The Role of Self-Views in College Adjustment

Alanna Joy Raines
Teachers College, Columbia University

Gary Lewandowski, Jr.
Monmouth University

The transition to college presents a host of stressors for students to navigate in the novel environment. Previous research has shown that the transition to college and adaptation to new demands can be highly distressing for students. College adjustment has been shown to predict retention rates and uptake of risk behaviors such as alcohol use. It is likely that some students may be at greater risk for maladjustment based on their ability to adapt to the college environment. Thus, the current study examined how individual differences in self-views relate to college adjustment. Ninety-one participants (75 females and 16 males) completed measures of self-concept clarity, self-esteem, self-acceptance, and college adjustment. College adjustment was significantly correlated with self-concept clarity ($r = .29$, $p = .01$), self-esteem ($r = .39$, $p = .00$) and self-acceptance ($r = .36$, $p = .00$). These results have important implications for university programs that focus on facilitating the transition to college, espousing the need for interventions that address promotion of acceptance of self and life events.

There is a long research tradition that has endeavored to address the question: "What helps college students successfully adapt to their new environment?" During this shift to a novel environment, some individuals more readily orient to the wealth of new experiences and adjust to life away from familiarity. However, it has been shown that others are not as able to identify with and feel comfort in their new environment (Cassidy & Trew, 2001). Research has shown that it is appropriate to look at the transition to college as a disturbing event in the lives of young adults (Choi, 2002; Naz & Weber, 2003; Paul & Brier, 2001). For many reasons, shifting from high school to a university setting can cause students to invoke self-views to help inform and guide academic and social behaviors in the new environment.

The novel demands posed by autonomous living and the management of social freedom are daunting obstacles to be encountered in college. Yet, successfully overcoming the challenges can yield valuable and lasting benefits for those who navigate the transition. It has been shown that adjustment is closely related to academic success in terms of grade point average and retention rates (Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994). In a recent meta-analysis conducted by Crede and Kunkel (2008), study skill inventories were found to be largely unrelated to college grades, but were moderately related to personality constructs (i.e., motivation to succeed). Furthermore, anxiety regarding academic performance was a strong negative predictor of grade point average. These results suggest that there are individual differences in personality that affect academic performance. Thus, it is likely that these factors also affect the college adjustment process as a whole.

The current study attempts to determine novel correlates that relate to successful college adjustment in order to facilitate intervention programs that focus on retention and

risk behavior prevention. For the purposes of this paper, self-views in evaluative and cognitive dimensions will be referred to as self-understanding, which is the compilation of three constructs: self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), self-concept clarity (Campbell et al., 1996), and self-acceptance (Ryff, 1989). As such, the combination of both evaluative and cognitive components of self-knowledge provides a broad conceptualization of traits, thoughts, and behaviors across situations.

The Transition to College

Students commonly question their new identity as autonomous adults, shedding familial dependencies upon entering college (Cassidy & Trew, 2001; Choi, 2002). Stemming from their newly-found independence, individuals must also properly manage their social freedom and find a personal balance between social interaction and personal space (Naz & Weber, 2003). Without the immediate presence of parents, the autonomous individual must develop self-soothing behaviors that can be enlisted in times of anxiety to quell fears and frustrations. The paucity of familiar others and the doubt that can arise from acquiring new affiliations and behaviors is compounded by "friendsickness." Paul and Brier (2001) describe this feeling as a longing for friends previously held in secondary school and the personal identity once held among them. Reestablishing the former identity among new others is a task that can bring forth great anxiety when socially adjusting to a new environment.

The duress placed on students during this time can jeopardize an individual's physical and emotional health. For example, anxiety can manifest itself in a variety of ways, such as psychological and somatic distress, low self-esteem, and even depression (Giddan, 1988). Elevated levels of anxiety may also lead students to use alcohol and other substances to ease the tension and discomfort they

---

Correspondence: Alanna Joy Raines, ajr2153@columbia.edu

experience in their unfamiliar environment. The use of addictive and illegal drugs can further compound the stress an individual feels, placing the student at higher risk for physical health and legal problems (Naz & Weber, 2003).

