. This discourse analysis was based on the linguistic philosopher Grice (1975) who proposed that what is coherently spoken should fit the maxims of quantity, quality, relevance and manner.

Whether used for research or for clinical work, one of the aims of the AAI is to 'surprise the unconscious' (George cited by Steele & Steele, 2008, p 8) by drawing on Tulving's (1972) highly researched distinction between episodic and semantic memory about events from early childhood onwards. The events asked about are invariably emotionally laden, rarely talked about and often out of conscious awareness and reactivate the attachment system in the interviewee's past.

Through the adult discourse of past events, the pattern of relating between the child and their attachment figures is revealed, coded and then classified into what Main considered to be indicative of either insecure or secure attachment styles. Someone with a secure attachment style would, through their procedural discourse, have semantic memories which fit coherently with episodic memories of childhood revealing psychodynamicaly the 'coherent integration of preconscious and conscious layers of mind' (Steele & Steele, 2008, p 9). Coherence or incoherence of speech and mind are central to revealing whether or not, painful material from the past is hidden from conscious awareness.

The AAI is the most widely used interview schedule for the assessment of attachment styles and was validated by links between 'parents' attachment patterns as assessed by the

Adult Assessment Interview and their children's attachment type as assessed in childhood

using the strange situation procedure (Main, Hesse & Goldwyn, 2008). It is therefore

considered, in attachment research, to be 'the most accepted procedure for assessing

attachment (Steele & Steele, 2008, Lyons-Ruth, Melnick, & Hobson, 2007). The AAI is

also considered to be a method of assessing attachment in terms of an adult's 'current state of

mind' (Steele, it is also said to have built a bridge between attachment theory and clinical

work which is where Bowlby's attachment theory started and taps into the concept of working

models that 'operate at least partially outside of awareness' (Crowell, Fraley, & Shaver, 2008

p 603). In further support of this approach, Gullestad (1996), advocated the AAI as a useful

measure of change for psychoanalysis, providing a clinical measure for outcome research in

psychoanalysis which needs valid and reliable methods of capturing personality dimensions

that are relevant and meaningful for psychoanalysis.

According to Sroufe, the AAI is a rich instrument 'deeply embedded in the work of

John Bowlby and Mary Ainsworth'. A major 'strength of the AAI is that it was developed

within a normative developmental context' (2008 p xii). Which then 'exhibited a powerful

impact on research and practice'. Then more importantly, 'the AAI and the attachment field in

general, remind us that we are a social species that our humanness develops within a

relational context' (p xii). Steele & Steele (2008) state that the appeal of the AAI was and is,

that it captures the kind of information sought by clinicians regarding the kind of relationship

the adult experienced in childhood with their parents or other attachment figures including

how they negotiated separation, illness and loss. In other words, the AAI is said to capture

Bowlby's focus on the danger and threat that potentially creates disturbed children who then

present with disturbances in adulthood. This reflects both their internal working model of the

world and their states of mind.

The AAI in Freudian terms, could 'be seen as designed to test the ego's flexibility and

strength' (Steele & Steele, 2008 p 9). It consists of a series of questions and probes designed

to elicit an account of childhood from which inferences can be drawn about the individual's childhood attachment experiences and evaluations of the effects of those experiences on present functioning. A brief description of the AAI follows in order to orientate the reader:

Interviewees are asked to describe their relationship with their parents during childhood and to provide specific episodes to support generalized semantic memories. Once the interviews are transcribed and coded, the resulting classification reflects the coherence between what is remembered and how the interviewee speaks about their past, either clearly or dysfluently. The interviewer then asks questions about painful childhood experiences, explanations of their parents' behaviour and to give an account of their present relationship with their parents and how their childhood experiences have affected their current behaviour and their own ability as parents. Further questions range from why they believe their attachment figures behaved as they did, to how they feel their childhood experiences have affected their adult personality and romantic relationships as adults and how they feel about separation and loss of partners, children or other attachment figures. The interview concludes with questions about what they would do differently or the same with their own children either current or in the future. Once transcribed, the interview is coded by people trained in annotation and classification and have reliability.

A disadvantage of the AAI however, is that administration can typically take one and a half hours and coding requires in-depth training lasting at least three years or at least one hundred coded transcripts (Crittenden, 2005, 2011).

An advantage of the AAI is that the interviewee has the opportunity to be listened to, something which has been embedded in psychoanalysis since Freud began documenting the therapeutic process. There is less free association though as the interview has a semi-structured exploratory style. There is no linking made between contradictions in the discourse and no follow up probes such as "I wonder what comes to mind when you say that". This may feel like a more formal approach than a clinician or researcher is used to, but it keeps the

interviewee focused and helps build a therapeutic alliance as studies cited by Steele & Steele (2008, p 14) have demonstrated. Further, the process of the AAI appears to engage the speaker in a more powerful experience than they anticipated, consistent with Freud and Janet's early approaches (Main & Goldwyn, 2008, p 35) and in clinical settings, the client's responses to the questions to the AAI can provide 'an improved understanding both of transference and countertransference reactions' (Steele & Steele, 2008, p 26). This relationship with the interviewer is revealed through memory which has embedded within it, strategies such as avoidance, ambivalence or even a way of relating that demonstrates a sense of inner security.

Surprising the unconscious also reveals how people respond to loss and other traumatic experiences. The AAI specifically asks about loss of an attachment figure such as parent, grandparent, sibling, teacher, or anyone else who provided that role for the interviewee. The focus on loss reflects Bowlby's (1973, 1979) view that loss is a great threat to survival and reproductive success and 'are the hardest to come to terms with' (Steele & Steele, 2008, p 17).

Questions about attachment figures other than parents are also asked. This is because other positive relationships can often help ameliorate the effects of un-attuned parenting and this relationship may have been one which helped the interviewee form a more secure sense of self than may otherwise have been the case. The discourse reflects this by demonstrating a more fluent story with the perspective of the self and other as (Type B), rather than a dysfluent, dismissing (Type A) or an involving (Type C) perception of relationships.

Similarly, trauma as a result of abuse is asked about in the AAI and when unresolved, both loss and trauma are revealed through lapses in metacognitive processing, with indications such as disbelief that the person in question has died or could have been an abuser. When asked about an unresolved traumatic event never before discussed, and suppressed, an interviewee may well be surprised by the impact it unconsciously had on their

life. The discourse markers reveal subtle clues as to how people have been affected by loss and trauma. Such clues are a preoccupation with the subject under discussion, stuttering, inappropriate laughing about the difficult event, failing to correct confusing statements, dismissing the self, use of highly emotive language or speaking of a deceased person as if they were alive. There can also be discourse which indicates self-blame for abuse and exoneration of others for the abuse suffered.

While Bowlby considered that motivation for survival was linked to the proximity to a protective safe haven, rather than Freudian instinctual drives, he continued to hold the psychoanalytic view that we actively keep information that could be detrimental to us, out of conscious awareness. Such defensive processes are evident in the AAI when the avoidant, Type A, interviewee claims that the relationship with the parent or parents was normal and that childhood was a happy experience but can provide no evidential memory in support. Painful memories are held out of conscious awareness and strategies such as parental idealisation, exoneration of parents and self-blame are presented; however, the details supporting this are unable to be recalled. A more preoccupied/ambivalent Type C response would tend to show anger and blame others for how they feel, while a person with a more secure attachment style, Type B, would be able to acknowledge the role they played in difficult childhood relationships.

A marker of a secure sense of self; Type B is evident in an AAI by the use an interviewee makes of metacognition, that is, thinking about one's own thinking and people considered to be secure can be coded either continuous secure or earned secure.

The concept of earned security derived from early training in the AAI when an interviewee had experienced poor parenting experiences but was nevertheless able to mark the differences in how people and situations were, compared to the current time (Hesse, 2008). That is, they had undergone a mental reorganising process 'by making personal effort to understand their developmental process and that of their parents' (Crittenden, 2011, p118).

Investigating differences between earned-secure, continuous-secure and insecure attachment styles, Roison, Padron, Sroufe & Egland (2002) used a 23-year longitudinal study of a high-risk sample drawn between the years of 1975 and 1977 in Minneapolis public health clinics. These were reported to be single parent families or did not have a stable male in the home, were ethnically diverse and living in poverty. They used the strange situation procedure (Ainsworth, Waters, & Wall, 1978) to assess the security of parent–child dyads at 12 and 18 months. Mother and infant 'were coded as secure when the infant used the parent as a secure base from which to explore and then upon reunion, the infants' interactions with their caregivers served to alleviate any separation distress that may have occurred. In non-secure dyads, the infants did not use parents as a secure base. The infants either avoided the caregiver upon reunion (avoidant) or, displayed distress that was not effectively alleviated (resistant)' (p 1209). Continuous-secures (Bs) were those classified such at both Strange Situation Procedure (SSP) and AAI conducted at age 23 years old. Earned-secures were those classified at SSP as insecure and secure at the time of the AAI, insecures were classified as such at both time periods.

According to Roison, 2007, those in adulthood classified as earned secures who had adverse childhood histories (but not as adverse as those coded insecure), were nevertheless vulnerable to depression but could not say if this was a consequence of difficult experiences in childhood or as a consequence of experiencing maternal depression as a function of 'across generation transmission of negative affect' (Roison, 2007, p 1206). Roison notes that at age 23 years, earned secures 'reported marginally more internalizing distress in adulthood than did continuous-secures' (p 1214). It is suggested that despite reports of difficult experiences in childhood, the earned-secures have nevertheless experienced caring by someone at some point who met their emotional needs. Indeed, Jacobvitz (2008) found that earned secures had spent more time in therapy than continuous or insecure participants so the caring person could well be their therapist. Alternatively, it may be that attachment to a spouse whose own

model of attachment is secure may be helping to ameliorate the effects of childhood (Pearson, Cohn, Cowan & Cowan,1994). Further, this provided them with an outlook and an ability to be resilient in the face of adversity. That is, an earned secure B attachment style.

In summary, as with all classifications, earned security can only be hypothesis but there is seemingly no evidence to dispute the possibility of moving from insecure to secure/balanced and those who have changed classification to earned secure are often better placed than others to deal with adversity as they have an internal working model that includes the idea that some people are more of a threat than a comforter. All these points indicate that the AAI is a useful tool for assessing the attachment strategies of both the boarding school and day school group.

Attempts at convergence

In recognizing the benefits of a combined approach, Shaver & Mikulincer (2002) argued for the combination of self-report measures of attachment, experimental social psychological research techniques together with a narrative approach such as the AAI. However, Crowell, Fraley & Shaver, (2008) advised that different measures of attachment are not interchangeable and therefore, assessments should be specific to the task. For example, where researchers intend to study relationships, then a measure such as Crowell's relationship specific self–report measure would be appropriate, whereas the AAI is a generalized assessment of a person's current state of mind with respect to attachment as 'inferred from narrative measures of experiences with parents during childhood' (p 624). Bartholomew's research into whether measures of adult attachment such as interview, Q-sort, or self-report differ or converge, found that although there were differences, 'the measures converge to varying degrees, especially when reliability and statistical power are sufficiently high' and that 'each of the currently used measures is associated with a sizable body of empirical findings inspired by and compatible with Bowlby and Ainsworth's attachment theory

(Bartholomew, 1998, p 18). These social psychology measures nevertheless fail in Bretherton's (2008) view to give a complete picture of someone's attachment style because neither interviews, projective tests nor observation can 'yield pure insights into a person's attachment style' (p 122).

Stemming from her developmental psychology position, Crittenden maintains her aversion to measures other than the AAI as, 'Unlike self-report measures that confine respondents to predefined responses and are vulnerable to both self-deception and wishful thinking, the AAI permits speakers to present themselves in their own voices'……….'unlike projective assessments that try to capture complexity through ambiguous stimuli'…..the AAI provides 'an opportunity to frame his or her perspective explicitly' and implicitly through the analysis of discourse. Further, 'the coding addresses subtleties of meaning that cannot be processed fully by either speaker or listener while actively participating in the interview (2011, p 363) While Hollway and Jefferson (2000) would agree with this, Miller, Hoggett, & Mayo (2008) argue that the interviewer cannot help but make interpretations and judgements and Crittenden acknowledges when delivering training in her AAI by asking what is one's initial feeling is in relation to the procedural relationship between interviewer and interviewee (personal communication, 2013). Thus, drawing on psychoanalytic ideas of transference and counter transference (Szajnberg, 1997).

Summary

Crittenden states that the DMM-AAI achieves both transparency and subtlety' (2011, p 363) and it is this approach that informs this study using Crittenden's adapted form of the AAI and her Dynamic maturational model. Crittenden's adapted AAI addresses one of the concerns that Bretherton & Munholland, (2008) raised, 'perhaps one can most fully access information about differences in the organisation of participants attachment working models by asking them to describe remembered or imagined (embodied and felt) interactions in specific

attachment relationships' (2008, p 122). Pat Crittenden's model of attachment, stemming from Bowlby's concern with protecting the child from danger is central to the research methodology of this study as separation from parents when sent to boarding school at a young age would indicate potential danger for the child and this model will be presented in the next chapter as the model to be used to evaluate such experience.

CHAPTER SIX: THE DYNAMIC MATURATIONAL MODEL OF ATTACHMENT

Introduction

In this chapter I explain why I consider the Dynamic Maturational Model (DMM) a more suitable model for this study than the Main and Goldwyn (1985) approach in exploring attachment styles. To this end, I have given some rather detailed description of the concepts that the DMM utilizes so I apologize to those who already have prior knowledge of this and to those who find it tedious but it is this detailed approach that gives the model its value. Not everyone would agree to its utility in assessing attachment styles however. As Holmes wrote of Crittenden's DMM, 'her circumplex model is not scientifically rigorous enough for the likes of … (names removed) etc., nor clinically relevant enough for people like … (names removed) even Holmes! (personal communication, 2014).

The DMM and Main & Goldwyn approach

Mary Main's work on the attachment process and assessment of it via the Strange Situation Procedure and the development of the AAI, is described in the previous chapter. Crittenden also researched the SSP and adult attachment but from the perspective of having worked with abusive families, Crittenden's concern was to focus on how a child survives in the face of danger as suggested by Goldberg, and as originally intended by Bowlby (1969). Crittenden (2011) states that 'Danger in the DMM is the central issue around which all strategies are constructed' (p 251). Such danger can include actual and threatened physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional neglect, rejection, abandonment and loss.   Further, Crittenden describes the DMM as an 'assessment of mental representations' that currently supported by Steggle's (2015) view, that mental representations and internal objects do both occur and co-exist in everyday life in relation to the external world, reaffirms Bowlby's attachment model of object relations.

The DMM also offers greater variation than Main's ABC+D model and according to

Crittenden (2011), has generated enough data over the last 25 years to indicate that the

ABC+D model is not sufficiently adequate to assess the range of psychological presentations

in adults. The data available on the DMM include numerous studies of children in infancy

and in the preschool years, with emerging data in the school years and adolescence. Research

studies in support of this are cited in appendix B.

Here it seems sensible to quote Crittenden's (2011) description of the differences

between hers and Main and Goldwyn's approach:

> The intent of the DMM method is to describe the self-protective strategies and
>
> patterns of mental processing of speakers; the intent of the Main and Goldwyn
>
> method is to predict infants' patterns of attachment. The set of outcome
>
> classifications is larger in the DMM method and permits greater differentiation
>
> among individuals with psychological disorders than the set of classifications used by
>
> the Main and Goldwyn method…. The DMM method uses six compulsive Type A
>
> strategies (A3–8) and six obsessive Type C strategies (C3–8), plus a full array of
>
> combinations of these. In the Main and Goldwyn method, most non-normative
>
> individuals fall in three classifications (E3, U/E3, and "Cannot Classify") … The
>
> DMM method depends on patterns within and among memory systems, whereas the
>
> Main and Goldwyn method depends on ratings of constructs. …The DMM method
>
> uses the function of discourse markers to define meaning, whereas the Main and
>
> Goldwyn method assigns meanings to discourse markers… The DMM method
>
> systematically assesses six memory systems (procedural, imaged, semantic,
>
> connotative language, episodic, and reflective integration (explained under the
>
> heading Memory systems below), whereas the Main and Goldwyn method considers
>
> three (semantic, episodic, and working).…. In the DMM method, there are six
>
> modifiers (depressed, disoriented, reorganizing, intrusions of negative affect,
>
> expressed somatic symptoms, and unresolved with regard to trauma or loss), with 14
>
> different forms of lack of resolution of trauma or loss (dismissed, displaced, blocked,
>
> denied, delusionally repaired, preoccupied, vicarious, anticipated, imagined,

suggested, hinted, delusionally vengeful, depressed, and disorganized); the Main and

Goldwyn method has only preoccupied lack of resolution of loss or trauma. The

validity of the DMM method is primarily based on clinical samples and

differentiation among disorders; validity for the Main and Goldwyn method is

primarily based on normative samples and prediction from mothers to infants

(Crittenden, 2011, P 332).

To further clarify how the two systems differ, Baldoni, Minghetti, Craparo, Facondini, Cena, & Schimmenti (2018) compared the Main & Goldwin and DMM systems of classifying transcripts. Using a four-way analysis, they were unable to find any significant association between the two classification systems. They offered the explanation that while both systems 'refer to mental representations of attachment' (p 11), they do so in different ways. The M&G model attachment system refers more to the analysis of discourse to identify states of mind with respect to attachment, whereas the DMM is more focused on the function of the attachment strategies and how they are displayed in the use of cognitive and affective information.

Other notable researchers in the world of attachment such as Izendoorn, Bakermans, Steele & Granqvist (2018) have objected to the DMM as inadequate for use in court decision making in cases of child abuse. They argue that Crittenden's assertion that the DMM is superior in assessing cases of maltreatment in children is dangerous on the basis that interrater reliability is only at '59% across the six main DMM attachment categories' (Izendoorn, Bakermans, Steele & Granqvist, 2018, p 2) and these were Crittenden's own findings. Other criticisms include the continuing development of the DMM as representing a threat to research data in that it would need to be updated as new classifications are revealed.   In response to this, Crittenden and Spieker (2018) were quite clear that neither model provide evidence of maltreatment by dint of the attachment classifications. Crittenden and Spieker (2018) also state that reports written for court hearings require assessment in the round, that is with other family members and the family context taken into account; that is family history and other professional reports. Crittenden and Spieker (2018) also clarified that the figure of

59% reliability was indeed a major limitation of the research findings at the time in 2010 but that since then the requirement for coders is to have 80% reliability for a level 2 coder. This, together with emerging classifications over time was seen by Critten and Spieker (2018) as 'learning from past experience and improving procedures for the future' (p 649). Indeed, the ABC classification system 'was always intended to be open to extension to capture newly noticed behaviour patterns and data from new populations' (Waters, Bretherton &Vaughn, 2015, p xxxi). Crittenden also offered to work in collaboration with researches using the Main approach but this offer was not taken up.

Thomson and Jaque (2017) found by using the Main and Goldwyn AAI and classification system, that despite some having more than four adverse childhood events, (ACE), there were 51.4% of 'highly exposed individuals' classified as secure. They explained this high number by suggesting that:

> this may be related to a combination of attachment security, college education, and engagement in meaningful activities. Moreover, adversity may actually encourage the cultivation of more social support, goal efficacy, and planning behaviours; factors that augment resilience to adversity (p 262).

It is my opinion that a different explanation is warranted such as that the M&G classifications are less discriminatory than the DMM that has a greater range of possible classifications and 'flexibility to account for the complexity of human behaviour' (Crittenden, 2011, p 363) and that a review of 10,000 M&G AAIs found considerable overlap between secure and insecure assessments including 'some cases of maltreatment, psychiatric hospitalisation and violent criminality' (Crittenden, 2011, p 6). This suggests to me that the findings of Thompson & Jaque (2017) may be unreliable in asserting that 51.4 % of their participants were secure despite the high number of adverse childhood experiences.

Barnes, Woolgar, Beckwith, & Duschinsky (2018), support the greater detail and breakdown of classification in the DMM in applying attachment in clinical work:

> The attachment disorder diagnosis has seen quite widespread application—perhaps too widespread, with loose application of an unspecified "attachment disorder" classification causing confusion within clinical formulation and diagnostic practices (2018, p 38).

On the basis that the DMM classifies attachment strategies in response to danger, it seemed appropriate to use this model in the assessment of boarding school participants response to the danger both explicit and implicit in being sent away from home at a young age.

Main's attachment classifications of secure B, dismissing A, preoccupied C, disorganized D and cannot classify were considered by Crittenden (2008) to be inadequate given the extensive work she had undertaken with severely maltreated children having seen how dangerous situations had affected them and consequently, Crittenden modified the Adult Attachment Interview and introduced changes to the coding and classifications, thereby devising a life-span model of attachment that is circular that also gained Ainsworth's approval (Crittenden, 2014, personal communication). The attachment styles maintain Bowlby's and Ainsworth's classifications of A avoidant, C preoccupied and B balanced albeit in greater detail as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Circular model of the Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment.
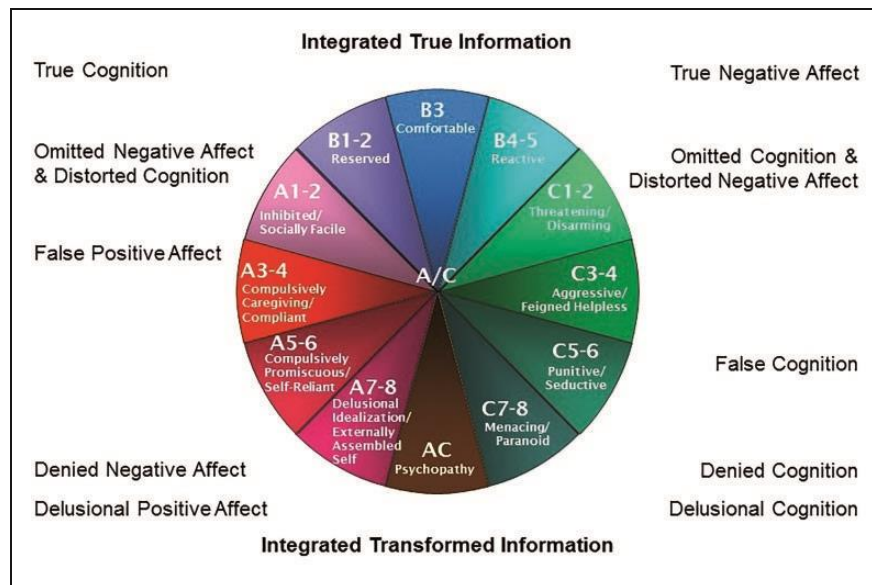
The DMM/AAI focuses on self-protective strategies without the assumption that the M&G model holds, that children replicate their parental attachment style (Ainsworth 1979); a Type C parent can produce a Type A child as explained later. The DMM also differs from the M&G model in that it does not support the concept that patterns of attachment are predictable across circumstances or that they are culturally static (Crittenden, 2000), rather the DMM advocates that context has a dynamic impact. Further, there are cultural differences in attachment and that this is a particularly difficult aspect to assessment when assessing attachment strategies of people who have cultures different to our own (Crittenden, 2000) Further, whereas Main's ABC+D model is categorical, the DMM describes patterns that vary dimensionally along a cognition-affect continuum (Strathearn, 2014).

In testing the validity of the DMM, case discussion and case studies have been used as within the psychoanalytic tradition (Hinshelwood, 2013) to assess clinical utility before progressing to small studies of concurrent validity and on to comparative studies such as in this thesis. There are over thirty-six publications in six languages ranging from 1989 to 2018. Examples of such studies can be found in appendix B. While there are fewer empirical DMM

studies than Main's ABC+D model, the studies that have compared the two coding systems

have demonstrated that the DMM is better at differentiating risk from non-risk cases and

within risk cases and the DMM is better at differentiating cases on severity of disorder

(Crittenden, Claussen, & Kozlowska, 2007; Crittenden, Kozlowska, & Landini, 2010;

Crittenden, P.M., Kozlowska, K., & Landini, A. 2010, Spieker & Crittenden, 2010).

Concepts used in the DMM

In this section I will outline the major concepts used in the AAI/DMM including Crittenden's

use of the concepts of pre-conscious, information processing, memory systems,

transformations of information and dispositional representations. The intention is to

demonstrate the thoroughness of this approach and therefore its applicability to this study.

Further explanation of the technical terms and examples of how these apply to Type, A, B and

C can be found in appendix C.

a) Unconscious, pre-conscious and consciousness

In 1915, Freud wrote:

> we may say that in general, a psychical act goes through two phases as regards its
>
> state, between which is interposed a kind of testing (censorship). In the first phase the
>
> psychical act is unconscious and belongs to the system Ucs.; if on testing, it is
>
> rejected by the censorship, it is not allowed to pass into the second phase; it is then
>
> said to be 'repressed' and must remain unconscious. If, however, it passes this
>
> testing, it enters the second phase and thenceforth belongs to the second system,
>
> which we will call the system Cs. But the fact that it belongs to that system does not
>
> yet unequivocally determine its relation to consciousness. It is not yet conscious, but
>
> it is certainly capable of becoming conscious (to use Breuer's expression) that is, it
>
> can now, given certain conditions, become an object of consciousness without any
>
> special resistance. In consideration of this capacity for becoming conscious we also
>
> call the system Cs. the 'preconscious'. If it should turn out that a certain censorship
>
> also plays a part in determining whether the preconscious becomes conscious, we

shall discriminate more sharply between the systems Pcs. and Cs. For the present let it suffice us to bear in mind that the system Pcs. shares the characteristics of the system Cs. and that the rigorous censorship exercises its office at the point of transition from the Ucs. to the Pcs. (or Cs) (Freud, 1915, p173).

