The role of attachment and individuation in identity development in females

Cassandra Nan Nichols
THE ROLE OF ATTACHMENT AND INDIVIDUATION IN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN FEMALES

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of California State University, San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Science In Psychology

by
Cassandra Nan Nichols
June 1990
THE ROLE OF ATTACHMENT AND INDIVIDUATION IN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN FEMALES

A Thesis
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

by
Cassandra Nan Nichols
June 1990

Approved by:

Dr. N. Laura Kampter, Chair, Psychology

Dr. Edward C. Teyber

Dr. Joanna Worthley
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the role of parental and peer attachment and individuation in identity development in late adolescent females. The sample consisted of 99 18- to 23-year old females who completed a questionnaire assessing early parental attachment, current parent and peer attachment, individuation from mother and father, and ideological and interpersonal identity. The hypotheses were largely unconfirmed: no relationship was found between identity development and individuation, or between identity development and parental attachment. There was, however, a positive correlation between interpersonal identity and peer trust. Also, females who scored high on measures of identity were found to score higher on measures of peer attachment than on parental attachment. The failure to confirm many of the hypotheses in the present study is discussed in terms of the limitations of the measures utilized to measure how attachment and individuation influences identity development in females. Both the theory and the measures used may be more applicable for an explanation and assessment of identity development in males rather than females.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest thank-you goes to my thesis committee: Dr. N. Laura Kamptner, Dr. Edward C. Teyber, and Dr. Joanna Worthley. You all were wonderfully supportive, patient, and "gentle" during periods of deadlines, stress, and rewrites. Dr. Kamptner, my thanks to you for your time, energy, and emotional support - you truly have been a wonderful researcher/instructor mentor ... and friend for me. You have been an important role model in my life. Dr. Teyber, thank-you for your support, clinical "mentorship", and for introducing me to the clinical aspects of this topic - you have been a monumental person in my life.

To Chuck ... of course.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGNATURE PAGE</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Development</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuation</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attachment</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Differences:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediating Variables</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Purpose of Study</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHODS</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental Attachment</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Attachment</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuation</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic Information</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedure</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULTS</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis One</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.
Correlation of Identity Status with Parental Communication, Trust, and Alienation .......................... 31

TABLE 2.
T-Test Comparing "Securely Attached" vs. "Insecurely Attached" on Ideological, Interpersonal, and Total Identity Scores ............................ 32

TABLE 3.
Pearson Correlations for Individuation from Mother and Father with Identity Scores .......................... 34

TABLE 4.
Pearson Correlation of Identity with Peer Attachment .......................... 35

TABLE 5.
T-Test Comparing High vs. Low Ideological Identity Scores with Peer Trust, Peer Communication, and Peer Alienation .......................... 37
TABLE 6.
T-Test Comparing High vs. Low Interpersonal Identity Scores with Peer Trust, Peer Communication, and Peer Alienation .......................... 38

TABLE 7.
T-Test Comparing High vs. Low Total Identity Scores with Peer Trust, Peer Communication, and Peer Alienation .......................... 39

TABLE 8.
T-Tests Comparing Parent vs. Peer Trust and Parent vs. Peer Communication for Ideological, Interpersonal, and Total Identity Scores...................... 42

TABLE 9.
T-Test Comparing Individuation from Father vs. Individuation from Mother ............ 43

TABLE 10.
Pearson Correlation of Individuation from Mother vs. Individuation from Father with Parental Trust, Parental Communication, and Parental Alienation ...................... 45

viii
TABLE 11.
Correlation Between Individuation and Identity Scores for Subjects from Intact Families .......................... 46
INTRODUCTION

The primary task of late adolescence is the establishment of a personal sense of identity. Identity formation is believed to be influenced both by one's level of attachment as well as one's perceived sense of individuation within the family. Specifically, it is suggested that the quality of attachment influences the individuation process, which in turn influences identity formation. The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of attachment on individuation, and the effect of both on identity development in late adolescent females.

Identity Development

According to Erikson, identity formation is the major developmental task of adolescence and, as such, has come to be regarded as the central integrating construct for the conceptualization of psychosocial development during this stage (Erikson, 1959, 1968). Identity development is defined as the striving for the integration of past identifications, contemporary competencies, and future ambitions (Newman & Murray, 1983). Once resolved, identity is experienced as a sense of well-being, a feeling of "being at home in one's body", a sense of knowing where one is going, and an inner assuredness of recognition from one's social and familial surroundings. It is a sense of
sameness through time and a feeling of continuity between the past, present, and future. When identity is successfully resolved, an individual is left with a series of basic life commitments: occupational, ideological, social, religious, ethical, and sexual (Bourne, 1978).

According to Erikson (1956, 1963, 1968), identity formation during adolescence is the developmental consequence of the successful resolution and integration of early childhood identifications with one's primary caretakers. In other words, it is the positive quality of past parental experiences during childhood that allows an adolescent to form a personal and social identity that "provides the ability to experience one's self as something that has continuity and sameness, and to act accordingly" (Erikson, 1963, p.38). Although Erikson (1969) suggests that one must experience a period of "crisis" in order for identity to develop, other researchers have proposed that identity is necessitated not by a period of "storm and stress", but rather by a period of exploration in which adolescents are allowed to examine, experiment, and choose among different options (Grotevant & Cooper, 1982; Matteson, 1977; Offer, 1969). Since adequate identity development entails a period of exploration (which Erikson [1968] refers to as a period of "psychosocial moratorium"), researchers have suggested that it is the quality of one's
past and present relationships with one's parents which give an individual the emotional, social, and psychological support to investigate identity-formulating alternatives and potentials (e.g., Allison & Sabatelli, 1989; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Smollar & Youniss, 1989).

Erikson's theory of identity development during adolescence asserts that an individual undergoes a series of inner changes (as a result of societal maturational demands) which culminate in the crystallization of a mature and healthy identity (Allison & Sabatelli, 1988; Erikson, 1968; Josselson, 1980). According to Erikson, "... from among all possible and imaginable relations, the individual must make a series of ever-narrowing selections of personal, occupational, sexual, and ideological commitments" (1968, p.245). Although not formally addressed by Erikson, one important implication of identity development is the individuation process; i.e., the necessity for adolescents to place some psychological and physical distance between themselves and their parents in order for identity formation to be complete (Sabatelli & Mazor, 1985). According to Josselson (1980), individuation is related to identity formation because it is through the individuation process during adolescence that the psychological autonomy necessary for the successful achievement of the identity tasks is achieved.
Individuation

The process of individuation and/or separation from one's family of origin during adolescence has been identified as the fundamental developmental issue for the establishment of a healthy adult ego (e.g., Blos, 1962; Sabatelli & Mazor, 1985). The process of individuation, which begins in infancy and continues into late adolescence, involves an increasing independence from parental authority and the construction of a self separate from parental influence (Youniss & Smoller, 1985). Freud (1965) conceptualizes individuation as a developmental continuum, beginning with attachment during infancy in which the individual gradually grows from a state of dependency to an increasing mastery of his or her internal and external world. The process of individuation involves both external and internal implications for adolescent development and, therefore, has been used to explain the physical separation of the adolescent from his or her parents (i.e., college home-leaving strategies) as well as emotional or psychological separation (Hoffman, 1984). Although individuation is a dynamic lifelong process that begins with birth as the first separation, adolescence is unique in that individuation during this period may largely influence how well identity formation proceeds during early adulthood (Josselson, 1980). Josselson (1980) defines the
adolescent period as the phase in which the tasks accompanying individuation are most dominant -- adolescence ends when these objectives become less critical.

According to Mahler (1968), the infant's intense emotional relationship with the mother is the basis for individuation. Psychological separation as described by Mahler consists of two sets of interdependent changes: behavioral and representational differentiations. The behavioral process entails the infant's ability to achieve independent motor and physical activity. The mental representational process is the degree to which the infant can cognitively experience differentiation between self and other, or what is referred to as "object representations". Although both forms of differentiation are crucial to the maturational process, the representational differentiation is the core of the individuation process. Mahler (1983) describes this intrapsychic development as a shift from total dependence and lack of a sense of self to an increasing awareness of one's separate physical and psychological identity. The mother's encouragement and support, and the infant's mastery of novel ego functions are the forces which are thought to drive the infant through the stages of individuation.

Blos (1962) introduced the concept of individuation to the study of adolescence. He proposed that there is a
second individuation process that occurs during adolescence which is similar to the first in that its function is to further the development of a separate self from one's parents. During childhood, the close relationship between parent and child provides a fundamental basis for the socialization process. As such, the child's concept of morality, values, unacceptable vs. acceptable behavior, and perceptions of self, others, and society is a reflection of their parents' understanding of the world. Individuation during adolescence allows the developing individual to construct a self that is separate from parents and, therefore, to develop mature relationships with others. According to Blos, "... what is in infancy a 'hatching from the symbiotic membrane to become an individuated toddler' (Mahler, 1963)" becomes in adolescence the "shedding of family dependencies" which is reflected in and accompanied by changes in one's relationship with their parents. Blos further states that "...Individuation implies that the growing person takes increasing responsibility for what he does and what he is, rather than depositing this responsibility on the shoulders of those under whose influence and tutelage he has grown up" (p. 168).

