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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: THE CORRELATES OF FAMILY COHESION AND ADAPTABILITY

BY

GAYLE DAVIS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION
IN
COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1990

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Gerald Adams

Gerald R. Adams, Ph.D.
Professor of Family and Human Development
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled ADOLESCENT IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: THE CORRELATES OF FAMILY COHESION AND ADAPTABILITY submitted by GAYLE DAVIS in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF EDUCATION in COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY.

Supervisor

Date: 5 April, 1990

Dedication

To Randy, Guy and Sylena for believing in me.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine the relationship between mid-adolescent identity development and degree of perceived family cohesion and adaptability. Identity development was conceptualized according to Marcia's typology of identity statuses: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement. The Circumplex Model of Family Functioning formed the conceptual framework for the dimensions of family cohesion and adaptability. The relationship between adolescent identity development and parent-adolescent communication, the facilitating dimension of the Circumplex Model, was also considered.

One hundred and seventy Alberta high school students completed the Revised Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS-2), the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III), and a demographic questionnaire. One hundred and forty-nine of these students also completed the Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale (PAC).

Family cohesion was observed to be more strongly related to adolescent identity development than was family adaptability. The correlations between identity formation and family cohesion and adaptability were low but in the direction expected, and some were significant at a high level. Identity diffusion was associated with low family cohesion ($r=.25$; $p<.001$) and low adaptability ($r=.20$; $p<.01$), foreclosure was associated with high family cohesion ($r=.23$; $p<.01$), and identity achievement was associated with high cohesion ($r=.24$; $p<.001$) and high adaptability ($r=.13$; $p<.05$). Adolescent perception of quality of communication with mother was more strongly related to adolescent identity development, particularly interpersonal identity development, than was perception of quality of communication with father. Whereas poor communication with mother was associated with interpersonal identity diffusion ($r=.34$; $p<.001$) and interpersonal moratorium ($r=.24$; $p<.01$), good communication with mother was associated with

interpersonal identity achievement ($r=.24$; $p<.01$). The Circumplex Model did not distinquish adolescents with less mature identity from those with more mature identity development. Contrary to suggestions that enmeshed levels of family cohesion inhibit individual identity development, this study found high family cohesion to be conducive to identity achievement.

Implications of these findings for parents, counsellors and educators are discussed. Further research is needed to distinguish between the family dynamics associated with identity diffused and identity achieved adolescents.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

This chapter presents a statement of the research problem, a brief theoretical overview, definition of terms, and relevance of the study.

Statement of the Problem

With increasing awareness of the interactive effects of individual and family system contexts, there is a need for greater understanding of the relationship between individual development and system functioning. A major contribution of Erikson's (1968) psychosocial theory has been the interaction between individuals and the social environment. The social settings in which an individual interacts on a daily basis serve as an important determinant of his/her psychological growth and development. Since the family is the most significant social system in which the adolescent participates, it is important to understand the family processes that facilitate identity formation in adolescence.

While the relationship between parenting styles and child development has been widely researched, the interplay between familial factors and adolescent identity development has received considerably less attention. This study examines adolescent identity development in the context of the family system.

Identity formation is a complex psychosocial process that constitutes the major developmental task of adolescence (Erikson, 1968). According to Erickson (1968), through a combination of factors associated with physical, occupational and social choices, and the expectations of parents, the adolescent engages in a period of "identity crisis" in which tremendous energy is invested in addressing the question, "Who am I?" The "identity crisis" of adolescence is essentially a period of time in which the adolescent

searchs for what to believe in, what to live for, and what to be loyal to. In his exploration of life alternatives, the adolescent tries out many roles, shifting back and forth in an attempt to find his "real" self. Eventually, he makes commitments, integrates self-images and arrives at a clear definition of self.

Erickson (1968) has argued that identity development is, at its best, a "process of increasing differentiation" (p. 23). He suggested that identity is ideally experienced as a sense of well-being and confidence about knowing one's place and direction in life.

Identity is a difficult term to delimit. Adams and Gullotta (1989) describe identity in the following way:

> It includes a sense of direction, commitment, and trust in a personal ideal. A sense of identity integrates sex-role identification, individual ideology, accepted group norms and standards, self-conception, and much more. Ego identity is a complex role image that summarizes one's past, gives meaning to the present, and directs behavior in the future. It includes a sense of self-direction, individual fidelity, and some basic internalized values (p.231).

The identity process neither begins nor ends with adolescence but is significantly transformed during this period of life. The importance of identity in adolescence is, according to Marcia (1980), that "it is the first time physical development, cognitive skill, and social expectations coincide to enable young persons to sort through and synthesize their childhood identifications in order to construct a viable pathway toward their adulthood" (p.160).

Marcia's identity status typology based on the presence or absence of a period of identity exploration and commitment is utilized in this study. Marcia's identity status types range from diffusion, the least developmentally sophisticated, through foreclosure and moratorium to identity achievement, the most mature identity status. These identity status types will be further clarified in a subsequent chapter.

In the examination of adolescent identity development in the context of the family, a developmental, family systems perspective is taken. Individual identity development is conceptualized here as being constrained by and nested in the ongoing system of family relationships. The family system is seen as more than the sum of the interconnected relationships of family members. The family also exists as a global entity which itself possesses a sense of identity and a set of cognitive schemas that legitimate or validate the family organization. The family makes certain demands for conformity on its members, it has its own threshold for deviancy and tolerance for differences and conflict. Thus, the adolescent has internalized characteristics of the family as a global entity as well as the separate identifications with each family member.