Sandler and Sandler's view (1984) was that:

although the past unconscious is active in the present and is stimulated by internal or external events occurring in the here-and-now, what we have termed the present unconscious is conceived of as a very different functional organization. Topographically, it can be regarded as a system lying between the past unconscious, on the one hand, and consciousness and motility, on the other. In many (but certainly not all) respects it corresponds to the system Preconscious of the topographical model or to the unconscious ego of the structural theory. Whereas the past unconscious acts and reacts according to the past, the present unconscious is concerned with maintaining equilibrium in the present and regards the impulse from the past unconscious as intrusive and upsetting'. Further, 'we have suggested, on the basis of clinical experience, that a similar second censorship can be postulated as lying between the present unconscious and consciousness (1984, p 372).

Crittenden prefers the term pre-conscious to unconscious or sub-conscious to emphasise that at times there is active removal from awareness of certain information that is too dangerous to even represent but the DMM does not institute a barrier between mental representations in awareness or non-awareness, believing they can be accessed via analysis of the discourse (Crittenden, 2005). She agrees that censorship occurs between the pre-conscious and conscious awareness. This censorship is enacted for example, through the pauses and stuttering or rambling of dysfluent speech. Thus, it is the patterning of speech markers rather than the content of the discourse that reveals the form of either a Type A: dismissive of self and taking responsibility for others actions or, Type C: speaking as if the past were being relived in the present and pre-occupied with the self. Crittenden's stance is that the psychoanalytic pre-conscious is surprised (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985) by the

questions in the AAI and that whatever is out of conscious awareness reveals itself through the discourse.

b) Information processing

Bruner (1990) stated that researchers began focusing on the processing of information rather than the construction of meaning once computers became prominent but Freud was already researching how information is processed in his 1895 Project for a Scientific Psychology. Freud's early interest in neuroscience was replaced by a more psychological approach following his abandonment of 'The Project' when according to Strachey in the editor's note to the standard edition 1915:

> Freud the neurologist was being overtaken and displaced by Freud the psychologist: it became more and more obvious that even the elaborate machinery of the neuronic systems was far too   cumbersome and coarse to deal with the subtleties which were being brought to light by 'psychological analysis' and which could only be accounted for in the language of mental processes (1915, p 163).

Strachey also notes that 'but much of what Freud had written in the 'Project' in terms of the nervous system now turned out to be valid and far more intelligible when translated into mental terms' (Freud, 1915, p 164).

While some psychoanalytic academics do not consider neuroscience applicable to psychoanalysis (Hinshelwood, 2017, personal communication), there is an increasing literature on this subject such as the Journal of Neuropsychoanalysis that seeks to explain how the brain processes information while linking that to Freudian theory.

In support of information processing as not just a cognitive/affective concept but also included within psychoanalysis, Weston (1988) re-analysed the concept of transference from an information processing point of view. The prototypes mentioned below sound rather similar to Freud's 'stereotype plate' (1912, p 100):

> The concept of "schema" has a long history, dating back to Piaget (1926) and
> Bartlett (1932), and it is currently being put to widespread use by social cognition

researchers (e.g., Taylor & Crocker, 1981). Within academic psychology, Cantor and Mischel (1979) have argued that people tend to form prototypes for categorization of classes of people, and that the more the characteristics of a given person fit prototypical features, the more likely the stimulus person is to be treated as a member of that class. Within psychoanalysis, object-relations theorists have similarly focused for decades on mental representations of social objects (Weston, 1988, p 165).

Further, he stated that in information processing, 'studies of social-cognitive development…. are clearly of relevance to object-relations theory' (p 165). Weston suggested that information processing can maintain the psychoanalytic concept of 'unconscious motivational processes and intrapsychic transformations without a problematic tension-release, drive-discharge model of motivation' (1988, p 162). He further argued that information taken in by one person clearly triggers transference reactions in others. However, Bruner (1990) argues that the shift from the construction of meaning to the processing of information has been detrimental to the understanding of people. Crittenden's view is that meaning is constructed from processed information and hidden from awareness in avoidant and preoccupied people but balanced/secure people are able to engage with reflective thought in the moment. Such people are 'actively engaged in the lifelong process of drawing meaning from experience' (2011, p 64). Thus, combining both the search for meaning as an end product and information processing as a means to that end.

c) Memory Systems

Memory is important for the understanding of attachment styles as how memories are recalled, or not, is indicative of either a Type A, B or C. The huge amount of research on memory that has been conducted has not only informed the DMM but has facilitated a link between Freud's 'memory trace' (1896) via Bowlby who was tutored and influenced by

Bartlett in the 1930s when engaged with the experimental methodology of psychology (1933), to Crittenden. All agreed that there is in general no guarantee of the accuracy of data produced by our memories (Crittenden, 2011) and that, as Freud wrote (1899):

> falsifications of memory are tendentious- that is, that they serve the purposes of the repression and replacement of objectionable or disagreeable impressions' …and have originated at a period of life when it has become possible for conflicts of this kind and impulsions towards repression to have made a place for themselves in mental life…..the falsified memory is the first we become aware of: the memory-traces out of which it was forged remains unknown to us in its original form (p 315, 322).

Prior to this in1897, Freud began a self-analysis that included 'problems concerning the operation of memory and its distortions, the importance and raison d'etre of phantasies, the amnesia covering our early years and behind all this, infantile sexuality' (1899, p 301). During his self-analysis, he found that he was able to recall unimportant events while forgetting important ones. The unimportant ones he called screen memories to denote their function in keeping painful memories out of awareness (Freud 1899). He further noted that some people were able to link memories, forming a chain. In the DMM, this is indicative of the attachment style of either Type A (emotionally avoidant) or B (balanced/secure). Both recall information with good temporal order. Type Cs confuse time and place and speak in the present about past events in chaotic order, thus breaking the chain of events.

Freud stated that memories because they can screen off unwanted thoughts and feelings are important because they are motivated by two powerful forces, hunger and love (1899). Crittenden (2010, 2011) would add exposure to the risk of danger to this but all three are powerful and important for survival, both physical and psychological. Thus, memories are fundamental to the DMM as it is predicated on the idea that experiences in childhood that invoke fear, generate either the self-dismissing (Type A) or the exaggerating self-preoccupied (Type C) presentation. Much of the research into memory systems has been conducted in

laboratories and this has produced an understanding of the different type of memories used

Schacter (2000). Thus, attention to the function of memories first highlighted by Freud

continues to engage psychologists today.

As a reminder to the reader, the DMM utilizes all five memory systems: procedural,

episodic, imaged, semantic and integrative memory. In addition, connotive exaggerated

language expresses how memories are re-experienced, usually by Type Cs and reflective

integration demonstrates the ability to integrate information from all memory systems; Type

Bs. In comparison, the Main and Goldwyn model considers only semantic, working and

episodic memory.

In Crittenden's AAI, the questions relating to sex and danger create arousal that

triggers a memory in that moment. As Freud said 'our childhood memories show us our

earliest years not as they were but as they appeared at later periods when the memories were

aroused…. the childhood memories did not, as people are accustomed to say, emerge; they

were formed at that time. And a number of motives with no concern for historical accuracy

had a part in forming them' (Freud, 1899 p 322). It follows that memory and the act of

recollection is not the excavation of an archive but the transcription of past facilitations from

the activation of the present (Batch 2015). Byford & Tileaga (2016) expanded on this:

> As they remember and recount their experience, people draw on a host of available,
> shared cultural resources; they negotiate and try and persuade others in the veracity
> of a particular version of the past, or a particular version of themselves. They make
> their memories 'available' or 'unavailable' for public scrutiny; they attend to their
> own agency and accountability in troubling events and occurrences, they manage
> their claim to knowledge, and so on. (Byford &Tileaga, 2016 p 4).

This is the concurrent experience that is managed by interviewees during the AAI but is

revealed through the following.

- **Procedural memory**

According to Schacter & Tulving (1994), 'The procedural system is 'involved in learning various kinds of behavioural skills and algorithms, its productions have no truth representation of external states of the world, it operates at an automatic rather than consciously controlled level' (Shacter & Tulving, 1994 p 26). Learning to make appropriate responses to simple sensory stimuli has obvious biological utility to organisms at all stages of evolution and development (Tulving, 1995). In attachment terms, procedural memory provides the knowing how and what to do to stay safe.

Procedural and imaged memory (see below) are implicit, that is, out of conscious awareness and available from birth. Crittenden writes 'They operate pre-consciously and involve very rapid processing and are particularly relevant to cases of severe or self-threatening danger. Therefore, including them may be critical to the analysis of AAI transcripts of individuals who have experienced risk, especially risk occurring early in life' (2011, p 56). For example, recall, whether procedural or imaged reveals whether pre-conscious material has been dismissed by a Type A, or exaggerated; Type C or is available in a balanced reflective way; Type B.

When annotating transcripts, it is largely procedural memory that indicates an attachment style as it reflects the 'predominant past experience ….and also their most probable future behaviour' (Crittenden, 2011, p 57). Procedural memory has three aspects:

1) The relationship between interviewer and interviewee which Szajnberg, (1997) considers captures evidence of transference. To quote Freud in 1917 'We mean a transference of feelings on to the person of the doctor since we do not believe that the situation in the treatment could justify the development of such feelings. We suspect, on the contrary, that the whole readiness for these feelings is derived from elsewhere, that they were already prepared in the patient and, upon the opportunity offered by the analytic treatment, are transferred on to the person of the doctor' (p 442). Procedural memory reveals whether or not the interviewee has had difficulties with people in authority such as parents. That the speaker 'is telling one's inner thoughts and confessing wishes and deeds to someone in a position of authority and

with whom one has an asymmetrical relationship evokes various parental and other authority prototypes' (Westen, 1988, p 166). The interviewer is now in a position of authority despite best efforts to build a therapeutic alliance. When the speaker gives information in an engaged and cooperative manner, while expecting to be listened to in a supportive way, one can expect that this dispositional representation (Bowlby's working model) of relationships to be indicative of a Type B speaker. When the speaker is reluctant to discuss emotional relationships and gives an overly positive impression of childhood experiences while expecting rejection or censure, then a Type A speaker can be hypothesized. A Type C speaker talks about their past using involving discourse. They use a rush of arousing words to capture a listener's attention but it reaches no conclusion (Crittenden & Landini (2011).

2) As the discourse is more dysfluent when memories or transference relationships concern danger, procedural memory will hold a key to attachment styles as the conscious response attempts to keep unconscious memories suppressed. The dysfluencies are therefore indicators of the speaker's defensive strategy. Expressions of dysfluence suggest Freud's concept of parapraxis:

> Parapraxes are full-blown psychical phenomena and always have a meaning and an intention. They serve definite purposes which, owing to the prevailing psychological situation, cannot be expressed in any other way. These situations as a rule, involve a psychical conflict which prevents the underlying intention from finding direct expression and diverts it along indirect paths (Freud, 1913, p 167).

3) As the discourse in procedural memory is not consciously monitored there are 'spontaneous expressions of affect' (Crittenden, 2011, p 58) which belie the ability to manage the discourse. Examples of Type A include false positive affect, i.e. laughing when discussing a difficult topic, or the expression of open anxiety, anger or laughing at others misfortune. indicative of Type C.

- **Imaged memory**

This system is also implicit and consists of perceptual images of past experiences (Schacter &

Tulving, 1994). Images often reflect episodes of danger or safety and can reflect somatic states associated with anxiety or comfort as imagery and affect are closely linked.

In 2009, Manley wrote, 'By accessing affect through imagery, we are able to understand some of the hidden motivations in the way people think and act' (p 97). Images bring the past into the present such that an individual may respond to the image as if the past was in the present creating the need to distance themselves for example by talking about places rather than people *we were in the car and I remember the door handles and seat belts;* Type A or lose themselves in the memories as if they are reliving them as Type C do *I can just make their heads explode! Bam! I can make them suffer and squirm like I did!*

- **Semantic memory.**

This system develops in the second year of life This has both implicit (pre-conscious) and explicit (conscious) encoding and is conceptualized as a general verbal understanding of knowledge of the world organised around us. As Tulving wrote (1972) Semantic memory registers cognitive information from perception and thought and allows retrieval of information that was not directly stored in it. Thus, this is a memory 'system for receiving, retaining, and transmitting information about meaning of words, concepts and classification of concepts' (Tulving, 1972, p 402).

Pre-school children are vulnerable to distortions of semantic information because they are unable to comprehend complex information. There can then be a discrepancy between semantic memory and their procedural and imaged understanding. Children can learn that semantic information is false or unreliable and so do not process information further. If children are able to later articulate the discrepancy to a kindly person, they can develop healthy understandings of their world but frightened children either do not ask their parents or the parents do not answer honestly or take them seriously (Crittenden 2011). An example of Type C might be *and when she slapped me, that's when I knew I could never trust her again. I always felt unsafe around her after that.* A Type A child uses semantic memory to present

information in a positive way and takes responsibility in order to avoid punishment or rejection. *He asked me to get him some water and I waited and he died of a heart attack when I was four years old. I still blame myself.*

- **Episodic**

'Episodic memory is a neurocognitive (brain/mind) system, uniquely different from other memory systems, that enables human beings to remember past experiences' (Tulving, 2002). This is verbal memory based in time and place and consists of both cognitive and affective information. It is not available until about three years of age and requires guidance of an attachment figure to help encode the episode (Crittenden, 2011). When recalling an episode both what happened at the time of an event and how the person feels at the time of recall can be present as in Type C: *We'd go to the zoo every summer and she's going crazy again – I wanted to go to the beach but it rained of course. My dad wore his beach hat in the restaurant and mum shouts at him. We are all miserable after that.* Type As are generally unable to recall episodes or if they begin to, they cut them off in case they feel sad, fearful or angry; *my leg was bleeding from the fall and I got home and my mum was in the kitchen and she…well anyway...*

- **Source memory**

Source memory is important as a particular form of episodic memory that demonstrates the precise source of information that is encoded in place and time and allows valid recall as one's own episode rather than as a result of someone else's influence. When source memory is based in fact it allows one to distinguish between fact and fiction that is crucial for mental health. Episodes need to have intact source memory otherwise it becomes difficult to differentiate between day dreams, wished for or feared actions making delusional thought possible (Schacter, 1996). Freud related an account of a client who stated that in regard to a memory from childhood, 'I feel uncertain whether I have had the mnemic image from the beginning or whether I only construed it after hearing one of these descriptions' (1899 p 310).

Crucially, source memory is absent in preschool-age children which explains why they are vulnerable to 'false recall and acceptance of the statements of others as being truths for themselves. The distortions of truth passed to them by adults they trust, can cause them to fail to distinguish between 'phantasy and reality, to establish self-awareness, self-identity and self-relevance…key indicators of psychopathology' (Crittenden, 2011, p 62). If adults do not help children distinguish between reality and phantasy, they may be more vulnerable to overly rule bound or delusional thinking as adults.

D) Reflective Integration

When people are able to reflect on their own and others behaviour they make use of a reflective function skill that integrates past experiences and generalizes them to the present and future situations (Fonagy & Target 1997). It is an ability to integrate abstract and concrete information from the various memory systems that begins in adolescence and is not complete until the mid-thirties. Fonagy has contributed to the application of this to attachment theory through consideration of:

> The child's acquisition of reflective function, the tendency to incorporate mental state attributions into internal working models of self-other relationships, depends on the opportunities that he had in early life to observe and explore the mind of his primary caregiver (Fonagy, 2001, p 166).

Those such as Type Bs who are able to perform this process well, engage with thinking about thinking; i.e. metacognition such as noticing discrepancies in thought. However, when awareness is pre-conscious and consists of cognitive and affective threats to survival then integration is not possible as is found with Types A and C (Crittenden, 2008).

- **Connotive language**

Although this has not been identified as a memory system per se, Crittenden states that it operates alongside semantic and imaged memory and refers to language that is used to elicit affective states in others. Type Cs tend to use such arousing language as, it *was absolutely terrible and I couldn't believe how awful and frightening and it was, the worst thing ever.*

d) Transformation of information

Crittenden notes that survival of danger is required to reproduce the species. In order to do this, information from the external world is processed according to time, space (cognition) and intensity of arousal (affect) at the time of an event. As a survival strategy, when under threat, information about safety, danger and sexual possibility is transformed producing seven transformations of information. These are: truly predictive information, erroneously predictive information, distorted information, omitted information, false information, denied information and delusional information. The greater the threat to survival when growing up, the more extreme the transformations used in adulthood. The seven transformations of information and how they are utilized by the three attachment styles are described in appendix C.

e) Dispositional representations. (DRs)

The neuroscientist, Damasio (1994) introduced the concept of dispositional representations (DR) as a means of explaining how what is perceived from the external world is internalized via cognition and affect to generate self-relevant meanings. DRs are considered to be a more varied and refined version of Bowlby's internal working model (1969) in that they clarify the 'disposing to action function of representation' (Crittenden, 2008, p 92). They in effect prime a person in how to relate to others both consciously and unconsciously in the current and future time based on past experience. Bowlby described this when he wrote of a therapy session in which 'although the memory had been shut away from conscious processing, it continued to influence both what he thought and how he felt' and therefore how he acted (1988, p 104). Weston also asserts that 'the notion that people form representations of social and nonsocial objects and ideas is central to both cognitive psychology and psychoanalysis' (1988, p 164).

The Adult Attachment Interview reveals dispositional representations (DRs) of how people relate to people from infancy onwards as a consequence of experience. Crittenden's

use of memory systems to access the DRs underpins the reasoning for the use of the AAI as memories of attachment history are specifically asked about and as previously stated, the questions become increasingly uncomfortable as they surprise the unconscious (George, Kaplan, & Main, 1985), revealing a person's current disposition to react to the interviewer within their attachment style and thus contributing to the debate about the difference between the two groups.

Summary

While there continues to be a debate, mainly by psychoanalysts referred to in chapter four, about the similarities and differences between psychoanalysis and the clinical applicability and therapeutic approach of attachment theory, Fonagy argues that 'a more complete integration of psychoanalytic and attachment theory would demand that attachment researchers address areas of discrepancy and elaborate on their formulations in the direction of making them more compatible with a psychoanalytic framework' (2001, p 185). There is no doubt that the two theories, psychoanalysis and attachment theory, do agree on the importance of events in childhood. Freud wrote as early as 1899, that 'no one calls in question the fact the experiences of the earliest years of our childhood leave ineradicable traces in the depths of our minds' (p 303). This ineradicable trace informs the internal working model (Bowlby, 1969), or disposition to act (Crittenden, 2008, 2011), that the AAI aims to reveal through discourse analysis. This current chapter has set out to demonstrate a particular link between psychoanalysis via Bowlby's work on maternal deprivation to the current work of Crittenden who has brought Bowlby's psychoanalytic attachment theory concepts that include the preconscious, danger and sex, transference and suppression of painful memories, into the present day. The DMM of attachment incorporates the complexity of human beings assessed through the pattern recognition of discourse analysis. It is this approach that allows Main's Cannot Classify to be classified in the DMM. For the purposes of this study, the DMM/AAI

will be utilized to assess whether or not rejection from the family impacts on the attachment style adults display at the time of interview. For clarification, change of attachment style over time is not considered.

Freud wrote in 1899:

the processes of normal and pathological defence and the displacement in which they result are clearly of great importance but to the best of my knowledge no study whatever has hitherto been made of them by psychologists and it remains to be ascertained in what state of psychical activity and under what conditions they come into operation (p 308).

Given my original intention to study both middle class boarders and working class people who had been in care, the greater variety of attachment strategies provided by the DMM seemed appropriate as I thought that despite people from both socio-economic groups talking about rejection and abandonment as described in my introduction, there would be a greater difference in attachment strategies that the DMM would highlight. I then attended a two day presentation at the Tavistock Clinic in London and was impressed by the thoroughness of the approach in identifying different attachment styles or strategies for survival as Crittenden calls them. I then embarked on Crittenden's AAI/DMM training but as my approach had to change to interviewing both groups from middle class backgrounds, I continued with the training and found the detail of it illuminating in identifying difference between both the boarding school and day school groups, even given the same socio-cultural backgrounds, as will be described in chapter seven. On balance then, I chose the DMM because of its ability to discriminate more finely between types of attachment strategies.

It is my view that this study, by using both the AAI/DMM discourse analysis and psychoanalysis, Freud's work is continued by revealing the pathological defences of the participants in this research. The next chapter will present the methodology and findings.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE RESEARCH. THE AAI/DMM INTERVIEWS AND THE FINDINGS.

Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used, the hypotheses and research question and the findings of the research with some examples taken from transcripts by way of illustration. These findings will then be explored in the discussion chapter that follows.

The context for this study

> Intimate attachments to other human beings are the hub around which a person's life revolves, not only when he is an infant or a toddler or a schoolchild but through his adolescence and his years of maturity and on into old age (Bowlby, 1980, p 442).

This attachment begins from day one of birth and is relational as described by Winnicott, (1960), when writing that there is no child or mother but two of them together. A good enough attachment relationship will prepare the child well for what happens to it outside of that relationship having created a secure internal working model (Bowlby, 1988). Should the relationship be less than good enough, then a child with an insecure sense of self can be expected. These secure or insecure internal working models are carried forward into other relationships, albeit with modifications as a result of life experiences, good and bad, as described by Winnicott:

> In infancy, however, good and bad things happen to the infant that are quite outside the infant's range. In fact, infancy is the period in which the capacity for gathering external factors into the area of the infant's omnipotence is in process of formation. The ego support of the maternal care enables the infant to live and develop in spite of his being not yet able to control, or to feel responsible for, what is good and bad in the environment (Winnicott, 1960, p 586).

The purpose of this research is to focus on the loss of an attachment figure when the child is sent to boarding school compared with those children who remain at home with families of a similar socio-economic status. In Bowlby's terms, this is maternal deprivation (1979).

Ainsworth and Bowlby (1954) wrote that a researcher has a choice of assessing the effects of maternal deprivation. One is:

> to examine a sample of older children and adults who had the experience in their
> early years with a view to discovering whether or not they differ from a comparable
> sample who did not have that experience'……some of the principle difficulties with
> this 'are locating a suitable sample, selecting and examining appropriate controls and
> finding reliable instruments to measure the features of personality that are expected
> to show differences. An alternative approach is to study the child's responses at the
> time of and in the period immediately subsequent to the experience (p 59).

While Bowlby's research team did the latter, with the benefit of locatable samples and a reliable research tool, namely, The Adult Attachment Interview, this study will explore the first suggestion and allocate the participants to the attachment classifications as follows:

As a reminder to the reader, the DMM classification strategies utilise Ainsworth's 1979 classifications of A1-2, B and C1-2 together with the DMM expansions of B1-5, A3-8, C3-8 and A/C. The Type A strategy, as defined by Ainsworth, reflects self-dismissing processes used with rejecting and sometimes dangerous attachment figures. When talking about their histories in general, a Type A would dismiss their emotional experience, see only others perspectives and take responsibility and blame themselves for their parent's actions. To accomplish this, they need to avoid painful memories by failing to consciously remember events from the past. The Ainsworth Type C strategy reflects preoccupying processes used as a consequence of having unpredictable and sometimes deceptive parents. They take only their own perspective into account and have a coercive style whereby they complain about and blame others for how they feel. The Ainsworth Type B strategy reflects the integration of

dismissing and preoccupying processes in which irrelevant information is dismissed and relevant information is kept active. This usually occurs in the context of protective and comforting attachment figures. Type Bs use a mixture of both affect and cognition in a balanced way when recounting their histories demonstrating that they are able to see others' perspectives as well as their own. 'They are believed to have worked through their past negative attachment experiences or to have had secure experiences' (Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van Izendoorn, 1993, p. 2).

To assist the reader, as an example, a Type B child who was attacked when outside alone at night by a man in a red jacket would dismiss the information about the red jacket as irrelevant to future danger and retain the information about being outside alone at night. A child using a Type A strategy would dismiss the whole event or blame themselves completely, whereas a child using a Type C strategy would focus on red jackets as signals of danger and omit information about their own behaviour. Further, rather extreme examples from Crittenden (2008), taken from American Police statements of two women who murdered their children helps to clarify these last two strategies and these can be found in appendix D.

Instances of trauma will also be considered as a means of comparing the two groups. In 1893 Breuer and Freud described trauma as:

> Any experience which calls up distressing affects—such as those of fright, anxiety, shame or physical pain—may operate as a trauma of this kind; and whether it, in fact, does so depends naturally enough on the susceptibility of the person affected …. In the case of common hysteria, it not infrequently happens that, instead of a single, major trauma, we find a number of partial traumas forming a *group* of provoking causes. These have only been able to exercise a traumatic effect by summation and they belong together in so far as they are in part components of a single story of suffering. There are other cases in which an apparently trivial circumstance combines with the actually operative event or occurs at a time of peculiar susceptibility to

stimulation and in this way attains the dignity of a trauma which it would not

otherwise have possessed but which thenceforward persists (Breuer and Freud**,** 1893,

p 6).