A major component of the individuation process, then, involves the differentiation of an individual's behavior,
judgments, thoughts, and feelings from those of parents (Mazor & Enright, 1988). Studies which examine this parent-child separation process during late adolescence and early adulthood have looked at home-leaving strategies, college adjustment, and peer relationships as indicators of one's level of individuation. In a study by Sullivan and Sullivan (1980), for example, the effect of adolescent-parent separation on the quality of the relationship between parents and their sons who were entering college was examined. It was found that those individuals who resided at college demonstrated a greater increase in affection, communication, satisfaction, and independence toward their parents than did those individuals who remained at home while attending college. They interpreted this finding as suggesting that leaving home (for college students) facilitates an individual's development of independence from parents while retaining and perhaps redefining strong emotional ties with their families.

Moore and Hotch (1983) studied the behaviors and attitudes associated with home-leaving of 18- to 21-year old male and female college students. Individuals' subjective conceptualizations of adolescent-parent separation were organized in terms of Personal Control, Economic Independence, Residence, Physical Separation, School Affiliation, Dissociation, Emotional Separation and
Graduation. It was shown that older adolescents' most highly regarded mode of separation was associated with Economic Independence and Personal Control (i.e., the ability to make one's own decisions, doing things for one's self, experiencing less parental control, having feelings of greater maturity). Interestingly enough, Emotional Separation (i.e., feelings of being a visitor when at home and not feeling close to one's family) and Dissociation (i.e., not going back each summer, experiencing broken ties with ones' family) were least favorably rated by subjects, suggesting that ties with family plays an important role in the process of individuation.

In a study which attempted to provide an understanding of the various components of adolescent psychological separation from their parents, Hoffman (1984) developed the Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI) as a way to measure the individuation process. Hoffman found that greater conflictual independence (i.e., freedom from excessive guilt, anxiety, mistrust, responsibility, inhibition, resentment, and anger in relation to parents) from both parents was related to better general personal adjustment for females and fewer problems in love relationships for males and females. Greater emotional independence (i.e., freedom from an excessive need for approval, closeness, togetherness, and emotional support in
relation to parents) from both parents was found to be
related to lower proportions of academic problems for both
genders. According to Hoffman, these findings indicate the
importance of the various separation aspects between late
adolescents and their parents for healthy psychological
adjustment. Similar to Moore and Hotch's (1983) finding
(i.e., adolescents' perception that Emotional Separation
and Dissociation were the least important components of the
individuation process), Hoffman also found that greater
attitudinal independence (i.e., image of one's self as
being unique from one's parents and having one's own set of
values and beliefs) was found to be inversely related to
personal adjustment for both males and females, suggesting
that individuals who have somewhat similar values,
attitudes, and beliefs as their parents (and perhaps a
better relationship with their parents) are able to develop
better personal adjustment.

In a related study utilizing the PSI, Hoffman and Weiss
(1987) examined the level of conflictual and emotional
independence of male and female college students in
relation to parental conflict and dominance, parental
symptomology, and common presenting problems of college
students. Hoffman and Weiss showed that the greater the
conflictual dependence of the student on either or both
parents, the more emotional problems the student reported
for himself or herself and for the parents. Furthermore, a significant positive correlation between interparent conflict and student presenting problems was demonstrated. Gender differences were also evident: individuals' problems were positively correlated with both parents' problems (e.g., parental symptomology and intraparental conflict) but only when the individual was emotionally dependent on the other-sex parent.

Overall, it appears that not only is individuation a necessary component for adolescent psychological well-being and healthy maturational emotional adjustment, but the quality of the relationship one has with one's parent is also important as it appears to affect the individuation process (e.g., college adjustment and emotional problems).

Rather than viewing individuation as within the classical psychoanalytic definition of "detachment", many theorists have suggested that the individuation process entails more than merely breaking away from previous relational ties with one's family. It may be that the attachment relationship provides the impetus by which individuation, and therefore, identity development occurs. Consequently, this "separating process" must include a seemingly paradoxical separateness-connectedness dichotomy of ever-increasing independence from one's parents, while maintaining positive relational ties with one's family
(Smollar & Youniss, 1989). This view of individuation places the development of identity in the context of attachment; or within an ongoing, emotionally and psychologically significant relationship (Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Smollar & Youniss, 1989).

Attachment

Attachment is generally defined as a stable affectional bond of considerable intensity, and is believed to be the foundation for the parent-infant relationship (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). According to Bowlby (1973), a child who has secure attachments to his or her primary caretakers possesses an unconscious assurance that he or she has adequate access to responsible and trustworthy others and, as such, is able to view himself or herself as worthy of care and love. Individuals who have a sense of security with others and the confidence in the accessibility and responsiveness of attachment figures (i.e., parents) while growing up, are, therefore, able to develop a balance of self-reliance and appropriate help-seeking abilities as they mature.

Bowlby (1969) extends this idea into an attachment-exploration model which describes healthy infant exploration as being contingent upon firm parental attachment. Mahler (1968) uses the term "rapprochement" to describe a similar phenomenon between parent and child.
interaction in which a pattern of the child’s bonding and dependency upon his or her mother in combination with his or her motoric and psychological distancing capabilities provides the impetus for healthy ego development. This firm parental attachment or "confidence in parental support" is thought to provide the foundation for the adolescent exploration (Marcia, 1983). With this "confidence", the adolescent has the basic trust that as they experiment with new roles, ideas, values and peers, they will not be abandoned by their parents.

Rather than concentrating on the role of attachment, per se, researchers have examined the role of parental support, family cohesiveness, and family atmosphere as it relates to adolescent identity development. According to Erikson (1950, 1968, 1980), an understanding of the adolescent's psychosocial environment is critical for the conceptualization of identity development. The family context is believed to be a crucial factor for identity formation because it is perhaps the most significant social system in which the adolescent participates (Grotevant, 1983). For example, Grotevant, Cooper, and Condon (1982) examined family interaction patterns of 121 high-school seniors and their families as they participated in a decision-making task of planning a two-week vacation. The objective was to provide an
atmosphere in which active participation among family members could provide an opportunity to measure parent and adolescent transactional patterns. Communication behavior was coded and separated into four factors: self-assertion (e.g., the clear and direct statements of individuals' points of views); separateness (e.g., expressions of how the individual differs from other family members); permeability (e.g., expressions of openness to the viewpoints of other family members); and mutuality (e.g., behaviors which indicate sensitivity to the needs of others in communication). These factors were then correlated with the following factors associated with adolescent identity exploration: occupations, religion, politics, friendships, dating, and sex roles. It was hypothesized that each of these dimensions of transactional patterns would be related to adolescent identity development within a paradigm of separation and connectedness. It was found that the dimension of connectedness as it was related to adolescent identity development occurred in a curvilinear manner with a moderate degree of connectedness as the most optimal indicator of healthy identity development. Adolescents who rated high in identity exploration had fathers who demonstrated mutuality as well as separateness, mothers who were low in permeability, and who were able to express both
Subsequent analysis of the above data demonstrated that when adolescents who rated highest in identity exploration were compared with those who rated the lowest, differences in family relationships were found (Grotevant, 1983). High-exploring adolescents were involved in an individuated relationship with one parent characterized by the dual occurrence of separateness and permeability. Families of low-exploring adolescents appeared to avoid disagreement and instead expressed high levels of permeability. These studies conclude that both individuality (measured by indicators of disagreement) and connectedness (e.g., support, acceptance, and cohesiveness) within family interactional patterns are related to identity development in late adolescence.

In two studies, Moore (1987) examined the relationship between parental attachment and late adolescent separation on a measure which examined eight separation-related factors: Self-Governance, Emotional Detachment, Financial Independence, Separate Residence, Disengagement, School Affiliation, Starting a Family, and Graduation. These subscales were then correlated with measures of loneliness, self-esteem, ego-identity, life-satisfaction, home-leaving difficulty and parental relationships in a college student population. It was hypothesized that the way in which older
adolescents view the factors associated with separation would be assimilated into their self-concepts and their relationships with their parents. Moore found that Self-Governance (e.g., feelings of maturity, independence, autonomous decision-making) was the most important component of separation for late adolescence. Although some physical and psychological distance was rated as moderately important to adolescents, Emotional Detachment was the least important component of separation, suggesting the importance of parental-adolescent attachment. Furthermore, this also suggests that the way in which older adolescents defined and achieved separation was associated with their psychological well-being and with their perceived relationships with their parents: older adolescents who viewed separation as self-governance demonstrated an advantage over those subjects who did not. Older adolescents who viewed separation as emotional detachment from parents demonstrated problems in maintaining positive family ties during the separation process. A gender difference was such that those males (but not females) who rated emotional detachment as more important than did their peers reported lower ego-identity achievement, lower self-esteem, greater loneliness, and greater difficulty leaving home; suggesting that perhaps females are more effective at coping with emotional
detachment from parents than males.