The family is constantly subjected to the demands of change, coming from within and without. It has a tendency toward both maintenance (homeostasis) of family patterns and change or evolution (morphogenesis) (Minuchin, 1974). The identity exploration of the adolescent puts demands on the family to change its degree of emotional bonding and to renegotiate its rules and roles. The family responds with a feedback process that either encourages or discourages individuality. Thus the identity crisis of adolesence requires the cooperative efforts of both the individual and the family system. This study addresses the dynamic interplay between adolescent identity development and the family system as a whole.

A closely related subprocess of identity development is individuation from family and this is dependent upon family differentiation (Karpel,1976; Sabatelli & Mazor, 1982). *Individuation* refers to the adolescent's efforts to separate from and become less dependent on his parents whereas *differentiation* refers to a property of the system which involves the ways in which the family maintains psychological distances and adapts to situational and developmental stress. Individuation suggests a clear sense of personal boundaries, a capacity to recognize one's values, and an ability to reflect on one's own thoughts and

behaviors (Josselson, 1980). Individuation is enhanced by opportunities to experience behavioral, emotional and value autonomy.

In family systems theory, patterns of relationship and interaction are conceived as circular. The developmental needs and behavior of one family member is seen as influencing and being influenced by the developmental needs and behavior of other family members, in a circular manner. Thus, the family systems conceptualization of the family suggests going beyond unilateral concepts such as parental warmth or parental control to more reciprocal relational constructs that apply to the family system as a whole. Cohesion and adaptability were chosen as the family process variables in the study because they are systems concepts that are related to individuation and family differentiation and hold promise for explaining individual development within the family.

Family cohesion and adaptability are the family process variables that are central to the Circumplex model of family functioning (Olson, Sprenkle & Russell 1979). Every family has a characteristic level of cohesion and adaptability. *Cohesion* is defined as "the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another and *adaptability* is defined as "the ability of a family system to change its power structure, role relationships and relationship rules in response to situational and developmental stress" (Olson et al., 1983, p. 48). Effective family communication, the third dimension of the Circumplex Model, is considered to facilitate movement on the other two dimensions.

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the family process variables of cohesion and adaptability as perceived by adolescents and adolescent identity development. The relationship of perceived family communication and identity development was also examined. The specific research questions addressed appear at the conclusion of the next chapter.

Relevance of the Problem

The need to understand the contribution of family relations to identity formation is critically important for today's youth. Young people are faced with expanding choices on all fronts. The alternatives for occupational career are extraordinarily varied and changing rapidly. The current diversity of our multicultural society and the concomitant cultural context of religious pluralism brings adolescents into contact with a large number of religious beliefs. The expanding international economy, new communication technology and the rapidly changing political landscape also amplify the need to to understand the adolescent identity processes of questionning, intellectual exploration and role experimentation in the ideological arena.

On the interpersonal front, basic life roles are currently marked by great diversity and norms for entry into various life roles are becoming less distinct. Social acceptance has increased for remaining single, for premartial sex, childlessness, a variety of family-career configurations and for what used to be considered "alternate lifestyles". Family lifestyles are varied and more open to redefinition today than they have ever been. As society's expectations become more flexible, it becomes increasingly necessary that young people have a strong sense of identity to select and direct the course of their lives. It is important, then, to understand the family processes that influence the adolescent's committment to goals and ability to take hold of the direction of his or her future.

The results of this research should be of theoretical interest to developmental psychologists, of clinical interest to family therapists and counsellors, and of general interest to educators and parents.

Overview of Chapters

This chapter has provided a summary of the statement of the research problem and the relevance of the study.

A detailed review of the literature on adolescent identity research in the context of the family and a description of the family systems theory related to the Circumplex Model is presented in Chapter II. The methodology and research procedures are outlined in Chapter III. Chapter IV consists of a presentation of the data results. Discussion of the results, implications, limitations of the study and suggestions for further research are provided in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

This chapter begins with a brief review of Erik Erikson's theory of adolescent identity development, a description of Marcia's identity status typology and an overview of the identity status research. Then, the theoretical literature that represents an integration of developmental and family systems perspectives on adolescent identity development in the family is presented. Next, Olson's Circumplex Model is discussed as a conceptual integration of the basic constructs of family systems theory that may be related to adolescent identity development in the family. This is followed by a review of the empirical literature investigating effects of variables related to family cohesion and adaptability on adolescent identity development. Finally, the research questions arising from the literature which are addressed by this study are presented.

Theories of Adolescent Identity Development

Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

Erik Erikson (1959) laid the foundation for most of the research on adolescent identity formation with his stage theory of psychosocial development. Although influenced by Freud, Erikson shifted from Freud's emphasis on biological and instinctual influences on development to an emphasis on social and cultural influences. He organized his theory around the basic personal and social tasks that need to be solved at each stage of development across the life cycle.