In this study, a boarding school group was compared with a group from a similar

socio-economic background but who went to private day school. This approach is taken to fit

Crittenden's view that 'Adults in normative settings would be more often classified as B, A1-

2, and C1-2 than adults drawn from clinical settings' (2011, p 337). For the purpose of this

study, those sent to boarding school are considered not have experienced normative settings in

the way that the day school group has by living at home and that exposure to danger through

being sent to boarding school at a young age (up to the age of 13 years) will influence how

individuals respond to future danger. As Crittenden writes, 'When parents are protective and

comforting, children are kept safe while they learn to recognise and respond to danger. This

promotes gradual adaptation and brain development which is the basis of resilience in the face

of threat' (Crittenden, 2017, p 2) and produces children secure in themselves.

Of course, parenting that lacks protection, comfort and produces emotional neglect

for the child can occur in any family. However, it is my suggestion that rejection to boarding

school will have a negative impact on their attachments resulting in Type A attachment as,

following Crittenden, those who realise that complaining is futile, give up and seek to please

in order to gain affection and care (personal communication, 2014).

Research Design

Two groups of adults from similar socio-economic backgrounds, subsequently described,

assessed as to their attachment styles using the Adult Attachment Interview that allocates

attachment classifications through the specific manner of presentation of memories and

discourse from early childhood to the present day.

 1 group of adults sent to boarding school prior to 13 years old.

1 group of adults who remained at home and attended independent fee-paying day schools.

Hypotheses

1) Those sent to boarding school under the age of 13 years will experience the trauma of maternal deprivation resulting in a self-dismissing, 'A' insecure attachment style.

2) Those attending private day schools will have had the opportunity to form a secure attachment 'B' or a more normative but insecure A1/2, C1/2 style with their primary attachment figures.

Null Hypothesis:

1) There will be no difference in attachment style between the two groups.

Prediction: Individuals who attend boarding school are more likely to have insecure self-dismissing, Type A attachment styles as a consequence of maternal deprivation compared with those who remained at home.

Research question: To what extent will those sent to boarding school have different attachment styles as measured by the AAI as adults, compared to those who remained at home.

The findings will be: Either there will be a difference in attachment style between the two groups indicating the effects of maternal deprivation on those who attended boarding school or there will be no difference in attachment styles between the two groups attributable to being sent away from home.

Methodology

Given the reliability of the Adult Attachment Interview as referred to in chapter five, I used Crittenden's adapted version that focusses, following Bowlby (1973), on danger and sex. Danger is described as a threat or actual event that threaten a child's existence and includes threats other than separation and loss. Sex is related to the need for reproduction and how

inappropriate sexual encounters and abuse impacts on the psychological development of a child. For this study, the DMM/AAI was considered appropriate to assess the impact of attending boarding school and other harmful experiences as it focusses specifically on danger and has a dynamic system for the allocation of classifications as described in chapter six. It should be noted that the AAI largely asks specific questions rather than being completely open-ended as in some studies that allow the interviewee to offer what may be a consciously monitored response. Thus, the questions explore the unconscious history that lies beneath the conscious telling of that history, with all its biased perceptions, that is used to organise present responses (Crittenden, 2015).

The Interviewees

Fourteen participants; five females and nine males, six of whom were recruited via word of mouth and eight by contacting the organisation known as Boarding Concern. All had attended boarding school under the age of thirteen, two at age eleven, one at age ten, two at age nine, one at age 8, three at age seven, one at age six and three at four years old (appendix E). The oldest at the time of interview was seventy-five and the youngest, twenty-four giving a mean age of fifty-two years. All were in the socio-economic categories 1 and 11 as defined by the Standard Occupational Classification system produced by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 1991. As such, they came from families where the head of household or both parents were professional, managerial or technical members of the middle class; people such as highly paid solicitors, medical doctors, owners of business, high ranking civil servants, high-ranking services personnel such as in the army, as well as filmmakers and writers. Positions in society have become more differentiated over time such as from blue and white-collar workers to a greater differentiation within middle class itself which has included an upper and a lower middle class and then another layer determined by level of education, a

service class of managerial and non- manual workers of petit bourgeoise of smallscale proprietors (Power, Edwards & Wigfall, 2003).

Of interest and initially somewhat disappointing was that the boarding school sample revealed itself as a biased group as they all had attended therapy in the past. This will be discussed under Participants and Refusers below. One man who originally agreed to be interviewed, but had not at that point attended therapy, telephoned and was clearly upset when saying that he could not talk about boarding school or his parents and subsequently withdrew. A further male initially expressed interest and then refused to reply to my emails after several exchanges. I did not have his telephone number but of course, a telephone call may have been too intrusive. A female also became unavailable despite rearranging the interview several times. I do not know if these two had been in receipt of therapy or not, or why they declined.

Twelve Participants; three female and nine male who had attended fee-paying day school and were therefore living at home, were also recruited via word of mouth. Their mean age at interview was 40 years. Three of these had been in receipt of therapy including cognitive behavioural therapy, a dynamic therapy of unknown description and internet therapy, again the nature of which was unknown by the recipient. All were in the socio-economic categories 1 and 11 referred to above. No one from other socio-economic groups was interviewed, thus excluding state funded places in boarding or day school.

Ethical Considerations.

An application for ethical approval had been considered and granted by the Centre for Psychoanalytic studies within the University of Essex. A letter explaining the study and consent form was sent to each participant prior to meeting to give them time to read it outside of the interview (appendix F).

All interviews were anonymised by pseudonyms and numbers before transcription. The recorded and transcribed interviews were also encrypted on my computer. Instructions

for transcribing the interviews were sent to the person transcribing the interviews. This ensured the correct protocol was followed.

Procedure

A few minutes was spent allowing people to feel at ease and confirm their willingness to participate and have the interview recorded. Once they were happy to sign the consent form, the interview proceeded. Given that the interview takes at least an hour and often longer and that the participants were volunteers rather than, for example, attending a clinic or paid to participate, I decided not to ask them to give more of their time by completing any other psychological measure such as a relationship questionnaire which may have proved useful in terms of understanding the dynamics of their relationships. Each individual interview was recorded by me. The interview time varied from one hour and thirty minutes to two hours and fifteen minutes. At the end of the interview, they were again given the opportunity to ask questions and to confirm they were happy or not with the interview and they were offered more information about the study on its completion.

Each recording was transcribed verbatim by two former secretaries following Crittenden's written instructions. They were then coded and classified using the DMM method of discourse analysis by five level 3 coders including myself and then two level 1and 2 coders. These two were highly experienced. Any discrepancies were discussed between myself and the two level 1and 2 coders and an agreement reached. In practice, their views were accepted as more reliable. Coding and classifying transcripts is extremely difficult in mine and others experience. I often describe it as trying to do quantum physics with limited mathematical ability.

It should be remembered that the classifications can only be hypothetical based on the potential difference between the 'correct' classification and the one assigned by the coder using the sample of their speech given in the interview. Nevertheless, bearing that caveat in

mind, the classification will imply a Type A, B or C classification. The format for written classifications follows the convention of modifiers, unresolved traumas and then the strategy. E.g.: Dp Utr (p, ds) rej BS A3-A6, where Dp is depressed, followed by trauma and type; preoccupied and dismissed in this example, in relation to rejection to boarding school and then the strategy, in this case, two Type A strategies.

Transcripts were assigned to the highest numbered strategy for which there was evidence in three or more of the memory systems (chapter six). The DMM offers five balanced strategies (B), six dismissing strategies (A3-8) and six preoccupying strategies (C3-8) as well as A/C and AC combinations. Please see the diagram (fig 1) in chapter six for a visual representation of this and appendix G for a written description. Further, the DMM offers 14 types of trauma (appendix H) to which people are allocated according to how they experienced a traumatic event. The A, B and C strategies can also be modified by, for example, intrusions of negative affect, intrusions of somatic symptoms, depression, disorientation and reorganisation from one strategy to another (Crittenden, 2011).

I will present the findings of the classification with examples from the interviews but firstly it is important to consider those who refused to participate as well as those who did as this had an important baring on the findings.

Refusers.

It is not possible to know why some ex-boarders refused to take part in the study and as they would not give reasons (other than the man who said he could not talk about boarding school), one can only speculate. Perhaps they had not received therapy or other helpful interventions such as positive attachment relationships with others that may have ameliorated the loss of their mothers on being sent to boarding school as suggested by Bowlby (1973). Was it that despite therapy, those who refused or would not respond to my request either personally or via the organisation known as Boarding Concern, continued to be too disturbed by their

rejection to boarding school or other later traumas? Had other negative experiences prior to or after boarding school, made them too vulnerable? Were they too ashamed at how they felt about their difficult experiences at boarding school given that they were supposed to be grateful at being so privileged? (Duffell, 2000, Schaverien, 2004). These are important questions that will be addressed in the discussion chapter as far as is possible given the number of unknown variables.

Participants

One of the major findings of this study is that all fourteen people in the boarding school group had been in receipt of therapy at some point of a psychoanalytic or psychodynamic kind and three of these were psychodynamic psychotherapists. This effectively created a biased group. There could be other reasons, unknown to me for, their participation such as positive attachment relationships with spouses or partners that facilitated this group taking part, however, without the benefit of therapy, perhaps no one would have participated. Only three of the day school group had received therapy that was psychoanalytic, cognitive behavioural and one that was not defined and was via the internet.

It was not my intention to select people who had been in receipt of therapy but this was gradually revealed as the interviews took place. While this is clearly a biased sample it raises important questions, as to why others whom I approached, who went to boarding school would not participate. No one that I approached who had been to private day school refused whether they had been in receipt of therapy or not.

The other major feature of the findings is that apart from all the boarding school group having been in therapy, half of them were reorganising and reorganising from Type A to Type B and that the majority of the day school group were also Type A (table 1). A defining feature of Type As is that they are compliant in putting others needs first and perhaps they agreed to participate because they were trying to meet my needs.

A further possibility leading to reorganisation is that this group had relationships within which they were able to nurture a developing security as their attachment strategies reorganised. Bowlby (1973) understood that change in attachment strategy is possible and can be associated with major life changes or a series of events across the lifespan, or the result of having someone else outside of the family take on the role of attachment figure. While only one of the boarding school group, had commented that an adult at school took a positive interest in him, this was still not enough to resolve his preoccupied trauma in relation to being sent away (appendix E).Whether reorganisation followed therapy or a meaningful relationship, it is not possible to say although of course, as Winnicott (1960) said, 'it is likely that the reliability of the analyst is the most important factor (or more important than interpretations) because the patient did not experience such reliability in the maternal care of infancy' (p 586), as such the analyst or therapist becomes an important attachment figure.

It is also important to note that, for those who had previously undertaken therapy, the ability to surprise the unconscious may have been limited (Turton, McGauley, Marin-Avellan & Hughes, 2001) but nevertheless, as the findings demonstrate, a feature of reorganising from one strategy to another is by definition, that old strategies such as self-dismissing As or preoccupied with the self, Cs are revealed when asked about danger to themselves thereby confirming as far as is evidenced in this study, that the AAI continued to surprise the unconscious. This will be explored in the discussion chapter.

The findings

All the participants could be said to be successful in terms of social standing as all were employed in professional roles and most at the time of interview were married or in relationships, attributes that I considered to be markers of success. Only eight of the combined groups of twenty-six people did not have a classification that included trauma or traumas of some sort.

The findings are presented in table 1 with the full classifications in appendix E. Examples from the transcripts will be given to illustrate the findings. The following table indicates the number of people in both groups in the classifications of A (self-dismissing), B (balanced), C (preoccupied with the self) a mix of A and C and the modifications to those basic strategies of reorganising, depression and intrusions of negative affect.

Table 1. The number in each group in terms of the classifications including modifications.

Classifications, traumas and modifiers	Proportion of non-Bs	A	B	C	A/C or AC only	Reorganising from A with some elements of C	Depression	Intrusions of negative affect (INA)
BS (No: 14)	13/14 (93%)	2	1	1	3	7	2	1(h)
DS (No: 12)	11/12 (92%)	6	1	2	2	1	3	0

* indicates an historical event. That is, the interviewee described how he stepped out of his usual A strategy when a child.

Table 2 allocates the attachment strategies of the two groups to either Type A, B or C and reorganising.

	Type A with C	Type C	Type B	Reorganising
BS	12	1	1	7
DS	9	2	1	1

That the boarding group had higher DMM classifications (appendix F) compared to the day school group, is in line with Thomson & Jaque's (2017) that found that many adverse childhood experiences (ACE) increased the level of pathology.

With regard to the hypotheses and research question, the findings are presented here with a brief commentary and will be discussed in the following chapter.

Hypothesis

1. **Those sent to boarding school under the age of 13 years will have experienced the trauma of maternal deprivation resulting in a self-dismissing 'A' insecure attachment style.**

The findings demonstrate there was one Type B and seven were reorganising towards a balanced Type B, from Type A. Two had only a classification of Type A while a further five had Type A within their classifications that included Type C. This supports the hypothesis to some extent in that the predominant underlying strategy was Type A across this group.

Those with both A and C in their classification indicates that they have a greater range of strategies with which to relate to others. That is, with some they be more Type A and with others Type C. Ten had unresolved traumas, five of which included rejection to boarding school. The traumas experienced will be discussed in the following chapter.

Hypothesis

2. **Those attending private day schools will have had the opportunity to form a secure attachment 'B' style with their care givers, and as such will have no or less unresolved traumas.**

The findings indicate that this hypothesis is not supported. Living at home as the day school group did rather than being sent to boarding school, did not support a secure attachment style. Only one of the day school people was advantaged by living at home rather than being sent to boarding school in terms of developing a balanced (B) secure attachment style as was hypothesised. Seven used only an A strategy, two used both A and C strategies, one used a C strategy and only one was reorganising and that was from C to B.

The day school had eight unresolved traumas. This will be discussed below in the following chapter.

Research question:

To what extent will those sent to boarding school, have different attachment styles as measured by the AAI as adults, compared to those who remained at home and:

Null Hypothesis:

1) **There will be no difference in attachment style between the two groups.**

The findings demonstrate that there is only a slight difference in attachment style between the two groups but not in the expected direction. I had predicted that the boarding school group would have more self-dismissing Type A attachment styles than the day school group who would have had more opportunity to develop into Type Bs or fit a more normative A1-2/C1-2 classification.

The boarding group have more instances of Type A (12) in their classifications than the day school group if the total number of times that A appears in the classification is considered. The day school group had 9 Type A and two Type C classifications but only one Type B and only one reorganising away from Type A compared to 7 reorganising in the boarding group. Reorganising is the major difference between the two groups (table 1).

The null hypothesis is partially rejected as while both groups had a majority of some type A self dismissing attachment styles, half of the boarding school group were in the process of reorganising (7 of 14) from the main strategy of A to B unlike the day school group that had only one person who was reorganising and that was from C to B. Therefore, there is some difference in attachment strategy of the two groups based on reorganisation even though the underlying strategy is similar. However, the boarding school group also have slightly higher DMM classifications (higher classifications indicate greater pathology). The boarding group had 3 Type A6-7 and 3 Type C5-6. The day school group had 1 Type A6 and 2 Type C5-6. These findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

Trauma: Resolved and unresolved.

It is important to note that coding unresolved trauma from the AAI transcript is based less on the description of the traumatic event and more on how the experience impacts the individual's current functioning and evaluation of the event (Crittenden & Landini, 2011). Following an experience of trauma, one response could be that an individual learns from the trauma and integrates the experience creating a new found understanding and adaptation that helps the individual to avoid future danger. This would be a resolved trauma. Another response may be on experiencing trauma, they may either retain too much information about the traumatic event demonstrating preoccupation with it: Utr(p). For example, someone may react with hypervigilance and fear when in close contact with a male who reminds him or her of a childhood sexual predator. Alternately, this same person may ignore in a self-dismissing way, relevant information and memories to place themselves at increased risk of further sexual abuse: Utr (ds), That they have both failed to reflect on and integrate the event suggests that the trauma is unresolved. In the DMM, unresolved loss (Ul) is considered to be a sub-category of trauma, as suggested by Bowlby (Bowlby, 1982, Crittenden and Landini 2011) but in the classification, loss (Ul) is still indicated for clarity. I describe in the findings section, examples of how the traumas are recognised, classified and how they are experienced by the participants and further discuss this in chapter eight.

While the boarding school group comprised two extra people, they do have three more people with unresolved traumas in their classifications (10) than the day school group (7) as demonstrated in Table 3, and these include the number who felt rejected with regards to boarding school (8). In total, the boarding group experienced 63% of the total traumas compared to the day school of 37%. This is more than one might expect from two extra people, although that may depend on the attachment classification of two extra people.

Table 3. The number of people with unresolved traumas across both groups.

Group	Traumas	Total in group
BS	10	14
DS	7	12

The boarding school group already had twelve unresolved traumas between them prior to boarding school compared with the day school group who had seven traumas below the age of 13yrs. A person can have more than one trauma.

Table 4. Number of traumas per group under the age of 13 years old (prior to boarding school).

Group	Number under 13yrs
BS	12
DS	7

Table 5 demonstrates that when broken down into how individual traumas are experienced, the boarding school group had a higher number of unresolved traumas in total (28) than the day school group (15).

Table 5. The type of response to traumas classified across the two groups. Some people having more than one trauma.

Sch	Pre-Occupied	Dis-missed	Pre-occupied & dismissed	Pre-occupied & displaced	Denied	Denied & displaced	Dis-placed	Dis-organised	Total Unresolved
BS	11	1	5	3	1	2	1	4	28
DS	3	7	0	0	2	0	2	1	15

Both groups had a range of traumas including parental divorce, aggression and emotional neglect, some of which were denied, displaced, a mixture of the two or disorganised. Of primary interest to this study is that as well as other traumas, eight of the boarding school group had experienced the trauma of rejection as a consequence of being sent to boarding school that appear under the heading of preoccupation, while none of the day school group expressed that they felt that they experienced rejection three of them were emotionally neglected but tended to think that their upbringing was normal. For example, one day school interviewee, was unaware that being made to sit as a small child, in the hall or alone in his room when upset were examples of emotional neglect.

While the main strategy for both groups was Type A, the boarding school group were also more preoccupied (a Type C response) with the traumas (BS:11 compared to DS: 3). The response to two other traumas in the boarding group were both preoccupied and dismissed. Crittenden (2011) notes that reversals of strategy (from A to C), when associated with unresolved traumas, is indicative of a major danger. If Crittenden is right, then presumably, a switch from an A to a C strategy happens irrespective of whether one is reorganising or not, when exposed to a dangerous event. Perhaps too, a switch from A to C is required before a trauma can become resolved and part of the reorganisation process could be a releasing of the anger via a Type C strategy, that they had previously suppressed via a Type A strategy. The age at which they originally went to boarding school is not indicative of a greater number of traumas. That is, going to boarding school at a younger age did not result in a greater number of traumas in their classifications than for example those attending at eleven years old.

That the boarding school group had a higher DMM classification compared to the day school group, is in line with Thomson & Jaque's (2017) study, that found that many adverse childhood experiences (ACE) increased the level of pathology. The boarding group had classifications of C5-6, A-7 for those not reorganising and lower A6 for those who were

reorganising. This is similar to the non-reorganising day school group whose highest strategy was A6 and C5-6. A6 is described by Crittenden (2011) as a strategy that inhibits displays of negative affect, dismisses self-relevance and withdraws from close relationships. A7 is a strategy of delusional idealisation of abandoning and absent or life-threatening attachment figures. C5-6 is a strategy that covers a range of interpersonal functioning from chronically angry and engaging, to life-threatening incapacity to function. It is also related to disorganised trauma discussed below. The boarding group had 12 traumas prior to boarding compared to 7 in the day school group under the age of 13 years old.

That the boarding school group had all been in psychodynamic therapy may account for the positive reorganising process, however, this group nevertheless had more unresolved traumas that may contribute to their lack of continuing progress at the time of the interview, towards developing a more balanced attachment style. Balanced speakers rarely have unresolved traumas as they have either experienced protection and comfort from their parents while growing up that provided them with resilience against traumas or, they have experienced an intervention such as a kind caring and interested person in their lives be it a therapist or other caring individual thus resolving their traumas and becoming an earned B such as Diana in the boarding group.

As traumas generally and rejection specifically, relate to the main focus of this study; maternal deprivation, this will be addressed first before examples from the findings of the A, B and C strategies and modifiers are given. The examples here and in the discussion chapter have been transcribed verbatim. Therefore, where it seems that the interviewees are speaking in note form, or incoherently, they actually are.

Resolved trauma

For clarification, the classification allows differentiation between resolved and unresolved traumas within a person. Simon, and Neil are examples of this. While Simon was classified as unresolved, in fact disorganised, (Utr dx) with regard to his mother's

accident, Simon gave this accident as one of several reasons why he was sent to boarding school demonstrating that the trauma of rejection to school was resolved. The fonts in red are notations by the AAI coders.

Simon: *And I think (*his mother's accident*) it was one of the things that influenced my mother to send first me and then my brother to boarding school. That uh and also the fashion for doing so at the time. And also, the fact that coming from a Jewish family, although not at all observant, there was nonetheless a great consciousness of anti-Semitism, um and that was particularly rife in the day schools in London, the really good day schools, and some of the boarding schools, and indeed many of the schools at the time had a Jewish quota so that the standard was much higher if you were a Jewish boy or girl trying to get in, um because there were only limited numbers that they would admit. That was so particularly of the um religious foundations, the Anglican or to a lesser degree the um catholic foundations. So, my parents eventually made the choice for me that I would go to a Jewish boarding school, one of only two perhaps three um Jewish boarding schools in the United Kingdom, um, which had um a well-known different regime to that which existed in many of the traditional boarding schools.* Thorough analysis of three or four reasons why he was sent to boarding school.
*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

This demonstrates his understanding, integration and adaptation to boarding school.

For Neil, who went to boarding school at seven years old, it was a welcome escape from the demands of his mother who beat him to make him study and to escape from the boredom of home. As such his rejection to boarding school was resolved:

I was doing a lot of music out of school, erm, and so I'd go on a lot of music tours with erm youth orchestras and stuff and I-I would love it because it would just be a break from the monotony at home, erm, and then coming back and erm to spend Christmas at home for about five days. Neil.

Unresolved trauma

While both groups have unresolved traumas, some of the boarding school group still have coded markers of unresolved traumas both prior to and following removal to boarding school despite having received therapy. The discussion in the following chapter will examine reasons for this such as: did rejection to boarding school compound all the other traumas? Was it something to do with the attachment style of their parents? Or societal expectation and demands about not complaining about privilege which continues to influence their internal working models and external presentation to the world? It is difficult to distinguish what experiences have had the greater influence but certainly, the boarding school group had more traumas generally than the day school group. Perhaps therapy gave them enough understanding to talk about their experiences and yet have not worked through the full horrors of the rejection?

Traumatic experiences such as bullying and abuse can happen in day school and at home but again a day school pupil is not at school or home for twenty-four hours a day and can find relief from school or from home each day. They are not physically rejected and at times of ill health, they have their mothers or mother substitutes such as in Oscar's case who had a nanny to whom he felt close. Gail, also in the day school group, recalled being comforted:

*I remember being ill in primary school in the UK and my mum coming to collect me with like a big blanket to take me home, errm, so I think that yeah I think that in terms of being unwell, I remember being, I remember being kind of really unwell but being looked after my both my parents, (**Mm**), so it was like so I think I definitely like have a few instances where I was unwell but knowing that they were there would be a like ..(laughing).*

In contrast, Tony, from the boarding group dismissed his need for comfort:

I didn't really need comforting, (Right), I just erm I just... the masters one of the masters arranged for me to go up to the you know ... and you know illness and sickness have never really bothered me so I don't remember n-n-needing comfort.

In the boarding school group, unresolved traumas related to rejection to boarding school in five of the classifications in a preoccupied form. For example, Two, Mark and Charlotte were both preoccupied:

Mark: *Well it's an exposure of your inner most thoughts which is scary for anybody but when you've been hurt badly as I have been because of the boarding school thing you know, to have been betrayed you know, to have been, you know to have trusted somebody so completely as your parents and then be betrayed by them to then . . . .*

Charlotte*: Um, it's a funny thing is with parents, you know, they...I don't know, well it happens now probably as well that you can watch your child er..in emotionally distressed states and then still not really change anything. I mean I don't know how my mother coped with this constant screaming every time I had to go to B****** without thinking 'Well maybe we could do something else' you know. .*

Tony's interview revealed both a continued preoccupation and his dismissal of it as a continuing problem.

..but at boarding school, separation when I was seven I can remember it now because I cried for three weeks, and then I don't get it any more but even as an adult I used to get I'd occasionally get that homesick feeling so my err so what used to happen was my parents would drive down and the excitement on the Saturday lunchtime waiting for their car to roll into the drive at this school in Brighton it was unbelievable, and then I'd see them and that would be no, I-I'd so exciting and so wonderful to be and they'd taken me out to some hotel on the beach you know at the at the front at Brighton, so Saturday afternoon would be heaven, Sunday morning would be heaven, then from Sunday lunchtime until I knew they had to drop me back at school, would be this rising tide of desperation and then I'd always cry.

Then, as an adult, the return of preoccupied feelings of panic of being on a train going to boarding school that he then dismisses:

...and I remember getting on that train sometimes and feeling a bit panicked about…this is ridiculous you're you know forty-two years old and I'd be... in general, I don't think I don't think I have a problem with separation.

