THE EFFECTS OF DIFFERENTIAL ATTACHMENT
TO MOTHERS AND FATHERS
ON ADOLESCENT IDENTITY

by

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(ABSTRACT)

The purpose of this study was to clarify the effects of

differential attachment to mothers and fathers on male

and female identity development. A total of 135 male

and 145 female late adolescents responded to the revised

Inventory of Parent Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg,

1989) and the Extended Version of the Objective Measure

of Ego Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986). Factor

analysis revealed one factor for the attachment

measures, and reliability estimates verified their

psychometric adequacy. Participants reported higher

attachment to mother than to father. The need for

separate measures of attachment to each parent was

confirmed by correlational analysis. Gender effects

were noted for identity status but none were found for

attachment. Consideration of these results led to the

suggestion that males and females have different agendas

for identity resolution. Regression analysis indicated
an association between discrete same-sex and cross-sex
attachments to parents and identity status
classifications. The findings suggest that future
research continue to explore the effects of differential
attachment on identity development.

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All my thoughts on completing my doctoral dissertation turn to my mother who is no longer here to share the joy of my accomplishment. It was she who gave me the courage and will to succeed, and she who would be the most proud.

To my husband,   , I express my gratitude for the patience, understanding, and love I didn't always deserve but was always there for me. My children, and   , have put in the most years with Mom as a student, and I thank them for their encouragement and perserverence.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Three main patterns of mutual attachment of parent
to child, one consistent with healthy development,
labeled "secure", and two, with disturbed development,
labeled "anxious resistant" and "anxious avoidant" have
been identified (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall,
1978). Further research has shown that these patterns
of attachment can be altered until a child reaches the
age of two or three when the pattern of attachment and
the personality features that go with it become a
property of the child (Bowlby, 1988). With time these
patterns become increasingly resistant to change and the
children, in fact, impose them or some derivative of
them on new relationships (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy,
1985; Sroufe, 1985). Thus, patterns of attachment, once
formed, tend to persist not only because the way a
parent treats a child tends to be consistent but because
each pattern tends to be self-perpetuating.

Because the study of attachment requires knowledge
of an individual's working models (Main et al., 1985)

the internal rules that guide behavior, attachment
research has focused primarily on infancy and early
childhood when behavior or task-related activities as
well as attention and memory can be examined in detail.
It has been a recent challenge and accomplishment of
researchers interested in studying the effects of
attachment in adolescence to develop assessments that
measure working models using current or retrospective
data. With the new instruments that have been developed
(Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; George, Kaplan, & Main,
1985), the following outcomes relevant to attachment
organization in adolescence have been assessed: (a)
affect (mood) regulation (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987;
Kobak, 1988), (b) memory organization (Kobak, 1988),
(c) self-esteem (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Greenberg,
Siegal, & Leitch, 1983), (d) life satisfaction (Armsden
& Greenberg, 1987; Greenberg et al., 1983), (e)
assertion (Kenny, 1986), (f) social competence (Kenny,
1986; Kobak, 1988), and (g) ego identity (Quintana &
Lapsley, 1987).

In order to continue research of the attachment
dynamic and how it operates and persists beyond early

childhood, this study explored the differential patterns
of attachment to mother and father and their
relationships to the development of identity formation
of adolescent males and females. Although differences
in the relationship of mother and father within the
context of family relations has been the subject of some
recent investigations (Hauser et al., 1987; Montemayer &
Browler, 1987; Quintana & Lapsley, 1987), no studies had
explored the impact of the attachment relationship to
each parent on the developing adolescent.

While research based on the identity statuses
developed by Marcia (1966) to operationalize Erikson's
theory of identity development has been profuse,
findings of gender differences in identity formation
have generated mixed results (Matteson, 1974). For
example, Josselson (1982, 1987) has found high ego
development in women in a state of moratorium, while
previous research consistently had shown moratorium
women to be lower in psychological measures of self-
esteem and autonomy than men (Marcia & Friedman, 1970;
Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; Toder & Marcia, 1973). The
present study focused on the the differences in male and

female identity development based on the attachment
relationship to mother and father. Identity development
was measured by a recently revised version of the
Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Adams, Bennion
& Huh, 1987) that combines the two essential aspects of
identity development for males and females, the
interpersonal and the ideological (Grotevant, Thorbecke,
& Meyer, 1982).

Definitions

    Attachment styles: Factors relating to the
variations in the way emotionally significant bonds
develop and become organized during the infancy and
childhood of individuals. There are three attachment
styles: secure, anxious resistant, and anxious avoidant
(Ainsworth et al., 1978).

        Secure--Bold in explorations of the world, secure
                and confident that parent will be
                available, dyad characterized by ease of
                movement
        Anxious resistant--Uncertain parent will be
                available, prone to separation anxiety,

anxious clinging behavior, emotional

expression and behavior restricted

Anxious avoidant--No confidence of parent

availability,

compulsively self-sufficient or

persistently delinquent, detached and

hostile

Identity statuses: Four modes of dealing with
identity issues characteristic of late adolescents which
are defined along two dimensions, the presence or
absence of a crisis period (or as conceptualized by
Matteson [1977] as an exploratory period) and the
presence or absence of a clearly defined and stable
commitment to values, beliefs and standards. The
following are the identity statuses: (adapted from
Objective Measure of Ego Identity, Adams, Bennion & Huh,
1987).

Identity achieved--adolescents who have made

substantial exploration prior to

identifying personal and unique ideological

commitments.

Identity foreclosed--adolescents who have not

experienced any true exploratory period but
have committed themselves to roles acquired
from others.

Moratorium--adolescents who are currently
experiencing the consciousness of an
identity crisis and are exploring, but have
not yet arrived at their own self-defined
commitments.

Identity diffused--adolescents who don't experience
a compulsion to explore life alternatives
and fail to establish ideological
commitments.

Chapter II

THEORY

Both John Bowlby's (1973, 1988) attachment theory
and Erik Erikson's (1963, 1968) theory of ego
development were developed to account for the
interaction of internal and external forces on the
development of personality. Bowlby has written that his
own work was an effort to combine the theories of
Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), who focused on a person's
internal world, and of Adolf Meyer (1866-1950), who
emphasized the influential role of the events and
situations people meet with during their development
(Bowlby, 1988). Erikson incorporated elements of the
Freudian psychoanalytic theory. However, he expanded
this framework to include the external forces of the
social and cultural environment when he focused on the
regenerative powers of the ego and its relationship to
society.

The key hypothesis in attachment theory is that
variations in the way bonds develop between parent and
child during infancy and childhood are major

determinants of mental health (Bowlby, 1973, 1988).
Freud was the first to describe the child's relationship
to the mother as unique and without parallel, as the
strongest love-object and prototype for all later love
relationships (Bretherton & Waters, 1985). In an
attempt to enlarge on Freud's theory and understand how
these bonds function and become organized, Bowlby (1988)
turned to ethological theory and the ideas of Konrad
Lorenz (1903-1989) who studied how bonds develop between
offspring and parents in a range of animal species.
Ethological theory regards the capacity to make bonds
with other people as a basic component of human nature.
It is a principle ingredient of personality functioning
and mental health. These bonds operate in a
complementary fashion bonding child to parent, as well
as parent to child.

Another basic component of attachment theory is the
urge to explore the environment (Bowlby, 1988). While
seemingly contrary to attachment behavior, the urge to
explore away from an attachment figure can only occur,
nevertheless, within the context of stability. This
intentional behavior toward caregivers was explained by

Bowlby in terms of a behavioral control system that
served to preserve a balance between attachment and
exploratory behavior (Bowlby, 1982; Bretherton & Waters,
1985). The maintenance of such a system over time is
known as the stable base phenomenon. Bowlby compares
this behavior to a physiological homeostasis, whereby
the behavioral control system maintains a person's
relation to an attachment figure between limits of
distance and proximity (Bowlby, 1988). Individuals of
any age when feeling secure will explore away from their
attachment figures. However, when anxious, fearful, or
sick, there will be an urge toward proximity. However,
it is the attachment control system that maintains the
boundaries around the parameters of the relationship.
In early childhood explorations are limited by time and
space, but as children grow older, they are able to
venture away for longer periods of time, albeit
maintaining access to a secure base (Bowlby, 1988).

Appraisal of the attachment figure's availability
and a situation's potential for safety or danger do not
occur anew each time. According to Bowlby (1973, 1982)
the child constructs increasingly complex conscious

and/or unconscious working models of significant others,
the self, and the world. These models which combine
affective and cognitive components serve to appraise,
organize and guide behavior in new situations
(Bretherton & Waters, 1985; Main et al., 1985). Thus
the child with secure attachment to caregivers carries
an unconscious and/or conscious assurance of access to
trustworthy, helpful others and views him/herself as
worthy of love and support.

While ethological theory was a comfortable
framework for Bowlby's ideas for personality
development, Erikson chose to accept the structure of
psychoanalytic drive-reduction theory. However, in
discovering that the theory could not take into account
the environment as a pervasive reality, he chose to
expand on it (Erikson, 1968). Erikson also challenged
the element of social doom inherent in Freud's
concentration on the powers of the id. He focused
instead on the capacity of the individual to develop ego
identity through interaction with the environment.