The first stage, Trust versus Mistrust , identifies the mother's role, and the quality of her interactions with the child as providing a crucial basis for the child's future development of a sense of identity. In the second stage, the phase of Autonomy versus

Shame and Doubt , the child begins to experience his/her own autonomous will, but can be sabotaged by sensing personal loss of control, in conjunction with parental overcontrol. At three to five years of age, the stage of Initiative versus Guilt, the process of separation from parents begins and a growing sense of initiative challenges the child to master new learning tasks. Successful achievement of new skills creates a feeling of self-responsibility, whereas lack of success can result in feelings of guilt. The fourth normative crisis revolves around the development of a sense of Industry or the internalization of a sense of Inferiority during the middle years of childhood (age six to twelve years). Children become increasingly oriented to mastery of intellectual, social and physical skills and increasingly evaluate their skills in relation to their peers. The result is sometimes a feeling of inferiority to others. During adolescence, the stage of Identity versus Role Confusion ensues, the main focus of which, is the search for a stable definition of the self. In young adulthood, the task is to form an intimate relationship with another adult. Hence the name of this stage is Intimacy versus Isolation. This stage is followed by the stage of Generativity versus Stagnation, where the focus is on the bearing and rearing of children. Ego Integity versus Despair is the final stage in Erikson's eight stages of man. Reflection on one's past accomplishments and failures organize this last phase of life.

While identity formation is the primary task of adolescence, all the previous stages contribute to its achievement. According to Erikson, identity formation is dependent, to some extent, on the successful resolution of earlier psychosocial crises. A basic trust in the environment and a feeling of autonomy, industry and competence combine to form the structure of a positive psychosocial identity. Identity, therefore, is not formed exclusively in adolescence, but is significantly transformed during this period of life. It is, for Erikson, a psychosocial process that is distinctive but not exclusive to adolescence. Identity formation is a process during which a sense of identity is accrued through a continuing task of mastering social experience. For Erikson, a stable sense of identity (achieved) is not impervious to new inner conflicts and to changing conditions. Instead challenges from the

individual's environment may subsequently reawaken the issue of identity at any point of the life cycle, even to the point of evolving an identity-like crisis.

Erikson has several definitions of identity. Based on the idea that the ego organizes a coherent personality with a sameness and continuity perceived by others, Erikson states:

> Ego identity then in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the style of one's individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community (1968, p.50).

In Erikson's view, the most basic characteristic of ego identity is the experience of sameness through time and context. It is ideally experienced as a sense of well-being, with those who have a secure identity, feeling comfortable with themselves and confident about knowing their place and direction in life. In contrast, unsuccessful resolution of earlier developmental stages may result in identity confusion (Erikson, 1968). Identity achievement and identity confusion are polar opposites in Erikson's theory. An identity confused adolescent appears personally alienated, fearful of the future, unable to make decisions and lacking confidence.

Erikson (1974) refers to adolescence as a period of psychosocial moratorium, "a period of delay granted to someone who is not ready to meet an obligation or forced on someone who should give himself time" (p.129). He argues that all societies offer the adolescent a period of time in which he can engage in free role experimentation, observation, and related activities in order to establish a self-definition and make committments. High schools and universities are examples of structured socialization settings that provide this opportunity.

The two central dimensions of identity, according to Erikson, are *crisis* and *committment.* He argues that in order to acquire a integrated sense of identity during adolescence one must experience a crisis. For Erikson the term crisis does not connote an

impending catastrophe. Instead it is defined in a normative sense. Erikson refers to it as a necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth, recovery and further differentiation." (Erikson, 1968, p.16)

The identity crisis, experienced as a need to resolve the tension created by facing a multitude of decisions, compels the adolescent to experiment with various ideas, values, and roles. It compels the adolescent to explore life alternatives (e.g., occupations, political views, religious choices, sex roles) and to search for what to believe in, what to live for and what to be loyal to. An identity crisis then refers to a period of exploration of alternatives and decision-making. It is often referred to as identity exploration. It is resolved through the establishment of a clear definition of self and personal ideological commitments.

Erikson recognizes that identity consists of two related yet differing components. He argues that identity formation consists of ego-identity and self-identity components. He refers to ego-identity as the formation of an ideological worldview, which in part includes a set of personal values regarding occupational goals, religion, and political beliefs. In comparison, self-identity refers to one's perception of self, including self-sameness and continuity of self over time.

Marcia's Identity Statuses

The most influential operationalization of Erikson's theoretical concepts was provided by James Marcia (1966). He developed two measures of ego identity; a semi-structured interview and an incomplete sentence blank.

Drawing upon two of the major dimensions of Erikson' theory of identity formation, interpersonal crisis and commitment, Marcia conceptualized four identity status types. Marcia (1966) referred to crisis as "the adolescent's period of engagement in choosing among meaningful alternatives" and to commitment as "the degree of personal

investment an individual exhibits" (p. 551). Classifications are defined in terms of the presence or absence of a decision-making period (crisis or exploration) and and the extent of personal investment (commitment) in two areas; occupation and ideology. Marcia's four identity statuses and their relationship to crisis (exploration) and commitment are described below and are graphically depicted in Table 1.

Identity diffusion. The least developmentally sophisticated status is characterized by the adolescent's lack of commitment. These adolescents express no immediate or urgent interest in the exploration of such things as occupational, religious, or political values and report little or no personal commitment to the same.

Identity foreclosure. Foreclosed youths report personal commitments. However, they have not experienced a period of exploration. Rather, they have accepted parental values and attitudes, through a simple identification process, without an examination of their meaning for themselves as unique individuals.

Identity Moratorium. Moratorium youths are actively engaged in a questioning and searching period, seeking self-defined commitments to religious, occupational and political perspectives but have not yet made commitments.

Identity Achievement. The most developmentally sophisticated category is characterized by both exploration and commitment. Identity achieved youths have experienced a period of struggle and exploration about occupational, political and religious matters. They have autonomously made choices that result in strong, well-defined commitments that may or may not be variations of parental wishes.