> *Disorganised trauma (dx)*

Disorganised trauma (dx) is classified when a person displays a minimum of three attachment strategies to a traumatic event indicating that they lack a single consistent strategy to manage attachment related memories. For example, a) preoccupied, dismissed or displaced, or, b) when there are multiple events or deaths that are unresolved or c) many minor events that are connected in confused ways and are triggered by a range of events. Disorganised trauma is also assigned when there are 'multiple events or deaths that a) have markers of lack of resolution, b) do not fully qualify as traumatic events and c) are confused in ways that are irrational' (Crittenden, 2011, p 244). In the interview, there are notable failures to monitor reasoning when speaking of loss or abuse. This supports Thomson and Jaque's study (2017) in which they point out that adverse childhood experiences (ACE), have 'a graded effect associated with an increase in pathology when adverse childhood experiences involve four or more exposure types' (p 255). They indicate such traumatic experiences as family dysfunction and child maltreatment that are strongly related to physical and psychological suffering. In their study, they demonstrated 'a strong relationship between increased adverse childhood experiences and greater attachment insecurity' (p 255). Moreover, adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) 'tend to be interrelated rather than independently occurring. Four or more ACEs led to an increase in unresolved traumas and losses, more adult traumatic events, and more difficulty disclosing past trauma' (p 2).

The following examples taken from boarding school transcripts illustrate Crittenden's meaning of disorganised trauma:

We went on a boat and my brother fell off the boat um…My mother um, dived in and got sucked into the propeller Danger – Image of Mother's injury in boating accident *and was very badly damaged, um…and spent several months in an orthopaedic hospital being, having her leg rebuilt, and that affected her for the rest of her life temperamentally. Um…and things were not so calm after the age of seven* Dismissed. *But he didn't damage his uh leg in the way that our mother's leg was damaged. So, he might have gone in after me.* Simon (Utr DX).

Ambiguous phrasing – speaks of both brother going to grandmother's house earlier but also could be read that brother dived into the water after speaker. Who was in the water? Who dived in after whom? Confusion of person/action. Displaced? This speaker mentioned his mother's accident on twelve occasions throughout the interview. Preoccupied.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

A further example is taken from Tony's interview in the boarding school group when talking about his father's illness:

it was terrible (sounding tearful and upset), so the sort of story is one that always makes me cry when I say it and I just feel overwhelming guilt, is my erm he would try and play football in the garden with me and I must have been four or five and he was so weak that I could hold his hands with my hands aged five behind his back and he couldn't separate them, but (sounding emotional) he never complained. Not really, confusion *I was older in my teens and then go and do things and he'd try and go to the toilet and he'd wet himself because he couldn't get there in time that sort of thing* not quite a traumatic event for him… *and so, she used to lose it and spank me quite a lot and erm so that was that was sort of emotionally interaction* confusion, *but if I was upset by (clears throat) I can't remember being upset I'd be upset…. The spanking yes absolutely the one I remember yeah, we would go across her knee at the bottom of the stairs and I remember it very clearly, **(Right),** and erm we didn't spank Maggie but I personally think spanking is a very good thing.* Tony, Utr (dx). Irrational and confused.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Tony's running of these different events into one in a confused, incoherent preoccupied way followed by his dismissal of spanking as a bad thing, demonstrates his unresolved disorganised trauma.

Other traumas.

Prior to boarding school, the boarding group had experienced twelve other traumas that included emotional abuse, physical abuse, parents' divorce, child sexual abuse, parental illness and abandonment. Those in the day school group experienced seven traumas under the age of thirteen that were similar to the boarding group but tey had emotional neglect rather than physical abandonment.

The interviews suggest Bowlby's three criteria for maternal deprivation were present to some extent in both groups (Bowlby, 1952 p 13). These criteria referred to in chapter four and repeated here for clarity, include not just outright rejection or separation but *(a)* an unconsciously rejecting attitude underlying a loving one, This criteria is perhaps illustrated by Lucy, in the day school group, when she spoke of spending much of her time playing alone in her room but was reassured by her mother being the other side of the door as if that were a loving act rather than a way of protecting herself from her mother's lack of attention, both physically and psychologically (it was her grandmother who played with her). Some in the boarding school group, spoke of their mothers as if they were loving and yet still sent them away; *(b)* an excessive demand for love and reassurance on the part of a parent. This second criterion is met by Neil's relationship with his mother who was demanding of him in terms of meeting her needs regarding singing and general school performance resulting in him being sent to a cathedral boarding school. That she was excessive in terms of physically beating him to make him successful, may explain why he had no trauma related to being sent away as described above; and (c) a parent obtaining unconscious and vicarious satisfaction from the child's behaviour, despite conscious condemnation of it'; the this may be related to the school as parent when managing children. While no one in this study referred to this, lesbian

relationships according to Schaverien (2015) were often found in girls boarding schools while openly being condemned.

Attachment strategies and modifiers of the strategies

Further examples from my research interviews follow to support the finding that the majority of participants were either Type A or reorganising from Type A, as found in the boarding group. The reader will be helped in understanding this by referring to the DMM diagram in chapter six and the written brief guide in appendix G. Again, the examples have been transcribed verbatim as the methodology for assigning classifications is based on how people speak and what they choose or choose not to say. Red fonts indicate annotations by coders. Not all transcripts have annotations marked on them. The classifications demonstrate the complexity of humans, with very few of them using a straightforward attachment strategy. Most use elements of more than one strategy that is classified when there is insufficient evidence derived from three memory systems for one clear strategy. An example is Neil who uses mainly A3-4, with elements of C1-3. Mark, however, uses an A1-2 strategy for father and a C1-3 strategy for mother.

Type B.

Balanced speakers express themselves in a coherent way and are able to integrate affect and cognition. They have access to all memory systems Their speech has very few dysfluencies or distortions and when they occur, the dysfluencies do not function to distort or hide information.

One of the day school participants had a B classification and there was one in the boarding group who was classified as an earned B having previously been a Type A. An earned B reflects a change of attachment brought about through the ability to reflect and learn from the past as described in chapter five.

Examples from the transcripts:

B2:

Eddie in the day school group said:

I remember moving to London, to this really big city, at the age of nine. It was a was a very scary thing for us all to do, acknowledges the effects on self and others *and I think I felt slightly threatened by moving to London at the age of nine because it was erm eighty-five it was a slightly awe-inspiring thing to do for my parents too but other than that I can't think of anything*.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Eddie demonstrates that he has access to the episode, describes it semantically and is procedurally coherent while acknowledging the effect on self and others.

Earned B from A

Diana in the boarding school group said:

No, I remem…I always remember trying to climb the stairs because they were too big for me. I remember having to be made… I remember the regimes of having to make beds. I remember my behaviour was very needy Parental perspective *in the sense that if matron was giving a hug, you* distancing self-*were allowed to have a hug from matron.* If / then phrasing – NOTE: she starts using A type discourse (parental perspective, distancing self, and if/then phrasing) **as soon as she gets into the boarding school.** Note also her use of the word 'regime.' Ref: structure, routine, discipline, predictability – all requiring A strategy to best survive *Um…I remember having friendships really, really important to me were my friends. They'd…I guess they were my family really.* This is an appropriate conclusion, in the context. *B* She has access to the episodes and describes them and comes to an appropriate conclusion.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Type A.

People using the A strategy, focus on the temporal order of events, places rather than people and follow the rule of, -do the right thing from the perspective of other people and without regard to your own feelings or desires-. This classification reflects those who tend to split off negative and positive features of the self, others and relationships. They dismiss their own feelings and deny negative aspects of their attachment figures while blaming themselves for negative aspects of relationships. This process of dissociation requires that they keep some information out of conscious awareness (Crittenden, 2011, p 41).

A1-2. These are simple strategies used by people considered to be normative; not from a clinical group.

There were four people who went to boarding school and two people who went to fee-paying day school with A1- 2 as part of their classification.

A1. individuals minimise or leave out all negative characteristics of their parents and idealise either one or both of them. They omit or have very few episodic memories of childhood as a strategy to avoid any emotionally uncomfortable description which may result. For example, they split off from conscious awareness memories of their parents punishing them for displays of what the parents consider to be unnecessary attachment behaviour or failing to meet parental standards of independence and performance (Crittenden, 2011). Such idealisation is captured when the response to five words or descriptions of a mother is, for example displayed by Mike who went to day school:

trust a hundred per cent, err spiritual, honest, loving and kind Idealisation.
*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

A2 individuals focus more on their own negative characteristics and excuse their parent's behaviour by saying that they had to do what they did rather than idealising them. In effect, they blame themselves for how their parents feel.

Jimmy who went to boarding school said: *but I can't get my around them and I can remember picking the scabs off, uh, my face*, image of *and when I was four the cut the end off my nose and moved bits around.* Graphic image of face surgery – DANGER. *Um, (pause) and*

it, you know, it was uh…well, I did it, well it must have been a nightmare for them. Parental Perspective. Blames self for their discomfort.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

A3. Compulsive strategy caregiving.

The A3 strategy has two forms. Compulsive caregiving and compulsive attention. Both focus on the other's perspective in order to meet their needs while desiring protection for themselves.

This strategy was used by two of the boarding school group, Neil and Charlotte, but by no day school person.

Neil: So, I always definitely make an effort in relationships …but I think I do always place their needs, not necessarily above mine but I never forget their needs or what I think their needs are, so I think it's helped actually, I think I'm more aware generally of people, what the people who I am close to are feeling and thinking.

Charlotte: … *I never felt that the room in our family home was my bedroom, anyway, it was a spare room, you know, but their rooms are* (her children's*) …you know I keep them as they are, they're always, you know, they come and go as they want, um, and…yeah.*

A4. Compulsive compliance and A4- compulsive performance.

Compulsive compliance involves meeting others demands without reference to ones' own needs and desires. This is often the result of being subjected to 'excessive pressure to do as adults wish them to do' (Crittenden, 2011, p 158). These speakers engage more with the interview and speak from an analytic stance that distances themselves from their own perspectives. They do not idealise their attachment relationships and are able to talk about negative episodes in childhood but do 'exonerate parents of responsibility for their limitations' (Crittenden, 2011, p153).

These strategies were used in various combinations by six Boarding school and four Day school participants. A4- was the classification indicating the need to please by performing

well at school, used by one day school person. I have given a sample of four from boarding school and one from day school.

Charlotte: *I was a good child and didn't need smacking, I was a very compliant child*

Chris*: So, yah, and that goes back to my academic achievement you know, if you don't work hard and you make use of the potential you have, I'm really disappointed in you. Umm…that's the condition that I felt…and that…that goes on also into…I think it takes on a wider thing that you do what I, I'd like you to do.*

Simon: *and I was terribly…I remember feeling terribly nervous but putting on a brave face.*

Neil: *Oh, I have no idea.* Lack meta *Is that an okay answer?* Wanting to please

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

A4-

Dave, who went to day school: *had to you know, when your you know especially at secondary school you get up and go to school at eight in the morning, you come back then you spend your evening doing your homework and... erm yeah weekends as well you and had all those pressures, to succeed.*

A5. socially compulsive

People using this strategy give up idealisation and exoneration of family members but retain the idealising process, which is applied to other people who have not failed them (Crittenden, 2011, p 163). This applied to two of the boarding school group but to none in the day school group.

Peter: *and we used to go to the pub and get…but it was, I felt I was…, but I felt I was…they were authority figures* to be looked up to *all the time and I was learning from them all the time, how to get paralytic, how to get drunk, how to be sick in the morning, how to…you know, how to smoke, how to smoke dope, how to…you know'.* Others are idealised as caring

by teaching him how to live in a rebellious way

 *red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

A6. Compulsively self-reliant.

People using this strategy inhibit any 'display of negative affect, dismiss self-relevance and withdraw from close relationships as a way to prevent disappointment or harm to the self' (Crittenden, 2011, p 168). However, they can engage in social relationships as long as they rely on themselves and not others for social support.

There were elements of this strategy in four boarding and two day school people. Only one from the boarding group is given as an illustration.

Tony: *Erm, I've never been, and I wish I was, I see our daughter Maggie and she's got dozens of friends she goes out and she networks and she meets people by doing that and envy isn't the right word I admire her for it, I've never been like that I've always tended to have a small number of very close friends, but I don't let them really close but I'm just not good at networking and cocktail parties and and, and that sort of thing I think it's because I-I'm kind of binary, people is they're are either friends, or they're not in which case I can't you know I'm reserved and and it doesn't go anywhere I'm not very good at the acquaintance model,* **(Mm),** *and that's what you need if you want to have a nice network of people you need to do acquaintances, and all the hohoho hahaha stuff, I'm not very good at that.*

A7. Delusional idealisation.

 This refers to episodes when the self is protected or comforted by imaginary persons or by real persons behaving in imaginary ways. One of the boarding school group had elements of this strategy when talking about his mother:

Tony: *I thought she was wonderful and erm (clears throat), she was very strong willed, very capable and determined and wise and I just adored her, I always adored her and we had this special relationship which is we'd talk for hours and she she'd listen to me and erm, I think I was a mummy's boy and I just and you can ask Annie about her and I thought her opinion on everything was absolutely right and I still do, and erm I just adored her.* Delusional given that

she was self-absorbed and there were hints of inappropriate sexual behaviour and beatings from her earlier in the transcript.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Type C.

Type C speakers experience such complexity of causation that they rely on their feelings more than cognition. They use feelings to guide their behaviour and therefore the survival strategies they use. They often associate strong feelings that they represent in images. As an example, rather than naming feelings such as 'He was very angry' they are likely to say 'His eyes were popping out'. They use their own perspectives rather than a balance of their own and others. They use a disarming approach such as laughter to counter any negative language that they use to attack people.

Six of the fourteen people sent to boarding school had Type C as an element within their strategy and three of the day school people.

C2. Disarmingly desirous of comfort.

People using this strategy seek comfort but hide it behind disarming comments or actions such as laughter. Two examples follow. The first from the boarding group and the second from the day school group.

Q. Did you go to her funeral?

Jimmy: Yeah. I gave the eulogy, I think. He had been very close to his grandmother so why wouldn't he remember this?

Q. What was that like for you?

Giving the eulogy? I was already in the theatre so it was a performance exercise! (laughs)Disarming to play down insensitive comment.

Q. Well, for example, did they (parents) affect whether…whether you chose to marry and who you chose?

Yes, I married my mother first time round! (laughs). Disarm. It's not an unusual thing to do!

*I remember you know, hanging on to my mum. I remember she had long nails and I used to stick my finger…when I was young, I used to stick my fingers underneath the nails like that…*Animated image; fresh; angry? De-clawing mother. *which I used to like and she I think it quite hurt so she'd stop me doing it. I would have been tiny when I was…*

And how did that feel to you, doing that?

I don't know, something quite um, comforting Comfort from pressing his fingertips under mother's nails to hurt her *about it. I don't know quite what was but it was. I remember it...*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Fred: *I think I think I used to I used to worry erm that err that when I say a happy a happy childhood I thinks that's right, I used to worry err about what would happen to my sister and I if they they both were killed, erm for whatever reason I no no specific erm thoughts about why erm but I always had little schemes running as to what we would do, very childish quite stupid schemes I suppose I would be five erm you know we would pick the apples from the tree and sell them at the gate, we would do all of these things,* **(Yeah),** *erm err and err yeah I was I was early into commerce (laughs).* *Disarms to hide the fear of death (DS).*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

      C4. Feigned helplessness.

Such speakers continue to engage with others to find protection and comfort. 'Exaggeration of fear and inhibition of anger mislead others regarding the individual's actual state with regard to danger and relationships. Neither the individual nor others are explicitly aware of how angry and competent the individual actually is behind the appearance of fearfulness' (Crittenden, 2011, p 202). One boarding school participant had this in their classification but none from the day school group.

Debbie: *I felt it was very much, we were very much put to one side and he was the important person … weren't told about their deaths because we weren't wanted at the funerals so we were told about their dying after the funerals. …. Couldn't really say possibly how I felt*

about things, errm... I felt she didn't care enough about me, errm. . These are examples of luring the interviewer into feeling sorry for the speaker.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

C5-C6 Punitively angry and obsessed with revenge.

People using this strategy, seek revenge against attachment figures. They bear grudges for a long time. The interview information is contradictory. They dismiss others and are derogatory towards them blaming others while glorifying themselves. They do not trust others because they have learned that attachment figures while appearing available and empathic then acted in unexpectedly threatening ways. This strategy covers a range of inter-personal functioning from chronically angry to life-threatening threat, either to the self or to others and is often indicative of possible psychiatric difficulties. Evidence of this strategy is found for example, through the relationship with the interviewer in which they are made to work hard to keep the speaker engaged in the interview process and the speaker is unclear about what happened in their histories.

Two boarding school people had this strategy. The following is taken from one of the two interviews.

Sylvia:*...and I suddenly saw there were the police with police dogs coming to look for me because I'd been out all day, so (chuckling)* *She chuckles at the memory of hiding from the police* *I hid in the bushes and they went very nearly enough I remember feeling totally contemptuous that the police dogs didn't even smell me, (laughing)* *derogates other and laughs; gottcha* *and my father was furious when I came back. I can remember I stabbed my brother once erm.*

Stabbed did you say?

Yes (chuckling). *She laughs at the memory of stabbing him*

Brother- danger *I was cutting some bread and he was teasing me he-he teased me a lot he was actually pretty nasty to me, err I think he was very jealous and he was very naughty, erm and I said if you go on teasing me I will stab you and he went on teasing me and I took the*

bread knife and I remember I-I cut him it didn't go very deep but I can remember my father

coming in and saying, oh it's just missed the something or other *dismisses importance with*

'something or other' – the implication – which she minimises / brushes away - is that she

missed a major artery or vein *because by that time he was a doctor, erm and err I was sent*

to bed.

Did you ever feel very frightened or not sure that you were safe?

Well, you do feel safe at boarding school because you've got all these people around you, I

mean when you're institutionalised you are safe.

Mm, did you feel frightened?

No. She has mentioned being very frightened and having to be sent home because she was

crying so much; this contradicts earlier sections.

I'd just been told my father was dying (chuckles) *distorted positive.*

'Okay. So, we've got distant and we've got that you wanted to please her all the time. Yes.

And have you, earlier you said you idealised her. *Interviewer is having to work hard.*

Yes'…. 'and I never understand why and my mother would never really tell me. Fifth

mention of not knowing or not knowing why/understanding.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

A/C, blended AC.

Some adults use both Type A and Type C strategies to defend themselves from perceived

danger. They may use them in an alternating way such as C1-2 for mild threats /and A3-4 for

serious threats or perhaps A3 for mother and C3 for father without consciously being aware of

it. While there is no direct correlation with psychiatric diagnoses, a presentation of A/ C can

indicate a disorder such as bipolar or borderline personality disorder (Crittenden, Kozlowska

& Landini, 2010). Blended AC is described as more integrated but becoming more

dysfunctional in relationships as the classification numbers become higher. Thus, the strategy

of blended A7-8, C7-8 is considered to be a psychopathic presentation. Deciding whether

someone is A/C or blended AC is extremely difficult even for coders with high levels of reliability (Baim, 2017 personal communication). In the transcripts, only one of the boarding school group, Mark, was considered to be A/C, that is, he used both strategies for different people: A1-2 for Father (self-dismissing) and C1(threateningly angry) with some elements of C3 (preoccupied and angry) for mother; even though he was in the process of reorganising towards B. One of the day school group was A/C A1mother/ C5-6 father.

In describing his relationship with his parents Mark in the boarding group said:

 (*breathes out) . . .. I think because em the relationship with my mother difficult erm but. it was I think my mother was so needy of me erm that I put distance there, whereas it was sort of the other way round with my father, I was reaching out to him (**Mmm**) and felt that I feel . . more able to actually con-connect with my father erm than with my mother and I have I have always found my mother erm err hard to be around, erm and you know erm but I think that those periods of difficulty erm meant that I I think I think I feared that if I gave what she wanted it would just be too much.* C1/C3 (threateningly angry).

With regard to his father:

 in many respects warm and loving erm when he was there, erm but I remember him doing things for me like erm, making me a papier-mache helmet erm for for some school thing I was doing that was very impressive, it weighed a ton erm and he was very good with his hands erm…A1/2 (idealising).

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Another example of AC from the boarding group is Jimmy who said:

 Can't think of anything really young. I can remember hitting me on the hand with a knife IMAGE OF DANGER *at one point. Which wasn't an act of violence,* GDN *she just happened to be holding it* **A** *and whacked* connotative word – whacked - conveys the force, **C.** *which semantically he minimises and exonerates.* **A**. *Memory systems disagree with each other me across the hand. Uh but I must have been about ten or eleven then.* Credible Evidence for

anger, while minimising danger. A1-2, (idealising with some self-blame) C2 (disarmingly desirous of comfort).

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

One of the day school group used a strategy of A1/2 idealising his mother and C5/6 with his father.

Tom*: Errrm, err I can remember her taking me to nursery school, err off M..n G..n in East H…...d erm I can remember erm my relationship with my mum err very close erm I can remember lying on the sofa and her kind of stroking my hair, erm I can remember going to H.d Primary School on my first day and hating it and being absolutely distraught at her leaving, errm.*

His relationship with his father was described as:

*Erm, errm, yeah erm sense of him being distant, errm, (exhales loudly), errm, errrrr, I think there's this I ah yeah, I recall a sense of not knowing when I good time to talk to him about something was, **(Mm-m),** you know to sort of get him at a good time and the whole kind of issue about that, which which was you know, a fairly distant figure that you have to make err representations.*

Modifiers of the strategies

While there are basic strategies as described above, there are also experiences in life which impact on those strategies and modify them. Such modifiers are: reorganisation, depression, disorientation, intrusions of forbidden negative affect and expressed somatic symptoms. When modifiers are present, the basic strategy has been disrupted and is indicative of the need for professional help such as therapy.

There were no examples of disorientation or expressed somatic symptoms in either group.

Reorganisation (R)

Speakers coded as reorganising, are engaged in a process of understanding how the past relates to the present without full knowledge or description of how one has led to the other. If

they had, they would be classified as B. They often have features similar to Type Bs but often fail 'to meet Grice's (1975) (see chapter six) maxims of quantity, (too much or too little), manner (in a distancing or involving manner) and relevance (omission of critical information or inclusion of trivial detail) are repeatedly violated. The maxim of quality, however, is rarely violated; that is, reorganising speakers do generally have evidence for what they say but when remembering dangerous events, their previous strategy is used at such times so that the Type A strategy continues to preclude the speaker from bringing valid events from the past in order to provide future predictions of behaviour and Type Cs continue to fail to leave the affect tied to past events, in the past. Thus, while there is a transition in process, there is a failure to maintain new patterns which would be indicative of a balanced speaker.

Seven of the boarding school group were in the process of reorganising from one main strategy to another at the time of interview but only one of the day school group was. An example from Thad in the boarding group: *...again I didn't get the sense that she was upset, or perhaps I was quite focused on how I was feeling and perhaps she was trying to be brave, I don't know.* Reflective. Both perspectives but some exoneration of mother. Possibly moving from avoidance of feelings to a more balanced approach? Then returning to A type language

but I think (using a swear word), uh, and that was the only time she hit us distancing of self *and I, I think she felt bad about that, I think that was sort of her, of character, um...and and very mild.* Minimising, while moving towards a balanced perspective, Thad returned to a self-dismissing style when talking about being hit.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Depression (Dp)

Depression is used in a narrow form in the AAI in that the markers for depression exist such as frequent examples of sighing during the interview and a transferential bleakness in tone. The speakers are aware that their usual strategy is failing but are unable to change it. Such people feel that despite having all the information they need about people and events; the self

and their actions are irrelevant to any outcome. In other words, a self-protective strategy is absent and affect is flat. Only one of the boarding school group received a classification that included depression but two of the day school group did. The sighs are indicative of depression in the following two boarding school examples, followed by one from day school.

Charlotte: *I think (sigh) there were moments the, um…when life seemed pretty dark.*

Alice: *…punishment (sighs) probably you know as we as back in the day in the seventies I remember growing up they used to you know if we did anything wrong. I think they used to slap the back of our legs sort of thing errr.*

Q. Okay, could you now describe your relationship with your father going back as far as you can remember?

Roger: *Yeah sure errm, (sigh) irregular due to his work, erm more confrontational, err. err shared interests err . . authoritarian, err confusing.*

> *Intrusions of negative affect (INA)*

Intrusions of forbidden negative affect (INA) are found only in A strategies. They mark an elevated state of arousal which briefly intervenes into an inhibited discourse and relates to denied feelings of pain or need for comfort. Such outbursts include swearing, anger or expressions of sexual behaviour. This intense arousal reverses the usually inhibited arousal in higher numbered Type A speakers who have not learned to regulate their arousal. INA are often associated with a history of harsh demanding parents who tolerated no exceptions to their standards.

One boarding school person had the modifier of INA and this was an example from his past rather than present. No day school people had INAs.