Separation-Individuation

Erikson (1968) postulated that the most crucial developmental task an individual must face is separation from familial dependencies and achievement of self-sufficiency as an autonomous adult. A refined notion of this developmental issue is separation-individuation (Mattanah, Hancock, & Brand, 2004). Healthy separation-individuation involves developing and maintaining an identity that conforms to one's own personality, rather than that of the individual's parents. Furthermore, early research in this area sought to determine if the successful independence from parents and other close relatives was related to college adjustment. Rice (1992) espoused this notion, demonstrating that freshmen experience significant increases in individuation during each subsequent grade until graduation. Although necessary for independence of the self, this sense of autonomy requires individuals to separate themselves from immediate familial social supports (Choi, 2002). As a result, students must learn new coping methods to deal with stress, and must seek out new sources of social support.

Self-Differentiation

Similar to separation-individuation, self-differentiation refers to the establishment of a self separate from the identity of an individual's parents (Skowron, Wester, & Azen, 2004). This concept broadens the definition of separation-individuation to include both internal and external factors of successful independence from parents. Emotion regulation (i.e., coping with emotional experiences), examination of consequences and outcomes, and thoughtful deliberation of behavior make up the intrapsychic components of self-differentiation. These are crucial issues to navigate, as young adults make decisions for themselves in the absence of parents. In the social context, one must establish working and supportive friendship networks that aid in emotional support. These close relationships, if successfully established, should be fulfilling and ultimately mirror the relationship with close family members (Wintre & Yaffe, 2000). These resources aid in the establishment of social support, resembling the closeness of a family.

Identity Commitment

Cassidy and Trew (2001) investigated students' commitment to maintaining their identity from secondary school to their first year at college. The researchers made a distinction between short and long-term identity change, positing that long-term personality change is difficult to evoke. Short-term change is characterized by the characteristics that are exhibited as individuals move in and out of social roles. A distinct relationship exists between environmental context and individuals' self-views. This is similar to the conceptualization of the working self-concept proposed by Markus and Wurf (1987) which states that the multiple identities can overlap and be present at different times throughout social situations. Long-term change in identity, however, refers to a major life transition in which an individual experiences an enduring change in their identity patterns. Thus, Cassidy and Trew (2001) proposed that long-term change due to relocation and social environment for college students would elicit such change. However, results showed that the psychological centrality of identities participants cited in secondary school did not change one year after the college transition. This gives support to the notion that individuals seek to retain their pre-college identity. It also shows commitment to establishing social networks in college that parallel their previous relationships with friends and family, while maintaining the identity that they exhibited in those relationships.

Big Five Personality Traits

Wintre and Sugar (2000) examined personality characteristics and their relationship to college adjustment. Specifically, they examined the Big Five personality traits outlined by McCrae and Costa (1992). The first component, neuroticism, is characteristic of those with high self-consciousness and negative affect. Extraversion largely deals with social competence and warmth toward others. Receptivity to new ideas and activities is characterized by openness to experience. Those who are empathetic and generous are considered agreeable using this taxonomy. Lastly, conscientiousness describes those who strive for excellence and achievement, as well as display neatness and orderliness. Wintre and Sugar (2000) hypothesized that conscientiousness would predict academic and institutional college adjustment. Agreeableness and extraversion were hypothesized to predict social and institutional adjustment. Lastly, it was also hypothesized that neuroticism would be negatively correlated with institutional, social, personal, and emotional college adjustment. Results showed that conscientiousness was related to males' academic and institutional college adjustment, yet the same pattern did not materialize for females. Agreeableness and extraversion predicted both genders' social adjustment, yet only females' institutional adjustment. Lastly, females who reported high neuroticism also reported lower institutional, social, personal, and emotional college adjustment. This study delineates the predictive power of personality characteristics and gender in determining college adjustment, as well as individual differences predictive of college adjustment in various dimensions.