These categories of identity statuses reflect individual differences between adolescents at a single point in time. Marcia (1980) later confirmed that the identity statuses should not be viewed as static categories but as a dynamic developmental continuum.

Marcia (1980) points out that there are three advantages to the identity status categories. The first is that compared to Erikson's theoretical writings, they are relatively

Table 1

Marcia's (1966) Four Identity Statuses

Status	Past or Present Exploration	Commitment
Diffusion	No	No
Foreclosure	No	Yes
Moratorium	Yes	No
Achievement	Yes	Yes

objective and can be determined with a reasonable degree of reliability. Secondly, they provide for a greater variety of styles in dealing with the identity issues than does Erikson's simple dichotomy of identity versus identity confusion. Thirdly, Marcia indicates that there are both positive and negative charactistics of each status except the achievement status. For example, "Moratoriums may be seen as either sensitive or anxiety-ridden, highly ethical or self-righteous, flexible or vascillating" (p.161).

A substantial challenge to Marcia's identity status paradigm is presented by Cote and Levine (1988). They argue that Marcia's identity status paradigm does not appropriately conceptualize and operationalize Erikson's theory of identity formation. They suggest that Erikson's integration of sociological, historical, and psychological factors within one social psychological perspective has not been taken into account. Moreover, they suggest that in focusing on the psychological states of individuals, Marcia has misidentified processes as outcomes and mistaken contextual behaviors as being general dispositions. According to the authors, Marcia's use of Eriksonian terminology is inappropriate thereby interfering with theoretical interpretation of the empirical research. They conclude by suggesting that the identity status paradigm is elitist and lacks cross-cultural and transhistorical validity.

Waterman (1988) responded to Cote and Levine's (1988) criticism by defending identity status theory. He indicates that although the use of terminology by Marcia and Erikson may differ somewhat, it is nonetheless conceptually related and often compatible. He insists that the identity status paradigm is grounded in Erikson's identity theory and supports this by delineating several points of commonality. He also indicates the substantial contributions of the identity status paradigm to the knowledge of identity formation. He claims that the construct validity of the statuses has been clearly established and the utility of the constructs have been demonstrated for both genders and a wide range of ages. He adds that substantial research supports the pathways of identity development with regard to timing and direction. Furthermore, the identity statuses have been found to be appropriate

for the understanding of identity development across a wide range of content areas, such as political ideology, sexuality and vocational choice (Waterman, 1988).

Identity Research

Marcia's development of the identity status typology and his interview technique have been widely utilized in identity research. A prodigious body of identity research has evolved which has been reviewed by Waterman (1982) and more recently by Adams and Gulotta (1989). It will be reviewed briefly here under six headings: the developmental nature of identity statuses; underlying processes; social cognitive conditions for identity development; psychological and social characteristics of the identity statuses; gender differences in identity development and family contributions to identity formation.

Identity Statuses as Developmental Stages

The basic hypothesis in Erikson's theory of identity development, that during adolescence changes in identity can be characterized as progressive developmental shifts, has been the object of considerable research effort.

A study by Archer (1982) found that the four identity statuses are evident by early adolescence with diffusion and foreclosure constituting approximately ninety percent of the sample in this age group. Archer and Waterman (1983) suggest that the nature and quality of the identity statuses may be specific to a given age. All studies indicate that with increasing age, the number of identity achievement and moratorium youths increase and the number of foreclosure and diffusion youths decrease.

A complex set of developmental patterns in identity were identified by Waterman (1982). These developmental patterns are graphically depicted in Figure 1. Adams and Gullotta (1989) categorize these patterns of development into three types: consistent advancement toward higher statuses, inconsistent change and temporary regression. The

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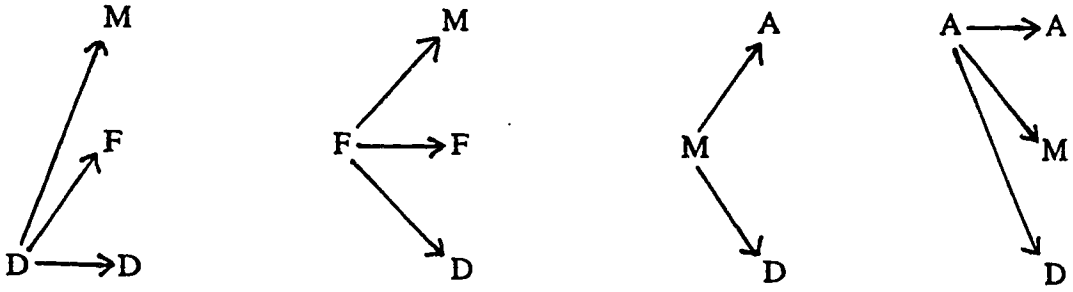
A Model of the Sequential Patterns of Ego Identity Development

Waterman (1982).

(D = diffusion; F= foreclosure; M = moratorium; A = identity achievement.)



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first occurs whenever an adolescent progresses from a less mature to a more mature status. Inconsistent change occurs when an adolescent regresses from a more mature status to a less mature status. Some regression is not theoretically possible, however. A moratorium cannot regress to foreclosure since by definition a foreclosure has not experienced a crisis. The third type of change is temporary regression to a less mature status before further progressing. In a three year longitudinal study of college students, Adams and Montemayor (1988) found that the majority (50%) manifested progressive differentiation and growth in identity. Approximately 20% showed an uneven up and down pattern of identity development and only 15% remained stable. Adams contends that a temporary regression from achievement to moratorium for exploration before progression back to achievement with new committments is the most healthy pattern of growth. This is consistent with Blos' argument (1967) that during adolescence regression is a precondition for progressive development in identity.