In Identity, Youth and Crisis (1968) Erikson
characterized a person's identity as an elusive concept

that gives one a "sense of sameness and continuity" .
Erikson (1968) stated that [identity is] "located in the
core of the individual and yet also in the core of
[one's] communal culture, which establishes, in fact,
the identity of those two identities" (p. 22).
Consequently, ego identity develops along two fronts,
one is inner, which has to do with knowing and accepting
oneself, and the other is the outer, which allows one to
accept and identify with one's culture (Thomas, 1983).
The entire interplay between the psychological, the
sociological, the developmental and the historical is
represented in identity formation (Erikson, 1968).

An acquisition of an identity is viewed by Erikson
(1968) as a lifelong process of increasing
differentiation beginning in infancy and terminating
only when the power of mutual affirmation vanes
(Erikson, 1968). The process is dynamic, not static,
and elements are constantly being added and rejected.
However, it is during the age of adolescence and young
adulthood when the process has its normative crisis.
According to Erikson, a normative crisis is a life event
meaning:

a necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when
development must move one way or another,
marshalling resources of growth, recovery, and
further differentiation. (Erikson, 1968, p. 16)

During the adolescent crisis, physiological and
cognitive changes, as well as cultural expectations,
stimulate identity consciousness and compel the
individual to explore life choices and then to resolve
them through personal ideological commitment (Adams et
al., 1987).

In addition to the crisis of identity formation in
adolescence, Erikson (1963) posited a series of crises
appropriate for each developmental stage. He
emphasized that the resolution of issues or crises
during earlier stages paves the way to optimal
adaptation in subsequent periods. His stages are akin
to themes of development which are constantly
superimposed on one another with the purpose of
achieving ego identity (Erikson, 1963; Maier, 1978).
Each stage is characterized by a constant imbalance or
flux with old developmental issues being redefined,

taken up new and differently in each phase. When
development proceeds as it should, the child emerges
from each psychosocial crisis with an increased sense
of outer and inner unity (Thomas, 1979).

Erikson designated the psychosocial crisis of trust
(versus mistrust) as the one upon which all the others,
autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, and intimacy,
are built. For example, infants who have negotiated the
issue of basic trust are better able to move toward
autonomous functioning (Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland,
1985) Likewise, toddlers who have negotiated the
ability to function autonomously will be able to face
the world with increasing confidence and enthusiasm.
Without the ability to trust significant people in his
life and especially himself, a child will have
difficulty negotiating all major life cycle tasks,
especially the establishment of a coherent sense of
identity.

In Erikson's consideration of the
sociological/cultural impact on the developing
personality, his theory went beyond the scope of Bowlby,
who concentrated mainly on the nature of human

relationships as central to the process of personality development. However, Bowlby's and Erikson's theories are complementary. Both consider the dynamics of early childhood attachment patterns ('secure attachment' is synonymous with 'basic trust') to be the basic groundplan for adult life structure. Starting with attachment issues in infancy, each developmental period sets the stage for how the child adapts to the developmental tasks of the next period (Sroufe, 1979). Thus, at their cores both theories are analogous. They are constructed around the idea of the stable base. Both theorists emphasize how it is the quality of the attachment bond that permits the child to trust in his caregivers, reflectively in himself and eventually in the world he inhabits. This sense of security defines the capacity for exploration and personality integration not only in early childhood but also in adolescence when the individual is compelled to explore life choices with serious goals of personal commitment. It is the purpose of this research to integrate the frameworks developed by John Bowlby and Erik Erikson to yield a greater understanding of the attachment dynamic and it how

affects the identity crisis of adolescence.

Chapter III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Dependent Variable

Identity development in early childhood. Although
no research has examined the relationship between
attachment and identity development per se in early
childhood, areas related to Erikson's ego identity
issues during that developmental period have been
explored (e.g., mastery motivation, social functioning).
According to Erikson the process of socializing the
child into a particular culture involves the passage
through a series of psychosocial tasks at each stage of
growth. The tasks involve challenges such as the
ability to trust, to be autonomous, to be productive,
and to show initiative. The term mastery motivation
(White, 1959) explains a series of learned skills such
as grasping, crawling, perception, memory, etc., that
derive from a need to master the environment with
pleasurable outcome. This focus on competence-seeking
activity is reflective of the child's capacity to
explore the world with increasing confidence, autonomy

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and enthusiasm. The claim that mastery motivation is associated with secure attachment has received support in a number of studies (Bates, Maslin, & Frankel, 1985; Main, 1973; Matas, Arend, & Sroufe, 1978). Main (1973) found that during free play, toddlers classified as securely attached in the Strange Situation Procedure (Ainsworth et al., 1978) had longer attention spans and exhibited greater positive affect (Bretherton & Waters, 1985). Matas et al. (1978) found that two-year-old children designated as securely attached at 12 and/or 18 months confidently attempted solutions to easy tool-using tasks. They were more enthusiastic, persistent, and compliant, this being in direct contrast to the insecurely attached toddlers who were frustrated, whined and were negative when faced with the tasks. These findings were confirmed in a study by Bates et al. (1985).

In a recent investigation (Bus & van IJzendoorn, 1988) of the relationship of attachment to the emergent literacy of 1 1/2 - 5 1/2 year-olds, children in securely attached dyads paid more attention to reading instruction and were more prone to engage in proto-

reading than insecurely attached children. There was, in fact, less need to discipline these children and they were not as distracted as those children in anxiously attached dyads.

Thus, the research supports the notion that the groundwork is laid for autonomous exploration and problem solving for those children who can operate within the safety of the child-caregiver relationship.

An area of outcome research also closely aligned to ego identity issues in childhood has to do with the capacity to function in social relationships. According to attachment theory, the quality of the social relationship is reflective of a person's ability to explore and function away from the immediate environment of the attachment figure. Intrapersonal and environmental processes act in tandem so that personality structures tend to determine the relationships and situations that a person seeks or avoids (Bretherton & Waters, 1985).

A number of studies have found strong evidence that children's attachment classification predicts social functioning for the preschooler with teachers and peers.

Children judged to be securely attached at 12 and/or 18 months were rated higher on positive affect by their teachers (Sroufe, Schork, Motti, Lavroski, & LaFreniere, 1984). The children classified as resistant showed ineptness in their relationship with peers, while the avoidant children tended to be hostile or distant. Securely attached infants have been reported to be more sociable as toddlers (Pastor, 1981).

In a study of children living in poverty (Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985), those children who had been classified as resistant or avoidant at 12 and 18 months in the Strange Situation procedure (Ainsworth et al., 1978) tended to develop behavior problems in preschool. This finding, however, was not corroborated in a study of a sample of children of middle-class two parent families (Bates et al., 1985), but the Sroufe study included many more insecurely attached children who were studied extensively within the framework of a research preschool.

In a recent study of preschoolers (Troy & Sroufe, 1987) who were observed during free play in pairs which included children with secure and insecure histories of

attachment, victimization was reliably identified and
clearly associated with attachment relationship history.
The presence of a child with an avoidant attachment
history was associated with victimization and the
presence of a child with a secure attachment history was
associated with nonvictimization.

For the purpose of their research, Main, Kaplan,
and Cassidy (1985) defined internal working models of
attachment as conscious and/or unconscious rules for
"the organization of information relevant to attachment
and for obtaining or limiting access to that
information...regarding attachment-related experiences,
feelings and ideations" (Main et al., 1985, p. 67). By
definition, then, internal working models permit or deny
the child access to the kind of information that allows
for the freedom to explore his/her own feelings as well
as to meet the challenges of the environment. Thus
research that has investigated the differential
properties of internal working models through language
and other representational processes such as memory is
relevant to the research at hand.

Main et al. found the attention of secure infants

and their parents to flow freely, permitting changes in
emotional expression across many situations, while
insecure infants' attention, behavior, and emotional
expression was limited and predictable. Six-year-old
children classified as secure exhibited free access to
affect, memory, and plans, and their speech flowed
easily. They were at ease in exploring feelings and
using their imaginations to problem-solve. This finding
was in direct contrast to the insecure six-year-olds who
were ill at ease discussing feelings and generally
restricted in their attention and planning.

A detailed study of 267 socially and emotionally
at-risk mother-child dyads summarizes the aforementioned
outcome measures and provides striking evidence of the
importance of secure attachment to a child's competent
functioning in subsequent years. The results of the
Minnesota Mother-Child Interaction Project (Sroufe,
1983) found that children securely attached as infants
were more ego resilient, independent, compliant,
empathetic and socially competent; they had greater
self-esteem and expressed more positive affect than did
children who were insecurely attached as infants.

Although the Sroufe project utilized teacher ratings in their analysis, the findings recently have been confirmed in a study by Cassidy (1988) who investigated the connection between attachment and self-esteem by exploring the children's working models of their attachment figures, of themselves and of their self-worth.

Identity development in adolescence. Only one study reviewed the impact of attachment on identity formation during adolescence (Quintana & Lapsley, 1987). The study, based on a small sample of young adolescents, showed no relationship between the attachment of young adolescents and ego identity. The researchers inferred that attachment of adolescents to parents may be less critical for psychological development than attachment during infancy because adolescents may benefit from the development of advanced cognitive and social abilities. Nevertheless, the question of whether attachment in adolescence impacts on ego identity remains open. The theoretical framework of attachment formulated by Bowlby and the findings that support persistence of attachment organization beyond early childhood (Bretherton &

Waters, 1985) point to further investigation of the
attachment dynamic and identity formation during
adolescence. In addition, Quintana and Lapsley (1987)
admit to dissatisfaction with the two measures of
identity utilized in their study, the short measure of
Eriksonian ego identity developed by Tan, Kendis, Fine,
and Porac (1977) and the revised version of Rasmussen's
(1964) measure developed by Enright, Lapsley, Cullen and
Lallensack (1983).