The level of attachment one has with one's parents appears to have a significant effect upon the individuation process which, in turn, affects one's identity development. Even during the process of individuation, older adolescents appear to be somewhat connected to their parents; indicating that although adolescents must separate from their parents, identity formation requires a balance between attachment and individuation. Furthermore, the way in which males and females resolve this separateness-connectedness dichotomy and, therefore, develop their identity may differ.

Gender Differences: Mediating Variable

Historically, little has been written about identity development in women. All of Erikson's psychobiographies analyze identity as it develops in men, and most of his case examples are from male patients (Josselson, 1987). According to Erikson's epigenetic model, an individual must resolve his issue of identity before issues of the next stage - intimacy vs. isolation - are addressed (1950, 1956, 1968). Erikson (1968) did suggest that women's identity resides in the choice of mate she desires and that perhaps for women, intimacy resolution may precede identity development. In other words, a woman cannot define her identity unless she can specify who she is.
in relation to her partner.

A number of theorists as well as empirical researchers have argued that males and females focus on different issues in the identity development process. Specifically, it has been suggested that while boys formulate their identity around issues pertaining to ideology and autonomy, girls concentrate on interpersonal and social role aspects of identity (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, Greenberger, & McConochie 1977a,b). In other words, while Erikson (1968, 1982) proposed that ideological content is the most important characteristic of adolescent identity development, this may be true only for males. Feminist theorists (e.g., Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982), on the other hand, suggest that due to the predominately interpersonal and attachment-oriented socialization of females, girls formulate identity within a relational context.

Several studies have examined the way in which males and females differ in the development of identity. For instance, Cooper and Grotevant (1987) studied the patterns of individuality and connectedness in family interactions that are believed to be associated with male and female adolescents' developmental outcomes as it relates to peer and dating relationships. Males and females were found to be different: for females, separateness in family
interaction was related to their friendship identity exploration, whereas for males, connectedness in family interaction was related to their dating and friendship exploration. Kamptner's (1988) findings of gender differences in identity development were similar to the findings of Cooper and Grotevant (1987) in that males who explored identity-related issues via social relationships showed a stronger relationship between identity and familial measures while females did not.

Grotevant and Cooper suggest that the seemingly paradoxical finding of females' experiences of separateness and males' experiences of connectedness as they relate to family interaction patterns may have to do with the necessity of males and females to overcome traditional sex-role stereotypes in order to formulate an identity. Traditionally, autonomy is emphasized for male identity development while attachment is emphasized for female identity development. Perhaps females' separateness in relation to their family and males' connectedness to their family during the period of exploration is necessary in order to overcome the limitations of sex-role stereotypes.

It appears that the differences between males and females lie not only in how they define their identity, but how they formulate their identity as well. In other words, the way in which an individual progresses toward a
consolidation of identity is different according to whether one is male or female. Perhaps the question is not "Which sex is more developed?" but rather, "How does each sex integrate (identity) content areas differently into personality development?" (Alishio & Schilling, 1984).

For instance, in a study by Alishio and Schilling (1984), sex differences in intellectual and ethical development were examined with respect to the following areas of identity formulation: occupational choice, interpersonal relationships, sexual identity, religion, and ego development. Gender differences were evident in the identity development pathways taken by males and females. Male identity development was shown to focus primarily upon occupational issues while females focused upon interpersonal and sexual issues. For males, ego development was found to be highly correlated with intellectual development but no such relationship was obtained for females. Content analyses demonstrated that males' interpersonal worlds emphasize issues of achievement, autonomy, and "rightness" while females focus developmentally upon dimensions of intimacy, attachment, and trust.

Similarly, Kamptner's (1988) study demonstrated that although males and females did not differ from one another on the achievement of a sense of identity, they did differ
on the process of identity development. While for males, a somewhat stronger influence of familial variables on socialibility and identity was shown, for females a slightly stronger influence of social confidence on identity was demonstrated. Additionally, although for males the ego identity model variables was similar to the other identity models utilized, this relationship between ego identity variables and other identity models was not evident for females. One reason for the confusion in the literature regarding females' identity development may be the inadequate measures utilized to examine identity development. In other words, ego identity may be a more appropriate indicator of male development than female development.

These findings appear to support the notion that different processes of identity underlie male and female development (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson et al., 1977a,b). Recent writings have suggested that psychological theories of identity development have been theories of separation and autonomy rather than theories of connectedness and relationship (Miller, 1976; Surrey, 1984). Perhaps women's identity development is different from men's in that men perceive themselves through autonomy, competitiveness, and separation, while women define themselves through connectedness, relationships, and attachment to others. In
other words, men and women may formulate their identity differently according to the continuum of separateness and connectedness.

Summary and Purpose of Study

Optimally, identity formation appears to develop within the context of two interrelated elements: a sense of attachment and a sense of being separate, i.e., the seemingly paradoxical occurrence of ever-increasing independence from one's parents and the maintenance of positive relational ties with one's family. The resolution of this paradox provides the foundation for the development of identity. Since little research has been written about the identity development of women, Erikson's conceptualization of female identity may be a poorly conceived one.

Although studies have examined the effects of individuation and family connectedness on various aspects of identity formation, there have been little empirical data on the causal ordering of these variables. Furthermore, although it has been suggested that female adolescent development involves individuation within an interpersonal context, little research has examined directly the formation and conceptualization of late adolescent females' identity development. If female identity formation is indeed different from that of males,
it is important to systematically examine both the process and conceptualization of this development for females in order to provide a better comprehension of the adolescent phase.

The overall purpose of this study is to examine the role of individuation and attachment on identity development in late adolescent females. The following specific hypotheses will be examined:

1) First, it is expected that high scores on measures of current parental attachment (as measured by parental trust and communication) will be positively correlated with ideological and interpersonal identity scores. (Conversely, alienation from parents will be inversely related to ideology and interpersonal identity scores).

2) Second, female subjects who characterize their early relationship with their parents as "securely attached" will score higher on ideological and interpersonal identity than those who characterize their early relationship with their parents as "insecurely attached".

3) Third, females who score higher on ideological and interpersonal identity will score higher on measures of functional, emotional, and conflictual independence and lower on measures of attitudinal independence than females who score lower on ideological and interpersonal identity.

4) Females who score higher on ideological and
interpersonal identity will score higher on measures of peer trust and communication (and lower on peer alienation) compared to females who score lower on measures of ideological and interpersonal identity.

5) In addition, it is expected that females who score higher on measures of identity (compared to those who score lower on measures of identity) will score higher on measures of peer trust and communication than on measures of parental trust and communication.

6) Females will demonstrate higher levels of identity achievement in the interpersonal domain than in the ideological domain.

7) There was one other goal of this study. While some literature suggests that mothers and fathers influence identity development differently (e.g., Hoffman, 1987; Moore, 1987), these studies demonstrate mixed results. The role of fathers vs mothers on female individuation as it relates to identity development was also examined.
METHODS

Subjects

The sample consisted of 119 18- to 23-year old female undergraduates at a southern California state university. Twenty subjects were deleted due to inadequate questionnaire responses, leaving a final total sample of 99. Most were from middle-class homes, with 84% of the subjects reporting an annual parental income of $25,000 or more. Seventy-one percent of subjects came from intact homes. Sixty-seven percent of subjects were Caucasian, 4% were Asian, 6% were black, 14% were Hispanic, and 8% described themselves as "other". Forty-five percent of subjects resided with their parents at the time of the study; the remaining 55% reported living away from their parents (i.e., college dormitory, off-campus housing).

Measures

Parental Attachment. A single-item measure of Ainsworth's (1978) three parent-infant attachment styles (i.e., "secure", "insecure-avoidant", "insecure-anxious") (as derived from a questionnaire developed by Hazan and Shaver [1987]) was used as a general assessment of the early attachment between adolescents and each of their parents. "Secure" style was defined as a parent who is responsive and caring toward their child; "insecure-avoidant" attachment refers to a parent who is cold and
rejecting toward their child; and "insecure-anxious" attachment refers to a parent who demonstrates a mixture of positive and negative treatment towards their child. Subjects were asked to indicate which parental style best described their childhood relationship with their mother and father (separate responses were given for each parent). For the final analysis, subjects were divided into two groups: "securely attached" and "insecurely attached".

The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was also used to measure adolescents' perception of attachment behavior with parents. Twenty-eight items assessed the following three factors of parental attachment: trust, communication, and alienation. Trust refers to the extent that parents understand and respect the individual's needs and desires, and perceptions that attachment figures are sensitive and responsive to his or her emotional states and concerns. Communication refers to the extent and quality of verbal communication between an individual and his or her parents. Finally, alienation refers to anger toward, or emotional detachment from attachment figures, since this may be indicative to actual or threatened disruption of an insecure attachment bond. The IPPA utilizes a 5-point Likert scale format (1=almost never or never, 5=almost always or always) in which subjects were requested to
indicate how often each statement was true for them. Internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) ranged from .86 to .91 for the three scales, with factor loadings for the items ranging from .45 to .74. If subjects felt they had a very different relationship with their mother and father, they were instructed to respond to the parent items for the parent who had "most influenced" them.