Self-views and College Adjustment

Self-esteem. Self-concept is a cognitive schema comprised of an individual's traits, values, and personal

goals (Pelham & Swann, 1989). Self-esteem (Campbell et al., 1996) is the evaluative component of self-concept. Self-esteem is an individual's positive, neutral, or negative view of his or her own personality characteristics. When mentally aggregated, it results in a general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the self. It is likely that a global positive or negative view of the self will similarly influence the global view of the college experience.

Self-acceptance. Self-acceptance is an evaluative measure of one's attitude toward the self within the context of past life events and accomplishments. Ryff (1989) describes self-acceptance as a measurement of healthy psychological functioning. High measures of self-acceptance relate to acceptance and comfort with previous positive or negative experiences. Further, self-acceptance yields a satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a person's past selves and life events, rather than a positive or negative view of the contents of the self-concept, measured by self-esteem (Campbell, 1990; Campbell et al., 1996).

Self-concept clarity. Self-concept clarity is defined as the stability and consistency of the traits in the self-concept (Campbell et al., 1996). This is a cognitive component of self-knowledge which assembles personality traits into an organized structure. It works to incorporate new information into the existing organization. Individuals with high self-concept clarity have a well-defined view of who they are, and derive high self-esteem from the strength and consistency of self-beliefs (Campbell & Lavallee, 1993). Previous work examining individual differences in the clarity of the self-concept have pointed to its relation to college adjustment. Crede and Kunkel (2008) propose that those with a clear knowledge of personal abilities and motivating factors tend to have greater academic success in college.

Although previous studies have focused on personality characteristics' relation to college adjustment, research has failed to properly address the role of self-views. Given the prominent role that self-concept and self-esteem play in everyday functioning, they are likely to affect how students acclimate to a novel environment such as college. Those who have high self-esteem possess a positive evaluation of the self (Rosenberg, 1965), which might lead to positive evaluations of their college experience. In addition, it is possible that those who have high self-concept clarity, which is characterized by a clear, stable, and defined view of their personal expectations, traits, and abilities (Campbell, 1990), will have better adjustment as they choose academic endeavors, goals, and affiliations in college that complement the existing self-concept. Lastly, it is plausible that those with high self-acceptance, characterized by having an accepting and approving view of personal accomplishments and life events (Ryff, 1989), will also have a favorable impression of their academic and social experience in college. Thus, it is hypothesized that those who report high self-esteem, self-concept clarity, self-acceptance, and self-understanding, will also report higher overall college adjustment (Hypothesis 1). It is also hypothesized that the

self-variables (i.e., self-esteem, self-acceptance, and self-concept clarity) will be independently related to the four specific dimensions of college adjustment (i.e., social, academic, institutional, and personal).

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 91 undergraduate students (75 females and 16 males) enrolled at a private university in the Northeast. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 28, with a mean age of 19.75. The sample was comprised of 82 participants of Eastern-European decent, 3 African-Americans, 3 Hispanic-Americans, 2 Asian-Americans, and 1 participant who identified their ethnicity as "other." The sample included 39 freshmen, 15 sophomores, 12 juniors, and 25 seniors. All participants were treated ethically throughout the course of the study according to American Psychological Association guidelines (APA, 2002).

Materials

Materials used in the current study included a questionnaire packet that consisted of a measure of college adjustment (Naz & Weber, 2003), a self-acceptance scale (Ryff, 1989), a self-esteem measure (Rosenberg, 1965), a measure of self-concept clarity (Campbell et al., 1996), as well as a demographics sheet. The internal consistency (Chronbach's alpha) for all measures ranged from .70 to .91, with exception of the *Personal Adjustment* scale which was .62.

College adjustment. This measure is a 28-item scale that is designed to measure participants' social, academic, institutional, and personal adjustment to college. Participants were asked to respond on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree).

Social adjustment. This subset of questions in Naz and Weber's (2003) college adjustment scale determined participants' level of social adjustment at the university. This was measured in terms of their development of meaningful and satisfying relationships with other students, as well as their likelihood to attend cultural events with friends at the university. A sample item includes: "Since coming to this university, I have developed close personal relationships with other students."