Mark: *..and my sister was just wearing a pair of sort of shorts and or something, and on a summer, on a summer's day I pushed her in the nettles erm, and she was absolutely covered head to toe and I think that erm my mother was completely shocked erm you* know *I don't remember being particularly provoked by my sister but I, I almost feel that I did it more to as*

much as anything to to try and break out of the, the good good box I was in INA*, erm, so yeah.*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Summary

The focus of this chapter has been on the main research and findings generated by the process of enquiry into the attachment styles of two groups using the Adult Attachment Interview and the Dynamic Maturational Model of Attachment. While these results are biased by all the boarding school group having been in receipt of therapy, it seems indicative that it required therapy in order to participate in the study and to have begun the process of reorganising their attachment strategy; my assumption being that refusers had not availed themselves of therapy. It could have been positive attachment relationships that affected their previous strategies although that is not supported by the transcripts. If it was therapy that helped the boarding school group to speak about their experiences compared to those who would not take part, then this is a positive result for therapy. It begs the question, however, what attachment strategies the refusers had. Might they have been allocated higher numbered pathological classifications as a consequence of perhaps worse experiences and greater psychological damage that prevented them from taking part? Could it be that their traumas such as rejection to boarding school were all resolved and so they had no interest in taking part? Were they more Type C and therefore unlike Type As, less willing to please. They may have felt that the research would be too intrusive and personal, or, they may have considered that they would have to defend an institution that had been in existence for centuries and did not wish to do so. It may also have triggered cognitive dissonance in having to talk about a school of which they were supposed to be proud but actually despised or perhaps they did not want to give their time to a lengthy interview especially if they had found boarding school a good place to be? As no one would explain why they would not participate, the reasons can only be guessed at and will be discussed in chapter eight.

The main findings are:

a) All the boarding school group had received therapy. Only three of the day school had.

b) The majority of both groups were assigned the classification of Type A within their overall classification.

c) The boarding school group had more unresolved traumas, 63% of the total traumas of both groups compared with 37% of the day school group,

The discussion chapter will examine these findings including why it was that some boarding school people refused, why was it that some did not receive a classification that included rejection to boarding school as well as why even when they had received therapy some were still reorganising from Type A and had not become earned Bs. Further, despite therapy, they continued to have significantly more unresolved traumas than the day school group who had mostly not been in receipt of therapy.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

The main focus of this chapter will be a discussion of the findings of this study in relation to the original research question and hypotheses. The findings will be addressed within both attachment theory and psychoanalysis, primarily Freudian, but with contributions from Klein and others, all of which lie within the paradigm of object relations theory.

The psychological effects of maternal deprivation, both physical and psychological have already been documented and referred to in chapters four and five. In chapter five, links were made between psychoanalysis, Attachment Theory, the use of the Adult Attachment Interview and the Dynamic Maturational Model of attachment and here they will be related specifically to this study comparing the attachment styles of people sent to boarding school with those from a similar socio-economic background who remained at home and went to fee paying day school.

First, however, the main caveat to these findings is that the participants were difficult to find and I had to interview those who volunteered irrespective of any selection criteria other than the same socio-economic background of 1&2 as described in chapter seven and age sent to boarding school, that is, under the age of 13 years old, as indicated in appendix E. It was a case of accepting willing and available participants and therefore it was not possible to control for any other variables such as gender, age at interview, previous psychotherapy, position in family or psychiatric history. These were incidental to the implementation of AAI and so to this research.

Second, one of the main findings of this research is that the fourteen boarding school participants had all been in receipt of therapy, compared to three in the day school group. This effectively skewed my results with regard to the comparison with the day school group as this was an unexpected variable that I had not been able to control for. However, this difference is

interesting in itself and will be discussed prior to relating the findings to the hypotheses and research question.

The role of therapy, or lack of it, in this research.

Having been in receipt of therapy, or not, was not a selection criterion for this study and the type, number and duration of therapy was not considered at the outset and consequently was not explored with the participants. However, all fourteen in the boarding group revealed as the interviews were conducted that they had received psychodynamic therapy. It is important therefore to consider the extent to which therapy played a part in the boarding school group's participation and attachment strategies.

Several of them mentioned that they had undertaken therapy because of their problematic adult relationships and that therapy had revealed to them that such difficulties were a result of attending boarding school with all the consequential difficulties of separation from home and difficulties experienced at school. It must be considered however, that prior difficulties at home, may have increased the likelihood that they experienced boarding school in a more negative way than others, perhaps even those who did not want to participate because they did not find boarding a difficult experience. The sections headed Families and Relationships explores this further.

Eight of the boarding school group began therapy in their twenties, six at some point later than this and three of them continue from time to time. Of the day school group, one began in their late teens, one in their thirties, one in their forties. Nine of them had never been in receipt of therapy. Other than this information that was freely given, as it was not a focus of the study, I have little detail on the number or frequency of sessions. However, an important question in relation to the boarding school group is a related one and that is, was the lack of therapy the reason that others I approached would not take part?

The people who did not take part after receiving my information have to remain an

unknown group in this research and I can only speculate as to their reasons for this as I did in the previous chapter. However, there is information from other writers such as Joy Schaverien (2004) who has extensive experience in conducting therapy with boarders. She states that for boarders the fear of the return of long repressed memories prevents participation in therapy. It is possible therefore that these fears effectively created a defensive barrier through which my request for participation, even though it was not therapy, could not pierce. This may have particularly been the case if they had been prompted to read about the AAI's ability to surprise the unconscious as the thought of participation that may have evoked fear as Hinshelwood & Chiesa wrote (2001), 'change threatens also unconsciously to release once again the anxiety which has been locked away from conscious experience' (p 151).

Further, Schaverien (2017) has argued that a child can feel ashamed and culpable for the humiliating experiences to which they may have been subjected and they continue to find this difficult to articulate even many years later as adults (p 103). Moreover, expressing how they feel about their childhood experiences, could imply criticism of parents from whom they continue to desire love. Bringing such unconscious feelings of shame and humiliation into consciousness as Thompson & Jaques (2017) suggest, could elicit fear of negative reactions that may increase a failure to disclose. Such fear of criticism from others may trigger unmanageable feelings from people who have tried so hard as Type As, as the majority in the two groups are, to be compliant as people pleasers.

Psycho-sociologically, there may be cultural amnesia at play too. This is described as a collective wish not to bring difficult experiences into the light for fear of upsetting the accepted and established norms of society and in a similar way, it could account for Freud's change of mind about the veracity of his patients' sexual abuse when they were children, considering that denoting them as phantasies was more acceptable for society, if not for those adults in question and of course children still being abused. In terms of this study, perhaps

cultural amnesia is a personal unconscious wish (Trist, 1990) to maintain that parental behaviour in sending their children away was not detrimental to the child but actually good for them, or the making of them (Luke, 1994, Duffell, 2000).

An alternative opinion is of course is that some attending boarding school even at a young age, were not emotionally affected by their separation from home. Alayarian (2011) suggests that some may be traumatized by an event while others remain relatively unharmed or even become more resilient and stronger. Such differences in reaction may be associated with 'values, way of thinking, level of resilience, coping mechanisms, environmental factors and availability of support from family, friends, or professionals' (p 63). While this may be the case, Power (2007), Crittenden (2011) and Schaverien (2015), suggest that a secure and emotionally balanced upbringing does not necessarily protect one from the consequences of being thrust into a fearful situation and negatively affected by experiences such as rejection to school. Crittenden (2014, personal communication) stated that a balanced/secure person would not feel very secure and therefore act in a balanced way if they found themselves in a war zone.

As I was not able to ask the refusers why they refused, none of the above can be confirmed however and remains speculation requiring further research.

Despite having received therapy, the suppression of unmanageable emotions can mean that even those who may appear socially competent, can experience difficulties with intimacy (Klein,1946, p 87, Schaverien, 2011). This was acknowledged by Charlotte: *'I think that I am very very self-contained, maybe too much so. I think that makes it difficult for me to ask for help if I need it. Umm…emotionally that is. So…I think I hold back part of myself and my emotions from people. Umm… I think it was a protective mechanism that I had to develop when I was away at* (boarding) *school'*.

Winnicott's concept of a false self is useful here. He defined a false self as a way of hiding who we feel we are in order not to expose our vulnerability to attack or to be ignored.

He wrote, 'The concept of the false self (as I call it) is not a difficult one. The false self is built up on a basis of compliance. It can have a defensive function, which is the protection of the true self' (1960, p 133). Josephine Klein warns, however, that we are not so simple. She asserts that we have many selves, 'a collection of overlapping selves or roles, some of us more, some of us less. Some of these selves are 'falser' than others' (p 241). This sounds similar to Crittenden's concept of switching between Type A and Type C and greater levels of pathology as evidenced by some people when the need arises to either comply (A) or coerce (C) others and as some of the participants in this study do. In this way the authentic self is hidden beneath a carapace of self-protection and the true self; 'the child that was, is in effect armoured and lost' (Schaverien, 2011, p 40, 144).

The consequences of being sent to boarding school has for some destroyed their childhoods. Shengold, (2011) referred to this as soul murder, 'a crime in which the perpetrator is able to destroy the victim's capacity for feeling joy and love' (p 121). The person they were, is now encapsulated inside a shell. For those who went to boarding school and participated in this study, one can suggest that therapy had facilitated the working through of their experiences and the cracking of the shell allowed them to articulate to some extent, their experiences in contrast to those who had not received therapy and who, I suggest, were then unable to participate in this study.

Two of the psychotherapists who had extensive therapy as part of their training said:

Diana: I've obviously been thoughtful since training um, and in receiving therapy you know looking into attachment and stuff. And um, I went back to my boarding school – the first one, because I was in two...but the first one, I went back with my first husband and I cried for four hours, and when he tried to work out what was I crying about, and I tried to work out, I had no words at all, absolute, just deep, deep, deep, deep pain. …, You know, I was absolutely…so it…it hits me sometimes. And sometimes I'm a bit needy with husband, you know, I want reassurance, but we joke about that now, we understand where that's come from. So, I like

reassurance. I like cuddles but he does as well. So that's great! optimism and reflective function generating understanding.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Peter said: … *But I'd been through quite a lot of therapy at that point and was beginning to rebuild myself and realign my own sense of self and achievement. RF;(reflective function) very long story, all coherent, plausible; clear discourse recounting journey towards improved relationship with father and better psychological functioning and how it was achieved.*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Other experiences such as having positive attachment figures either at school or subsequently could have provided a positive intervention as noted above when discussing earned security. However, when asked about other possible attachment figures who may have provided comfort or protection, only one in the boarding school group (Mark) could give an example of someone who acted as an attachment figure at boarding school but Mark was nevertheless still preoccupied with the rejection from home and specifically angry at his mother, hence the inclusion of Type C in his classification (appendix E). Other than this example, not only did the boarders repeatedly lose their main attachment figures each time they were returned to school but according to their interview responses, they were not able to replace them with anyone else who acted as an attachment figure.

It may be that therapy has helped the boarding group become more reorganised towards a balanced B attachment style in eight of the cases. Two of the boarding group, Diana and Peter, acknowledged that it was therapy that helped them resolve their difficult pasts. Indeed, without the benefit of therapy or whatever, the intervening factor was, such as positive relationships, they may still be Type As rather than reorganising. As referred to earlier, Gullestad noted (2003) in relation to the effects of therapy on change: 'Certainly, from a methodological perspective the subjective report cannot be considered *decisive* in substantiating that the improvement is related to therapy. Nevertheless, it makes it

probable that such a connection exists'. For those ex-boarders who did participate, as Gullestad (2003, p 661) points out, the likelihood that therapy makes a difference to a person's attachment style, is probable but cannot be confirmed, although, Levy et al (2006) demonstrated a change from insecure to secure attachment in a pre and post therapy study. Further, in support of this, Jacobvitz (2008, p 476) wrote that those who have' more chronic trauma related symptoms…. spend more time in therapy' and presumably they then have a greater opportunity to engage with change that is helpful in modifying their pathology.

In hindsight, rather than being disappointed that many that I approached did not participate in this study, I should perhaps be relieved that they did not take part as they may have been re-traumatised by memories brought into consciousness by the AAI questions that are meant to surprise the unconscious (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985).

Discussion in relation to the research question and hypotheses

The findings will now be discussed in relation to those who participated. The research question and hypotheses will be presented together below for ease of reference.

Research question

The research question with which I began his study was 'To what extent will those sent to boarding school have different attachment styles as measured by the AAI as adults, compared to those who remained at home?'

Hypothesis

1. **Those sent to boarding school under the age of 13 years will experience the trauma of maternal deprivation resulting in a self-dismissing 'A' insecure attachment style.**

2. **Those attending private day schools will have had the opportunity to form a secure 'B' attachment style with their care givers, and as such will have no or less unresolved traumas**

The findings chapter reveals that the underlying strategy of both groups, that is 84% of the 26 people was predominantly the self-dismissing Type A strategy even if some were reorganising from Type A as described in the preceding chapter. Given that it is the relationship with parents that mostly determines a child's attachment style, this must say something about the kind of parents that both groups grew up with; one in which their attachment behaviour was rejected whether physically by being sent to school, or emotionally at home, or both (Crittenden, 2011).

While remaining at home is no guarantee of receiving an upbringing set within a protective and comforting family environment, Schaverien writes that sending children to boarding school in the latency period beginning around five or six years of age and ending with puberty, creates what Schaverien calls a syndrome of a 'cluster of learned behaviours that follow growing up in a boarding school' (2011, p 140). The experience of rejection is the condition according to Crittenden that create a sense of futility and a cutting off of painful emotions and the memories associated with them rather than an outward expression of anger as displayed by Type Cs. Fearing to trust others with their emotions when their attachment needs have not been met typically leads to a Type A strategy, thus supporting hypothesis 1, when the underlying strategy of Type A is considered. However, the day school group were also predominantly Type A suggesting that it is the emotional neglect experienced by both groups whose attachment behaviour was rejected by their parents that is the underlying factor whether sent away from home or not. The possibility of this was referred to by Goldfarb (1945) as described in chapter four when noting that psychological deprivation resulted in a basic defect of total personality. I take this to mean that the personality is damaged leading to insecurity.

I will give just three examples from the transcripts as an illustration: Sylvia, who went to boarding school commented:

well they left me in an institution and they thought it better for me there but they did abandon us I mean there's no doubt about it.

This is not to suggest that all parents reject their children deliberately, but it may have something to do with the social and political climate within which this group grew up as described earlier. This was the British traditional view that advocated that children should be seen and not heard. Certainly, not being heard was the experience of the boarders as illustrated by Charlotte;

Screaming on a Monday morning at having to get in the car to go to boarding school … My mother was insistent and wouldn't listen to me.

Oscar from the day school group commented that while he remained at home, his parents were mostly absent:

I had two parents who were as um successful and had pretty um prolonged working hours. I mean there was that element formal Lang where you dist. did feel that you'd missed out on that kind of vague seeing a bit minimise more of them.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Clearly, the overwhelming number of the day school group did not benefit from remaining at home by becoming secure and balanced Type Bs. Being mostly Type As, suggests that the day school group too had their attachment behaviour rejected, thus not supporting hypothesis 2.

The predominance of Type A self-dismissing strategies that avoid painful feelings, together with a lack of memories of unpleasant events and lack of evidence of pleasant events from childhood, confirms as far as this small sample can, Freud's thinking that:

> Reality-testing has shown that the loved object no longer exists, and it proceeds to demand that all libido shall be withdrawn from its attachments to that object. This demand arouses understandable opposition—it is a matter of general observation that people never willingly abandon a libidinal position, not even, indeed, when a substitute is already beckoning to them. This opposition can be so

intense that a turning away from reality takes place and a clinging to

the object through the medium of a hallucinatory wishful psychosis (1917, p 244).

This is the contradictory tendency in which a child withdraws emotionally and through splitting, projects goodness into the mother to preserve an imagined sense of a safe relationship, while projecting badness into themselves as Type As do.

Crittenden's model describes a graduation of the Type A self-dismissing strategy from a simple A1/2 strategy through to the higher numbered A7/8 DMM classifications reflecting greater pathology, such as delusional thinking, a form of hallucinatory wishful thinking (A7) found in Tony's classification in the boarding school group (appendix E). His example of closeness failed to demonstrate closeness:

Q: Do you have an episode or example of the relationship being very close?

Tony: this is from memory I can be in my bed which was in that corner and I remember seeing her in a white nightie and just thinking how beautiful she was. So, I was at home until I was seven and then erm I m-my mother decided it would be good for me to go to boarding school she thought it wasn't very healthy with my father not being well, exoneration and I remember in terms of an actual,.. rather ..just her being wonderful.

Q: This is an example of being very close?

Tony: Oh, I see.

Q: Yes, a specific episode about you and her being very close.

Tony: Oh! oh, I see sorry very sorry no I see ..oh erm . . no, not really, I can't think of an illustration of that.

There was no evidence in his interview that his mother was as wonderful as he said but the delusion protected him from the reality of a very ill father and the rejection to boarding school at a time of family difficulty.

As befits a Type A self-dismissing strategy, none of the people with A in their classification could offer memories or evidence of how wonderful they said that their mothers were. For example, from the boarding group, Chris failed to offer an example of his

mother as caring when asked for one.

I was also given a trailer, that I hadn't asked for but I was delighted to have. And it was blue with uh, with a red top to it with a handle you could pull along. *Image.* *And I remember after everybody had opened their presents, I gathered all the paper up and put it on my trolley* *image* *and took it out through to…to put it all in the dustbin.* *Caring' is supported with an episode of receiving gifts. No physical care or comfort. He does not mention this. He is trying hard to present his mother as caring but he is doing the caring.*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

From the day school group, Roger's response also failed to supply an example of closeness with his mother:

Err (speaking very quickly)) probably, erm (sigh) yeah I think erm the first year of school, so I'd be five years old erm my mum came in to do support work as a teacher and we did one on one training in school. *Mother was there for all the class, not just him.*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

What is concerning from a social psychological point of view is that, except for one person in each group classified as B, both groups of professional people who function as middle to upper class members of British society, while seemingly outwardly competent are inside, emotionally insecure people whom it seems are largely adept at splitting off and repressing their emotions and idealising attachment figures, as self-dismissing Type As. The Type A's presentation supports Balint's (1979) description in discussing the process of idealisation as a consequence of the child's psychological withdrawal or suppression of a too harsh attachment figure; someone that is, who fails to provide comfort and protection. This is 'followed by an attempt to create something better, kinder, more understandable, more beautiful and above all, more consistent and more harmonious than the real objects proved to be' (p 68). Thus, forgetting or splitting off painful memories as Freud wrote in 1901 is a defensive strategy:

> It may very well be that the forgetting of childhood can supply us with the key to the understanding of those amnesias which lie, according to our more recent discoveries, at the basis of the formation of all neurotic symptoms (Freud, 1901, p 46).

Freud (1913) described splitting as not so much a splitting of consciousness, but rather a splitting of the mind that disallows influence or correction of unconscious ideas being by conscious thought. Self-dismissing Type As split off their emotions repressing the fear they experienced at times of emotional neglect and the fear of rejection and abandonment. Subsequent developments deprive the memory of all its affect so far as consciousness is concerned but they leave the unconscious idea completely untouched and this can then sometimes provoke somatic phenomena. Thus, the body speaks in place of split off thoughts and feelings.

Somatisation occurs in insecure people when talking about difficult topics. According to Howe, (2005) 'the indirect expression of this internal stress can be seen as an increase in somatic symptoms' (p 104). In relation to trauma, Kalsched (2005) wrote:

> that the affect and sensation aspects of experience stay with the body and the mental representation aspect is split off into the "mind". Such a person will not be able to let somatic sensations and excited bodily states into mental awareness, i.e., will not be able to let his or her mind give shape to bodily impulses in words or images. Instead, messages from the body will have to be discharged in some other way and will therefore remain pre-symbolic (p 66).

During the AAI, people will often cough or their digestive systems will begin to perform. This is noted in the AAI transcripts for discursive analysis as it is indicative of a change of arousal when difficult information threatens to emerge from the unconscious as Debbie said when recalling her rejection and abandonment to boarding school:

So, she (mother) would have just walked off and…and I…yeah, I do know that one. I…I can feel it in my stomach now. *Actively experiencing fear with the memory. Arousing*

negative affect *So I must have known something big was changing. So why that one I thought* *was more ominous than the others I haven't got a clue.* *She does have clues. In fact, she* *offered a big clue just a moment ago when she mentioned her attachment to her mother. By* *stating she does not have a clue, she keeps the problem unsolvable.*

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Type C responses

There were fewer of the Type Cs, in fact, 30%, that is, eight out of twenty-six of both groups had C (including AC combinations) in their classifications. Individuals using a Type C response project their anger to the outside world as a means of protecting themselves from responsibility and blame others. They split of the ego as they unconsciously fear to be found lacking but cannot consciously admit this and 'It is, therefore, abuse of the mechanism of projection for purposes of defence.' (Freud, 1894, p 110).

In the DMM, the Type C strategy uses splitting within negative affect (Crittenden, 2010). The invulnerable self displays anger while inhibiting the vulnerable self who fears rejection and craves comfort. Such an angry outburst followed when one of the boarding group, who was also a psychotherapist was asked about his childhood:

Q: Taken as a whole, how do you think your childhood experiences have affected your adult personality?

(laughs) How the fuck am I supposed to answer that?! (laughs). ANGER – disarms with laughter.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Crittenden (2011) also notes that when Type C people fear that they will lose their power or their anger fails to get them what they want; that, of course, is someone to love or like them, they use a strategy of splitting off the anger and become coy or disarming. She described this as the split between the vulnerable self and the strong defender. Crittenden wrote that splitting 'manages the mixed feelings associated with arousal and displays one part

in an exaggerated manner that elicits a response from others while concurrently inhibiting display of the competing feelings' (2011, p 43). Schaverien (2015) described this split in a similar way as a fierce controller protecting his more vulnerable self. As an example, Jane from the boarding group said:

*And I got into awful problems at school because , erm and I don't know what age but very young but not the first school the second school, I stole a girl's pen, erm a blue Parker pen I can picture it now and I got into awful trouble for that (**At school?**) yeah and they contacted my mum and said that they wanted me to see like an Educational Psychologist probably, and she I remember her getting really cross that you know that I was giving now another reason why she had to go to the school (laughs)* defiance disarmed by laughter.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Summary

Both groups have a predominance of the self-dismissing Type A strategy and both groups have emotional rejection in their classifications with the addition of physical rejection/ abandonment for the boarders. The boarders also have Type A classifications that are more pathological than the day school groups. In order to cope with the unwelcome, unmanageable feelings and terrifying knowledge that they were emotionally rejected and in the boarders case, emotionally and physically rejected as children, the majority of both groups suppressed the memories into the unconscious and transformed the knowledge into a strategy to gain parental attention, mostly through Type A compliance and sometimes through Type C anger, or indeed a combination of both in some cases.

Despite the boarding school group having more people reorganising (7), from Type A to the more balanced Type B compared to the day school group, of whom there was one and despite all of the boarding group, having been in receipt of therapy, they continue to have many more unresolved traumas (28) than the day school group (15) suggesting perhaps that

their progression is less psychologically healthy than at first appears through reorganisation. By this I mean, there appears to be more psychological help needed either via therapy or close attachment relationships to help ameliorate these traumas. Levy et al (2006) suggested that even with a therapy that improves reflective function, such as transference focused therapy or mentalization (Fonagy, 2006) they 'unexpectedly, found that RF was not significantly related to lack of resolution of loss and trauma' and that they may operate independently of each other (p 1037). The next section will consider these traumas in more detail.

Trauma

Trauma in the DMM has been previously defined in chapter seven. However, to help the reader, briefly, trauma is indicated when an event or events interfere with the successful functioning of a self-protective strategy. These events are threats to the self or progeny such as loss or other dangers that threaten the self or those close to them (Crittenden, 2011, p 236). At such times, the intensity of emotion 'disrupts the ability to cope with and assimilate information' (Stern, 1985, p 245) and turns one's world upside down. Such a time is when a child experiences rejection and abandonment.

One important difference between the two groups is that the boarding group had a greater number of unresolved traumas than the day school group. In total, the boarding school group experienced 63% of the unresolved traumas while the day school group experienced 37% of unresolved traumas. Just over half, that is, eight of the boarding group continued at the time of the interviews completed in 2017, to experience the trauma of maternal deprivation by being sent away to school. Significantly, the boarders experienced a greater number of traumas (12) than the day school group (7) under the age of 13 years old prior to boarding.

These findings are in line with several writers including Deutsch (1919), who stated that the greater number of unresolved traumas under the age of 13 years old would have exacerbated the psychological insecurity already present in boarders prior to being sent away.

Deutsch (1919) explains this as an inability to cope with one trauma creates a predisposition to vulnerability to other traumas. There is no reason to think that the psychological effects of trauma in 2017 at the time of the completed interviews would be any different to 1919 given the number of unresolved traumas experienced in the boarding group prior to puberty. Schaverien (2017) too suggests that repeated traumas deform the personality and can result in more psychologically damaged people with aspects of delusion, or times of psychosis as suggested earlier in the quotation by Freud: 'This opposition can be so intense that a turning away from reality takes place and a clinging to the object through the medium of a hallucinatory wishful psychosis' (1917, p 244).

These findings are also supported by Bowlby's (1988), view that adverse childhood experiences are 'strongly interactive' and there is a greater likelihood for someone who has had one adverse experience to have others. Rutter (1979) too considered that people brought up in 'unhappy or disruptive homes were more likely to have illegitimate children, to become teenage mothers, to make unhappy marriages and to divorce' (p 40). The impact of these adverse experiences would make them more vulnerable to later adverse experiences and more likely that they would experience more of them. This, of course, refers to a different/lower socio-economic group and adverse experiences such as sexual abuse 'in higher social classes was often overlooked because professionals assume it is rare' (Finkelhor, 1984 p 105). Writers such as Crittenden and Ainsworth (1989), Howe (2005) and Crittenden (2013), have noted that when considering families, the literature has mainly focussed on the difficulties of what is called the lower social classes as these are generally of interest to authorities such as social services. These services are in turn, managed by those in greater power such as government departments run by civil servants and Ministers of state many of whom went to boarding school. This not only focusses on the problems of lower classes as if being lower class was the problem but also diverts attention from the 'upper' classes' problems in terms

of, for example, the emotional neglect that they endured whether at home or by being rejected to and abandoned at boarding school.