Peer Attachment. The peer attachment scale from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA) (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was used to measure adolescents’ perception of attachment behavior (i.e., trust, communication, alienation) with peers. Trust refers to the extent that peers understand and respect the individual's needs and desires, and perceptions that peers are sensitive and responsive to his or her emotional states and concerns. Communication refers to the extent and quality of verbal communication between an individual and his or her peers. Lastly, alienation refers to anger toward, or emotional detachment from, peers, since this may be indicative to actual or threatened disruption of an insecure attachment bond. A 5-point Likert scale format was used (1=almost never or never, 5=almost always or always) in which were requested to indicate how often each statement was true for them. Internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha) ranged from .72 to .91 for the three scales, with factor loadings
for the items ranging from .45 to .75. Subjects were asked to think about their closest friendships when answering the peer items.

**Individuation.** The 138-item Psychological Separation Inventory (PSI) (Hoffman, 1984) was used to measure adolescents' self-reported level of individuation. The PSI is comprised of four domains which reflect parent-adolescent separation: functional independence (e.g., the differentiation of attitudes, values, and beliefs between the adolescent and his or her parents); emotional independence (e.g., freedom from an excessive need for approval, closeness, togetherness, and emotional support in relation to parents); conflictual independence (e.g., freedom from excessive guilt, anxiety, mistrust, responsibility, inhibition, resentment, and anger in relation to parents); and attitudinal independence (e.g., image of oneself as being unique from one's parents and having one's own set of values and beliefs). The PSI utilizes a Likert-type format (1=not at all true of me, 5=very true of me) in which subjects rated themselves on the degree to which each statement described him or her. The PSI provides for a summed score for each of the four dimensions separately for mother and father. Hoffman (1984) reports a test-retest reliability for a 2- to 3-week span -- .49 to .94 for males (median = .83) and .70 to .96.
for females (median = .83). Internal consistency measured by Cronbach's coefficient alpha is reported to range between .84 and .92.

**Identity.** The 64-item Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS) (Grotevant & Adams, 1984) was used to assess the presence/absence of exploration and commitment within the ideological and interpersonal domains of identity development. This scale measures both the original ideological domain suggested by Marcia (1966) (i.e., an assessment of occupational, political, religious, and philosophical commitment and exploration) and interpersonal issues suggested by Grotevant, Thorbeck, and Meyer (1982), which includes an assessment of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreational commitment and exploration. Within each of these eight domains, two items were written for each of the four identity statuses: Identity Achievement (commitment to a choice based on exploration of alternatives), Identity Moratorium (current exploration of choices but not yet committed), Identity Diffusion (lack of exploration and commitment), and Identity Foreclosure (commitment based on little or no exploration of alternatives). The EOM-EIS utilizes a Likert Scale format (1=strongly disagree, 6=strongly agree). Grotevant and Adams (1984) report test/retest reliability for the EOM-EIS.
over a four-week interval ranging from .59 to .83, with internal consistency and/or split-half reliability ranging from .51 to .84 in a Texas sample and from .37 to .82 in a Utah sample. Estimates of predictive validity, construct validity, and content validity have been established and concurrent validity has been established by correlating an interview assessment of the EOM-EIS in which subjects reported the degree to which they were actively dealing with exploration and/or having established commitment. For the purpose of this study, only the Identity Achieved items were used.

**Demographic Information.** In addition to the above, subjects were asked to report their age, gender, marital status, ethnic background, level of education, annual income of parents, parents' marital status, mother's and father's educational level, and current primary residence.

**Procedure**

Subjects were administered the questionnaire in both group and individual sessions. The questionnaire took approximately 30 to 45 minutes to complete.
RESULTS

In general, the hypothesized relationship between parental attachment, peer attachment, and individuation for identity development in late adolescent females was not supported. The results for the specific hypotheses are addressed below:

Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis predicted that current parental attachment (as measured by parental trust and communication) would be positively correlated with ideological and interpersonal identity and, conversely, alienation from parents would be inversely related to identity. To test this hypothesis, a Pearson correlation was performed on these variables. As shown in Table 1, none of these correlations attained statistical significance.

Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis predicted that female subjects who characterized their relationship with their parents as "securely attached" would score higher on identity than those who characterized their relationship with their parents as "insecurely attached" (as measured by Hazan and Shaver's early attachment questionnaire items). Subjects were first divided into two groups: "securely attached" and "insecurely attached". T-tests comparing these two groups on ideological, interpersonal, and total identity scores
TABLE 1

Correlation of Identity Status with Parental Communication, Trust, and Alienation (N=99)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parental Communication</th>
<th>Parental Trust</th>
<th>Parental Alienation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Identity</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Identity</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Identity</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001
TABLE 2

**T-Test Comparing "Securely Attached" vs. "Insecurely Attached" on Ideological, Interpersonal, and Total Identity Scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>&quot;Securely Attached&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Insecurely Attached&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ideological Identity</strong></td>
<td>27.33</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interpersonal Identity</strong></td>
<td>26.53</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Identity</strong></td>
<td>53.86</td>
<td>6.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05  
**p<.01  
***p<.001
were computed. As shown in Table 2, no significant differences between these two groups on these variables were found.

**Hypothesis Three**

The third hypothesis stated that females' performance on measures of identity would be positively correlated with measures of functional, emotional, and conflictual independence and negatively correlated with measures of attitudinal independence. To test this, Pearson correlations were computed separately for mother and father comparing functional, emotional, conflictual, and attitudinal independence with ideological, interpersonal, and total identity scores. As shown on Table 3, no relationship was demonstrated between subjects' identity scores and individuation scores.

**Hypothesis Four**

The fourth hypothesis predicted that females who scored higher on measures of identity would score higher on measures of peer trust and peer communication (and lower on measures of peer alienation) than females who scored lower on measures of identity. Pearson correlations were first computed to assess the relationship between ideological, interpersonal, and total identity scores and peer trust, peer communication, and peer alienation (Table 4). While no relationship was found between peer communication and
### TABLE 3

**Pearson Correlations for Individuation from Mother and Father with Identity Scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F I</td>
<td>E I</td>
<td>C I</td>
<td>A I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Identity</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Identity</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Identity</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F I</td>
<td>E I</td>
<td>C I</td>
<td>A I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Identity</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Identity</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Identity</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*F = Functional Independence  
E = Emotional Independence  
C = Conflictual Independence  
A = Attitudinal Independence*

*p < .05  
**p < .01  
***p < .001
TABLE 4

Pearson Correlation of Identity with Peer Attachment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Peer Communication</th>
<th>Peer Trust</th>
<th>Peer Alienation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Identity</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Identity</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>-.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Identity</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001
identity or between peer alienation and identity, peer trust was found to be positively correlated with interpersonal identity ($p < .019$) and total identity ($p < .016$).

Next, subjects were divided into two groups (i.e., "high" or "low") on the basis of their identity scores (depending on whether their scores fell above or below the mean for that scale). T-tests were then used to compare these two groups of subjects with peer trust, peer communication, and peer alienation. No relationship was demonstrated between high vs low ideological identity scorers on peer trust, peer communication, and peer alienation (Table 5). Subjects scoring high on interpersonal identity were found, however, to score higher on measures of peer communication than those who scored low on interpersonal identity ($p < .04$) (Table 6). No relationship was found between high vs low interpersonal identity scores on peer trust and peer alienation. Females who scored high on total identity scored significantly higher on peer trust than females who scored low on total identity ($p = .009$) (Table 7). No relationship was demonstrated between high vs low total identity scorers and peer trust or peer alienation.

**Hypothesis Five**

The fifth hypothesis stated that females who scored
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group 1: High Ideological Identity</th>
<th>Group 2: Low Ideological Identity</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>40.63 5.21</td>
<td>39.04 5.48</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Communication</td>
<td>32.87 5.25</td>
<td>32.31 5.31</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Alienation</td>
<td>16.07 4.29</td>
<td>16.79 3.99</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>-0.86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001
TABLE 6

T-Test Comparing High vs. Low Interpersonal Identity Scores with Peer Trust, Peer Communication, and Peer Alienation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group 1: High Interpersonal Identity</th>
<th>Group 2: Low Interpersonal Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>40.55</td>
<td>4.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Communication</td>
<td>33.44</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Alienation</td>
<td>16.25</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001
TABLE 7

T-Test Comparing High vs. Low Total Identity Scores With Peer Trust, Peer Communication, and Peer Alienation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Group 1: High Total Identity</th>
<th>Group 2: Low Total Identity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>41.20</td>
<td>4.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Communication</td>
<td>33.43</td>
<td>4.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Alienation</td>
<td>15.94</td>
<td>4.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001
higher on measures of identity would score higher on measures of peer trust and communication than on measures of parent trust and communication. Within subjects t-tests comparing parent vs. peer trust, and parent vs. peer communication were computed for subjects scoring above the mean for ideological, interpersonal, and total identity (Table 8). The results supported this hypothesis: females who scored above the mean on ideological, interpersonal, and total identity scores were found to score higher on peer trust and peer communication than on parent trust and parent communication.

Hypothesis Six

The sixth hypothesis predicted that females would demonstrate higher scores on measures of interpersonal identity than on ideological identity. A t-test comparing ideological identity (M = 27.45) and interpersonal identity (M = 26.47) demonstrated a slight but non-significant difference (favoring ideological identity) between these scores t(98) = 1.89, p<.062.