The most widely used approach for measuring ego
identity was developed by Marcia (1966). Drawing on two
of the main dimensions of Erikson's theory of identity
formation (1963, 1968), the presence or absence of a
crisis or an exploratory period and the presence or
absence of a clearly defined commitment to values and
beliefs, Marcia conceptualized four types of identity
formation (Adams, Bennion, & Huh, 1987). Adolescents
who have made substantial exploration prior to
identifying personal and unique ideological commitments
are referred to as identity achieved or Identity
Achievements. A second category of adolescents who have
not experienced any period of exploration but who have

committed themselves to roles acquired from others

without shaping or modifying them are labeled identity

foreclosed or Foreclosures. Another category includes

adolescents who are currently experiencing the

consciousness of an identity crisis and are exploring

but have not yet arrived at their own self-defined

commitments. They are classified as being in

moratorium and called Moratoriums. The last type called

identity diffused or Diffusions are those adolescents

who don't experience a compulsion to explore life

alternatives and fail, as well, to establish ideological

and personal commitments.

Consistent findings from research based on this

paradigm have helped to explain the process of

adolescence with respect to personality development

(Bourne, 1978a, 1978b; Marcia, 1980). Adolescents in

the moratorium category, for example, were found to be

more anxious, while Foreclosures showed the least

anxiety (Marcia, 1967). Identity Achievements and

Moratoriums were found to have the highest self-esteem

(Marcia, 1976; Marcia & Freedman, 1970), to be less

impulsive (Waterman & Waterman, 1974) and more

culturally sophisticated (Waterman & Waterman, 1971).
Matteson (1977) reported that Foreclosures and
Diffusions had lower autonomy scores than did Identity
Achievements and Moratoriums.

Considerable research has been directed at
identifying parental styles and their relationship to
the identity statuses of adolescents (Jordan, 1971;
Matteson, 1975). Late adolescents classified as
Foreclosures were described by Jordan (1971) as having
the closest relationship with their parents, albeit
restrictive in terms of allowing for individual
expression. They perceived themselves as very close to
their parents and considered the family unit to be child
centered. The parents were seen as accepting and
encouraging. In spite of the fact that fathers of
Foreclosures were found to dominate their sons, the sons
were willing to conform to family standards (Matteson,
1977). The fathers, however, were more supportive of
their daughters (Matteson, 1977).

In this same sample of college juniors and seniors,
parents of Diffusions were found to be rejecting and
detached, and the fathers, particularly unconcerned in

the relationship with the sons (Jordan, 1971). Matteson (1977) found among families of Diffusions that mothers were active and fathers were passive with sons but that the reverse was true in terms of daughters, i.e., fathers were active and mothers were passive. He concluded that Diffusion families consisted of a weak passive adolescent and a weak passive parent of the same sex.

Parents of Moratoriums were seen in Jordan's study (1971) as expressing ambivalence (i.e., both acceptance and rejection) over issues of autonomy and self-expression. Consequently, issues involving self-expression and autonomy characterized the interaction of the families. Both sons and daughters were active and outgoing, although the sons appeared to be in constant struggle with the mother (Marcia, 1980).

While parents of Achievements also showed some ambivalence in their relationship with their children, their reactions were more moderate than parents of Moratoriums (Jordan, 1971). Their children reported a positive relationship with their parents with some expressed ambivalence. However, the ambivalence was not

as emotionally charged as in the case of the Moratorium
families (Marcia, 1980).

Characteristics of the family environment have been
shown to set the stage for the adolescent identity
search. In a discussion of the contribution of the
family to identity development, Cooper, Grotevant, and
Condon (1984) stated that identity formation during
adolescence is the result of a balance between family
connectiveness and encouragement of independence or
individuality. Although these ideas are based on an
observational study of behavior as expressed in
communication between family members and its effect on
identity formation, a study which focused on personal
perceptions also showed that adolescents who exhibit
greater degrees of identity exploration participate in
relationships in which both independence and
connectedness are expressed (Campbell, Adams, & Dobson,
1984). In a recent study, Cooper and Grotevant (1987)
extended their research to explore the distinctive
patterns of connectiveness and independence for families
of boys and girls and how it impacts on friendship and
dating identity.

How patterns of family communication influence personality development in the following areas has been researched in a longitudinal project by the Adolescent and Family Development Study of Harvard University (Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam, & Jacobson, 1983): (a) defense mechanisms (b) ego development (c) self-esteem and (d) self-image. Qualities of the family system/environment have been shown to predict ego development and self-regard of female adolescents (Bell & Bell, 1983). A family's beliefs about the world has been shown to impact on adolescents' social behavior and empathy (Reiss, Oliveri, & Curd, 1983). A causal model was developed to test the effects of structural and interpersonal family variables such as family size, family support, family type, and family conflict on the self-concept dimensions of self-esteem and the importance of being a male or female for self-definition (Hoelter & Harper, 1987).

These studies which have used different frameworks to focus on families consistently indicate that family support exerts the most influence on positive outcomes. In the Harvard study on communication, for example, the

amount of supportive interactions that parents gave
during family discussions proved to be a good predictor
of adolescent ego development. In the study of the
quality of the family system/environment, parental
support and validation were crucial in the development
of positive self-regard in adolescent daughters (Bell &
Bell, 1983). Results indicated in all the variables
tested in the Hoelter and Harper study (1987) that
family support exerted the most influence on self-esteem
and on the importance of the son or daughter role.

Independent variable:

     Attachment in adolescence. Although the studies
described above have contributed to the understanding of
how various elements of family interaction influence
personality development, the attachment framework
represents a more dynamic process for the explanation
and representation of conscious and unconscious
development of identity. Attachment theory is concerned
with the underlying structure of support that is put in
place within the personality and that influences
the way a person thinks, feels, and behaves. The

attachment style sets the stage for the development of all aspects of family functioning including family environment, family communication, and family beliefs. Consequently, its use in the present study will constitute a good predictor of adolescent development.

Because of the growing interest in extending attachment research beyond early childhood and the recent findings that support persistence of attachment organization in the form of internal working models (Bretherton & Waters, 1985), attachment in adolescence has been the focus of some new studies. The secure attachment of first year affluent college students was found to be related to positive affect, low levels of stress, and assertion and independence in women (Keeney, 1986). In a sample of college students aged 16-20, the perceived quality of both parent and peer attachment was significantly related to measures of self-esteem, life-satisfaction, and affective status. (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). These adolescents were more likely to seek social support and less likely to develop symptomatic reactions to stress.

Similar to the recent studies which assess internal

working models of attachment in children (Bretherton &
Waters, 1985; Main et al., 1985), an investigation of
retrospective attachment organization in late
adolescence and outcomes was undertaken by Kobak and
Sceery (1988). Both self-perception ratings and peer
ratings showed the secure group to be more ego-
resilient, less anxious, less hostile, and more likely
to seek social support.

Although the aforementioned findings support
positive outcomes for the parent-adolescent attachment
relationship, no research to date has examined the
differential attachment responses of adolescents to
mother and father. Evidence for differential qualities
of attachment to mothers and fathers in infancy,
however, has been found by Main and Weston (1981) and
Lamb (1977).

Differences in the relationship of mother and
father to the adolescent within the context of family
relations has been the subject of some recent
investigations (Hauser et al., 1987; Montemayor &
Brownlee, 1987; Quintana & Lapsley, 1987). These
findings seem to indicate definitive distinctions in the

adolescent relationship to each parent. Hauser et al. (1987), for example, have found fathers to be more cognitively enabling and involved in problem solving than mothers. This may have the effect of causing children of both sexes to direct their conversation more toward fathers than mothers. Montemayor and Brownlee (1987) have found that fathers spend more time in play and leisure activities with adolescents, while mothers spend more time with adolescents via household tasks. This finding implies negative implications for the mother-adolescent relationship which may be more conflict-bound. In another recent study, adolescents who perceived that their fathers were highly controlling were found to have more difficulty with identity development issues (Quintana & Lapsley, 1987).

The findings of these studies and our present-day social/ environmental milieu which points towards children's emotional and practical needs being met by fathers as well as mothers emphasizes the importance for further research involving differentiation of the attachment relationship to each parent.

Independent variable:

Gender. Early identity-status research was
conducted primarily with males (Marcia, 1980). The
findings which linked the identity statuses to
personality styles were consistent until researchers
tried to produce the same results with women. It was
then that the consistency and the reliability of the
findings broke down (Josselson, 1987). For example,
Foreclosure women were found to score higher on measures
of self-esteem than Foreclosure men, and Moratorium
women were generally lower in self-esteem than
Moratorium men (Marcia & Friedman, 1970).
Inconsistencies were also found in relationship to
measures of anxiety which were unexpectedly high for
female Achievements (Marcia & Friedman, 1970).