However, also in 1984, Fisher (1984) indicated in his study into problems of boarding school children, that some children were worried about what was happening at home and that may have 'created a source of daily worries which may continue to feature although the child is no longer physically present and able to influence the outcome' (p 213) This suggested difficulties within the home that the children were perhaps witness to and may have constituted an adverse childhood experience but this was not elaborated upon. Stewart, Senger, Kallen & Scheurer wrote (1987) 'Recently, it has become common knowledge, especially among professionals, that abuse and neglect exist across all social classes' (p 529). Certainly, both groups of middle and upper middle-class people in this study had examples of adverse childhood experiences at home including parental discord, emotional neglect and physical abuse.

Howe (2005) wrote that 'not feeling loved by your parent is deeply painful. Your attachment figure is the person to whom you instinctively turn at times of need but all you find is indifference……if a parent rejects you, particularly when you are in a state of distress, then where might you find comfort and understanding?' (p 90). This is applicable to all children no matter what their social status but is particularly pertinent for boarding school children in this study who have no one to turn to.

So why would the boarding school group have more unresolved traumas under the age of 13 years than the day school group who have come from similar socio-economic backgrounds and had either nannies or attended nursery school? The notion of the British stiff upper lip may go some way to account for this. Young boys were brought up by their parents to be good little soldiers and told not to cry when upset. Perhaps this attitude extended to a coldness when they needed warmth, insensitive parenting when they need sensitivity and physical and emotional distance when they needed closeness. Suttie, writing in 1935, referred

to a 'tenderness taboo' (1999, p 95) in describing the emotional separation between mother and child. Perhaps the knowledge that the children of middle and upper class families who will be sent to boarding school is anticipated by such an attitude. Separation is prepared for from an early age resulting in:

> the emergence from the kind and sheltered world of infancy into the ruthless competitiveness of the adult life of this people … must be accompanied by stresses, resentments and regressive longings with which the mothers are quite unfit to deal (Suttie 1999, p 93).

Leading consequently to greater harshness and therefore a greater instance of unmet attachment needs for the child.

In this study, just over half, that is, eight of the boarding group continue to experience the trauma of maternal deprivation by being sent away to school. Four had no classified traumas whatsoever. These four explained that they had therapy that helped them integrate their experiences, two of whom were psychotherapists and would have received therapy as part of their training. The others made no comment as to the effectiveness or not of their therapy. In hindsight, this would have been a useful question to have asked.

Mourning, not homesickness

In this study, all of the boarding group described the rejection to boarding school with much pain whether they were classified as having an unresolved trauma in relation to the rejection or not; such as

Gary who did not have an unresolved trauma:

Gary: *Yep, I, well, I, I stuttering can remember the day I was taken to boarding school and the realisation that they were then going to go back missing word Far East and that I wasn't going back with them so that's an incredibly vivid memory.*

Q: So how did you respond to that?

Gary: Err, I just cried my eyes out…for probably the whole night umm, so yeah, that's a strong, powerful memory that one…. I think my mum was breaking up inside but desperately trying to

put on a strong sort of err stiff upper lip just so that, you know, it wouldn't make it any worse. (small pause) Don't know about dad 'cos, you know, he was at boarding school from even younger than I was umm and so I think whether or not he just thought I needed to buck up or whatever but certainly, it was not a good memory that. Umm, I was quite young as well, I mean, well, I was one of the youngest boarders there so umm I think the big difference was that nobody else's lived as far away as I was and it was really more before the days of boarders coming from Hong Kong and all of that so it was a long old way.

Q: And how were things then?

Gary: Umm, well, I think the next morning you just got up and it was time to get on with it but I was unhappy, certainly for that first half a term, off and on, umm, the home sickness finally ebbs *Present Tense* *away the longer it goes on really but umm, its uhh, it wouldn't be something I would ever want my children to ever go through.*

Q: And half term?

Gary: No, No, so I saw them three times a year. Umm, and umm, *dysf* *you know, at that age, I just think it's a joke really,* *reverse* *obviously I didn't think that at the time you just don't think like that do you* *inv* *but err, looking back on it, I think it's made me quite anti boarding really.*
*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

For people such as Gary, the feelings of loss following rejection can be the most pertinent and powerful emotion of all and calling it homesickness, as some have (Fisher, Frazer & Murray, 1996), appears too simplistic. In their study, they refer to homesickness:

> commonly experienced state of distress among those who have left their house and home and find themselves in a new and unfamiliar environment. It is generally represented as an intense longing for home accompanied by a depressive mood and a variety of somatic complaint' (p 899).

However, something more than this appears to be experienced when the child realises that he or she is left at school and is not returning home. Several boarding school people

described this moment as losing their families; in Bowlby's terms, a breaking of the affectional bond (2005, p 85). The greater distress experienced on separation from home was noted by Bowlby. Those in residential nursery cried more than children in day nursery (1960). The loss of home for a child is a terror that is incapable of being explained. It is as if all they knew has been lost and yet not lost. Bion, who was sent to boarding school at eight years old felt 'numbed, stupefied (Bion, 1986, p 33). Boss calls this ambiguous loss in that the loss is there and yet not there, as it would be with a death that has a certain ending (1999, p 63). However, being fundamentally self-dismissing Type As, many in this study said that they recovered from being sent away and yet the findings, as we have seen in the previous chapter largely decry that. They continue to experience the loss again and again when visiting their previous school or travelling on a train that reminds them of the journey back to school, even at forty years of age as Tony did in chapter seven.

Despite the discussions between psychoanalysis and attachment theorists that psychoanalysis is often concerned with the internal world and attachment theory with external events, Freud (1917) nevertheless emphasised the interaction between the internal and external world indicating that the struggle with an external loss of a relationship produced not just internal depression but also outward grief. Klein too acknowledged that the loss of a relationship can feel like the loss of everything (1940).

Loss and separation were central to Freud's thinking in the cause of anxiety as referred to in this commentary by Strachey:

> The fundamental determinant of automatic anxiety is the occurrence of a traumatic situation; and the essence of this is an experience of helplessness on the part of the ego in the face of an accumulation of excitation, whether of external or of internal origin, which cannot be dealt with….. Anxiety 'as a signal' is the response of the ego to the threat of the occurrence of a traumatic situation. Such a threat constitutes a situation of danger. Internal dangers change with the period of life…., but they have a common characteristic, namely that they involve separation from, or loss of, a loved

object, or a loss of its love ….a loss or separation which might in various ways lead

to an accumulation of unsatisfied desires and so to a situation of helplessness (1926,

p 81).

Bowlby's concern with maternal deprivation produced two main hypotheses in respect of the 'painfulness of mourning' that took both the internal and external world into account (2005, p 30).

1) Because of the persistent and insatiable nature of yearning for the lost figure, pain is inevitable

2) Pain following loss is the result of a sense of guilt and a fear of retaliation (1980, p26).

Both statements can be seen as valid but Freud and Bowlby leaned more toward the first and Klein the second. Certainly, the sense of loss and mourning for their mother is very strong in the boarding school group and includes both statements:

1. yearning for the mother as demonstrated by Mary:

because the horrible thing was that, it was always when you felt most homesick, and I think well I think we were probably all crying under the bed covers by ourselves all silently…, thinking we were the only ones… its, please believe me how unhappy I am it was just and the back of the letter after I'd glued it was, please mummy, please believe me, and

2. guilt that they are at fault in having such yearning and fear that they will no longer be loved should they complain. This was also voiced by Mary:

The trouble is you learn very young to turn your feelings upside-down because they can't be relied on, so you're feelings of, I hate this, I'm so frightened, I so lonely, I wanna go home, you know would be the same as how can my mum do this to me, how could she send me here and I'm so lonely and I'm so homesick, but I can't make her wrong, I can't possibly make her wrong so it must be me that's wrong, and that is massive you know, how many years does it take you after that and care must be the same, where you can start to even trust your own feelings, maybe never, entirely

No one today in the light of research following Bowlby (1960, 1973,1980) Ainsworth (1967, 1969)   Robertson (1953) and other works of theirs, would deny that any child can feel devastated by feelings of separation and abandonment no matter what their background. Roger, one of the day school group, described his feelings of separation and abandonment thus:

I think I was dropped off at my aunts for my mum to go off on holiday err with my dad. I'm not sure and I think it was three or four days and I just have a a memory of err waiting and being quite anxious for mum err which I think made it quite hard for my aunt I really like err but still I think I was a little bit err shocked by the whole process I think I was quite young.

Roger was reunited with his parents no more than a week later. How much worse then, is the feeling of separation and abandonment by young children when their parents drop them off at boarding school and do not return for many weeks. For boarders though, the pattern of rejection would have been repeated after many exeats and trips home for the holidays resulting in a splitting off of their desperation but which occasionally rises to the surface even as adults. Sometimes the sense of abandonment was heightened by parents failing to collect the children on time, or not at all. This was the case when the children were either sent to other relatives, sent to a friend's house or left at school in the holidays. To illustrate the pain of such abandonment, I quote from Tony who attended boarding school:

 *When they had to drop me back at school... would be this rising tide of desperation and then I'd always cry, my mother would leave and I would always cry. I'd cry when she left and then I'd go back and see my friends and I'd be fine, (**Mm**), I'd get over it I did, but I did grow up with that model of separation and very occasionally and I have to say I don't think it's happened to me in the last ten years but even in my forties there would be sometimes moments where I'd think, I'm getting the same feeling as when they used to leave me at school.*

These effects of separation suggest a bereavement that is not fully mourned more than homesickness, something Bowlby commented on in 1986. Certainly, during the interview,

there was a feeling of intense sadness that threatened to explode into the room but true to a self-dismissing style, Tony denied himself the luxury of tears. Perhaps this was an example of introjecting his loss into a part of him he was battling to keep split off. However, that this was felt in the room demonstrated that he had not won the battle and that this was ongoing for him. His classification included disorganisation in relation to his father's illness and to his mother but he only had therapy for a short, unspecified period of time:

Tony: *I had some psychotherapy when I was twenty-three and I just stopped it after six months because I thought, I don't think having therapy is going to sort me out.*

Further questions raised by the findings

The main findings of the boarding school group having all been in receipt of therapy, half of them reorganising from Type A to B and having more unresolved traumas than the day school group, stood out but other questions arise such as; what is it about families that produce a predominance of self-dismissing attachment strategies in both groups? How does this strategy impact on relationships and given the recent investigations into abuse in boarding schools (Renton, 2017) why is there little reference to such abuse in the interviews even when directly asked? These questions will be addressed below.

Families

While it is not the intention of this thesis to discuss class attitudes in psychoanalytic terms, it is important to point out the identification to the social group underlying the tradition of rejecting children to boarding school. Presumably, this applies to parents whether they were either Type C, coercive or Type A, compliant although I have no evidence of parental attachment strategies directly.

One would think, given their experiences at boarding school, that a compliant self-dismissing adult would not send their children to boarding school in turn, if it were only their

decision given the rejection that they felt but it seems they are compliant with tradition too. From a sociological perspective, children of the upper middle and the aristocratic classes, historically had parents who went to boarding school and it seems that tradition in British culture still holds sway as it furthers the social constructivist unconscious point of view in which an individual accepts behaviours and above all restricts his personality to certain functions and abolishes others (Hinshelwood, 2001). In the case of boarding, I would suggest that they accept tradition and abolish feelings. What is likely to follow therefore, is a parents' separation of emotional attachment in the expectation of and a preparation for a future physical separation and this is likely to occur from the earliest days of a child's life. The subsequent coldness and harsh treatment towards the child leading to vulnerabilities to experience trauma or traumas as evidence in this study. Thus, this distancing of a potential close attachment perhaps demonstrates the effect of the parent's own ongoing unresolved responses to trauma.

In this study, only six of the fourteen boarding school group had parents who had also boarded so an intergenerational tradition cannot be supported in this case but an aspiration to middle and upper class lifestyles can be suggested. Historically though, many families follow this tradition of boarding their children. Renton (2017, p 40) described several examples of this in his book including Winston Churchill who had to be removed from his boarding school because he was so upset at being there and yet he sent his own son to boarding school perhaps projecting on to him the social expectation of his group. Renton quotes one man saying 'despite everything. I sent both my boys off at eight. They were miserable too. We never learn' (p 39). It is as if an unconscious need to comply with societal expectations is enhanced by the ability to cut off emotions as typified by the British stiff upper lip. It suggests that, across the generations, the narcissistic view of themselves as superior holds them together and counterbalances their disdain and indeed hatred of school

that their sub-culture, via their parents, sent them to. Confirmation of this would need further research however but as Freud put it in The Future of an Illusion:

> It is in keeping with the course of human development that external coercion gradually becomes internalized; for a special mental agency, man's super-ego takes it over and includes it among its commandments. ……Such a strengthening of the super-ego is a most precious cultural asset in the psychological field. Those in whom it has taken place are turned from being opponents of civilization into being its vehicles. The greater their number is in a cultural unit, the more secure is its culture and the more it can dispense with external measures of coercion (Freud, 1927, p 11).

The unconscious compulsive compliance to conform appears stronger than the conscious knowledge that rejection to boarding school is utterly painful and this then is transmitted down through the generations. It is as if, as Freud wrote, (1937) albeit about sexuality, 'after such enlightenment the children (*now as adults*) know something that they did not know before but they make no use of the new knowledge imparted to them' (p 336, my italics). In other words, they continue to conform to the ideals of their sub-culture and repression disavows the pain felt and that felt by their children who are then sent away.

Darwin despite despising `the old stereotyped stupid classical learning' and hating `the whole system of breaking through the affections of the family by separating the boys so early in life', kept his sons at home for their initial education but did not have `the courage to break through the trammels' and `after many doubts' sent his oldest son, William, to Rugby in 1852 (1887).

Such repression of their own pain, suggests that parents unconsciously form alliances and identify with their sub-cultural group. This keeps them bound to the group and implies therefore 'obligation and subjection' (Kaes, 2001 p 116). Following Klein (1959) perhaps a form of introjection seems to take place that means people take in their social group and the social environment as part of themselves and so to deny it would imply a death of part of

themselves. Perhaps they also project part of this identification of the unspoken group distress and anger that they feel, into their children so that they do not have to continue to experience the vulnerability that they have carried for so long. However, it seems that this becomes an unspoken shared pain rather than just a projected one and one shared through generations who continue to send their children away to school. Perhaps too, I suggest, is that sending their children to board is a false means of demonstrating that it was not so bad an experience after all?

Alternatively, they consciously send their children away in the full knowledge that it will be painful. Such a view is enabled by the platitude that children must be seen and not heard, or worse, not even seen except for a few weeks of the year when school is closed.

None of the day school group of twelve had a parent who attended boarding school but one had a grandmother who had been to boarding school. However, six of the boarders had parents who boarded and eight were the first in their families to board. A reason for this was given by Simon who was the first in his family to have boarded saying that for families who wanted to belong to a higher social class sending their children to boarding school was '*a badge of honour, that indicated that he had a certain prosperity and had arrived'*. However, Simon also said that he had not sent his children away to school as he had not enjoyed it and that he wanted to have a relationship with his children that boarding school would have prevented. This may represent an insightful recognition that he did not want to put his children through this, or an affective response, a kind of challenge or rebellion to what his parents did to him. This would be supported by the Type C coercive aspect to his classification. Mary also commented that she was glad that she had not sent her daughter to board and was pleased when she saw the difference in her daughter's experience of difficulties in day school:

And she, Angela, was her best friend and she.. you know all the usual stuff that happens for girls, and she'd come up on my lap and I cuddle her and she'd have a rant and a cry and a

sulk and a pout and pissed-off-ness, and then she'd be finished and she'd hop off my lap and say I'm gonna phone Angela and see what she's doing, and I'd think, I can't believe how quickly those things are over, when you've got your mum to cuddle up to (Mm), they're just, you know they're traumatic but they resolved themselves and it doesn't fester.

While some mothers may have not wanted their children to be sent to boarding school, historically, it was the husband's decision. In this study, none of the ex-boarders neither male (9) nor female (5) said that they would send their children to boarding school. Mary commented that;

because I had started doing therapy when they were quite.... and also the fact that I am you know still fundamentally, you know I do come from a background of a lot of repression, so that even though I was doing a lot of this other, I still am who I am which is fundamentally somebody that had a very repressed, emotionally buttoned up background and so you know my children are sort of like each generation is healthier, and my children are far healthier and my grandchildren are far healthier, that's my experience of them.

This suggests that such buttoned up backgrounds require loosening via therapy perhaps. A further explanation of the dynamics of families, is given by Bowlby's internal working models (1969, 1973, 1980) of attachment relationships. These guide perceptions and responses in existing and future relationships (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Bowlby, 1969/1982). Main and others (Van Izendoorn, 1995) found that this included the transmission of the same attachment style from balanced Type B parents onto their own children in 'middle class, low risk, maritially (sic) and geographically stable families' (Crittenden, 2011). However, others such as Hautamaki, Neuvonen & Makiniemi-Oiispanen (2010), Shah, Fonagy & Strathearn, (2010), have found that there was less continuity within insecure Type A and C attachment styles.

Sandler and Ryle, (1976, 1990) identified a form of reciprocal role enactment, where the behaviour of one person elicits the opposite behaviour in another, often repeating roles

from earlier in their histories and often these elicited roles are of the opposite attachment strategy. Crittenden agreed with this view suggesting that the opposite attachment strategies of a compliant Type A is evident when a controlling, coercive Type C mother or father wants their child to do well for their own social standing. Balint (1968) described such Type C behaviour when writing about a child's omnipotence but this also describes a Type C parent stuck in the child's role:

> it is only my own wishes interests and needs that matter, none of the people who are important to me (*my children*), must have any interests, wishes, needs different from mine and if they have any at all, they must subordinate theirs to mine without any resentment or strain; in fact, it must be their pleasure and their enjoyment to fit in with my wishes. If this happens, I shall be good, pleased and happy but that is all. If this does not happen, it will be horrifying both for the world and for me (Balint, 1968, p 48, the italics are mine).

In order to please such a Type C parent, in order to gain affection and approval, a compliant Type A child results, as evidenced by the following when asked:

Q: and if you needed comfort what would you do?

Debbie in the boarding group stated *I wouldn't ..Erm. . I think my mother was probably driven by what she wanted.*

Also, in the boarding group; Mary said: *I-I wouldn't have gone to my mother really for emotional comfort even as an adult I wouldn't have'…. because my mother… was quick and, you know and could be quite nasty which I think I-you know…*

Neil, also an ex-boarder said*: Errm, I definitely wouldn't go and seek it out erm, as a, as a kid I think I would just spend time by myself and know, and know that actually probably have more luck just spending time with myself and getting over it rather than seeking comfort for it, erm and knowing that if I was going to go and seek comfort erm, I- I would probably wouldn't, wouldn't get it in a way that I thought I needed, so I just, I just wouldn't go and seek it, I think I would just deal with it myself.*

From the day school group, Roger said in response to the same question.

Roger*: Mum, mum and dad.*

 Q: Have you got an episode of when that happened?

Roger: *No.*

Roger could give no evidence of receiving warmth and comfort. It seems perhaps that such families are more concerned perhaps with compliance to their social status than nurturing their children but these motives may be unconscious.

Relationships

As adults, the boarding group had slightly more unhappy marriages and divorces (average number 1.2) than the day school group (average 0.91) but this could be a function of being part of an older cohort with a greater opportunity for marital discord and breakdown although there is only a twelve year mean average difference between the two groups. At the time of the interview, the boarding group's mean average age was 52 and the day school group's mean average was 40. That is, there is not a thirty-year gap between them that denotes the average time between generations that would most likely impact on their responses (Collins, 2002). Further, there is no difference in attitude towards their parents in terms of responses to the AAI and therefore, one can speculate that the stage of life they were at had little influence on how they felt about their experiences or attachment styles; both groups being fundamentally Type A.

Relationships for anyone can be difficult to negotiate but a common theme for the boarding school group and not the day school group was marrying partners who complained that they were unable to reach them emotionally and often there was a conflict between fear of abandonment and a need for intimacy. This conflict splits off the inner desire for intimacy from the outer world presentation such that relationships are refracted through distortion.

Sylvia commented: *and I think I'm, in marrying him I married a safe person……and I find*

him a very interesting person so it doesn't matter but erm.

Others in the boarding group endured for some time, loveless marriages without complaint seeking to comply with their parent's wishes and whatever their marriage partners wished, to their own detriment and self-dismissing needs. As illustration, Peter, recognizing his compliant nature in his relationship to a controlling first wife said: *I felt very anxious and um, lacked confidence because she used to take charge, she was quite dominant in the relationship.*

Their main difficulty was allowing themselves to trust another person with their feelings having learned that adults are not to be trusted. The motto seemed to be if you can't trust your mother, who can you trust? Again, this can be evident in any population but relationships in the boarding group compared with the day school group appeared hard to manage. Peter continued to explain that his first marriage broke down after 16 years. In the following quote he describes a Type C coercive wife again illustrating an opposite attachment style to his Type A:

there was quite a distant relationship uh and what happened during my relationship, I was very dependent on uh my wife, who was very authoritative, very self-assured, I felt very anxious…. I went into a relationship with a woman who was very much like my mother I think, who was that, so I think in hindsight analytically you know, I was the child and she was the parent in the relationship, and I became the scolded, emasculated man until I popped out connotative the other end, uh with no real sense of who I was and why I was, and it's taken me a lot of years of therapy and men's work and support to get a sense of identity and to develop myself into being a happy person that I am and fulfilled person I am now.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Peter, remarried after therapy and said:

I take responsibility for myself now. And my wife does for her, so we have a very adult to adult relationship; I think in the past uh I was very dependent on…on women to make me

feel safe and secure.

Sylvia remained married to her husband and at the age of 75yrs said in response to the question about how she feels when separated from her husband:

*Well, actually it's quite a relief (laughing) I quite like having a time I mean that's the other thing that being at boarding school I have no problem about being by myself, (**Mm**) because you are in a sense by yourself at boarding school.*

Of course, such independence can be accounted for any number of other variables such as parental death or rejection of their attachment behaviour, even had they remained at home but for Sylvia, boarding school promoted a sense of independence and non-reliance on others.

Sex

It is important to point out that sexual activity as a child was mentioned by only one boarding and one day school person. This is interesting given the emphasis that psychoanalysis lays on sex from the earliest oedipal relationships. One can only speculate that given the social back grounds of the participants in this study, 'sex was domesticated, brought under the control of the community and could therefore not disturb a person's state of mind' (Hirschhorn, 2001, p 36). The community can be either school or home life. One can speculate again that the absence of sex in these interviews was perhaps related to the British sense of decorum that is still outwardly promoted in middle class families and of course in public schools, no matter what goes on in private lives. In addition, the fear of being blamed and criticised may have held them back.

Sylvia maintained that she was not sexually abused at boarding school. She did, however, witness sexualised behaviour between a pupil and headteacher and had this to say:

but if you like sex or talking about sex it was absolutely taboo * SEXUALITY, so it was curious it made you slightly prim about ever talking about it or having relationships with the boys…and then, the headmaster J…n S….h who was very well known sort of in educational erm erm areas because of his erm progressive attitude towards looking after children, and he saw A….n dancing and he

she? Confusion? had a jacket with two pockets here, and he said oh I can hear your money jangling and put his hands on her breasts. SEXUALITY – WITNESSES HEAD TEACHER TOUCH HER FRIEND ON THE BREASTS. Followed by I was suddenly taken out of class and summoned to the headmaster who said, erm I understand that you have been spreading stories that I behaved inappropriately to A…n I want you to withdraw it. I was absolutely stunned, you know I-I and anyway I said okay yes you know because it wasn't to me and he said I don't want you to talk to A…n about it.

*red font indicates coder notation. Speech is verbatim.

Only one of the day school people spoke of sexual abuse and that was an after-thought. He had not been physically assaulted and he was able to talk to his mother about it and the school removed the teacher. However, this did not result in a prosecution and presumably, the teacher was free to abuse again elsewhere. This again is a theme that occurs in Renton (2017) in which he cites examples of predatory teachers being moved on without prosecution. He adds that in all the cases where parents or the school authorities became aware that a teacher was abusing children, less than 5 per cent resulted in a report to the police, and usually only because parents insisted (Renton, 2017, p 320).

Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings from the previous chapter that included the surprising outcome that only people in the boarding school group who had been in therapy would take part and that the predominant attachment strategy for both groups was Type A, compliant and emotionally self- dismissing. That there were examples in the boarding group of reorganising from Type A to B was speculated to be a result of having attended therapy of a psychodynamic nature. The day school group only had three people who had experienced therapy and not necessarily psychodynamic and only one in the group was reorganising and

he had not received therapy but he had remarried and to a psychologist that may have aforded him a positive attachment relationship.