Hypothesis Seven

Finally, the differential effects of fathers vs mothers on individuation and identity development was examined. Within subjects t-tests were computed comparing individuation from father vs. individuation from mother for functional, emotional, conflictual, and attitudinal
independence mean scores. As can be seen in Table 9, a significant difference was found such that females had significantly higher individuation scores for fathers than for mothers for all four types of independence. Although females were found to be significantly more individuated from their fathers than from their mothers, as can be seen from Table 3, no correlation was found between individuation from father (or individuation from mother) and identity development.

Pearson correlations were next computed on individuation from mother and individuation from father with parental attachment (i.e., parental trust, communication, and alienation) since it was originally thought that attachment to one’s parents may have an important influence upon an adolescent’s ability to individuate. A significant negative relationship was found for functional, emotional, and attitudinal individuation from both mother and father with parental trust and communication (Table 10). For both mother and father, parent alienation was significantly positively correlated with functional, emotional, and attitudinal independence. Finally, conflictual independence was significantly positively correlated with parent trust and communication for both mothers and fathers. The strength of the correlations between mother individuation and parent
# TABLE 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ideological Identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>40.64</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4.70***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Parent Trust</td>
<td>36.74</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Communication</td>
<td>39.45</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>4.62***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Parent Communication</td>
<td>33.93</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interpersonal Identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>40.56</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5.05***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Parent Trust</td>
<td>36.44</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Communication</td>
<td>40.13</td>
<td>5.07</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5.99***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Parent Communication</td>
<td>33.83</td>
<td>7.06</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Identity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Trust</td>
<td>41.20</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5.34***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Parent Trust</td>
<td>36.93</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer Communication</td>
<td>40.11</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5.43***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vs. Parent Communication</td>
<td>34.37</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05
**p<.01
***p<.001


TABLE 9

T-Test Comparing Individuation from Father vs. Individuation from Mother (N = 99)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th></th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>37.84</td>
<td>10.93</td>
<td>32.36</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>-5.25***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>43.68</td>
<td>13.43</td>
<td>38.74</td>
<td>14.28</td>
<td>-3.49***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflictual</td>
<td>80.02</td>
<td>16.73</td>
<td>72.70</td>
<td>17.43</td>
<td>-3.44***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal</td>
<td>31.38</td>
<td>11.80</td>
<td>26.07</td>
<td>10.98</td>
<td>-4.84***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: df = 98

*p<.05  
**p<.01  
***p<.001
communication, trust, and alienation was twice that for father, suggesting perhaps a stronger influence of mother over father on these factors.

Additional Analysis

Since no relationship was found between identity and individuation (Table 3), Pearson correlations between identity and individuation from mother vs. individuation from father were computed for females who came from intact families since it was thought that mother or father absence from the home may affect one's functional, emotional, conflictual, and attitudinal individuation (and, therefore, one's identity development). As can be seen by Table 11, no significant differences between these groups for these variables were found.
### TABLE 10

Pearson Correlation of Individuation from Mother vs. Individuation from Father with Parental Trust, Parental Communication, and Parental Alienation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Parent Trust</th>
<th>Parent Communication</th>
<th>Parent Alienation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mother</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F I</td>
<td>-.42***</td>
<td>-.61***</td>
<td>.42***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>-.46***</td>
<td>.34***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I</td>
<td>.40***</td>
<td>.54***</td>
<td>-.60***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A I</td>
<td>-.44***</td>
<td>-.47***</td>
<td>.41**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Father</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F I</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.33***</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E I</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.22*</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C I</td>
<td>.31**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
<td>-.32**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A I</td>
<td>-.29**</td>
<td>-.28**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F I = Functional Independence  
E I = Emotional Independence  
C I = Conflictual Independence  
A I = Attitudinal Independence  

* $p<.05$  
** $p<.01$  
*** $p<.001$
### TABLE 11

**Correlation Between Individuation and Identity Scores for Subjects from Intact Families**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuation from Mother</th>
<th>F I</th>
<th>E I</th>
<th>C I</th>
<th>A I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Identity</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Identity</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Identity</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuation from Father</th>
<th>F I</th>
<th>E I</th>
<th>C I</th>
<th>A I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ideological Identity</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpersonal Identity</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Identity</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F I = Functional Independence  
E I = Emotional Independence  
C I = Conflictual Independence  
A I = Attitudinal Independence  

*p<.05  
**p<.01  
***p<.001
DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship of attachment and individuation to identity development in late adolescent females. More specifically, it was hypothesized that identity would be positively correlated with individuation from mother and father, parental attachment, and peer attachment. These hypotheses were largely unconfirmed: no relationship was found between identity development and individuation and between identity development and parental attachment. Partial findings demonstrated a positive correlation between identity and peer trust.

The first hypothesis predicted that high scores on measures of current parental attachment (as measured by parental trust and communication) would be positively correlated with ideological and interpersonal identity scores and, conversely, alienation from parents would be inversely related to ideology and interpersonal identity scores. This was not confirmed. Although attachment to parents appears to be a theoretically salient factor in identity development for adolescents (Bowlby, 1969; Marcia, 1983) the connection between these two factors may not be a direct one (as hypothesized in this study). In other words, attachment may be indirectly linked to identity development by affecting other factors (i.e., the development of peer
relationships) that ultimately influence identity development. The measure used in this study to assess attachment may not be powerful enough to measure the mechanisms that are influenced by attachment which influence identity. For instance, in the development of the IPPA (used in this study), Armsden and Greenberg (1987) found that adolescents who scored high on parental trust and communication reported greater satisfaction with themselves, a higher likelihood of seeking social supports, and less symptomatic response to stressful life. Parental attachment, then, may influence important coping and social skills which may enhance an individual's development of a sense of identity. Adolescents who experience a sense of attachment to their parents may be more able to incorporate a positive self-esteem, may be more able to handle life's stress, and may be more able to find other attachment figures in their life (e.g., peers). Although attachment to parents may provide a rudimentary base for identity development in the long-run, the measures used in this study may have not been adequate in assessing how attachment influences identity or the specific factors parental attachment affects (i.e., social supports) which, in turn, affects identity. The link between attachment and identity development may be much more indirect than assumed, such that an assessment of parental communication
and trust was not a precise enough measurement of the ways in which parental attachment affects female identity development.

In addition, the measures of parental trust and communication (which were utilized in this study as indicators of parent-adolescent attachment) may not be sufficient indicators for assessing attachment in general. Although communication, trust, and lack of alienation are important components of parental attachment, these factors may not adequately take into account other aspects of attachment. For instance, according to Bowlby (1969) parental availability and responsiveness is the essence of a secure attachment bond between parent and child. Although Arsmden and Greenberg (1987) defined the parental trust scale as the "extent that parents understand and respect the individual's needs and desires, and perceptions that attachment figures are sensitive and responsive to his or her emotional states and concerns" (p. ), the items used to measure this variable (e.g., "My parents trust my judgment"). may not have been sufficient for assessing parental responsiveness and availability.

Lastly, perhaps measures of mutual respect and satisfaction of the renegotiated parent-adult child relationship that is typical of this age group would be a better assessment of parental attachment.
The second hypothesis, which predicted that females who characterized the early relationship with their parents as "securely attached" would score higher on ideological, interpersonal, and total identity scores than those who characterized their parents as "insecurely attached", was not confirmed. As discussed above, the relationship between early parental attachment and adolescent identity development may be a more complex one. Early parental attachment (although a theoretically important factor for adolescent development [Blos, 1962]) may influence other factors important for development which, in turn, ultimately affect identity development. For instance, a balance between attachment and separateness within the parent-child relationship may be a better indicator of how one's early relationship with one's parents influences identity development in adolescence.

One possible obstacle in the current examination of early parental attachments was that only two items were used (one for each parent) to assess the quality of early attachments. A longer, more complete scale may have provided a better assessment of this construct.

The third hypothesis stated that ideological and interpersonal identity would be positively correlated with functional, emotional, and conflictual independence and inversely related to attitudinal independence. No
relationship was found between individuation and identity. Once again, the relationship between individuation from parents and identity development for females may be more complex than what was previously assumed. It may be that although differing aspects of separation from parents (i.e., functional, emotional, conflictual, and attitudinal independence) play an important role in the development of identity during adolescence, the relationship between these two variables may not be direct. Although individuation may be an important component for adolescent identity development, as was suggested for the perceived relationship between attachment and identity development, it may be more salient to examine how individuation effects identity development. For instance, independence from parents may allow an adolescent to seek outside support systems which, in turn, affects identity development (Hoffman, 1984). The measures utilized in this study may not have been adequate in assessing the potentially more complex role individuation has upon identity development.