In this early research, Marcia was assessing
identity in two content areas, occupation and
religious/political ideology, which were defined along
the dimensions of crisis and commitment. When a new
interview category was added, sexual values and
standards (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972), it provided greater
predictive value for women subjects. Early research

found that for women, identity status was linked more to issues involving religion and sexual values than decisions involving occupation and political ideology (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972). However, Matteson (1977) expanded the men's interview to include sexuality/sex role areas, as well, and concluded in his studies that these areas were essential to the identity process of both men and women.

Even with the addition of the sexual values area, there emerged, nevertheless, a pattern of identity status groupings that was different for men and women (Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Prager, 1982; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; Toder & Marcia, 1973). Men in the identity groupings which were considered to be higher in identity formation, Identity Achievement and Moratorium, were consistently found to be psychologically healthier and mature. Women who scored highest on these psychological measures of self-esteem and autonomy were classified as Foreclosures or Identity Achievements. In other words, the Foreclosure group for women was desirable, and for men, undesirable. And, whereas Moratorium was considered to be high status for men, it

was, low status for women.

In contrast to these findings, Josselson (1973, 1982, 1987) and Ginsburg and Orlofsky (1981) in an effort to assess deeper aspects of personality development that underlie identity formation, found that Moratorium women showed greater ego development in contrast to the Foreclosures. The researchers inferred that, although Moratorium women appeared unstable, their ability to deal with anxiety allowed for a solid foundation for psychological health. Foreclosure women, on the other hand, might appear resilient, but nevertheless, they showed evidence of infantile ego organization (Josselson, 1982). Thus, these findings support similar patterns of identity status groupings for both men and women, i.e., Moratoriums are most like Identity Achievements in terms of ego strength while Foreclosures are most like Diffusions.

Because research on female identity status has been less successful than research on male identity status, some studies have focused on the areas around which crisis and commitment are relevant for females in their identity search (Bilsker, Schiedel, & Marcia, 1988;

Marcia, 1980; Josselson; 1987). As early as 1966,
Douvan and Adelson found pervasive differences between
males and females. The interpersonal focus of the
females was in great contrast to the push for autonomy
among the males. For the females, identity seemed more
a matter of defining experience through attachment to
others. A recent study by Bilsker, Schiedel, and Marcia
(1988) found that, while status in the ideological
domain was most predictive of identity status for males,
status in the interpersonal domain was most predictive
for females. In addition, females rated the sexual-
interpersonal domain as more important to their identity
than males. In her study entitled "Finding Herself;
Pathways to Identity Development in Women", Josselson
(1987) concluded that the aspects most salient to
identity formation in women such as communion,
connection, and affiliation have generally been
overlooked by psychological research.

A study which sought to extend Marcia's original
Identity Status Interview into three interpersonal
domains of friendship, dating, and sex roles provided
justification for inclusion of the interpersonal domains

for both males and females (Grotevant, Thorbecke, &

Meyer, 1982). The researchers demonstrated that

identity for all adolescents consists of both

ideological and interpersonal aspects. Based on this

finding, Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987) developed the

Objective Measure of Identity Status which was used in

this study. They concluded that ideological identity

includes occupational, religious, political, and

philosophical life-style values, goals, and standards,

whereas a social or interpersonal identity incorporates

aspects of friendship, dating, sex roles, and

recreational choices.

The relationship of adolescents' attachment to each

parent to their identity development was the focus of

the present research. No previous studies explored the

effects of differential attachment to mothers and

fathers on male and female identity development.

Conflicting results emerged from prior research on male

and female identity development. It was a goal of this

research to clarify male and female identity development

based on attachment to parents. The following research

questions were addressed by this study:

1. Do college males and females differ in terms of their scores on identity?

2. Do college males and females differ in terms of their scores on attachment?

3. Are differences between males and females on identity measures associated with their level of attachment to either father or mother?

3. How does attachment to the parent of same sex and attachment to parent of the opposite sex effect the identity of male and female adolescents?

Chapter IV

METHODOLOGY

Sample and Procedure

Data for this study was collected from 280 male and

female late adolescents (ages 18-21) who attended

college at Virginia Tech. Students enrolled in an

introductory child development course completed two

self-report questionnaires: the revised Inventory of

Parent Attachment which assessed attachment to mother

and to father (Armsden & Greenberg, 1989); and (b) the

revision of the Extended Version of the Objective

Measure of Ego Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986).

A copy of each measure is included in the appendix.

Measures

The Inventory of Parent Attachment (Armsden &

Greenberg, 1986) was developed to assess adolescents'

attachment to parents. The revised version (Armsden &

Greenberg, 1989) which measures attachment to both

mother and father is comprised of 50 items (25 relating

to mother and 25 relating to father) that assess

feelings of mutual trust, understanding and respect as

well as feelings of isolation and anxiety in

relationship to parents. The instrument is a self-

report questionnaire with a five-point Likert-scale

response format.

A factor analysis by Armsden and Greenberg (1987)

partially confirmed that three factors were tapped by

the measure: trust (items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 13, 14, 21,

23, 24); communication (items 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17,

20, 26, 28), and alienation (items 9, 11, 12, 18, 19,

22, 25, 27). Using Cronbach's alpha, reliabilities for

the three subscales were found to be .91 (Trust), .91

(Communication), and .86 (Alienation) (Armsden and

Greenberg, 1987). Three-week test-retest reliability

for a sample of 18 to 20 year-olds was .93 for the

original parent attachment scale. However, findings of

high intercorrelations among some subscale scores led

the researchers to question the existence of three

separate factors. As a result of these inconsistencies,

a factor analysis was used in the present study to

examine the underlying structure of the measure.

Validity for the Inventory of Parent Attachment as

a measure of perceived quality of close relationships in adolescence was demonstrated by Armsden and Greenberg (1987). Scores on the parent attachment scale were moderately to highly related to Family and Social Self scores on the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (Fitts, 1965) and to subscales on the Family Environment Scale (Moos, 1974). A number of personality variables such as positiveness and stability of self-esteem, life-satisfaction, and affective status were found to be moderately to highly associated with scores on the parent attachment scale in the same study (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

The revision of the extended version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2) by Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987) is a 64-item measure based on two dimensions of identity formation, the presence or absence of an exploratory phase and of a clearly defined and stable commitment to values, beliefs and standards. These underlying dimensions are the basis for the four identity subscale statuses of Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. Ideological identity on domains of occupation, politics,

religion, and philosophical life-style is assessed via
32 items. Another 32 items assess interpersonal
identity on domains of sex roles, friendship,
recreation, and dating. Separate scores can be derived
for ideological identity subscales and for interpersonal
identity subscales. Although correlations between the
two subscales averaged in the range of .60, the
researchers chose not to sum the scales (Adams et al.,
1987). Although prior versions of the measure were used
in over 30 studies which showed acceptable reliability
and validity, this version called EOMEIS-2 was
undertaken to improve the consistency of the
interpersonal items (Adams & Bennion, 1987). Cronbach's
alphas varying from .58 to .80 now indicate good to
strong internal consistency on the new measure for all
subscales on both the ideological and interpersonal
domains. Convergent, discriminate, concurrent, and
predictive validity and internal consistency analyses
demonstrated that the EOMEIS-2 adequately measures
identity status during late adolescence (Bennion &
Adams, 1986).

Analysis of Data

Identity raw scores were derived from the ideological and interpersonal subscales. Items representing each of the raw subscale scores are as follows:

	Achievement	Moratorium	Diffusion	Foreclosure
Ideology Subscales	(items #s listed below)			
Occupation	33, 49	9, 57	1, 25	17, 41
Religion	18, 42	26, 34	2, 10	50, 58
Politics	8, 40	32, 48	16, 56	24, 64
Philosophy	20, 60	12, 36	4, 52	28, 44
	8 items summed	8 items summed	8 items summed	8 items summed
Interpersonal Subscales				
Friendship	13, 45	5, 61	29, 53	21, 37
Dating	15, 55	31, 47	7, 23	39, 63
Sex Roles	35, 51	11, 43	19, 59	3, 27
Recreation	22, 46	14, 54	6, 30	38, 62
	8 items summed	8 items summed	8 items summed	8 items summed

Correlational analysis was used in this study to examine the degree of intercorrelation of the two subscales. In addition to the subscales, two other scales were created from the raw data. These scales were based on the two theoretical dimensions underlying identity formation: the presence or absence of an exploratory or crisis phase and of a clearly defined commitment to values, as derived for each identity status. Crisis was computed by adding the Achievement and Moratorium scores and reversing the Foreclosure and Diffusion scores. Commitment was computed by adding the Achievement and Foreclosure scores and reversing the Diffusion and Moratorium scores.

Analysis of the independent variables (attachment to mother and to father, and gender) and the dependent variables (identity scores such as Achievement, Moratorium, Diffusion, Foreclosure plus the derived scores of Exploration and Commitment) was as follows:

-- Multiple t-tests compared male and female students in terms of their scores on the identity measures.

-- Multiple t-tests were used to examine the relationship of gender to attachment.

-- Multiple regression analyses examined the
   relationship of attachment of males and females to
   both parents and the Achievement, Moratorium,
   Foreclosure and Diffusion scores.

-- Multiple regression analyses examined the attachment
   of males and females to both parents and the derived
   exploratory and commitment scores.

-- Multiple regression analyses examined attachment to
   same-sex and cross-sex parent on all the dependent
   variables.