Academic adjustment. These questions measured participants' level of academic adjustment in terms of their satisfaction with their intellectual development upon coming to the university, as well as their courses and grades. A sample item includes: "My academic experience has had a positive influence on my intellectual growth and interest in ideas."

Institutional adjustment. This subset of questions was designed to measure participants' level of comfort with their current university and confidence in their decision to attend

the school. A sample item includes: "The likelihood that I will finish the present school year is almost certain."

Personal adjustment. The last subset of questions measured participants' feelings that their current university fits their personality and the extent to which their university feels like home to them. A sample item includes: "Sometimes I get homesick."

Self-esteem. This measure assesses the degree to which participants take a positive attitude toward themselves (Rosenberg, 1965). Participants were asked to respond on a 4-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree). Sample items include: "On the whole I am satisfied with myself" and "I feel I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others."

Self-acceptance. This measure of well-being assesses participants' acceptance and comfort with their selves, accomplishments, and life events (Ryff, 1989). Participants were asked to respond on a 6-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree). Sample items include: "In general, I feel confident and positive about myself" and "I like most aspects of my personality."

Self-concept clarity. This measure assesses the stability and coherence of participants' perception of their personality characteristics (Campbell et al., 1996). Participants were asked to respond on a 5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). Sample items include: "I seldom experience conflict between different aspects of my personality" and "In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am."

Demographics. The demographics sheet asked participants to indicate their gender, ethnic background, age, and year in college.

Procedure

Participants signed up in advance for a time slot of 30 minutes using a web-based participant pool. After arriving at the laboratory, participants were met by an experimenter who confirmed their attendance. They were then given an informed consent sheet and its contents were read aloud as participants followed along. Upon written consent, a questionnaire packet was distributed to participants, along with a demographics sheet. The completion of the two materials took approximately 15 minutes. When participants finished, they were orally debriefed and any remaining questions were answered by an experimenter. After they were asked to keep the details of the current study confidential, participants were released.

Results

Correlation between Overall College Adjustment and Self Variables

Means and standard deviations for the key variables are shown in Table 1. Correlations between college adjustment and the various components of self-understanding are shown in Table 2. As predicted, self-esteem, self-concept clarity, and self-acceptance were all significantly positively related to overall college adjustment. This indicates that those who have generally positive self-views tend to display higher college adjustment.

Table 1. *Means and Standard Deviations*

Variable	M	SD	N
Self-esteem	3.43	.47	91
Self-concept clarity	3.67	.65	91
Self-acceptance	4.82	.74	91
Overall college adjustment	5.34	.72	91
Academic college adjustment	5.38	.77	91
Personal college adjustment	5.23	.86	91
Institutional college adjustment	5.95	.97	91
Social college adjustment	4.82	1.11	91

Correlations between College Adjustment Subscales and Self Variables (Hypothesis 2).

Correlations between the college adjustment subscales and self-understanding (and its components) for all participants are also shown in Table 2. Self-esteem and self-acceptance were positively correlated with academic college adjustment ($r = .29$, $p < .01$; $r = .30$, $p < .01$, respectively), whereas self-concept clarity approached significance ($r = .20$, $p = .054$). Self-acceptance was positively correlated with institutional college adjustment, whereas self-concept clarity ($r = .18$, $p = .09$) and self-esteem ($r = .20$, $p = .06$) approached significance.

Table 2. *Correlations between Self Variables, Overall College Adjustment, and College Adjustment Subscales*

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Self-esteem	-	.68**	.87**	.39**	.29**	.44**	.20	.27**
2. Self-concept clarity		-	.72**	.29**	.20	.31**	.18	.21*
3. Self-acceptance			-	.36**	.30**	.34**	.22*	.25*
4. Overall college adjustment				-	.78**	.77**	.74*	.80**
5. Academic college adjustment					-	.42**	.59**	.52**
6. Personal college adjustment						-	.37**	.55**
7. Institutional college adjustment							-	.35**
8. Social college adjustment								-

Note. *p < .05. **p < .01.