Furthermore, since what has been written theoretically about individuation and identity development has been based upon males' development (i.e., Erikson 1968), the relationship between individuation and identity development for females may be different than what would be expected for males. Individuation requires the revision of the
relationship between parent and adolescent. Whereas the parent and child relationship during the early years may be characterized as "symbiotic", individuation during the adolescent years may be more dependent upon a balance between connection in some areas and separation in other areas within the parent-adolescent relationship (Grotevant and Cooper, 1985). According to Gilligan (1982), females "orchestrate" the dichotomy of connection and separation in their lives differently than males. It may be that females do not separate themselves from their parents in the same ways that males do, and the Psychological Separation Inventory (Hoffman, 1987) may, therefore, not have been an adequate measure for assessing how adolescent females' separation from parents influences identity development.

Females may incorporate a different individuation process than males, such that the individuation process (e.g., physical and psychological separation between adolescent and parent) as defined by Blos (1962) may not be a vital development for females. Gilligan (1982) suggests that females undergo a process of "collectivity" rather than individuation and rather than separating from their parents, females may renegotiate the adolescent-parent relationship. Although individuation as it pertains to identity development may not occur in the same manner as it does for males, it has been suggested that older adolescent
females have a more mature relationship with their parents than do males (White, Speisman, & Costos, 1983), suggesting that perhaps individuation (as defined by Blos) may not be a factor of female identity development. Although no relationship was found in the present study for individuation and identity development for females, perhaps a measure which incorporates the specific independent and attachment characteristics comprising female development (e.g., the renegotiated relationship between parent and adolescent) may be more useful for assessing female identity.

The fourth hypothesis predicted that ideological and interpersonal identity would be positively correlated with peer trust and communication (and inversely related to peer alienation) ideological and interpersonal identity. This hypothesis was partially confirmed. Peer trust was found to be positively correlated with interpersonal identity. A subsequent analysis showed that the high interpersonal identity group scored higher on measures of peer communication and peer trust than the low interpersonal group. As suggested by Gilligan (1982), one's relationships with others is an important component to women's identity development. This is similar to the findings by Alishio and Schilling (1984) who found that women's development focused primarily upon trust within interpersonal relationships.
Perhaps female's experience that others are trustworthy (e.g., peers understand and respect one's needs and desires, and are sensitive and responsive to one's needs and desires) is important for identity development within an interpersonal realm. According to Marcia (1983), interpersonal relationships are crucial for the identity development process because, as a psychosocial issue, identity develops within relationships with others. Ideological identity was not found to correlate with any of the attachment measures suggesting that, perhaps for women, ideological identity does not develop directly with peer relationships.

According to the fifth hypothesis, it was expected that females who scored higher on measures of identity would score higher on measures of peer trust and communication than on measures of parent trust and communication. Since females are believed to develop their identity via relationships with friendships (i.e., Josselson, 1987) it was believed that females would demonstrate higher measures of attachment with peers than with parents. This hypothesis was confirmed, and is supported by other literature that discusses the important role peers may play in identity development by providing adolescence with a "group identity" as they separate from their parents (Marcia, 1983; Siegal, 1982). For women,
identity development may require a "trade-off" between a close relationship with parents to one with peers. As demonstrated by Josselson et al. (1977), high-maturing females use interpersonal ties with peers in order to "sharpen their sense of human differentiation" which, in turn, allows them to gain a more articulated sense of themselves. In other words, peer relationships may provide females the atmosphere in which to practice interpersonal ties and self-examination; this in turn may have an important consequence for identity development.

No significance was found for hypothesis six which predicted that females would score higher on measures of interpersonal identity than on ideological identity. This was surprising since female identity development is believed to focus more on interpersonal (than ideological) issues (i.e., Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1987). Perhaps these females' scores on ideological identity was similar to interpersonal identity scores because, they were all attending college which may promote the questioning of experimentation with the ideological concerns as assessed by the EOM-EIS (i.e., politics, religion, occupation). In other words, the college years are, developmentally, the time when individuals readily explore these ideals. Furthermore, the EOM-EIS utilizes 8 items each to assess ideological and interpersonal identity; this may be a small
number of items to thoroughly assess the variability of each type of identity.

The final hypothesis examined the differential effect of mother vs father individuation on female identity development. On all four counts of individuation (functional, emotional, conflictual, and attitudinal independence), females were found to be significantly more individuated from their fathers than from their mothers. The disparity between mother vs. father individuation may be due to differences between how mothers vs. fathers treat daughters vs. sons. For instance, Hoffman (1977) found that fathers were closer to and more actively involved in their sons' lives than their daughters'. Females may be more individuated from their fathers because fathers may be more remote from their daughters to begin with.

Another interpretation of these findings is that although females experience themselves as more individuated from their fathers than from their mothers, individuation from fathers (rather than from mothers) may be an important process for female development. For instance, LeCroy (1988) found that although adolescents were more attached to their mothers, fathers were found to have a greater impact on adolescent functioning (i.e., higher self-esteem) than mothers. Hoffman and Weiss (1987) found that students' problems in college adjustment were related to students'
emotional dependence on the other-sex parent. In other words, females who reported problems with anxiety, depression, and socialization difficulties were found to be less individuated from their fathers. Individuation from father in comparison to individuation from mother may be an important factor for female development in areas other than identity formulation. It may also be hypothesized that less individuation from mother in comparison to a reasonable degree of individuation from father serves to provide the developing adolescent with the necessary attachment-individuation framework believed to be important for identity development (Cambell, Adams, and Dobson, 1984; Grotevant and Cooper, 1985).

An analysis comparing the relationship between parental attachment and individuation showed similar patterns of individuation from both mother and father. It may be that too much attachment to parents in some areas (i.e., parental communication) may impede the individuation process in other areas (i.e., emotional independence, or the freedom from an excessive need for approval and closeness in relation to parents) while attachment to parents in other areas may be necessary for individuation (Campbell, Adams, and Dobson, 1984; Moore, 1987). For example, conflictual independence (i.e., freedom from guilt over separating from one's parents) may be dependent upon
parental trust and communication because it provides the adolescent with the "emotional permission" to separate from their parents and to seek outside support systems necessary for identity development (Hoffman, 1984). It may be that, as suggested by Grotevant et al. (1982), a curvilinear relationship between attachment and individuation is necessary for identity development such that a moderate degree of parental attachment is necessary for identity exploration. Attachment to and individuation from one's parents is, perhaps, an important influence upon identity development, but the measures used to assess these variables may not be sufficient for measuring how this potentially complex process occurs for females.

Although the correlation between attachment and individuation was similar for both mothers and fathers, the strength of the correlations between individuation from mother and parent communication, trust, and alienation was twice that for fathers, suggesting that there is a stronger influence of mother over father on these factors. The variables used to assess parental attachment (communication, trust, lack of alienation) may be a more vital indicator of the mother-child relationship than father-child. Traditionally, the role of motherhood is based upon her being expressively supportive of family members (i.e., affectionate and emotionally warm) (Veroff, 58
Douvan, & Kukla, 1981). In other words, mothers may have had a higher significance on these variables over fathers because the attachment scale utilized in this study may be a better gauge of the traditional aspects of "mothering" rather than "fathering".

Overall, little was found to support the idea that identity development is influenced by attachment and individuation for adolescent females. This is somewhat similar to some of the findings by Kamptner (1988) who found that although identity scores were similar for both males and females, little relationship was demonstrated between interpersonal identity and familial variables for females. It was found in the present study, however, that individual who scored high on measures of interpersonal identity scored higher on measures of peer communication and peer trust than those who scored lower on interpersonal identity. Furthermore, females who scored high on identity measures scored higher on measures of peer attachment than parent attachment. The role of peer relationships may be more important to the process of identity development than what has been previously thought. Additionally, females were found to be more individuated from their fathers than from their mothers, suggesting that if individuation from parents is a salient process for female development, the role of mother vs. father as it relates to identity may be
different for each parent. Finally, parental attachment was correlated to individuation from mother vs. individuation from father. Mixed results were found, demonstrating that individuation in some areas (i.e., emotional and functional independence) were negatively correlated with parent trust and communication while conflictual independence was positively correlated with parent trust and communication.

There may be a number of reasons for the lack of significant findings in the present study. First, it may be that for females, identity scores were related to other variables than those that were utilized. For instance, relationships with peers was found to be related to identity scores. These relational dimensions may have a more influential effect upon females' identity development than for what the current developmental theory accounts. Second, the measures utilized in this study with which to assess early parent attachment, current parent and peer attachment, individuation, and identity development may not be adequate for measuring female development. For instance, although peer attachment is believed to be important for females' development, the measure used in the present study may not completely assess the factors of interpersonal relationships that influence identity development.

Future research should examine more extensively the role of peers in female identity development and the ways
in which females define and develop their interpersonal world as it relates to identity formation. The role of early and current parental attachment upon identity development should be further examined by utilizing more complete scales which encompasses the possibly unique manner of female-parent identity. Related to this, the role of attachment with and individuation from mother and father should be further examined for the possible differences each parent has upon female identity development. Lastly, future research should examine the effect of attachment and individuation upon male vs. female identity development.
REFERENCES


63


ATTACHMENT A: COVER LETTER
Family Experiences and Perceptions of Self Study
Department of Psychology

Thank you for expressing an interest in participating in our study. We are interested in finding out about how peoples' experiences of growing up with their parents and peers influence how they currently think about themselves. We are studying this area because little has been written about how the family environment contributes to young adults' changes in their perceptions of themselves.