Chapter V

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to explore differential attachment to mothers and fathers and its relationship to the identity formation of adolescent males and females.

Adolescent males (n = 135) and adolescent females (n = 145) enrolled in a child development course in the College of Human Resources at Virginia Tech completed the revised Inventory of Parent Attachment (Armsden & Greenberg, 1989) and the revision of the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2) (Bennion & Adams, 1986). In addition, the following demographic data were collected: (a) age; (b) sex; (c) marital status of parents; (d) employment status of parents; (e) education level of parents; and (f) family income. One question assessed the participants' overall satisfaction with life.

Attachment Measure

Table 1 indicates the means and standard deviations of the scores on the two attachment measures. Results of a t-test comparing the attachment to mother and attachment to father scores showed attachment to mother to be significantly higher than attachment to father, t (271) = 6.23, p < .000. The low correlation (r = .40) between the attachment measures confirmed the need of separate measures of attachment to each parent.

In order to examine the underlying structure of the attachment measures, items for mother and for father were factor analyzed separately using varimax rotation. The matrix of intercorrelations among the attachment to mother variables was subjected to a principal components extraction which yielded six eigenvalues greater than unity. The six corresponding factors accounted for 61% of the total variance. For the attachment to father variables the extraction yielded five eigenvalues greater than unity. These corresponding factors accounted for 62% of the total variance. The varimax rotation matrix revealed substantial loadings only for factor 1 for the variables on both mother and father

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations for Attachment Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	T Value
Mother	91.62	14.20	6.23**
Father	84.63	18.53	

** p <.01

measures. Thus, it was assumed that one factor, attachment, was being assessed by the attachment measures. Internal consistency estimates of reliability (Cronbach's alpha) were computed for the attachment measures with the following results:

All items   = .92

Mother items   = .90

Father items: = .90

In accordance with the authors of the scale (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) scores for attachment to mother and to father were derived by summing all the items and reverse scoring where appropriate (i. e., items 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 23).

Identity Measure

Means and standard deviations for the identity scores of all subjects combined are reported in Table 2. Table 3 indicates the results of Pearson product moment correlations calculated to determine the relationship of the ideological and interpersonal subscales scores of the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2). Since the correlations were

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations for Identity Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Diffusion (Ideological)	21.64	5.84
Foreclosure (Ideological)	19.57	6.60
Moratorium (Ideological)	24.28	6.19
Achievement (Ideological)	33.47	5.40
Diffusion (Interpersonal)	19.48	5.62
Foreclosure (Interpersonal)	20.45	7.71
Moratorium (Interpersonal)	25.28	5.64
Achievement (Interpersonal)	32.95	5.76
Diffusion (Sum)	41.06	9.70
Foreclosure (Sum)	39.94	13.30
Moratorium (Sum)	49.55	10.30
Achievement (Sum)	66.45	9.70

Table 3

Interscale Correlations Between Ideological and Interpersonal
Domains of Identity Measure

	Interpersonal Domain			
Ideological Domain	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement
Diffusion	.46**	.16**	.28**	-.20**
Foreclosure	.38**	.73**	.25**	.09
Moratorium	.31**	.08	.52**	-.18**
Achievement	-.30**	.01*	-.14	.50**

* p < .05
** p < .01

consistent with those of the authors of the scale and averaged in the range of .55, the subscales were considered both separately and together for statistical analysis. Table 4 reports the results of Pearson product moment correlations among the identity statuses. All correlations averaged in the range of $r = .34$, except in the case of Achievement and Foreclosure ($r = .06$). Cronbach's alphas varying from .58 to .80 reported by the authors of the scale indicated good to strong internal consistency for all subscales of the measure (Adams & Bennion, 1987).

T-Tests for Comparison by Gender

Multiple T's were conducted to compare male and female participants in terms of their mean scores on the two attachment measures (attachment to mother and attachment to father) and the eight identity measures (Achievement, Moratorium, Diffusion and Foreclosure on both ideological and interpersonal domains). No significant gender differences were found for the attachment measures.

Table 4

Interscale Correlations Among Summed Scales of Identity Measure

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement
Diffusion	---	.31**	.48**	-.42**
Foreclosure		---	.17**	.06
Moratorium			---	-.30**

*   p < .05
**   p < .01

Table 5 indicates the results of the t-tests for 50 gender differences on the identity measures. Males' interpersonal diffusion scores were significantly higher than females': $t(282) = 3.51$, $p < .001$. Females, on the other hand, scored significantly higher on interpersonal achievement than did males: $t(280) = 3.52$, $p < .000$.

Contribution of Attachment to Identity Status

A series of multiple regression analyses measured the contribution of the attachment to mother and father to the four identity measures (Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, and Diffusion) and to the eight differentiated measures (four identity statuses broken down into two subscales). Comparison of the results revealed no difference in outcome when four versus eight measures were used. Consequently, results of the regressions of the four and not the eight identity measures on attachment are reported in Tables 6 and 7. For females, regression analysis indicated that attachment to mother was inversely related to scores on diffusion ($t = -2.697$, $p < .007$).

Table 5

Means and T-Values for Identity Variables by Gender

Variable	Means		
	Males	Females	T Value
Diffusion (Ideological)	21.90	21.39	.74
Foreclosure (Ideological)	19.94	19.10	1.08
Moratorium (Ideological)	23.84	24.68	-1.13
Achievement (Ideological)	32.91	33.97	-1.66
Crisis (Ideological)	15.45	18.38	-2.24*
Committment (Ideological)	7.32	7.22	.06
Diffusion (Interpersonal)	20.62	18.34	3.51**
Foreclosure (Interpersonal)	20.93	19.86	1.18
Moratorium (Interpersonal)	25.88	24.73	1.72
Achievement (Interpersonal)	31.72	34.09	-3.52**
Crisis (Interpersonal)	15.83	20.80	-3.57**
Committment (Interpersonal)	6.39	10.66	-2.63**

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

Table 6

Regression of Identity Status on Attachment to Father

Identity Status	N	Beta	R^2	N	Beta	R^2
Diffusion	136	.01	.06	130	-.04	.10
Foreclosure	139	.28**	.08	129	.14	.02
Achievement	138	.02	.03	129	-.02	.01
Moratorium	138	-.00	.03	128	-.27**	.08

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

Table 7

Regression of Identity Status on Attachment to Mother

Identity Status	N	Beta	R^2	N	Beta	R^2
Diffusion	136	-.25**	.06	130	-.30**	.10
Foreclosure	139	.02	.08	129	-.06	.02
Achievement	138	.17	.18	129	.31**	.10
Moratorium	138	-.17	.03	128	-.03	.08

* p < .05
** p < .01

Attachment to father was positively related to scores on foreclosure (t = 3.0, p 55 < .002).

For males, regression analysis indicated that (a) attachment to mother was related to scores on the achievement measure (t = 3.4, p < .0009); (b) attachment to mother was inversely related to scores on the diffusion measure (t = -3.285, p < .001); and (c) attachment to father was inversely related to scores on moratorium (t = -2.876, p < .0047).

In summary, both males and females who scored high on diffusion were low on attachment to mother. High scores on achievement, however, were significantly related to high scores on attachment to mother in the case of males but not, of females. The relationship of females who foreclosed early and their attachment to fathers was significant, whereas for males the foreclosure scores were not related to attachment to either parent. High scores on moratorium were related to low attachment to father in the case of males but not, of females.

ANOVAS of Attachment Scores

for Background Variables

Frequencies for all background variables are found in Table 8. A series of oneway ANOVAS was used to examine the demographic data in relationship to participants' responses on the two attachment measures. No significant relationship was found between attachment to mother and the demographic variables. For attachment to father, parents' marital status, mothers' job status, fathers' job status, mothers' education level and family income showed no significant relationships. Although the ANOVAS produced overall significant results for group means for age and fathers' educational level, Scheffe's multiple comparison test revealed no significance.

ANOVAS of Identity Scores

for Background Variables

A series of oneway ANOVAS was used to examine the demographic data and participants' responses on the four identity measures. No significant relationship was found for age, marital status of parents, parents'

Table 8

Frequencies for Background Variables

Variable	Frequency	Valid Percent
Age		
18	39	13.6
19	71	24.8
20	78	27.3
21	44	15.4
22	38	13.3
23 & above	16	5.6
Gender		
Male	137	48.1
Female	148	51.9
Mother's Marital Status		
Married	219	77.1
Single	10	3.5
Div/Separated	26	9.2
Div/Remarried	26	9.2
Deceased	1	.3
Unknown	2	.7
Father's Marital Status		
Married	224	78.6
Single	9	3.2
Div/Separated	16	5.6
Div/Remarried	31	10.9
Deceased	4	1.4
Unknown	1	.3
Mother's Job Status		
Full-Time	172	60.4
Part-Time	54	18.9
Unemployed	58	20.4
Father's Job Status		
Full-Time	260	91.5
Part-Time	4	1.4
Unemployed	16	5.6

Table 8 (cont'd)

Frequencies for Background Variables

Variable	Frequency	Valid Percent
Mother's Education Level		
Gradeschool	1	.4
Some Hi Sch	4	1.4
Some College	66	23.2
College	85	29.8
Graduate Sch	92	32.3
Unknown	1	.4
Father's Educational Level		
Gradeschool	7	2.4
Some Hi Sch	40	14.0
Some College	61	21.3
College	84	29.4
Graduate Sch	91	31.8
Unknown	3	1.0
Family Income		
less than 20,000	8	2.9
20,000-29,999	18	6.6
30,000-39,999	25	9.1
40,000-49,999	34	12.4
50,000-59,999	41	15.0
60,000-69,999	37	13.5
70,000-79,999	28	10.2
80,000-89,999	27	9.9
90,000-99,999	50	18.2
Life Satisfaction		
Satisfied	212	74.9
Not Satisfied	70	24.8

education level or family income.