Discussion

Previous research has shown that the transition to college is distressing for students (Paul & Brier, 2001). It has also been shown that personality traits are more closely linked to academic performance than a range of academic factors (e.g., study skills) (Crede & Kunkel, 2008). Research in this area has pointed to, yet not fully determined the role of self-views in terms of college adjustment. The current study sought to isolate novel correlates of college adjustment, specifically self-esteem, self-concept clarity, and self-acceptance.

Results demonstrated that overall college adjustment was significantly positively correlated with self-concept clarity, self-esteem, and self-acceptance. This illustrates that individuals who positively evaluate themselves, characterized by high self esteem (Rosenberg, 1965), are more likely to rate their college experience more positively. It also suggests that those who have high self-concept clarity (Campbell, 1990) are better adjusted due to an ability to choose academic endeavors that complement the existing self-concept. In addition, it is demonstrated that those with high self-acceptance, characterized by an accepting and approving view of personal accomplishments and life events (Ryff, 1989), are more likely to have a favorable impression of their academic and social experience in college. Results suggest that students with positive self-views are more comfortable with themselves, have a better idea of their strengths and weaknesses, possess the personal resources necessary to be successful, and ultimately have better overall college adjustment.

As predicted, self-esteem, self-concept clarity, and self-acceptance were positively significantly correlated with social and personal college adjustment. These findings indicate that those who have a greater awareness of who they are may be more likely to seek social support that adequately fulfills their emotional needs. They also appear more likely to be well-adjusted due to a better perceived "match" between their goals and the resources afforded to them at their university. Self-esteem and self-acceptance were positively correlated with academic college adjustment, whereas self-concept clarity only approached significance. This suggests that those who hold a positive evaluation of their personal characteristics and life achievements are more likely to be satisfied with their academic performance and intellectual growth when compared against their peers. Self-acceptance was positively correlated with institutional college adjustment, whereas self-concept clarity and self-esteem only approached significance. This shows that those who have a forgiving and tolerant view of past decisions are more likely to accept their choice to attend the college.

Previous research has pointed to individual differences in college adjustment (Crede & Kunkel, 2008; Wintre & Sugar, 2000). However, this study was the first to assess the value of positive self-views with respect to college adjustment. Strengths of the present study include an analysis of different aspects of college adjustment. With use of Naz and Weber's (2003) college adjustment scale, participants' academic, social, institutional, and personal adjustment were measured. Each subscale was designed to measure a specific component of adjustment, yielding a more informative analysis of the sample.

A limitation of the current study was that a majority of its sample were freshmen. Since their transition to college was fairly recent, the disturbances caused by being uprooting from their home and daily familial interaction were still very new. Compared to sophomores, juniors and seniors, freshmen's issues related to separation-individuation were in the early stages of negotiation. It might have been too early for the freshmen to determine their comfort with their university and academic performance.

Another limitation of this study is the inclusion of items on both the institutional and personal sections of the College Adjustment Scale (Naz & Weber, 2003) that did not apply to non-residents. Many participants commuted to school, and were unable to answer residential life questions on the subscales, such as "I like living in the residence hall" and "I feel like the residence hall is home now." This resulted in the relatively low-reliability of the institutional ($\alpha = .70$) and personal ($\alpha = .62$) college adjustment subscales, yielding inconclusive results for self-concept clarity and self-esteem's relationship to institutional adjustment for all participants.

Lastly, participants in this study were largely female. Previous research has shown that there are distinct gender differences in the adjustment patterns of males and females (Wintre & Sugar, 2000). This study was unable to address this issue due to a paucity of male participants. Future research should determine differences in college adjustment and self-views based on gender.

Based on the results of this study, future research examining the benefit of increasing positive self-views in college students is warranted. This study shows that those who have high self-esteem, self-concept clarity, and self-acceptance, report higher college adjustment. As such, these results have important implications for university programs that focus on facilitating the transition to college. Possible university intervention programs could focus on inciting positive increases in students' self-views. It is likely that this will allow students to learn about their traits and abilities and to better use them to adapt to their new environment. Techniques, such as writing about personal characteristics to identify and clarify them, could possibly aid in this process. Perhaps inciting such an increase will yield college adjustment benefits, such as improved academic grades and retention.