Participation simply involves completing the attached questionnaire. Your responses (and your participation) in this study are completely confidential. Of course, you are free to discontinue your participation at any time. We will be happy to share the group results of this study with you as soon as they are available.

Thank you again for helping us out!

Sincerely,

Cassie Nichols, M.S. Candidate
Laura Kamptner, Ph.D.
ATTACHMENT B: QUESTIONNAIRE
Family Experiences and Perceptions of Self Study

There are five major parts to this questionnaire. Please answer each of the below items by filling in on the scan-tron sheet the letter that most closely corresponds to your answer for that item. If you have any questions at any point, please feel free to ask!

Part I: Perceptions of Self

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. Indicate your answer on the answer sheet by choosing one of the following responses. Do not write on the questionnaire itself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look.

3. My ideas about men's and women's roles are quite similar to those of my parents. What's good enough for them is good enough for me.

4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another.

5. Some of my friends are very different from each other. I'm trying to figure out exactly where I fit in.

6. I seem only to get involved in recreational activities when others ask me to join them.

7. I haven't thought much about what I look for in a date. We just go out to have a good time.
Strongly    Moderately    Agree     Moderately    Strongly
Agree     Agree     Agree     Disagree     Disagree
A         B         C         D         E

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.

9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs will be right for me.

10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other.

11. I have lots of different ideas of how my marriage might work in the future and I'm trying to arrive at some comfortable position.

12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style" view, but haven't really found it yet.

13. Even if my parents disapproved, I could be a friend to a person if I thought he/she was basically good.

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.

15. My dating standards are flexible, but in order to change, it must be something I really believe in.

16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much.

17. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but there is never really been any question since my parents said what they wanted.

18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered it myself and know what I can believe.

19. I'm not ready to start thinking about how married couples should divide up family responsibilities yet.

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to choose friends.

22. I have one recreational activity I love to engage in more than any other and doubt I'll find another I'd enjoy more.

23. When I'm on a date, I just like to "go with the flow".

24. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such.

25. I'm really not interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available.

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.

27. My ideas about men's and women's roles have been drummed into me by my family.

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.

29. I've never had any real close friends. It would take too much energy to keep a friendship going.

30. I join my friends in leisure activities, but really don't seem to have a particular activity I pursue systematically.

31. Sometimes I wonder if the way other teenagers date is the best way for me.

32. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.

33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career.

34. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong to me.
35. I know what my parents feel about men's and women's roles, but I pick and choose what I think is best for myself.

36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self exploration.

37. I couldn't be friends with someone my parents disapproved of.

38. My parents' recreational preferences are good enough for me. I'm content with the same activities.

39. My rules or standards about dating have remained the same since I first started going out and I don't anticipate that they will change.

40. I've thought my political belief through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe.

41. My parents had it decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following their plans.

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.

43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives a lot these days, but I haven't made a final decision for myself yet.

44. My parents' views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else.

45. I've had many different kinds of friends, but now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friendship.

46. I've tried numerous recreational activities and have found one I really love to do by myself or with friends.

47. The standards or "unwritten rules" I follow about dating are still in the process of developing. They haven't completely jelled yet.
48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.

49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career.

50. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why.

51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I exactly how I want it to happen for me.

52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life.

53. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd and have a good time.

54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational activities in hopes of finding one or more I can really enjoy for sometime to come.

55. I've dated different types of people and now know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are.

56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other.

57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many that have possibilities.

58. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me.

59. Men's and women's roles seem very confused these days, so I just play it by ear.

60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own life style will be.

61. I know my parents wouldn't approve of some of my friends, but I haven't decided what to do about it yet.
62. All of my recreational preferences were taught to me by my parents and I haven't really felt the need to learn any others.

63. I would never date anyone my parents disapproved of.

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.

Part II: Relationship with Mother and Father

Instructions: The following list of statements describes different aspects of students' relationships with both their mother and father. Imagine a scale ranging from A to E that tells how well each statement applies to you. Indicate your answer on the answer sheet by choosing one of the following responses. Do not write on the questionnaire itself. Please be completely honest. Your answers are entirely confidential and will be useful only if they accurately describe you.

If a particular item does not apply to you (i.e., "I wish that my mother lived nearer so I could visit her more frequently.") please leave that item blank on the scantron sheet and go on to the next item.

Not at all A little bit Moderately Quite a bit Very True true of me true of me true of me true of me true of me A B C D E

65. I like to show my friends pictures of my mother.

66. Sometimes my mother is a burden to me.

67. I feel longing if I am away from my mother for too long.

68. My ideas regarding racial equality are similar to my mother's.

69. My mother's wishes have influenced my selection of friends.
70. I feel like I am constantly at war with my mother.
71. I blame my mother for many of the problems I have.
72. I wish I could trust my mother more.
73. My attitudes about obscenity are similar to my mother's.
74. When I am in difficulty I usually call upon my mother to help me out of trouble.
75. My mother is the most important person in the world to me.
76. I have to be careful not to hurt my mother's feelings.
77. I wish that my mother lived nearer so I could visit her more frequently.
78. My opinions regarding the role of women are similar to my mother's.
79. I often ask my mother to assist me in solving my personal problems.
80. I sometimes feel like I'm being punished by my mother.
81. Being away from my mother makes me feel lonely.
82. I wish my mother wasn't so overprotective.
83. My opinions regarding the role of men are similar to my mother's.
84. I wouldn't make a major purchase without my mother's approval.
85. I wish my mother wouldn't try to manipulate me.
86. I wish mother wouldn't try to make fun of me.
87. I sometimes call home just to hear my mother's voice.
88. My religious beliefs are similar to my mother's.
89. My mother's wishes have influenced my choice of major at school.

90. I feel that I have obligations to my mother that I wish I didn't have.

91. My mother expects too much from me.

92. I wish I could stop lying to my mother.

93. My beliefs regarding how to raise children are similar to my mother's.

94. My mother helps me to make my budget.

95. While I am home on a vacation I like to spend most of my time with my mother.

96. I often wish that my mother would treat me more like an adult.

97. After being with my mother for a vacation I find it difficult to leave her.

98. My values regarding honesty are similar to my mother's.

99. I generally consult with my mother when I make plans for an out of town weekend.

100. I am often angry at my mother.

101. I like to hug and kiss my mother.

102. I hate it when my mother makes suggestions about what I do.

103. My attitudes about solitude are similar to my mother's.

104. I consult with my mother when deciding about part-time employment.

105. I decide what to do according to whether my mother will approve of it.
106. Even when my mother has a good idea I refuse to listen to it because she made it.

107. When I do poorly in school I feel I'm letting my mother down.

108. My attitudes regarding environmental protection are similar to my mother's.

109. I ask my mother what to do when I get into a tough situation.

110. I wish my mother wouldn't try to get me to take sides with her.

111. My mother is my best friend.

112. I argue with my mother over little things.

113. My beliefs about how the world began are similar to my mother's.

114. I do what my mother decides on most questions that come up.

115. I seem to be closer to my mother that most people my age.

116. My mother is sometimes a source of embarrassment to me.

117. Sometimes I think I am too dependent on my mother.

118. My beliefs about what happens to people when they die are similar to my mother’s.

119. I ask for my mother’s advice when I am planning my vacation time.

120. I am sometimes ashamed of my mother.

121. I care too much about my mother’s reactions.

122. I get angry when my mother criticizes me.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>123. My attitudes regarding sex are similar to my mother's.</td>
<td>A: Not at all, B: A little bit, C: Moderately, D: Quite a bit, E: Very True</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124. I like to have my mother help me pick out the clothing I buy for special occasions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125. I sometimes feel like an extension of my mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126. When I don't write my mother often enough, I feel guilty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127. I feel uncomfortable keeping things from my mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128. My attitudes regarding national defense are similar to my mother's.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129. I call my mother when ever anything goes wrong.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130. I often have to make decisions for my mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131. I'm not sure I could make it in life without my mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132. I sometimes resent it when my mother tells me what to do.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133. My attitudes regarding mentally ill people are similar to my mother's.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134. I like to show my friends pictures of my father.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135. Sometimes my father is a burden to me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136. I fell longing if I am away from my father for too long.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137. My ideas regarding racial equality are similar to my father's.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138. My father's wishes have influenced my selection of friends.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139. I feel like I am constantly at war with my father.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140. I blame my father for many of the problems I have.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>A little bit</th>
<th>Moderately</th>
<th>Quite a bit</th>
<th>Very True</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>true of me</td>
<td>true of me</td>
<td>true of me</td>
<td>true of me</td>
<td>of me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