The other major finding is the greater number of unresolved traumas experienced by the boarding group compared to the day school group both prior to and after boarding school. The reasons for this have been explored leading to a conclusion that the type of parents who would send their children away from home are either those whose interest lies in social compliance or selfish ambition such that British cultural status and education are seen as more important than nurturing one's own children. Even when parents live and work in Britain, it seems that sending one's child away in order to have a better education (and this is not always the case), takes precedence over the rejection the child feels. This rejection continues to affect them in adulthood. They may be succesful in their careers but they are less successful in relationships. Therapy appears to have had an ameliorating effect but has not not completely resolved the traumas that boarding school and family relationships have created.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study involved reviewing the literature on private education, attachment theory and pyschoanlysis. I traced the link from Bowlby's days as a psychoanalyst to the development of his Attachment Theory and subsequent development by the attachment theorists Ainsworth, Main and Crittenden. The strength and weaknesses of using assessment tools and my choice of the Adult Attachment Interview was discussed in chapter five, acknowledging that two strands of psychological research, namely social psychology using self- report questionnaires tapping into conscious awareness and one related more to a psychoanalytic approach tapping into the unconscious as used in this study, have taken different directions but with attempts at convergence by some researchers such as Mikulincer.

Overview

I completed 26 Adult Attachment interviews with fourteen boarders and twelve people who attended fee paying day school. The findings indicate that rejection both emotional and physical were detrimental to the psychological well-being of the majority of the children in this study but that those sent away from home also suffered more psychologically as evidenced by their slightly higher levels of pathological attachment strategies and that they also suffered more traumas than the day school group both prior to 13 years of age and subsequently.

This research has produced some unexpected results. Crittenden (2011) had predicted that those sent to boarding school would most likely be Type A but I had thought that possibly the day school group would have included a wider range of classifications and would have had more Type Bs on the basis of being allowed to remain at home and build secure relationships with their parents or other attachment figures. This could of course never be a firm expectation as home life for the day school group, as with any cohort, always had the

possibility of having insecure relationships with attachment figures. This turned out to be the case as the majority of the day school group also had insecure Type A strategies.

However, the main surprise was that all of the boarding school group had undergone psychodynamic therapy at some time and that half were reorganising from Type A to Type B. I can only speculate that therapy had both facilitated their participation and had been a positive experience in the reorganising process from Type A to B as referred to chapter eight. As therapy was not explored during the interviews, neither the duration nor the frequency of therapy was established and as asking about this was firstly not part of the interview protocol and secondly, I had not been aware at the time that the people I was interviewing had been in therapy. I had considered contacting them after the interviews were complete but this felt too intrusive given that they had divulged so much about themselves already.

Even with historical accuracy, the reason for reorganising from one strategy to another cannot be confirmed but I can hypothesise that psychodynamic therapy had something to do with this, as of course might a change in relationships.

These reorganising seven had A/C in their classifications and this raises perhaps the possibility that during the process of change one needs to find one's voice and speak (Type C) up from a previous position of self-dismissal (Type A) before finding a middle road for oneself in which both others and one's own perspective is considered as does a Type B.

The process of reorganisation is little understood and further research may prove helpful in this regard to consider whether the reorganising process is related to what Ferenczi (1926) referred to as Freud's transition phase between ignoring and accepting reality. While Ferenczi did not reference Freud, he appeared to suggest that the therapeutic process facilitates a shift from dismissal and denial of painful events, including traumas to acceptance of them.

No doubt in many cases, parents who send their children away to school consciously consider that they are doing it for the good of the child and no doubt some ex-boarders

believe they enjoyed the experience and if they were not bullied or abused then at a conscious level this may be the case, although the example in the introduction of someone who suddenly burst into tears indicates that this may be otherwise.

Bowlby's writings (1960) on children suffering protest, despair and detachment when separated from their parents surprised many in the 1950s. Children it seems were not considered to have feelings and if they did they had to 'man up' (Duffell, 2000), or, put rather more accurately, withdraw, encapsulating their emotions when their attachment behaviour has been ignored (Schaverien, 2015). However, people, including those who hated boarding school, continue to send their children to boarding school despite this.

The experience of many children sent to boarding schools in previous generations when early morning runs and cold showers were usual and matron was often uncaring, if not cruel (Renton, 2017), may be less than it was in previous times, although fagging, a form of in-house slavery that meant a younger boy was at the beck and call of older ones, continued officially until the 1970s and unofficially to the present day (Schaverien 2015). In 1986 corporal punishment was banned in state schools but not in private schools until 1998. The Serious Crime Act of 2015, made emotional neglect and psychological cruelty to children a crime in Britain. However, there are no official accounts of how this is enforced and one wonders if being rejected and abandoned at school does not constitute such an offence even given the improved living conditions.

Boarding schools now have counsellors and dormitories are warm but it is the rejection to boarding school which underpins fear and anxiety as children continue to suffer the lack of care, comfort and protection which they need to feel loved and secure. It is the breaking of the maternal bond; the rejection, separation and abandonment that appears to cause the psychological damage and create a vulnerability to a greater number of traumas than it did to the day school group in this study.

There has been some disquiet in recent years about sending young children to boarding school and this thesis supports the concerns that doing so is detrimental to their mental health. While all children can be exposed to physical and emotional neglect, rejection and abuse, the boarding school participants in this study were particularly affected by their rejection to boarding school; after all, as the quote by Aristotle at the beginning of this thesis said, no one who will take as much interest in a child's wellbeing as a caring parent would. It seems that some parents are less than caring, whether they sent their children to boarding school or not but it feels to me that handing over the care of their children to strangers is particularly uncaring. For many, if not all, the effects of this rejection continue into adulthood despite having been in therapy or in some cases married to people whom they found more caring and supportive than their parents or matron. One can only assume that it is worse for those ex-boarders who have not had the benefit of therapy or been able to engage in a warm caring relationship.

If there are difficulties at school, day school students are able to escape to home unlike boarders who remain in the institution, much like prisoners held against their will. Like care homes and prison, boarding schools are a major source of estranged accommodation that deprives children of their families and main care giver, usually the mother. For boarding school children, maternal deprivation can be viewed as a loss without death unless (as in rare occasions) the reason for being sent away is the death of a mother with no other alternative available. Boarding school may not be permanent but this study suggests that the effects as observed through their self dismissing and preoccupied dysfluence, has had long lasting effects to date as they continue to experience an unresolved preoccupation with the trauma of boarding school. Those in this study who have resolved traumas in relation to boarding school disliked it enough not to send their own children away.

While there may be some people who really did enjoy boarding school, those interviewed denied that they enjoyed the complete separation from home and all they knew.

The trauma, separation and mourning which followed has, on the whole, followed them through their lives. Massie & Szajnberg (2003, p 473) demonstrated that the quality of mothering the children receive in infancy affects their long-term emotional development but that trauma (e.g. divorce, abuse, family or personal illness, encountering community violence) before the age of 18 had a stronger measurable effect on the adult mental health of the participants than parenting in the child's earliest years. To this, based on eight of the boarding group being classified as fundamentally Type A but having a Type C response to the trauma of being sent to boarding school and Crittenden's view (2011 p 245) that a reversal of strategy from a self-dismissing Type A to a preoccupied Type C is indicative of having experienced a major danger, I would add the trauma of being sent to boarding school.

Reflections on the research

Conducting research is never straightforward. Finding participants proved more difficult than I had expected and in the case of people who had been in care, for my first design, impossible. The training in discourse analysis was not only lengthy- four years- but I am still not confident in my ability to classify transcripts. There are insufficient coders in the DMM model available, although they are growing all the time and as such, it took a very long time to have my transcripts classified. Having written that, the DMM is a satisfying tool in that it clarifies behaviour enough to allocate people into recognisable attachment strategies, once the coder has achieved reliability.

However, in conducting this research, I was also aware of how much worse off psychologically were those who went to boarding school than those who stayed at home. Abandonment feels so much worse than just emotional neglect as being removed from home threatens the existence of a child in many ways, physical, emotional and psychological. While I hope this research will be informative, I am also aware of its limitations and the need for more research in this area.

Limitations of this research:

- An important limitation to this study is that only people in the boarding school group who had undertaken therapy would participate. This was both disappointing and revelatory. The fear of unexplored memories that have been deeply repressed may well have prevented others from taking part as suggested by Schaverien (2015). Recruitment of participants relied on word of mouth and as such, I was unable to secure a big enough pool of people from which to secure a greater range of responses. I had to take whomever I could in both groups.

- A further limitation is that as a doctoral thesis, time and financial considerations prevented the 'ideal' of a longitudinal study employing a range of investigations following people from childhood to adulthood, including relationship and employment behaviour. Such a study may provide a comprehensive investigation into the effects of boarding school that may benefit more fully policy-makers, therapists, parents and of course children.

- A further limitation is that while the AAI is a well- designed and trusted tool for the assessment of attachment strategies, that was the object of this study, the length of time it takes to conduct the interview with volunteers prohibits further exploration of thinking and feeling outside of the questionnaire unless interviewees would be willing to give more time. This may be possible in a clinical setting. More DMM coders are also needed to facilitate research results in a timelier manner.

Further research may clarify the impact of rejection to boarding school that this research has begun and some suggestions for this follow.

Suggestions for further research

Research with people who had been to boarding school but have not received therapy would be enlightening as a comparison with this study. Are they content, or in denial and fearful of talking about their experiences? Research with parents of those sent to boarding school including those who objected to boarding school themselves but nevertheless sent their

children away could be enlightening in terms of the psychological, social and cultural processes that facilitate this.

A further area for research could also include the effects of boarding on intimate and other relationships.

My original design was to compare attachment strategies of people who had been looked after children in local authority care with those sent to boarding school but no one who had been into care would participate. Persistence in obtaining interviews with those who had been in local authority care would also provide an interesting comparison with boarding school children, as both of whom are in effect looked after children. This would require delicate handling in order to avoid the difficulty I found in my attempts to recruit adults who had been in care for my original abandoned study.

Research into Schaverien (2004, 2015), Power's (2007) and Crittenden's (2011) assertion that securely attached children suffer more than insecure children when experiencing difficulties such as rejection, would be informative as this suggests that they have less resilience to draw on not having experienced setbacks in the past that have prepared them.

Reorganising continues to be little understood. It was not possible in this study to discover what the determining factor or factors were that facilitated this process. Possible factors involved might be previous therapy or a relationship with a supportive attachment figure or something else that allowed the transition between 'ignoring and accepting reality' (Ferenczi, 1926, p 313). Further research would be important to explore this, not least to understand how reorganizing can help children of insecure parents become secure (Iyengar, Kim, Martinez, Fonagy & Strathearn, 2014).

Of interest too are the psychological processes of those who say that boarding school was a good experience in the face of rejection and abandonment.

Lastly, the academic achievements of children attending fee paying independent schools, both boarding and day school would be interesting to research as there is an

assumption that private schools provide better teaching leading to greater academic achievement. Several of the boarding group did not seem to have performed particularly well academically. It may be that it is the social contacts that are made that create occupational opportunities rather than the education.

Summary.

To conclude, I have considered the perspectives of private education, both day and boarding and the experiences of those who have written about their time in boarding school. I have reviewed measures of attachment and utilised the DMM/AAI in assessing the attachment strategies of those in this small study. In conclusion I do hope that those with the power to do so, seriously consider, in light of this study that includes not only first hand evidence from interviews but also written accounts by others, that sending children away from home is detrimental to their mental health and that alternative arrangements ought certainly to be considered for children under the age of thirteen years old.

Perhaps the final words on this should be Thad's who, when asked if there is a suitable age to go to boarding school, said:

But I mean there is a difference in um, I think in people's experience between eight and 13 which are those sorts of key years that people often go…or that boys perhaps, in particular, go, um, and yeah, eight…a lot worse, a lot more damaging, I think. But 13 isn't, sort of ideal…Perhaps 16 or even never.

CHAPTER TEN: SELF REFLECTIONS

In conducting this research, I was aware of how much worse off psychologically were those who went to boarding school than those who stayed at home. However, both groups had experienced difficulties and it was a sad experience listening to the stories of both groups.

One of things mentioned to me by people who read this thesis was the lack of myself in the writing. This came as a surprise to me as I felt that I had mentioned my own views but in discussion it became apparent that I had brought my own self distancing Type A approach to the research; (most psychotherapists are considered to be A3, compulsive caregiving and often reorganising to a Type B, Crittenden, 2011). In my psychotherapy training, it was suggested by one of my psychotherapists that I needed to put myself in the lime light more. This was echoed by one of my examiners of this thesis who said that I needed to be more confident in expressing my own voice and to allow my own critical thinking to be more clearly in evidence. I think my reticence in doing this stemmed from my mother's voice in my head saying 'who do you think you are?' This was something she often said if I had ideas suggesting a future for myself that went beyond her own experience. The effect of this was to make me reluctant to be present in my writing for fear of someone saying 'who do you think you are?'. It seems that the imposter syndrome continues to exist and resists attempts at being repressed. Indeed, I fear it contributed to my self-sabotaging in the writing of the thesis by not being thorough enough at times and then at other times by both procrastinating and then rushing. I would watch myself do this and give myself a good talking to, not that it stopped me from continuing to do this.

Added to this was my mother's often repeated statement that she had never wanted children. While I can dismiss this as her way of attacking me when she was angry, the veracity of it can in some way be supported by there being six years between my older brother and I and seven between my younger sister and I. My mother must have perhaps tried hard not to have children. In hindsight, I wonder if this research about maternal deprivation was of

interest to me because I had unconsciously wanted to explore my own feelings of rejection, albeit vicariously through the participants responses to the AAI. Indeed, my counter transference to my boarding school interviewees was one of sadness but also anger that they had lost their childhoods to serve the needs of their parents. So, just as a balloon when squeezed in a fist, projects outwards through the gaps between the fingers, my bias with regard to emotional neglect continued to resist attempts at being repressed and in reflecting back over the writing it has been quite therapeutic for me.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.   **Oxford Economics report 2014**

This report by Oxford Economics (2014) was commissioned by The ISC to assess the impact of independent schools on the British economy. The researchers used a standard economic impact modelling technique and found that the independent schools made a positive impact stating that:

For the first time, an independent consultancy has analysed the economic benefits that independent schools bring to Britain. Its conclusions for the schools represented by the Independent Schools Council are striking:

- An annual contribution to GDP of £9.5 billion – larger than the City of Liverpool, or the BBC

- More than 227,000 Full Time Employment (FTE) jobs in Britain supported by ISC schools – one for every two ISC pupils

- More than £3.6 billion in tax revenues flowing into the Exchequer each year

- Annual savings for the taxpayer of £3.0 billion – equivalent to building more than 460 new free schools every year

- Additional annual contribution of £1.0 billion to GDP arising out of the high academic performance of ISC school pupils' (Oxford Economics, 2014, p 11).

- Further, the Oxford Economics report (2014) quotes Barnaby Lenon, chairman of the Independent Schools council that the independent sector as a whole contributes '£9.5 billion each year to the nation's GDP and are responsible for almost 1% of all employment in Britain and £3.6 billion in tax receipts annually' (p ii),

- The savings to the taxpayer by not having to provide state-funded education for eligible ISC pupils. In 2011/12 this was an estimated £3.0 billion.

- The additional value to the British economy arising from high standards of academic performance by independently-educated pupils. 'The higher attainment of pupils at ISC schools contributes an estimated £1.0 billion per year' (p 34).

- Those attending ISC schools make an estimated contribution of £2.2 billion to gross value added and support 52,1000 jobs and tax revenues of £840 million.

- Overseas pupils attending ISC schools make an estimated gross value- added contribution of £713 million to GDP and support 17,300 jobs and tax revenues of £278 million.

- The impact of ISC schools on the regional economy is significantly above the national average, both in terms of jobs supported and gross value -added contribution, in the South East, the South West and the East of England' (Oxford Economics, 2014, p 4).

APPENDIX B. **DMM Research studies**

- Case studies have included disorientation and attention deficit disorder in a 10 -year old Norwegian boy, dismissed lack of resolution of loss in two nurse parents and factitious illness in their 6- year old Australian daughter (Kozlowska, Foley, & Crittenden, 2006) This found that the parents, who were both nurses, had predominantly A strategies which fits caring occupations but also unresolved losses which they now feared would reoccur in their child. Preoccupied unresolved loss in a mother and chronic urinary retention in her pre-school daughter. Obsessive compulsive disorder in a 17-year-old girl and many more. See (Crittenden 2011).

- In a 1997 study of 31 cases, only 15 were allocated to a classification using the Main and Goldwyn method. The rest being Cannot Classify. The DMM-AAI demonstrated the ability to differentiate between abusive and adequate mothers in all 31 cases. Thus, demonstrating the greater utility of the DMM.

- Studies validating the DMM-AAI have been conducted such as on fMRI associations (Strathearn, Fonagy, Amico, & Montague, 2009) which was the first study to examine the neuroendocrine basis of human mother–infant attachment. Having classified 30 mothers using the DMM-AAI, they found evidence that 'secure attachment is associated with more intense maternal reward activation to infant facial expressions, whereas insecure/dismissing mothers show greater insula response to negative infant cues' (p 2664).

- In 2009, Hautamäki et al researched cross-generational patterning in a normative sample of 32 grandmother–mother–infant triads and found evidence that the maternal grandmother's attachment pattern more often corresponded to that of her grandchild than did the mother's. This was further supported in 2010 by Shah, Fonagy & Strathearn. Using the DMM-AAI classification and the Strange Situation Protocol, 'There was a significant match of patterns for secure mothers and babies, but a tendency for inversion of insecure patterns of attachment, that is Type A mothers often had infants with a Type C pattern and vice versa' (p 1).

- Reorganising from one attachment style to another has been investigated by Iyenga et al (2015) in relation to trauma and the effects of reorganizing. In this first study to examine the construct of attachment reorganization and trauma, they found that 29 mothers had no trauma and were classified as reorganizing and had babies who were classified as B (secure attachment) at 11 months old. 14 mothers were classified as having unresolved traumas and were classified as insecure as were their babies. However, four of the mothers with unresolved trauma and also reorganizing, had babies who were classified as secure. Iyenga states; 'Our study reaffirms that unresolved trauma is associated with insecure attachment in both mothers and their offspring while providing the first preliminary evidence that attachment reorganization despite trauma may lessen the risk of insecure attachment in the offspring' (p 8). This study comprised a small number of participants and further investigation would need to be carried out to replicate the findings.

- Comparisons between 51 Italian psychotherapists and 128 normative adults and 79 psychiatric patients found that nearly a third of the psychotherapists used a reorganized B strategy with 10% reorganizing towards B. This was lower than the normative group as was the use of C strategies. The remaining two-thirds of psychotherapists used mainly Type A strategies which was higher than the normative group One third of the psychotherapists had unresolved losses. The psychotherapist and patient groups were almost identical in this (Lambrushchi, Landini, &Crittenden, 2008). It could be speculated that this closer match provides the psychotherapists with more understanding of their patients' difficulties.

- Research was conducted into the effects of foster care once they became adults, their foster carers and biological parents (Gogarty, 2002). Of the 16 ex-fostered adults, fifty-five percent had unresolved losses or traumas. Only one used a B strategy. Type C strategies were used by 19%. 30% used A/C strategies and 45% used highly compulsive A strategies. The foster parents had a bias towards unresolved losses with a normative range across the A, B and C classifications. Three of the four biological parents had A strategies and two had unresolved traumas. It is not reported what strategy the fourth used. More studies into these particular groups are clearly required.

- Eating disorders was investigated with the DMM-AAI in 2002. Of the 62 Anglo-Australian women, approximately half had coercive type C+ classifications. With the rest, having A or A\C classifications (Ringer & Crittenden, 2007). Zachrisson and Kulbotton (2006) classified a group 20 woman with anorexia nervosa as all having A+, C+ and A/C strategies with modifiers and unresolved losses. Clearly demonstrating the prevalence of insecure attachment in this disorder.

- In 2000, Rindal studied a group of 12 Norwegian people with a diagnosis of avoidant personality disorder comparing them to a normative group. The pattern of the APD group was of unresolved losses, traumas and modifiers and used predominantly C strategies which is the opposite classification to avoidant styles. This questions the validity of psychiatric diagnoses. Further studies using the AAI/DMM would provide useful comparisons with the DSM5 and ICD-10.

- In 2010, O'Reilly administered the AAI to thirty- three convicted male sex-offenders in a Northern Ireland prison. The classifications were distributed across A4 (compulsively compliant) A7(delusionally idealizing) C5-6 (punitive and seductive) and C7-8 (menacing and paranoid) classifications. In 1905, Freud commented that 'The sexual abuse of children is found with uncanny frequency among school teachers and child attendants, simply because they have the best opportunity for it' (P 148). Interestingly, these two groups would fit into Crittenden's Type A strategy and would likely be A3/4- compulsively caring/compliant.

- In 2013 Crittenden & Heller, compared 22 adults with chronic post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) with 22 adults receiving psychological treatment with diagnoses other than PTSD and 22 normative adults. They found that the PTSD group was clearly different to the other two in that they mainly used a Type C coercive strategy and had a high number of childhood traumas or losses. Of the patient group in treatment, there was an array of classifications. Of the

normative group, only one third had classifications indicative of mental illness supporting Kessler's 1994 findings that '25-30% of a normative population had some form of mental illness. This indicates that the DMM-AAI is able to discriminate between diagnostic categories (Gullestad, 2003).

- As further evidence of the greater utility of the DMM, comparisons with the M&G classifications demonstrate that the CC classification can be re-allocated to DMM classifications allowing differences to be drawn between the whole group rather than missing out those who could only be classified as CC (Crittenden 2011). When assessing 32 women, 15 of whom had diagnoses of borderline personality disorder, with both AAIs, the DMM classifications 'produced more significant findings and accounted for more variance overall' than the M&G classification (Crittenden, 2011 p 349).

The above research has provided concurrent validity, preliminary reliability of coding, validity of classification and utility of using small scale studies, and utility of findings for both individuals and groups of similar individuals. Research has now developed into larger scale studies examining both normative comparison groups and clinical groups many of which are on-going in 2018.

APPENDIX C. Technical terms, their meanings and how attachment strategies are expressed through language

a) Memory systems and how they are considered in the DMM/AAI
Procedural memory.

This memory system comprises implicit, i.e. pre-conscious, reflexive and sensorimotor patterns of learned knowledge encoded from birth.

In general terms, procedural memory reveals that: Type B speakers have few dysfluencies other than minimal hesitations and restating a sentence to provide clarity. They are able to monitor their thinking and recognize any discrepancies of thought and inconsistencies which have occurred in the interview using metacognitions. They are able to express a range of feelings in keeping with the topic being discussed. Balanced speakers are able to relate episodes with both cognitive information (good temporal order, initial events and the outcomes and causal clarity) and affective information (statements about feelings and lively images). Balanced speakers are also cooperative with the interviewer rather than distanced or over involving.

Type A speakers use distancing discourse such as 'you' rather than 'I'. They speak from the perspectives of others and speak carefully with many pauses and dysfluencies as they attempt to monitor their own perspectives in order not to allow their feelings to be exposed. They keep good temporal order and are clear about what happened when.

When a Type C person is interviewed, there will often be an assumed collusion with the interviewer with requests for conformation that the speaker is correct about difficult parents giving a sense that the interviewer shares the same view. This will often have a coercive flavour. There will be oscillations and contradictions of semantic conclusions, confusions of people by the use of unclear pronouns, poor temporal order in recalling history, including the use of the present tense rather than past tense and the use of 'nonsense words to convey unstated semantic meanings' (Crittenden 2011 p 186). Those speakers using high number strategies often distort or omit affect in order to evoke strong feelings in the listener. These strategies keep information self-relevant to the present and involves others in their problems.

Imaged

Type B speakers use lively images which are integrated into their episodes and which convey a range of affective states.

Type A speakers either fail to recall images or have images which are not connected to themselves. Images of comforting places are recalled rather than people. Images of discomfort are displaced or not associated with the self.

Type C speakers use many images to explain one of their mixed feelings. Images tend to dominate other memory systems so that episodes are given which lack temporal order, causality and outcomes. The images are intensely arousing and consist not just of visual images but of speech, somatic, tactile, olfactory and gustatory images too. Rather than say someone was very angry, a type C speaker will say 'His eyes were popping out' (Crittenden 2011). High numbered C speakers use images with a frightening quality.

Semantic

Type B speakers qualify semantic statement with multiple causal factors, differentiate between temporal order and causation and responsibility and are able to explain contingent actions in if/then terms. They are able to see the positives and difficulties in how life was experienced by themselves without denying or exaggerating their perspective.

Type A speakers offer unqualified, rather stark semantic statements which split good and bad either between self and parents or between parental figures. They confuse causation with responsibility and by taking responsibility for parents they hope to attract their approbation. Type C speakers find others more responsible than themselves and will often exaggerate or deny aspects of truth to provide misleading conclusions. Their semantic statements are often reversed or vague to the point of meaninglessness and often oscillate between meanings. They will use long run on sentences with many causal connections such as because, and, therefore. They will often not conclude a sentence, having dropped the disturbing thought from mind ending an utterance with a passive semantic comment such as 'so'. Their semantic explanations mainly consist of blaming others and complaining that others are at fault for all they have endured, leading to an idealized view of the future when their suffering will bring rewards. High numbered Type C speakers also use false cognition to deceive others while expecting other people to do the same.

Episodic

'Episodic memory is a neurocognitive (brain/mind) system, uniquely different from other memory systems, that enables human beings to remember past experiences' (Tulving, 2002). This is verbal memory based in time and place and consists of both cognitive and affective information. It is not available until about three years and requires guidance of an attachment figure to help encode it (Crittenden 2011). When recalling an episode both what happened at the time of an event and how the person feels at the time of recall can be present.

Type B speakers are able to recall a range of episodes that include both the action and feelings at the time and that include unique details of the event. They are able to review the memories from an adult perspective and use such information to protect the self and others in the future. That is, they change how they behave in what appear to be similar situations and contexts by using the information from the past.