In addition, future studies should address the question of whether positive self-views yield the same benefits in the workplace. This study demonstrated that college students with positive self-view were surer of their goals and viewed their personal endeavors more positively. Similarly, it is plausible that the same individuals would be happier and more satisfied with their jobs. This relationship might stem from the choice of work environment complimenting an

individual's goals and personal characteristics, resulting in an easier transition to a new job.

Previous research has shown that the transition to college can be distressing for students (Choi, 2002; Paul & Brier, 2001). College adjustment has also been shown to predict retention rates (Gerdes & Mallinckrodt, 1994). Wintre and Sugar (2000) have pointed to individual differences in college students' ability to adjust to their new environment. The current study addressed the role of possible individual differences in personality by examining self-variables and their relationship to college adjustment. Self-esteem, self-concept clarity, and self-acceptance were examined within the context of college adjustment. Results showed that those who reported high self-esteem, self-acceptance, and self-concept clarity also reported high overall college adjustment. Thus, novel correlates of college adjustment have been isolated by this study. Perhaps the employment of methods that assist in fostering positive self-views might ease the transition to college, benefiting adjustment and, ultimately, retention.

References

American Psychological Association. (2002). Ethical principles of psychologists and code of conduct. *American Psychologist, 57*, 1060-1073.

Campbell, J. D. (1990). Self-esteem and clarity of the self-concept. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*, 538-549.

Campbell, J. D., & Lavallee, L. F. (1993). Who am I? The role of self-concept confusion in understanding the behavior of people with low self-esteem. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *Self-esteem: The puzzle of low self-regard* (pp. 3-20). New York: Plenum.

Campbell, J. D., Trapnell, P. D., Heine, S. J., Katz, L. M., Lavallee, L. F., & Lehman, D. R. (1996). Self-concept clarity: Measurement, personality correlates, and cultural boundaries. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*, 141-156.

Cassidy, C., & Trew, K. (2001). Assessing identity change: A longitudinal study of the transition from school to college. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 4*, 49-60.

Choi, K. (2002). Psychological separation-individuation and adjustment to college among Korean American students: The roles of collectivism and individualism. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 49*, 468-475.

Crede, M., & Kunkel, N. (2008). Study habits, skills, and attitudes: The third pillar supporting collegiate academic performance. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 3*, 425-453.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis.* New York: Norton.

Gerdes, H. & Mallinckrodt, B. (1994). Emotional, social, and academic adjustment of college students: A longitudinal study of retention. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 72*, 281-288.

Giddan, N. S. (1988). *Community and social support for college students.* Springfield, IL: Thomas.

Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology, 38*, 299-337.

Mattanah, J., Hancock, G. R., & Brand, B. (2004). Parental attachment, separation-individuation, and college student adjustment: A structural equation analysis of mediational effects. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*, 213-225.

McCrae, R. R., & Costa, P. T. (1992). Discriminant validity of the NEO-PI-R facets scales. *Educational and Psychological Measurement, 52*, 229-237.

Naz, K., & Weber, M. J. (2003). Privacy regulation and college adjustment: A comparison of American and Turkish freshmen living in residence halls. *College Student Journal, 37*, 79-92.

Paul, E. L., & Brier, S. (2001). Friendsickness in the transition to college: Precollege predictors and college adjustment correlates. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 79*, 77-89.

Pelham, B. W., & Swann, W. B. (1989). From self-conceptions to self-worth: On the sources and structure of global self-esteem. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 627-680.

Rosenberg, M. (1965). *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Rice, K. G. (1992). Separation-individuation and adjustment to college: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 32*, 203-213.

Ryff, C. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 1069-1081.

Skowron, E. A., Wester, S. R., & Azen, R. (2004). Differentiation of self mediates college stress and adjustment. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 82*, 69-78.

Wintre, M. G., & Sugar, L. A. (2000). Relationships with parents, personality, and university transition. *Journal of College Student Development, 41*, 202-214.

Wintre, M. G., & Yaffe, M. (2000). First-year students' adjustment to university life as a function of relationships with parents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 15*, 9-37.