141. I wish I could trust my father more.

142. My attitudes about obscenity are similar to my father's.

143. When I am in difficulty I usually call upon my father to help me out of trouble.

144. My father is the most important person in the world to me.

145. I have to be careful not to hurt my father's feelings.

146. I wish that my father lived nearer so I could visit him more frequently.

147. My opinions regarding the role of women are similar to my father's.

148. I often ask my father to assist me in solving my personal problems.

149. I sometimes feel like I'm being punished by my father.

150. Being away from my father makes me feel lonely.

151. I wish my father wasn't so overprotective.

152. My opinions regarding the role of men are similar to my father's.

153. I wouldn't make a major purchase without my father's approval.

154. I wish my father wouldn't try to manipulate me.

155. I wish father wouldn't try to make fun of me.

156. I sometimes call home just to hear my father's voice.

157. My religious beliefs are similar to my father's.

158. My father's wishes have influenced my choice of major at school.
Not at all  A little bit  Moderately  Quite a bit  Very True
true of me  true of me  true of me  true of me  true of me
A       B       C       D       E

159. I feel that I have obligations to my father that I wish I didn't have.

160. My father expects too much from me.

161. I wish I could stop lying to my father.

162. My beliefs regarding how to raise children are similar to my father's.

163. My father helps me to make my budget.

164. While I am home on a vacation I like to spend most of my time with my father.

165. I often wish that my father would treat me more like an adult.

166. After being with my father for a vacation I find it difficult to leave him.

167. My values regarding honesty are similar to my father's.

168. I generally consult with my father when I make plans for an out of town weekend.

169. I am often angry at my father.

170. I like to hug and kiss my father.

171. I hate it when my father makes suggestions about what I do.

172. My attitudes about solitude are similar to my father's.

173. I consult with my father when deciding about part-time employment.

174. I decide what to do according to whether my father will approve of it.

175. Even when my father has a good idea I refuse to listen to it because he made it.
Not at all  A little bit  Moderately  Quite a bit  Very True
true of me  true of me  true of me  true of me  true of me
A           B           C           D           E

176. When I do poorly in school I feel I'm letting my father down.

177. My attitudes regarding environmental protection are similar to my father's.

178. I ask my father what to do when I get into a tough situation.

179. I wish my father wouldn't try to get me to take sides with him.

180. My father is my best friend.

181. I argue with my father over little things.

182. My beliefs about how the world began are similar to my father's.

183. I do what my father decides on most questions that come up.

184. I seem to be closer to my father than most people my age.

185. My father is sometimes a source of embarrassment to me.

186. Sometimes I think I am too dependent on my father.

187. My beliefs about what happens to people when they die are similar to my father's.

188. I ask for my father's advice when I am planning my vacation time.

189. I am sometimes ashamed of my father.

190. I care too much about my father's reactions.

191. I get angry when my father criticizes me.

192. My attitudes regarding sex are similar to my father's.
Not at all A little bit Moderately Quite a bit Very True true of me true of me true of me true of me true of me A B C D E  

193. I like to have my father help me pick out the clothing I buy for special occasions.
194. I sometimes feel like an extension of my father.
195. When I don't write my father often enough, I feel guilty.
196. I feel uncomfortable keeping things from my father.
197. My attitudes regarding national defense are similar to my father's.
198. I call my father whenever anything goes wrong.
199. I often have to make decisions for my father.
200. I'm not sure I could make it in life without my father.
201. I sometimes resent it when my father tells me what to do.
202. My attitudes regarding mentally ill people are similar to my father's.

Part III: Parent and Friendship Relationships

The following items refer to the current relationship you have with your parents and friends. (If you feel that you have a very different relationship with one parent in comparison to the other, respond to the parent items for the parent who has most influenced you. When answering the friendship items, think about your closest friendships). Please answer the following items as to how well each statement refers to you by indicating a A to E answer.

Almost Always Often Sometimes Seldom Almost Never or always true true true true or never true A B C D E

Section I: Parents

203. My parents respect my feelings.
Almost Always  Often  Sometimes  Seldom  Almost Never
or always true  true  true  true  or never true
A  B  C  D  E

204. I feel my parents are successful as parents.
205. I wish I had different parents.
206. My parents accept me the way I am.
207. I have to rely on myself when I have a problem to solve.
208. I like to get my parents' point of view on things I am concerned about.
209. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show.
210. My parents sense when I'm upset about something.
211. Talking over my problems with my parents makes me feel ashamed or foolish.
212. My parents expect too much from me.
213. I get upset easily at home.
214. I get upset a lot more than my parents know about.
215. When we discuss things, my parents consider my point of view.
216. My parents trust my judgment.
217. My parents have their own problems, so I don't bother them with mine.
218. My parents help me to understand myself better.
219. I tell my parents about my problems and troubles.
220. I feel angry with my parents.
221. I don't get much attention at home.
222. My parents encourage me to talk about my difficulties.
223. My parents understand me.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Almost Always</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Almost Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

224. I don’t know whom I can depend on these days.

225. When I am angry about something, my parents try to be understanding.

226. I trust my parents.

227. My parents don’t understand what I’m going through these days.

228. I can count on my parents when I need to get something off my chest.

229. I feel that no one understands me.

230. If my parents know something is bothering me, they ask me about it.

Section II: Friends

231. I like to get my friends’ point of view on things I’m concerned about.

232. My friends sense when I’m upset about something.

233. When we discuss things, my friends consider my point of view.

234. Talking over my problems with my friends makes me feel ashamed or foolish.

235. I wish I had different friends.

236. My friends understand me.

237. My friends encourage me to talk about my difficulties.

238. My friends accept me as I am.

239. I feel the need to be in touch with my friends more often.

240. My friends don’t understand what I’m going through these days.
Almost Always | Often | Sometimes | Seldom | Almost Never  
---|---|---|---|---
A | B | C | D | E

1. I feel alone or apart when I am with my friends.
2. My friends listen to what I have to say.
3. I feel my friends are good friends.
4. My friends are fairly easy to talk to.
5. When I am angry about something, my friends try to be understanding.
6. My friends help me to understand myself better.
7. My friends are concerned about my well-being.
8. I feel angry with my friends.
9. I can count on my friends when I need to get something off my chest.
10. I trust my friends.
11. My friends respect my feelings.
12. I get upset a lot more than my friends know about.
13. It seems as if my friends are irritated with me for no reason.
15. If my friends know something is bothering me, they ask me about it.
Part IV

For the following items, please answer the statement which describes how each parent had behaved toward you during your childhood.

16. Which of the following best describes your MOTHER while you were growing up? (Please check only one):

a. She was fairly cold, distant, or rejecting, not very responsive; I wasn't her highest priority, her concerns were often elsewhere; It's possible that she would just as soon not have had me.

b. She was noticeably inconsistent in her reactions to me, sometimes warm and sometimes not; She had her own needs and agendas which sometimes got in the way of her receptiveness and responsiveness to my needs; She definitely loved me but didn't always show it in the best way.

c. She was generally warm and responsive; She was good at knowing when to be supportive and when to let me operate on my own; Our relationship was almost always comfortable, and I have no major reservations or complaints about it.

17. Which of the following best describes your FATHER while you were growing up? (Please check only one):

a. He was fairly cold, distant, or rejecting, not very responsive; I wasn't his highest priority, his concerns were often elsewhere; It's possible that he would just as soon not have had me.

b. He was noticeably inconsistent in his reactions to me, sometimes warm and sometimes not; He had his own needs and agendas which sometimes got in the way of his receptiveness and responsiveness to my needs; He definitely loved me but didn't always show it in the best way.

c. He was generally warm and responsive; He was good at knowing when to be supportive and when to let me operate on my own; Our relationship was almost always comfortable, and I have no major reservations or complaints about it.
Background Information

18. Your age:
   a. 18-19 years
   b. 20-21 years
   c. 22-23 years

19. Your sex:
   a. male
   b. female

20. Your current marital status:
   a. single
   b. married
   c. separated/divorced
   d. widowed
   e. other

21. What is your ethnic background? (check one):
   a. Asian
   b. Black
   c. Caucasian
   d. Latino
   e. other

22. Where do you currently live?
   a. with my parents/guardian
   b. college dormitory
   c. off campus housing (e.g., apartment)
   d. other

23. What is the current annual income of your parents' household?
   a. less than $10,000
   b. $10,000 - $25,000
   c. $25,000 - $50,000
   d. $50,000 - $75,000
   e. over $75,000

24. What is your mother's current marital status?
   a. married
   b. separated/divorced
   c. widowed
   d. other

25. What is your father's current marital status?
   a. married
   b. separated/divorced
   c. widowed
   d. other
26. If your parents were separated/divorced or widowed, how old were you when this occurred? ________

27. What is your mother's primary occupation? ________

28. What is your father's primary occupation? ________

29. What was the highest grade in school or level of education your mother completed? ______________________

30. What was the highest grade in school or level of education your father completed? ______________________
ATTACHMENT C: DEBRIEFING LETTER
Thank you for your participation in this study. The purpose of this study is to examine the effects and influences of different parenting styles upon individuals' development of independence and their beliefs about themselves. An individual's perception of his or herself is an important developmental task of young adulthood and is believed to be strongly influenced by one's family. We are especially interested in how males' and females' development differ from one another since little research has been conducted in this area.

Because we are still administering this questionnaire, we would like to ask that you please keep the contents of this study confidential. We expect that the results of our study will be available at the end of the Spring Quarter. If you are interested in the group results, you can contact us at (714) 880-5570.

Thank you again for your help!

Sincerely,

Cassie Nichols, M.S. Candidate
Laura Kamptner, Ph.D.