Type A speakers are unable to recount episodes to support their semantic statements of what life was like growing up and rely on semantic reasoning, cutting off episodes before unpleasant outcomes are remembered, or distorting episodes to omit information that would permit assignment of some responsibility to the attachment figures. This lack of recall reflects 'the scenes and experiences in which parents have treated children in ways the children find too unbearable to think about or remember' (Bowlby 1988 p 113). He further stated that this reflected the 'exclusion from consciousness of the thoughts, feelings and impulses to action that are the natural responses to such events' (1988 p 113). The higher number As are able to recall episodes but from their parent's perspectives. For example, "yes he hit me but it was my fault for not looking where I was going".

Type C speakers conflate several episodes at the same time creating a chaotic view of the world. They use intensity of affect to emphasise their outrage of how they were treated, effectively blaming others while taking no responsibility themselves. They tend to move from one episode to another before completing each one.

Source Memory

Freud relates an account of a client who stated that in regard to a memory from childhood, 'I feel uncertain whether I have had the mnemic image from the beginning or whether I only construed it after hearing one of these descriptions' (1899 p 310). Source memory is

important as a particular form of episodic memory which demonstrates the precise source of information which is encoded in place and time and allows valid recall as one's own episodes rather than someone else's influence. When source memory is based in fact it allows one to distinguish between fact and fiction which is crucial for mental health. Episodes need to have intact source memory otherwise it becomes difficult to differentiate between day dreams, wished for or feared actions making delusional thought possible (Schacter, 1996). Crucially, source memory is absent in preschool-age children which explains why they are vulnerable to 'false recall and acceptance of the statements of others as being truths for themselves'. The distortions of truth passed to them by adults they trust, can them to fail to distinguish between 'phantasy and reality, to establish self-awareness, self-identity and self-relevance…key indicators of psychopathology' (Crittenden 2011 p 62). If adults do not help children distinguish between reality and phantasy, they may be more vulnerable to overly rule bound or delusional thinking as adults.

Reflective Integration

The ability to integrate abstract and concrete information from the various memory systems begins in adolescence and is not complete until the mid-thirties (Crittenden 2008). When people are able to use reflective function, they integrate past experiences of difficult experiences and generalize them to the present and future situations. Those able to perform this process well engage with thinking about thinking; i.e. metacognition such as noticing discrepancies in thought. However, when awareness is pre-conscious and consists of cognitive and affective threats to survival then integration is not possible.

Type B speakers are able to integrate cognitive and affective information across all memory systems. This facilitates the ability to view the self and others as having flaws as well as positive attributes. They are able to insightfully demonstrate that not everything is as it seems and they become aware of their own thinking via metacognition which allows them to change or explain their view during the interview thus demonstrating the perspectives of self and others.

Type A speakers are not able to integrate information from different memory systems. This failure prevents unpleasant memories from the past or unfavourable behaviour of their parents from entering conscious awareness. They use platitudes such as 'well everyone knows this' to avoid thinking of past events which are painful and if they do become aware of difficult experiences they use the information to behave differently with their children rather than examine their own feelings, thus still having in mind the perspectives of others.

Type C speakers find it hard to maintain psychological distance from the past and often speak as if the historical event is occurring in the present. This prevents them from reflecting about their past and as such, they fail to integrate past events into their present-day understandings. They fail to reflect on causal contingencies which could explain their developmental histories or the perspectives of others. This keeps them trapped in their problematic relationships with others from childhood. This leads to a lack of autonomy in adulthood (Crittenden 2011).

Connotative language

Although this has not been identified as a memory system per se, Crittenden states that it operates alongside semantic and imaged memory and refers to language that is used to elicit affective states in others.

B Type speakers use language clearly without unduly exaggerating or denying information. The examples they give match the semantic descriptions providing credible evidence. They combine both denotive and evocative language to offer both semantic meaning and emotional depth to convey 'the common goal that speaker and interviewer have negotiated: a clear story conveying personal meanings to an interested listener' (Crittenden 2011 p 60).

Type A speakers use connotative language to down regulate arousal levels through the use of artificial or intellectualized language in order to distance themselves and their feelings from themselves and the listener.

Type C speakers use connotative language to involve the listener in their affective states. This is done through alliteration, metaphors, juxtaposition, onomatopoeia and rhythm.

b) Transformations of information

Crittenden notes that in order to survive danger and reproduce the species, information from the external world is processed according to time, space (cognition) and intensity of arousal (affect) at the time of an event. As a survival strategy, when under threat, information is transformed. There are 7 transformations of information which lead to 14 forms of information about safety, danger and sexual possibility. The greater the threat to survival when growing up, the more extreme the transformations used in adulthood. The seven transformations of information described as follows:

1) Truly predictive information.

The basic processing is via cognition or affect. When cognition and affect are truly predictive of danger or opportunity for sex is correctly identified, appropriate self-protective or sexual action can be taken. As an example, if a mother raises her hand and the child expects therefore, to be hit and is hit, then, the temporal, cognitive information is genuinely predictive. Similarly, if a mother starts to scream in anger (affect) then the child knows to do something to keep safe and when the mother throws things, the affective information is accurately predictive.

2) Erroneously predictive information

Such transformations occur when an association is made on the 'basis of temporal order or context but the association is spurious because there is no predictive relation between the conditions' (Crittenden 2011 p 52). For example, when a child associates a mother being in a bad mood when wearing a particular colour when the colour has nothing to do with the mother's mood, then the colour operates as an erroneous prediction (Crittenden 2008). In such cases, either cognitive beliefs are held that are irrational, but which regulate the behaviour, or affect is mistakenly associated with contexts that are not dangerous or protective or with people who are not appropriate for sexual contact' (Crittenden 2011 p 52).

3) Distorted Information

Both Cognition and affect become distorted as a strategy of self-protection. Splitting is the mental process which allows this to happen. Cognition becomes distorted when the focus on one aspect of a causal relation is overstated. This occurs in examples of idealization, exoneration and self-responsibility when the difficult or dangerous behaviour of the adult is split off from conscious awareness. This is found in A type people. Affect is distorted when one feeling amongst complex others is exaggerated to the exclusion of the others. An example of this is when someone who is an angry, frightened and yet wanting comfort focusses only

on the anger and thereby increasing the risk of fighting to the exclusion of running away or of obtaining comfort. This is found in C type people.

4) Omitted information.

Information is omitted when it is predictive of danger. For example, to remain compliant with adults, a Type A person will omit their own feelings. C Type people are likely to discard information about predictable outcomes and causal relations including their own part in unpleasant consequences. Freud considered that omitted information served the function of repressing an 'objectional one' (Freud 1899 p 307) rather than a function of forgetting. The memory will still be there somewhere as a trace but an associated painful feeling keeps it out of conscious awareness.

5) False information

Information can also be falsified such as when Type A people smile and use positive affect rather than reveal their negative affect. C Type people can be misleading about their intentions

6) Denied Information

Information which may threaten the strategy used can be denied because to acknowledge it would create too much distress. Some Type A people can deny all negative affect including that resulting in physical pain. Type C people can deny their role in dangerous situations.

7) Delusional Information

'Delusions are internally generated representations, the source of which is the self. However, they are not recognized as self-generated but are treated as real. The effect is to is to resolve the discrepancy elicited by denied information. Some Type A people construct delusional beliefs of being protected in the context of claiming to deserve punishment and denying responsibility of the other for harming the self. Affectively they deny pain and delusionally claim pleasure that allows them to feel safe instead. This process is enhanced if sexual arousal accompanies the painful arousal'……'Some Type C speakers construct delusional affective representations that treat one set of feelings as absolute while the other is denied, for example. Absolute anger and invulnerability in the context of denied fear and vulnerability.
Cognitively, they deny participation of self to causality which allows delusional plots of threat and revenge.' (Crittenden, 2011, p54-56).

Transformations of information lead to a disposition to act in a certain way as a result of our histories. Such dispositions are represented internally as a form object relation and in the AAI, are captured through the memory systems above.

c) Dispositional representations.

Damasio (1994) introduced the concept of dispositional representations (DR) as a means of explaining how what is perceived from the external world is internalized via cognition and affect to generate self-relevant meanings. DRs are considered to be a more varied and refined version of Bowlby's internal working model (1969) in that they clarify the 'disposing to action function of representation' (Crittenden 2008 p 92). They in effect prime a person in how to relate to others both consciously and unconsciously in the current and future time based on past experience. Bowlby described this when he wrote of a therapy session in which 'although the memory had been shut away from conscious processing, it continued to influence both what he thought and how he felt' and therefore how he acted (1988 p 104). Weston also asserts that 'the notion that people form representations of social and nonsocial objects and ideas is central to both cognitive psychology and psychoanalysis' (1988 p 164).

The Adult Attachment Interview reveals dispositional representations (DRs) of how people relate to their objects from infancy onwards as a consequence of experience. Crittenden's use of memory systems to access the DRs underpins the reasoning for the use of the AAI as memories of attachment history are specifically asked about and as previously stated, the questions become increasingly uncomfortable as they surprise the unconscious (George et al 1985, 1992) revealing a person's disposition to react within their attachment style.

APPENDIX D.

Examples of how a Type A and Type C mother use language to describe how they murdered their children.

Type A mother who has murdered her five children:

'So, after you drew the bath water, what happened? *I put Paul in.* And how old is Paul? *Paul is 3*….and he struggled with you? *Yes.* How long do you think that struggle happened? *A couple of minutes*…. there was no more movement? *No.*

The mother repeated this account four more times. What is remarkable is the lack of affect or difference in how she talked about her children. Her explanation for murdering them was to save them from her bad mothering (her fault) and therefore not developing properly as people and therefore they would go to hell.

A Type C mother

A Type C mother fastened her two boys into the back of her car and let it roll down a slope into a lake where they drowned but rather than seeing their perspectives, this mother spoke about the event from her perspective as if she were the victim following a boyfriend's rejection of her because he did not want to bring up another man's children.

When I left home on Tuesday, October 25th, I was very emotionally distraught. I didn't want to live anymore! I felt like things could never get any worse. When I left home, I was going to ride around a little and then go to my mom's …. Why was I feeling this way? Why was everything so bad in my life? I had no answers to these questions. I dropped to the lowest point when I allowed my children to go down the ramp into the water without me. Her distorted explanation was that she wanted to save the children from experiencing her suicide.

APPENDIX E. Demographic information and Full classification of participants

BS = boarding school. DS= day school. Classifications begin with Modifiers, traumas and loss and then the strategy.
Socio-economic categories 1 and 11 as defined by the Standard Occupational Classification system produced by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys 1991.

	Pseudonym	Age to school	Socio-economic status	Ethnic Group	Age at Interview	Therapy	Parents Went to BS	Marriages or partnership	DMM Classification
BS									
1	Gary	9	1&11	British white	46	Yes	Yes	1	RA3-B1
2	Charlotte	6	1&11	British white	56	Yes	No	2	Dp Utr (p, ds) rej BS A3-A6
3	Chris	7	1&11	British white	45	Yes	Yes	1	Utr(p) rej bs R (A4-5 → B)
4	Mark	1	&11	British white	44	Yes	Yes	1	(R) Utr (p) rej, brdng sch, div A1-2 f / C1 (3) m Towards B (INA - h)
5	Simon	1	1&11	British white	54	Yes	No	1	Utr (dx) $_{\text{mother's leg}}$ (p, ds) $_{\text{physical discipline}}$ A1-2 (A4-6 C5-6)
6	Neil	7	1&11	British white	32	Yes	No	1	(R-B) Utr (p, ds) PA, EA l (p, ds) twin A3-4 (6) (C1-3)
7	Jimmy	10	1&11	British white	58	Yes	No	1	(R) Utr (p, dpl) facial haemangioma, scarring, surgeries (p) bullying, rej bs A1-2 (4-6) (C 2)
8	Tony	7	1&11	British white	61	Yes	No	1	Dp Utr (dx)$_{\text{M, & illness,}}$ $_{\text{F}}$ (dpl, dn) (p, ds,) rej BS A6(7)
9	Debbie	4	1&11	British white	53	Yes	No	2	Ul(ds)M (dn)F tr(P)Maban (P)rej BS, rej M C4
10	Thad	8	1&11	British white	24	Yes	Yes	0	(R) A2(4) → B
11	Diana	4	1&11	British white	61	Yes	No	2	Earned B from A
12	Peter	9	1&11	British white	61	Yes	No	2	R (A4-5 → B)
13	Sylvia	4	1&11	British white	75	Yes	Yes	1	Utr(p) parents' divorce, rej.bs/sep (dx) SA/Sexuality L(a) ch gch (A)c5-6+
14	Mary	11	1&11	British white	64	Yes	Yes	2	Utr(dx) (p) rej bs A C5-6
Day									
1	Paul	N/A	1&11	British white	32	No	No	1	A2
2	Fred	N/A	1&11	British White	66	No	No	2	Utr(dpl)pa F A4(6)M A2(6)
3	Gail	N/A	1&11	British whit	34	Yes	Grand mother	0	Utr(ds)EN A6

4	Tom	N/A	1&11	British white	34	No	No		2	Utr(p)beatings (p)PC A1m C5-6 F
5	Lucy	N/A	1&11	British white	34	Yes	No		0	Ul(dn)MGM tr(P)div (dn)F dementia (dpl)BF death/breakdown, aunt's death (dx) [A1] F C5, C6
6	Alice	N/A	1&11	British white	42	No	No		1	Dp Utr(p) parental discord C4
7	Roger	N/A	1&11	British white	33	No	No		1	A1
8	Oscar	N/A	1&11	British white	32	No	0		0	Utr(ds)div, EN, PC) A4
9	James	N/A	1&11	British white	64	No	No		1	R C2-b5
10	Mike	N/A	1&11	British white	33	No	No		0	A1
11	Eddie	N/A	1&11	British white	30	No	No		1	B2
12	Dave	N/A	1&11	British white	45	Yes	No		2	Utr (Ds) e neg. A4, A4-

APPENDIX F.   **Information letter and consent form**

Dear Sir/madam
RESEARCH INTO THE ATTACHMENT STYLES OF TWO GROUPS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE ATTENDED FEE PAYING SCHOOLS
CLIENT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

I am writing to ask if you would be willing to help me with some research I am undertaking at the moment. Please take the time to read this information carefully. You may discuss this with friends, relatives or anyone else you would like to advise you.

WHAT IS THE POINT OF THE RESEARCH?

I am studying the experiences of people who as children spent their time in boarding school before the age of 13 years old and people who remained at home but went to fee paying independent schools for the whole of their school life. This will help me to explore the effects of being sent away as opposed to remaining at home in two populations from assumed similar social economic backgrounds.

WHAT AM I ASKING YOU TO DO?

I would like to conduct a recorded interview with you asking about your early childhood experiences, adolescence and subsequently as an adult. It may be helpful if after this if you would like to do so, to draw something to express how you felt either then or feel now, in which case you may feel free to do so or not.

WHY HAVE I BEEN CHOSEN?

You have been chosen because you either went to boarding school or remained at home through your school life.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

Certainly not. Your participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to take part then no further contact will be made by me. You may agree now and then change your mind during the interview or later. If this is the case, your interview will be destroyed and not used.

Should you become upset in any way or require on- going support, we can terminate the interview and you will not be left on your own. You can be put in contact with someone you can trust or feel safe with.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE MATERIAL PRODUCED?

All information will be held by me. The material will be anonymised and kept in a locked cupboard. The interviews will be analysed and written up for a thesis I am writing. I am willing to send you a copy of any article or summary I write on this topic. As a psychologist, I am covered by Towergate for insurance purposes.

CONFIDENTIALITY

All information will be held in confidence. You will not be identified in any way. The thesis will be held in the University of Essex library with restrictions on who will be able to read it.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Please feel free to discuss your concerns with me and ask for further information. My contact details are at the bottom of the consent form.

Ref no:

<div align="center">

CLIENT CONSENT FORM.
RESEARCH INTO THOSE WHO WERE SENT TO BOARDING SCHOOL OR REMAINED AT HOME.

</div>

1) I confirm that I have read and understood the information in the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2) I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.

3) I understand that I may have access to the findings of the research once completed

4) I agree that:
   - The researcher may use my interview, recordings and drawings in research.
   - The researcher may keep the anonymised material during the period of research.

Name of participant-- Date -----------

Signature of participant--

Name of researcher-- Date --------

Signature of Researcher--

My Contact details: jmfaul@essex.ac.uk.

APPENDIX G.

Written descriptions DMM Strategies. Patricia M Crittenden, Ph. D

Type B

B3: The Type B strategy involves a balanced integration of temporal prediction with affect. Type B individuals show all kinds of behavior, but are alike in being able to adapt to a wide variety of situations in ways that are self-protective that protect their children, and that as often as possible cause others no harm. They communicate directly, negotiate differences, and find mutually satisfactory compromises. They distort cognitive and affective information very little, especially not to themselves. Finally, they display a wider range of individual variation than people using other strategies -who must constrain their functioning to employ their strategy. This strategy functions in infancy. By adulthood, two sorts of Type B strategies s can be differentiated. Naive B's simply had the good fortune to grow up in safety and security. Mature B's, on the other hand, I) have reached neurological maturity (in the mid-30's), 2) function in life's major roles, e.g., child, spouse, parent, and 3) carry out an on-going process of psychological integration across relationships, roles, and contexts. Where naive B's tend to be simplistic, mature (earned) B's grapple with life's complexities.

B 1-2: Individuals assigned to B 1-2 are a bit more inhibited with regard to negative affect than B3s, but are inherently balanced.

B4-5: Individuals assigned to B4-5 exaggerate negative affect a bit, being sentimental (B4) or irritated (B5), but are inherently balanced.

Type A

A 1 -2: The A 1-2 strategy uses cognitive prediction in the context of very little real threat. Attachment figures are idealized by over-looking their negative qualities (A 1) or the self is put down a bi t (A2). Most A l -2s are predictable, responsible people who are just cool and businesslike. Type A strategies all rely on inhibition of feelings and set danger at a psychological distance from the self. This strategy is first used in infancy.

A3: Individuals using the A3 strategy (compulsive caregiving, cf., Bowl by, 1973) rely on predictable contingencies, inhibit negative affect and protect themselves by protecting their attachment figure. In childhood, they try to cheer up or care for sad, withdrawn, and vulnerable attachment figures. In adulthood, they often find employment where they rescue or care for others, especially those who appear weak and needy. The precursors of A3 and A4 can be seen in infancy (using the DMM method for the Strange Situation), but the strategy only functions fully in the preschool years and thereafter.

A4: Compulsively compliant individuals (Crittenden & DiLalla, 1988) try to prevent danger, inhibit negative affect and protect themselves by doing what attachment figures want them to do, especially angry and threatening figures. They tend to be excessively vigilant, quick to anticipate and meet others' wishes, and generally agitated and anxious. The anxiety, however, is ignored and downplayed by the individual and often appears as somatic symptoms that are brushed aside as being unimportant.

A5: These individuals use a compulsively promiscuous strategy (Crittenden, 1995) to avoid genuine intimacy while maintaining human contact and, in some cases, satisfying sexual desires. They show false positive affect, including sexual desire, to little known people, and protect themselves from rejection by engaging with many people superficially and not getting deeply involved with anyone. This strategy develops in adolescence when past intimate relationships have been treacherous and strangers appear to offer the only hope of closeness and sexual satisfaction. It may be displayed in a socially promiscuous manner (that does not involve sexuality) or, in more serious cases, as sexual promiscuity.

A6: Individuals using a compulsively self-reliant strategy (Bowlby, 1980) do not trust others to be predictable in their demands, find themselves inadequate in meeting the demands or both. They inhibit negative affect and protect themselves by relying on no one other than themselves. This protects the self from others, but at the cost of lost assistance and comfort. Usually, this strategy develops in adolescence after individuals have discovered that they cannot regulate the behavior of important, but dangerous or non-protective, caregivers. They withdraw from close relationships as soon as they are old enough to care for themselves. There is a social form of the strategy in which individuals function adaptively in social and work contexts, but are distant when intimacy is expected, and an isolated form in which individuals cannot manage any interpersonal relationship and withdraw as much as possible from others.

A7: Delusionally idealizing individuals (Crittenden, 2000) have had repeated experience with severe danger that they cannot predict or control, display brittle false positive affect and protect themselves by imagining that their powerless or hostile attachment figures will protect them. This is a very desperate strategy of believing falsely in safety when no efforts are likely to reduce the danger (cf., the "hostage syndrome"): Paradoxically, the appearance is rather generally pleasing, giving little hint of the fear and trauma that lie behind the nice exterior until circumstances produce a break in functioning. This pattern only develops in adulthood.

A8: Individuals using an A8 strategy (externally assembled self, Crittenden, 2000) do as others require, have few genuine feelings of their own, and try to protect themselves by absolute reliance on others, usually professionals who replace their absent or endangering attachment figures. Both A7 and A8 are associated with pervasive and sadistic early abuse and neglect.

Type C

C 1-2: The C 1-2 (threatening-disarming) strategy involves both relying on one's own feelings to guide behavior and also using somewhat exaggerated and changing displayed negative affect to influence other people =s behavior. Specifically, the strategy consists of splitting, exaggerating, and alternating the display of mixed negative feelings to attract attention and manipulate the feelings and responses of others. The alternation is between the presentation of a strong, angry invulnerable self who blames others for the problem.

(C 1,3,5, 7) with the appearance of a fearful, weak, and vulnerable self who entices others to give succor (C2,4,6,8). C 1-2 is a very normal strategy found in people with low risk for mental health problem s and a great zest for life. Infants display the C 1-2 strategy.

C3-4: The C3-4 (aggressive-feigned helpless) strategy involves alternating aggression with apparent helplessness to cause others to comply out of fear of attack or assist out of fear that one cannot care for oneself. Individuals using a C3 (aggressive) strategy emphasize their anger in order to demand caregivers' compliance. Those using the C4 (feigned helpless) give signals of incompetence and submission. The angry presentation elicits compliance and guilt in others, whereas vulnerability, elicits rescue. The precursors of this strategy can be seen in infancy (using the DMM method for the Strange Situation), but the strategy only functions fully in the preschool years and thereafter.

C5-6: The C5-6 strategy (punitively obsessed with revenge and/or seductively obsessed with rescue) is a more extreme form of C3-4 that involves active deception to carry out the revenge or elicit rescue. Individuals using this strategy distort information substantially, particularly in blaming others for their predicament and heightening their own negative affect; the outcome is a more enduring and less resolvable struggle. Those using a C5 (punitive) strategy are colder, more distant and self-controlled, and deceptive than people using C3. They appear invulnerable and dismiss other people's perspectives while forcing others to attend to them while misleading others regarding their inner feeling of helplessness and desire for comfort. Individuals using the C6 (seductive) strategy give the appearance of needing rescue from dangerous circumstances that are, in fact, self-induced. C6 individuals mislead others regarding their anger.

This alternating pattern is often seen in bully-victim pairs, within gangs, and in violent couples where the hidden half of the pattern is usually forgotten or forgiven - until the presentation reverses. This strategy develops during the school years but does not function fully until adolescence.

C7-8: C7-8 (menacing-paranoid) is the most extreme of the Type C strategies and involves a willingness to attack anyone combined with fear of everyone. Type C strategies all involve distrust of consequences and an excessive reliance on one's own feelings. At the extreme, this pattern becomes delusional with delusions of infinite revenge over ubiquitous enemies (a menacing strategy, C7) or the reverse. Paranoia regarding the enemies (C8). These two strategies do not become organized before early adulthood.

Strategies can combine any sub patterns. In practice, most $NC's$ consist of the more distorted patterns, i.e., A3-4 or higher and C3-4 or higher. Individuals using these strategies display either very sudden shifts in behavior or, in the case of blended strategies (AC), they show very subtle mixing of distortion and deception. The extreme of the blended form of AC is psychopathy.

APPENDIX H.   **Glossary of Traumas**

Ul	Unresolved loss
Ul(a)	Anticipated form of unresolved loss
Ul(dlr)	Delusionally repaired form of unresolved loss
Ul(dlv)	Delusional revenge form of unresolved loss
Ul(dn)	Denied form of unresolved loss
UL (dp)	Depressed form of unresolved loss
UL (dpl)	Displaced form of unresolved loss
Ul(ds)	Dismissing form of unresolved loss
Ul(dx)	Disorganised form of unresolved loss
Ul(h)	Hinted form of unresolved loss
Ul(i)	Imagined form of unresolved loss
Ul(p)	Preoccupied form of unresolved loss
Ul(v)	Vicarious form of unresolved loss
Utr	Unresolved trauma
Utr(a)	Anticipated form of unresolved trauma
Utr(b)	Blocked form of unresolved trauma
Utr(dlr)	Delusionally repaired form of unresolved trauma
Utr(div)	Delusional revenge form of unresolved trauma
Utr(dn)	Denied form of unresolved trauma
Utr(dp)	Depressed form of unresolved trauma
Utr(dpl)	Displaced form of unresolved trauma
Utr(ds)	Dismissed form of unresolved trauma
Utr(dx)	Disorganised form of unresolved trauma
Utr(h)	Hinted form of unresolved trauma
Utr(i)	Imagined form of unresolved trauma
Utr(p)	Preoccupied form of unresolved trauma
Utr(s)	Suggested form of unresolved trauma
Utr(v)	Vicarious form of unresolved trauma

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