Although the ANOVAS produced overall significant differences between group means for fathers' job status on diffusion, mothers' job status on foreclosure, and mothers' job status on moratorium, Scheffe's multiple comparison test revealed no significance between particular groups.

A oneway ANOVA comparing group means for fathers' job status in relationship to moratorium scores also produced significant results, $F(1,4) = 4.09$, $p = .007$. Scheffe's multiple comparison test determined that the means between pairs of fathers who were employed full-time ($M = 49.24$, $SD = 10.14$) and those who employed part-time ($M = 64.75$, $SD = 11.87$) were significantly different at the .05 level.

ANOVAS for Life Satisfaction

A series of oneway ANOVAS measured the participants' perceptions of life satisfaction and their relationship to the four identity and two attachment measures. Because the categories as originally planned were found not to be effective in discriminating degrees

of life satisfaction, two new categories were formed by
collapsing the variable into two dimensions of life
satisfaction instead of the original four. Those
participants who categorized themselves as extremely
satisfied and very satisfied were considered to be in
the satisfied group. Those participants who categorized
themselves as ambivalent and dissatisfied were placed in
the dissatisfied group. T-tests were then used to
compare the satisfied and dissatified groups in terms of
their mean scores on the four identity and two
attachment variables. Significant differences were
found for all groups on the following measures except
for diffusion: (a) foreclosure, t (276) = 3.03, p <
.003; (b) moratorium, t (272) = 3.18, p < .002; (c)
achievement, t (275) = 2.10, p < .036; (d) attachment
to father, t (274) = 2.36, p < .019; and (e) attachment
to mother, t (275) = 2.49, p < .013. Means and
standard deviations for the life satisfaction groups on
the measures are reported in Table 9. Students in the
satisfied group scored significantly higher on
foreclosure and achievement but lower on moratorium.

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations for Identity and Attachment
Variables by Life Satisfaction

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
Foreclosure		
Satisfied	40.91	13.04
Not Satisfied	35.53	12.01
Moratorium		
Satisfied	48.41	10.19
Not Satisfied	52.96	10.06
Achievement		
Satisfied	67.12	9.67
Not Satisfied	64.29	9.60
Attachment to Mother		
Satisfied	92.57	14.03
Not Satisfied	87.56	15.95
Attachment to Father		
Satisfied	86.20	18.93
Not Satisfied	80.20	16.24

They also had higher attachment scores, indicating a
positive relationship between attachment security and
life satisfaction.

Chapter VI

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the attachment dynamic and how it operates and persists beyond early childhood. More specifically, it was designed to clarify male and female adolescents' attachment to each parent and the effect on identity formation.

While evidence for differential qualities of attachment to mothers and fathers in early childhood was found by Main and Weston (1981) and Lamb (1977), no prior research had examined the differential attachment of adolescents to parents. The present research explored the use of a new measure of differential attachment developed by Armsden and Greenberg (1989) and confirmed its reliability and psychometric adequacy.

An important finding of this study was the low correlation between the scores on attachment to mother and to father. Adolescents' perceptions of felt security, trust, and communication differed enough in relation to each parent to substantiate the use of

separate measures for this study and to suggest similar
use for future research on attachment in adolescence.
This finding is consistent with research in the context
of family relations (Hauser et al., 1987; Montemayor &
Brownlee, 1987; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

In addition, this study found adolescents'
perceptions of the attachment bond to mother to be
stronger than the attachment bond to father. This
parallels findings in the parent-infant literature on
attachment (Bowlby, 1973, 1988; Main, Kaplan & Cassidy,
1985) as well as findings in a series of studies on
family relations by Youniss and Smollar (1985) which
provide evidence that adolescent-father relations are
more distant than adolescent-mother relations. These
studies found fathers' overall contribution to
adolescent development to be restricted to domains that
center on an objective performance by adolescents, i.
e., those which indicate that an adolescent is becoming
a productive member of society. While mothers shared
that aspect of parenting, they were found to extend
their role to include issues involving the personal and
emotional well being of their adolescents.

Consequently, consistent with the findings in this

study, they were perceived as playing a more

instrumental role in their adolescents' lives.

Because the literature is wrought with

disagreements about gender differences during identity

formation, another principle aim of this study was to

clarify male and female identity development. The

interpersonal domain of the EOMEIS-2 reflects those

areas of identity development that have to do with

social and interpersonal skills of great concern to

adolescents such as dating and friendships (Grotevant et

al., 1982). In the analysis of the gender and identity

scores, females scored significantly higher than males

on interpersonal achievement. Males, on the other hand,

scored significantly higher than females on

interpersonal diffusion. By themselves, these results

are important. However, considering them together when,

in fact, achievement is the highest identity category

and diffusion, the lowest, builds a strong case to

support the theory that a feminine orientation to

identity development concerns themes such as

connectedness, communion, and bonding, opposed to the

more typically male themes, such as autonomy and
separation (Bilsker, Schiedel & Marcia, 1988; Gilligan,
1982; Josselson, 1987).

One may speculate about the reasons for this
finding. It is asserted by proponents of psychodynamic
theory (e.g., Chodorow, 1978; Josselson, 1987; Rubin,
1983), that as a result of a male child's having to
renounce his primary love object in order to identify
with his father, he defines himself as more separate and
distinct. Females, on the other hand, retain their
preoedipal attachments to their mother, and thus
experience and define themselves as more continuous with
others.

Gilligan (1982) in her study of the moral
development of women showed that women experience life
"in a different voice" and have different internal
models than men. Whereas a dominant image for men is
that of hierarchy or competition, women respond to their
lives through the image of a web or connectedness
(Josselson, 1987).

The emphasis on a relational sense in women that is
central to their growth is an important finding because

developmental models in the past have been based on male
identity themes of separation and autonomy (Josselson,
1987). The assumption has been that male patterns are
the norm, and when females do not conform to male
standards for behavior, they are undervalued or
considered problematic. The findings in this study
suggest that males and females may have a different time
frame for resolving identity issues. It is possible
that females resolve interpersonal issues before males
and that males resolve issues involving independence and
autonomy before females.

Of course, it is important to point out that social
values and attitudes about sex differences can
contribute to the manner in which males and females
respond to role and gender issues. For example,
although to a lesser degree than in previous
generations, there exists the belief that males are less
vulnerable than females and can protect themselves
better in the world (Preto & Thomas, 1985). This may
condition females to feel more vulnerable and to require
more protection than males. It may result in promoting
women to become family and interpersonally oriented

while causing men to focus on power and autonomy.

However, contemporary patterns for launching adolescents into adulthood are changing because of increased flexibility in roles and in gender expectations. Women are currently challenging the underlying economic structure of our society which has been male dominated. Recent findings by Cooper & Grotevant (1989) show that females, for example, who are the most confident are being treated by their fathers like boys. They are being appreciated for their self-assertion and being challenged intellectually. It is likely this will have a future impact on how males and females resolve identity issues.

The 'absence' of significant differences between males and females on the attachment measures is interesting. There has been some suggestion in the literature that males have more problematic relationships with parents during the passage to adulthood (Moore, 1987). Adolescent males, more likely than adolescent females, have been found to separate forcefully from their parents (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Josselson, Greenberger, & McConochie, 1977). This seems

plausable given the difference in the male/female

orientation to identity development described above.

However, the present study does not support this finding

in terms of parental attachment. Males and females

reported similar levels of trust and communication with

parents suggesting perhaps congruent attachment needs

during the transition to adulthood. Although adolescent

females seem to formulate identities more in connection

to others and at less distance from their families than

do boys, their attachment bonds appear similar.

One prior research study attempted to link

attachment and identity development (Quintana & Lapsley,

1987). The finding that there was no relationship,

however, was surprising given that previous research had

shown attachment relationship to parents to convey a

number of advantages for adolescent development (Armsden

& Greenberg, 1987; Greenberg et al., 1983). In contrast

to Quintana and Lapsley (1987), the present research

utilized a recently revised measure of ego identity

developed by Adams and Bennion (1986) and found an

association between attachment and identity across

discrete identity classifications.

An important finding of this study was the inverse relationship between males' and females' attachment to mother and scores on diffusion. The definition of diffusion identity is, no identity at all; There is no exploration and no commitment. It is really an absence of identity, or a negative identity, which was purported by Erikson to be deviant in terms of societal demands (1959). Males and females in this identity grouping generally score the lowest on all measures of psychological functioning (Bourne, 1978b; Josselson, 1987). Similar to foreclosures, they conform to authoritarian demands, but unlike foreclosures, they are more influenced by peers (Toder & Marcia, 1973).