Waterman (1982) suggests that the moratorium status is the least stable since it is highly improbable that an identity crisis could be maintained indefinately. Among first year college students, Adams & Montemayor (1988) found that the foreclosed are the least stable.

Grotevant, Thorbecke and Meyer (1982) demonstrated that identity consists of both ideological and interpersonal aspects, and that their development is not necessarily parallel or congruent.

In summary, identity formation is "a gradual process of evolution from a simple role confusion to a highly complex and committed role structure" (Adams and Gullotta p. 248). The process is marked by alternating periods of exploration/instability and commitment/stability. Clearly, it needn't be consistent progression.

Underlying Processes in Identity Formation

From the literature, it becomes clear that identity development has cognitive, social cognitive and affective components. The underlying psychological processes involved in identity formation have been viewed differently by different theoreticians but are nonetheless congruent.

Damon (1983) refers to the two components of human psychosocial development as individuation and socialization. To Damon, individuation involves "distinguishing oneself from others, determining one's own unique direction in life, and finding within the social network a position uniquely suited to one's own own particular nature, needs and aspirations" (p.2). The integrative function of socialization enables one to establish and maintain relations with others, and to regulate one's behavior according to acceptable standards. Damon (1983) argues that in normal development, individuation and socialization (integration) go hand in hand, supporting each other's growth. Describing the relation between individuation and integration, Damon states:

> "There is a creative interplay between the two, a dialectic interplay between the needs of the individual to maintain relation with others and the needs of the individual to construct a separate self. The individual can only construct the self in the context of relations with others, but at the same time, the individual must step beyond the confines of those relations and forge a unique destiny" (1983, p.5).

To Marcia (1980), decision-making and the processes of negation and affirmation are involved in identity formation. No matter how trivial it may appear, each minor decision in adolescent life, nonetheless, has identity-forming implications. The decisions and the bases on which the adolescent decides form themselves into a more or less consistent core or structure of identity.

It appears, then, that the cognitive processes of differentiation, that is the ability to identify a field and break it into parts, and integration, the ability to select and resynthesize

those parts into a meaningful whole, are integral to identity formation (Adams, 1989). In addition, identity appears to require the use of social cognitive processes, such as multiple perspective taking. In short, identity formation requires the adolescent to possess a viewpoint, to be aware of other's views, and both to integrate and to differentiate his or her own view from those of others. These skills can be seen in the identification and active exploration of alternatives for the future and the integration of these possibilities into a coherent, consistent sense of self.

Within the family context, the psychosocial processes of separation/individuation from parents and socialization regarding role structure and hierarchy of power underlie adolescent identity formation.

Social Cognitive Conditions for Identity Change

Certain social psychological environment effects have been found to influence identity development. The university setting can be identity-transforming, particularily if it encourages critical examination of issues, intellectual dialogue and awareness of multiple perspectives (Adams & Gullotta, 1989). Similarily, Enright, Olson, Ganier, Lapsley, & Buss, (1983) found that social perspective-taking training in which the adolescent is encouraged to understand the role and perspective of others, significantly enhances identity growth. In a study with a sample of twenty-six subjects, Rowe and Marcia (1980) found that formal operational thought is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the development of identity achievement. Level of moral thought was also found to be positively related to achievement of identity.

Psychological and Social Characteristics

Comprehensive reviews of the personality correlates and social behavior correlates of the identity statuses are offered by Marcia (1980) and Adams and Gullotta (1989), a summary of which, is presented here.

Identity achievement. The overall profile of identity achieved adolescents suggests a harmoniousness between individuation and social needs for relatedness. They are more self-confident, less defensive, and less likely to be maladjusted than youths in the other statuses. They have the highest levels of ego maturity and moral reasoning abilities. They tend to be future oriented and have a reflective cognitive style. Though there is no evidence that they have higher intelligence than the other statuses, they are hard working and goal oriented thereby often obtaining higher grades in school. Identity achievement youth are self-directed and able to resist pressure to conform but will conform for the sake of achievement. They are socially adept and are capable of establishing positive relationships and commitments to others. They tend to experience only moderate levels of anxiety and maintain relatively stable self-concepts (Marcia,1980).

Moratorium. Moratorium youth are the most anxious of the four identity status groups. They tend to function at high levels of ego development and moral reasoning. They lack well defined goals and values but are actively exploring the same. They are self-directive, self-conscious, and expressive. Moratorium youth are highly active and social. They use socially mature behaviors with their peers and are capable of intimate interpersonal relationships.

Foreclosure. Foreclosed adolescents have a strong need for social approval and maintain a very dependent relationship with significant others. They tend to be highly impulsive yet inhibit their impulses through denial or repression. They tend to be obedient and respectful of authority while endorsing authoritarian values. They are hardworking and constructive but lack creativity and leadership. Finally, foreclosed adolescents are extreme in their rigidity to their commitments.

Diffusion. Diffused adolescents exhibit feelings of inferiority, alienation and ambivalence. They have poor self-concepts, a high field dependence and an external locus of control. Immature identity development is also associated with anxiety, guilt, and insecurity. Diffused youths exhibit low levels of moral reasoning, ego development and

cognitive development. They tend to be less cooperative in social interactions and are readily influenced by peer pressure. They cope with stress through manipulation, conformity and social withdrawal.

Gender Differences

A comprehensive review of identity development in adolescence concluded that few sex differences have been observed in patterns of identity development (Waterman, 1982). It also indicates that the sexes show similar processes of consideration of identity alternatives and establishment of commitments but that they differ in the content of their identity choices.

Studies comparing the distribution of the various identity statuses between males and females have led to disparate results. However, a different pattern of identity status groupings for women as compared to men has emerged. Also the identity statuses appear to have different psychological implications for the sexes (Marcia, 1980). Although for men, identity achievement is more closely related on many variables to moratorium, and foreclosure to identity diffusion, for women, identity achievement is more closely related to foreclosure and moratorium to diffusion. For women, identity achievement and foreclosure are relatively stable statuses; both groups have an identity even though one is self-achieved and one reflected. The foreclosure status which is stable and low in anxiety can be highly adaptive for women in a culture that supports traditional sex roles. Marcia (1980) however, suggests that compared to foreclosure, the moratorium status is, nonetheless, indicative of ego strength for women as well as men.

Gilligan (1982) argues that Erikson's theory and the identity status constructs of Marcia are more applicable to the understanding of adolescent males than of females. She claims that for Erikson separation and autonomy are the model and measure of growth. Consequently, though he observes that, for women, identity has as much to do with intimacy as with separation, he does not integrate this awareness into his developmental

theory. She cites evidence that women define themselves in terms of relationships, depicting their identity in the connection of the roles they assume in relation to others. She stresses that while identity is a percursor to intimacy in male development, in female development, identity and intimacy are fused.

The results of a study by Thorbecke and Adams (1982) are highly consistent with Gilligan's findings. They found that for male adolescents, the relation between interpersonal identity and both mastery and competitiveness suggests that issues of separateness and autonony are important in their self-definitions, even in terms of relationships. In contrast, for female adolescents, a negative correlation between competitiveness and friendship commitment highlight the importance for them of attending to their network of relationships.

Josselson's work (1987) supports Gilligan's assertions. Drawing on the hypotheses that career, achievement, and independence are issues of individuality that organize males' identity and that relatedness, connectedness, and caring are focal to females' identity, Josselson examined the nature of the four identity statuses for females. She found that female identity, across all identity statuses, is grounded in the relational context of friends, mates and children.

Both the empirical work reported here and the theoretical work of Gilligan (1982) point to the necessity of understanding identity formation in terms of the tension between separateness and connectedness experienced by both men and women.

Family Variables

Although there is an abundance of research relating adolescent identity development to personality, cognitive, and interpersonal characteristics, there is considerably less research relating identity development to the social context of the family.

There are several reviews of the nature of differences in family relationships and parenting style in the four identity statuses (Adams & Gullotta, 1989; Grotevant, 1983;

Marcia,1980; Waterman, 1982). They indicate that different parental factors are associated with each identity status. A brief synopsis of these reviews is presented in the following paragraph.

The parents of identity diffused adolescents appear to be indifferent, inactive, detached, and rejecting. Often the father is absent through separation and divorce. In contrast, foreclosures have the closest relationship with their parents who are supportive and affectionate but show little tolerance for individual differences. Foreclosure youths' families are child-centered. Moratoriums are ambivalent or critical of their parents and are likely to report conflict in their families. Their parents encourage independence, self-expression and individual differences. Finally, identity achievement youths view their parents positively but with ambivalence. Their parents utilize high praise and minimal control. Their families are similar to moratorium families in that they are supportive, affectionate, encourage autonomy and are tolerant of individual differences.

Marcia (1980) reported that in general, the nature of the relationship with the parent of the same sex is more strongly related to identity status than is the relationship with the opposite-sex parent.

On the other hand, Enright, Lapsley, Drivas, and Fehr (1980) found that fathers have a more significant effect on adolescent identity in both males and females. Their findings indicate that democratic parenting style on the part of the father is most facilitative of identity achievement for both males and females. In contrast, mothers' parenting style has no measurable effect on identity development.

Adams and Jones (1983) found that identity exploration is associated with perceptions of low maternal control. Identity achievement is associated with a moderated rating of maternal encouragement of independence and with fairness of paternal discipline. A subsequent study by Adams (1985) supported these findings. He found that moratorium and identity achievement adolescents are likely to perceive and experience a highly involved

and emotionally supportive family environment. In contrast, diffused and foreclosed adolescents are more likely to perceive their parents as highly rejecting and controlling.

Campbell, Adams and Dobson (1984) found that a moderate level of affection with mother and a reasonable degree of independence from father appear to be family relationship correlates associated with establishment of a moratorium or achieved status during adolescence. Likewise, a high level of emotional affiliation with too little independence may encourage identity foreclosure. Furthermore, low levels of emotional attachment and moderate or low levels of encouragement for independence striving may result in a diffused identity.

The relationship of adolescent identity development to attachment to parents and to perceived parental control was the focus of a study by Quintana and Lapsley (1987). They found no relation between adolescent attachment to parents and identity. However, high levels of parental control was seen to inhibit adolescent identity development.