In data obtained from male and female adolescents and their mothers and fathers, Campbell et al. (1984) found youths high in diffusion to be the least emotionally attached to parents and limited in their ability to maintain independence from them. They were the least likely to develop and maintain social relationships. Diffusions have scored the lowest on measures of intimacy (Orlofsky, 1978). In a critical review of about thirty studies Bourne (1978b) concluded

that the diffusions' most characteristic reaction to stress is withdrawal.

Given the nature of diffusion identity, it is not surprising that low attachment to mother is consistent with high scores on diffusion. The sense of felt security (or insecurity) and trust (or mistrust) derived from the attachment relationship defines the capacity for exploration and personality integration. In Josselson's (1987) sample of identity diffused women whom she studied longitudinally, some carried scars of early emotional loss such as the death of a favored parent. In this group there was a general sense of futility and instability that she theorized precluded investment in the task of identity formation or integration. Many of these women had parents with whom they were unable to form lasting relationships. Some of her sample did exhibit less extreme forms of pathology and did not suffer from early losses, but as a group, they held more jobs, and moved their residences more than did the women in other identity statuses. In short, they were more unstable and spent their lives searching to make up for early attachment deficits.

Another interesting result for women emerged in the regression analysis: Attachment to father was related to high scores on identity foreclosure. Adolescents who foreclose early are those who make commitments in the absence of any true searching or exploration. Without any serious questioning they accept their parents' expectations and plans for them. Their identity formation takes place prior to adolescence and is premature (Josselson, 1987). Although foreclosure women consistently have appeared psychologically healthier than the foreclosure males (and the moratorium females) in terms of self-esteem, low anxiety, confidence, and independence (Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; Toder & Marcia, 1973), they show little evidence of personal growth or inner change over the long run (Ginsburg & Orlofsy, 1981; Josselson, 1987). According to Josselson (1987) foreclosure women represent a growth through identification rather than individuation. This means that they grow up by taking in aspects of their adored parents rather than by self-discovery. Being a good child and being approved of is a strong source of self-esteem for them. They appear to

bypass adolescence, keeping the same selves they had during childhood. Their families are close-knit, often enmeshed and distrustful of the outside world.

The finding of the strong attachment relationship of foreclosure women and their fathers in the present study is consistent with the results reported by Josselson (1987). Most of her foreclosure women reported having had intensely loving relationships with their fathers whom they idealized. The fathers found it difficult to allow their daughters to grow up, and the daughters were comfortable with the relationship. In some cases, the adored fathers died when the daughters were preadolescent, locking in an unrealistic image of the father. These were women who spent their adult lives looking for an idealized male substitute.

The dominant theme in the lives of foreclosure women is the search for security and control. Although they seem to adapt well to their lives, their goal is to replace the strong attachments to parents, especially to father, that they had known as children. These women are not as well adjusted as they appear, and one could speculate their being at risk for psychological problems

later on in life. Their attachments are idealized, and
it is not surprising that they would score high on
attachment on a self-report measure such as the one
utilized in this study.

Another result of the present research is the
finding that for males attachment to mother was
related to high scores on the achievement measure. The
identity achieved adolescents are those who have made
substantial exploration prior to identifying personal
and unique ideological commitments. The securely
attached are confident that a parent will be available
and, consequently, have the ability to boldly explore
options. That achievement identity is related to
attachment is congruent with the postulation that
attachment security would enable the adolescent the
freedom to explore a variety of interpersonal and
ideological alternatives.

It is interesting to focus on the finding of the
significant relationship of cross-sex attachment of
males to their mothers and identity achievement,
especially in light of the lack of prior research in
this area. Steinberg (1987) reported the emotional

involvement of the mother/daughter relationship of the
four parent-child relationships to be the most intense.
If this is indeed the case, one could speculate that
such intensity could cause the relationship to be more
conflict-bound or enmeshed than the male relationship
with mother. The male, on the other hand, in being
forced to be more separate and distinct from the mother
in his effort to identity with the father, may be in a
better position to retain connections and at the same
time move away from the relationship and explore
options. Of course, this contradicts findings in the
literature mentioned before that males have more
problematic relations with parents because of their
inability to maintain connections (Moore, 1987).
However, there is evidence in the present study that
needs for connection are similar both for males and
females. Indeed, this issue of cross-sex attachment
needs to be explored further, perhaps within the context
of adolescent attachment and the psychological
separation process.

Another finding of the study for males was the
inverse relation of attachment to father and high scores

on moratorium. Moratorium adolescents are those who are actively in a crisis or exploratory phase. They are struggling to make commitments but have not yet settled on the right ones.

It is possible to reason that the moratorium status should reflect strong attachment to father given the ability of the adolescent to explore away from home base. In fact, moratorium males have been found to be most like achievements in that they exhibit high levels of self-esteem, cognitive and ego complexity, and inner directed behavior (Bourne, 1978a; Craig-Bray et al.,1988; Marcia, 1980;). However, while moratorium males do exhibit characteristics similar to achievements, they, nevertheless, tend to be more anxious, socially ambivalent, and intense in their interactions (Craig-Bray, 1988). Thus, the finding in the present study of low attachment to father of adolescents in moratorium is suggested by prior research (Campbell et al., 1984; Waterman, 1982; Craig-Bray, 1988). Moratorium is viewed by Waterman (1982) as either a positive or negative identity category depending on the progression it takes. An adolescent

who enters the moratorium phase can either become an
identity achiever by establishing meaningful commitments
or, an identity diffusion by giving up on the efforts to
make a commitment. Waterman (1982) sees moratorium as
the least stable of the statuses since it is associated
with desires to make changes in one's life. Adolescents
often find it difficult to sustain the anxiety or
tension necessary to explore options. Often if a
successful resolution cannot be found, they renounce
their task as unresolvable.

Because moratorium is considered a transitional
status, the relationship of moratoriums to parents has
been difficult to explain. Campbell et al. (1984) in
their study of family connectedness and individuation in
late adolescence concluded that a moderate level of
affectional ties with mother and a reasonable degree of
independence from father is necessary for establishing
moratorium status. However, they do not discuss what is
the necessary balance for resolution of the moratorium
crisis. Waterman (1982) views the type of adolescent
who stages an identity crisis of strenuous proportions
as one who unlike foreclosures rebels against

authoritarian parents.

The findings of the present study suggest that moratorium males in identity crisis will manifest low attachment to father. Their attachment needs may be similar to the achievement males described above who look to mother to satisfy their needs for security.

Clear and logical associations resulted from the analyses of life satisfaction and the identity and attachment scores. Those participants who said they were satisfied with their lives scored high on foreclosure and achievement, status categories reflecting stability and commitment. Those participants who said they were dissatisfied with their lives scored high on moratorium, the status category associated with high degrees of anxiety because of the desire to make changes. In addition, perceptions of satisfaction were predictably related to high scores on attachment to mother and to father. Noteworthy was the absence of a significant finding on the diffusion measure. Clearly, diffusions do not possess the ability to judge the state of their own satisfaction with life.

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The principle aim of this study was to integrate
the theoretical frameworks developed by John Bowlby and
Erik Erikson by clarifying how the attachment
relationship to parents impacts on the identity
development of adolescents. Although the results
support the persistence of an attachment dynamic beyond
early childhood into adolescence, they extend Bowlby's
theory by not restricting the attachment bond to the
mother-child relationship. Consequently, the findings
of cross-sex and same-sex attachment relationships
associated with specific identity status classifications
were of particular interest. Insecure attachment to
mother was associated with diffused identity status for
both males and females. Secure attachment to mother was
associated with the achieved status for males, i. e.,
those males who had made personal and ideological
commitments after exploring options. Secure attachment
to father was evident among females who foreclosed
early, while insecure attachment to father was

associated with males who were in the process of
exploring options.

However, in not substantiating associations between
attachment relationships and other identity categories,
the results leave open for continued research the nature
and strength of specific attachment relationships to
each parent and their connection to identity outcomes.

The study confirmed the need for separate measures
of attachment in adolescence to each parent. It also
substantiated the psychometric adequacy of the
instrument, the Inventory of Parent Attachment (Armsden
& Greenberg, 1989) that was recently designed to measure
differential attachment relationships. It is now clear
that researchers who probe the attachment dynamic during
adolescence consider the relationship to each parent.

A principle aim of this study was to clarify the
difference in the approach of males and females to
identity resolution. The findings suggested that for
this sample of late adolescent females, relationships
and connections were more central to their growth than
for males. This finding confirms that developmental
models for assessing identity must reflect the

traditionally male themes of separation and autonomy as well as issues involving social and interpersonal skills which appear more germaine to identity development for adolescent females.

Noteworthy was the finding of the absence of significant sex differences in attachment to parents. Males and females in the sample reported similar levels of trust and communication with parents.

Life satisfaction was associated with high attachment to parents as well as with those identity categories that reflect stability and commitment. Perception of dissatisfaction, on the other hand, were predictably related to high scores on moratorium.

Future research in the area of attachment and identity development would benefit from a number of methodological considerations. First, longitudinal studies of adolescent attachment and identity are needed to assess the adaptive consequences of the variables. In addition, a broader range of assessment techniques other than self-report measures need to be used to tap attachment organization. The Adult Attachment Interview (1985), for example, has been developed to uncover

retrospective unconscious material about attachment relationships and related memories about attachment experiences. It provides a richer insight into different styles of attachment regulation.