Recently, Adams and his collegues at the Laboratory for Research in Adolescence, Utah State University completed two longitudinal studies examining the predictive association between earlier family climate factors and later identity development (Montemayor et al., in press). In one investigation, they assess family relationships during the freshman year of college for the predictiveness of identity development over three years of college. In the other, they analyze family relationships during the last year of high school and assess their predictions for identity development during the first year of college. Adams (1987) provides a brief summary of the findings of these studies. He indicates that they found parental/adolescent companionship to be a significant predictor of continuing progressive growth in identity formation over three years of college. Moderate levels of conflict in the family, which they interpret as suggestive of acceptance of a moderate degree of difference in opinions, were found to be predictive of progressive growth in maturity from senior high to college. In contrast, controlling and over-organizing parental

behavior and parental rejection and withdrawal were found to be predictive of regressive development in identity formation during college years.

Bosma and Gerrits (1985) found that adolescents in the achievement status are more active and more autonomous in family discussions than are diffused youths. Families having an identity achieved adolescent tend to engage in more dialogue than do their diffused adolescent family counterparts. Moratorium adolescents show more engagement in dialogue than diffused youths but their families do not.

A study by Straitmatter (1987) indicates that adolescents from intact families are more likely to be foreclosed than adolescents from disrupted families.

In conclusion, it appears then that interpersonally supportive parent-child relations are important contributors to identity achievement, while highly rejecting and controlling parents are likely to restrict or retard an adolescent's exploration of identity choices. Parental encouragement of adolescent independence and engagement in dialogue with adolescents is also facilitative of adolescent identity development.

Integration of Developmental and Family Systems Perspectives - Theoretical Literature

Early theorists and researchers interested in the familial context of identity development have been guided by the developmental paradigm. Their primary interest was to examine the unidirectional effects of parental child-rearing practises on identity development. More recently, however, theorists and researchers have attempted to integrate developmental and family systems perspectives. This is in part due to criticism from family systems theorists.

P. Minuchin (1985) challenges developmental psychologists' conceptualizations of the relationship between individual development and the family by suggesting they consider the implications of systems theory on individual development. According to Minuchin (1985), a systems orientation requires a reformulation of concept and method in the study of individual development in the family. Researchers utilizing this orientation,

regard the child as a member of an organized system who contributes to the process that creates and maintains the patterns that regulate behavior. A systems perspective puts the focus on the recurrent family patterns within which the child functions, the interactions within the parental/child triad and the systemic implications of the child's behavior. It recognizes that a developmental crisis for any family member creates a challenge for the entire system. The development of the individual intersects with the developmental cycle of the family. Minuchin suggests that the direct study of the relationship of parents and siblings as well as the interaction between parents is a legitimate area of child developmental research.

Similarly, Newman and Murray (1983) call for an integration of developmental and family systems perspectives in the study of identity formation. They suggest the incorporation of a bidirectional approach that considers the effect of adolescent identity development on parent/child interaction, the marital relationship and parenting strategies. This requires the conceptualization of a shared family paradigm, such as the family's shared view of its boundaries, norms for privacy and tolerance for differences, which goes beyond the additive effects of dyadic interaction.

A number of different theoretical systems related to the concept of individuation have taken up the challenge and initiated a movement toward an integration of individual and family perspectives.

It is through the central construct of individuation that the developmental and systems approaches to identity formation are integrated, according to Sabatelli and Mazor (1985). Both approachs stress the mediating impact of the individuation process on identity formation during adolescence. Adolescent individuation/separation from parents is seen as a requisite subprocess of identity formation.

Individuation

Psychoanalytic and developmental theorists view individuation as an internal, subjective process by which adolescents become psychologically detached from the family. Blos (1967) described adolescence as the "second individuation process". He proposed that adolescent experimentation with self and reality gives content and form to individuation in terms of its actualization on the environment. The choice of a vocation, for example, represents one such crucial form of actualization. Erickson (1968) saw individuation as a psychological and physical distancing of the individual from the parental family and inferred that it is part of the identity formation process. Josselson (1980), on the other hand, specifies that "individuation, autonomy and identity formation are discrete though indivisible phenomena; we cannot look at one without implying effects on the other" (p.192). It is through the individuation process during adolescence that the psychological autonomy required for the mastery of identity tasks is achieved. According to Josselson (1980):

> Identity formation (or ego identity) refers to the work of the ego in integrating aspects of self into a coherent whole. Aspects of the self that have become individuated and autonomous must be incorporated into identity. Therefore there is an interdependent sequence of: individuation/autonomy/identity formation. It is also recursive in the sense that increasing identity formation leads to further individuation (p.192).

Although psychoanalytic theorists recognize individuation from the family to be crucial to the development of ego identity, they appear to consider the influence of the family on identity formation to be derived only through the individual's perceptions of, internalizations of, and rejection of his parents. However, researchers focusing on factors mediating identity formation support the notion that it is important to consider interpersonal relationships within the family as indicators of identity development.

indicate that the individuation process is influenced by the parent/child relationship and is critically tied to the process of identity development.

In contrast, family systems theorists view the adolescent as a participant in an active transactional system. From this perspective, individuation involves both the adolescent and the family system in a process of accommodation which allows the psychological distance between parents and adolescent to be regulated so that the tasks of identity development can be fulfilled.

An integration of psychoanalytic and family systems perspectives is provided in Karpel's exploration of the processes of fusion and individuation in the family (1976). He describes the process of *individuation* as "the subtle but crucial phenomenological shifts by which a person comes to see him/herself as separate and distinct within the relational context in which he/she has been embedded"(p. 67). He describes *fusion* as "a person's state of embeddedness in, of undifferentiation within, the relational context"(p.67). He proposes a model that describes how individuals deal with the duality of distance and relation and how these strategies vary at different stages of maturity. In the immature stage, individuals deal with distance by being unrelated or by relating only through pure fusion. In the mature stage individuals can maintain both relation (through dialogue) and distance (through individuation).