Although the identity statuses of the EOMEIS-2 are based on two of the major dimensions of Erikson's theory of identity formation, exploration and commitment, the self-report measure does not offer a direct way to assess those variables. In the present study an effort was made to operationalize the exploration and commitment variables by summing and reversing across identity categories. Because the original measure had been developed to reflect the identity categories as discrete entities, the results that emerged did not make sense theoretically or empirically. Thus, the need still exists for an identity measure to be developed that yields continuous data that is directly tied to the underlying theoretical construct suggested by the identity literature.

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APPENDIX

S. S. # (last 4 digits) _____

The P-B Identity Survey

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Please read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects
your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than
one part, please indicate your reaction to the statement as a
whole. ON THE ANSWER SHEET WRITE the number that best
reflects your opinion. Please respond to all 64 items; cross
out any changes you make.

> 1 = I strongly agree
> 2 = I moderately agree
> 3 = I agree
> 4 = I disagree
> 5 = I moderately disagree
> 6 = I strongly disagree

1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get
    into, and I'm just working at whatever is available
    until something better comes along.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything
    that appeals, and I don't really feel the need to look.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

3. My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to
    my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously
    work for me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more
    than another.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

5. There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still
    exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind
    of friends for me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked,
   but I rarely try anything on my own.
   (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not
   too concerned whether I date or not.
   (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

8. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about
   because things change so fast. But I do think it's
   important to know what I can politically stand for and
   believe in.
   (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person
   and what jobs will be right for me.
   (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother
    me one way or the other.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in
    marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own
    "life style" view, but haven't really found it yet.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my
    close friends on the basis of certain values and
    similarities that I've personally decided on.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

14. While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really
    committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets
    to identify one I can truly enjoy.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of
    dating I want now.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't
    excite me much.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

17. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but
    there's never really been any question since my parents
    said what they wanted.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've
    considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I
    can believe.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

19. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's
    roles in marriage. It just doesn't concern me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

20. After considerable thought I've developed my own
    individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life
    style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change
    my perspective.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to
    choose my friends.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to
    engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm
    satisfied with those choices.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

23. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it
    as it comes.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

24. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to
    politics.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

25. I'm really not interested in finding the right job, any
    job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

26. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to
    make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

27. My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right
    from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to
    look further.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

28. My own views on a desirable life style were taught to me
    by my parents and I don't see any need to question what
    they taught me
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

29. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think
    I'm looking for one right now.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really
    don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do
    regularly.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships.
    I just haven't decided what is best for me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

32. There are so many different political parties and
    ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure
    it all out.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really
    know what I want for a career.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

34. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing
    my views on what is right and wrong for me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

35. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's
    roles in marriage & I've decided what will work best for
    me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self exploration.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

37. I only pick friends my parents would approve of.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

38. I've always liked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

40. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

41. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

42. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a decision.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

44. My parents' views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

45. I've had many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

46. After trying alot of recreational activities I've found
    one or more I enjoy really enjoy doing by myself or with
    friends.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of
    developing. I haven't fully decided yet.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs , but I'm trying
    figure out what I can truly believe in.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure
    what direction to move in for a career.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

50. I attend the same church as my family has always
    attended. I've never really questioned why.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up
    family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of
    ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for
    me.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I
    don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to
    life.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

53. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang
    around with the crowd.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational
    activities in hopes of finding one or more I can really
    enjoy for some time to come.
    (AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

55. I've dated different types of people and know exactly
what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I
will date.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to
have made a firm stand one way or the other.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There
are so many that have possibilities.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

58. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right
for my parents it must be right for me.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

59. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that
I don't think much about it.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a
very definite view on what my own life style will be.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me.
I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means
to me.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents
and I really haven't tried anything else.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

63. I date only people my parents would approve of.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

64. My folks have always had their own political and moral
beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and
I've always gone along accepting what they have.
(AGREE)   1   2   3   4   5   6   (DISAGREE)

The P-B Relationship Survey

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Another important part of this survey is to ask about your relationship with your parents. First we shall ask about your relationship with your MOTHER. Please WRITE your answer ON THE ANSWER SHEET by choosing a response from 1 to 5 that indicates what is "ALWAYS TRUE" to "NEVER TRUE".

1 = almost always true
2 = often true
3 = sometimes true
4 = seldom true
5 = never true

65. My mother respects my feelings.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

66. I feel my mother is a successful parent.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

67. I wish I had a different mother.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

68. My mother accepts me as I am.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

69. I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

70. I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

71. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

72. My mother senses when I'm upset about something.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

73. Talking over my problems with my mother makes me feel
    ashamed and foolish.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

74. My mother expects too much from me.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

75. I get upset easily at home.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

76. I get upset a lot more than my mother knows about.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

77. When we discuss things, my mother considers my point of
    view.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

78. My mother trusts my judgment.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

79. My mother has her own problems, so I don't bother her
    with mine.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

80. My mother helps me to understand myself better.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

81. I tell my mother about my problems and troubles.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

82. I feel angry with my mother.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

83. I don't get much attention at home.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

84. My mother encourages me to talk about my difficulties.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

85. My mother understands me.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

86. I don't know whom I can depend on these days.
    ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

87. When I am angry about something, my mother tries to be understanding.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

88. I trust my mother.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

89. My mother doesn't understand what I am going through these days.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

90. I can count on my mother when I need to get something off my chest.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

91. I feel that no one understands me.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

92. If my mother knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

Now we shall ask about your relationship with your FATHER. Please indicate your answer on the answer sheet by choosing a response from 1 to 5 that indicates what is "ALWAYS TRUE" to "NEVER TRUE".

1 = almost always true
2 = often true
3 = sometimes true
4 = seldom true
5 = never true

93. My father respects my feelings.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

94. I feel my father is a successful parent.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

95. I wish I had a different father.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

96. My father accepts me as I am.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

97. I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

98. I like to get my father's point of view on things I'm
   concerned about.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

99. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

100. My father senses when I'm upset about something.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

101. Talking over my problems with my father makes me feel
   ashamed and foolish.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

102. My father expects too much from me.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

103. I get upset easily at home.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

104. I get upset a lot more than my father knows about.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

105. When we discuss things, my father considers my point of
   view.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

106. My father trusts my judgment.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

107. My father has his own problems, so I don't bother him
   with mine.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

108. My father helps me to understand myself better.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

109. I tell my father about my problems and troubles.
   ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

110. I feel angry with my father.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

111. I don't get much attention at home.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

112. My father encourages me to talk about my difficulties.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

113. My father understands me.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

114. I don't know whom I can depend on these days.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

115. When I am angry about something, my father tries to be
     understanding.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

116. I trust my father.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

117. My father doesn't understand what I'm going through
     these days.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

118. I can count on my father when I need to get something
     off my chest.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

119. I feel that no one understands me.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

120. If my father knows something is bothering me, he asks me
     about it.
ALWAYS TRUE   1   2   3   4   5   NEVER TRUE

Finally we would like to ask some general questions that will
help with the results of our survey. ON THE ANSWER SHEET
WRITE the number of the response that applies to you.

121. How old are you?

    1. 17
    2. 18
    3. 19
    4. 20
    5. 21
    6. 22
    7. 23 OR ABOVE

122. What is your gender?

    1. MALE
    2. FEMALE

123. What is your mother's marital status?

    1. MARRIED
    2. SEPARATED
    3. DIVORCED, SINGLE
    4. DIVORCED, REMARRIED
    5. DECEASED
    6. DO NOT KNOW

124. What is your father's marital status?

    1. MARRIED
    2. SEPARATED
    3. DIVORCED, SINGLE
    4. DIVORCED, REMARRIED
    5. DECEASED
    6. DO NOT KNOW

125. What is the employment status of your mother?

    1. EMPLOYED FULL TIME (more than 35 hrs. per wk.)
    2. EMPLOYED PART TIME (less than 35 hrs. per wk.)
    3. NOT EMPLOYED
    4. DO NOT KNOW

126. What is the employment status of your father?

    1. EMPLOYED FULL TIME (more than 35 hrs. per wk.)
    2. EMPLOYED PART TIME (less than 35 hrs. per wk.)
    3. NOT EMPLOYED
    4. DO NOT KNOW

127. What is the highest level of education completed by your mother?

    1. GRADE SCHOOL
    2. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
    3. SOME COLLEGE
    4. COLLEGE
    5. GRADUATE SCHOOL
    6. DO NOT KNOW

128. What is the highest level of education completed by your father?

    1. GRADE SCHOOL
    2. SOME HIGH SCHOOL
    3. SOME COLLEGE
    4. COLLEGE
    5. GRADUATE SCHOOL
    6. DO NOT KNOW

129. What was the approximate income of your family last year?

    1. LESS THAN $20,000   6. $60,000 -$69,000
    2. $20,000 - $29,000   7. $70,000 -$79,000
    3. $30,000 - $39,000   8. $80,000 -$89,000
    4. $40,000 - $49,000   9. $90,000 -$99,000
    5. $50,000 - $59,000   10. $100,000 OR MORE

130. All in all, how satisfied would you say your are with
your life right now?

1. EXTREMELY SATISFIED
2. VERY SATISFIED
3. NEITHER SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED
4. NOT VERY SATISFIED
5. NOT AT ALL SATISFIED

VITA

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