Family System Differentiation - Cohesion and Adaptability.

Sabatelli and Mazor (1985) contend that to understand the role of individuation in identity formation, the relational dynamics of the social context in which the development occurs must be explored. Their distinction between *individuation* and *differentiation* is useful in examining the identity formation process in the context of the family. They view *individuation* as a subjective process whereby individuals seek to renegotiate their psychological dependence upon others. They suggest that individuation reflects how one sees oneself in relation to others and that the degree of an adolescent's individuation is

dependent upon the degree to which he/she is emotionally fused with the family. *Differentiation*, the other hand, is a *property of the system* and refers to how psychological distances are maintained between family members and how system adaptations are made.

Sabatelli and Mazor (1985) postulate that the family's level of differentiation influences each member's individuation in that the more flexible and adaptable systems are most conducive to individuation. Similarily, the systems' level of differentiation and the individuation process significantly influence each member's identity development. The system's level of differentiation, then, determines the degree to which the adolescent's developmental needs (eg. individuation, occupational choice, ideological commitments) are adapted to and consequently, the extent to which ego identity is enhanced.

Differentiation then, is the central characteristic of family systems that affects the individuation process (Sabatelli and Mazor, 1985). It influences how interpersonal distances are regulated among family members and how the family system adapts to developmental and environmental stress. A family that is highly differentiated provides an optimal environment for individual psychological growth by balancing the separateness and connectedness of its members. It responds to the developmental needs of its members by readjusting the ways psychological distances are maintained. In contrast, a poorly differentiated system, characterized by a high degree of emotional reactivity and fusion, is not conducive to the individuation process or to identity development because these processes would be perceived as threatening to the system's stability. An undifferentiated system would block adolescent efforts to achieve greater psychological autonomy and explore alternatives by engendering feelings of guilt, loyalty and obligation. Since independence and autonomy are requisite to the development of a mature sense of self and to the ability to make committments to roles and responsibilities, identity development in the poorly differentiated system is blocked (Sabatelli & Mazor, 1985).

The preceding discussion of the role of the individuation process in identity formation, and the role of the family system's level of differentiation as a mediator of both

these processes, leads to a discussion of the basic family processes involved in family differentiation. These are the patterns by which interpersonal distances are regulated or *cohesion* and the system's ability to change or *adaptability*. These family variables influence the process of individual development within the system and how the system itself adjusts to an individual's development (Sabatelli and Mazor, 1985). They are the central constructs of Olson's Circumplex Model.

Cohesion.

Clinical observation has led a variety of family therapists to note the family patterns by which interpersonal distances are regulated. Wynne (1958) noted that some families have a predominant concern with fitting together at the expense of developing personal identities and referred to this extreme of family togetherness as "pseudomutuality". Bowen (1960) referred to it as "undifferentiated family ego mass", Minuchin (1974) as an "enmeshed" family system and Stierlin (1974) as the "binding effect of a centripetal force which pulls family members toward one another into an intellectual and emotional oneness". Beavers (1976) considers the degree to which family systems tolerate and encourage individuation to be one of the five qualities of families crucial to the development of autonomous action and boundaries of self which allow a relatively clear and coherent identity. Olson (Olson et al. 1979) refers to this salient concept in family therapy as *cohesion*.

Adaptability.

The degree of a family's differentiation also involves the family's ability to change; to adjust to the changing needs, attitudes and behaviors that accompany the adolescent's exploration of alternatives. As the adolescent explores dimensions of individuality, either at the behavioral, emotional, or value level, there is a family feedback process that will encourage or discourage separateness and change. Feedback may come in many forms including emotional withdrawal, conflict, increased responsibilities and privileges, or greater rigidity of interactions. The feedback also promotes system maintainance

(homeostasis) or system change (morphogenesis). Indeed the capacity of the family to permit adaptive individuation of adolescents is a major test of the family's resilience or vulnerablity as a competent unit. According to Newman and Murray (1983):

> The dynamic tension of family relations during adolescence is the extent to which the family as a group can permit individuation of a family member without feeling threatened by disintegration. The dynamic tension for the individual in adolescence is the extent to which the young person can define his or her separateness without losing the support of the family group (p. 295).

The nature of authority relations, a component of family adaptability, has implications for the process of individuation and identity development (Newman and Murray, 1983). Power that is coercive or that stresses rewards for compliance is not likely to nurture individuation. Expert, referent, and informational power in coordination with a democratic decision-making style, on the other hand, is facilitative of individuation (Enright et al., 1980). Conversely, adolescent individuation influences family authority relations as well. In an egalitarian family, adolescent individuation and family adaptability result in a transformation in authority relations from patterns of relatively unilateral authority towards mutuality and a redefinition of family roles. According to Newman and Murray (1983), family authority relations encourage three patterns of individuation; independence, dependence and counterdependence. Independence is characterized by the capacity to effectively differentiate from parents, to arrive at independent judgement and have a mature sense of self. Dependence is characterized by reliance on rules and conformity to the expectations of others. Counterdependence, in contrast, involves "individuation that is expressed in rejecting existing authorities, but is restricted in not discovering positive value commitments of one's own" (p.299).

The family systems approach suggests a system of influences in which the family's patterns of power and decision-making affect the adolescent individuation process, which

in turn influences the parents' growth and authority relations within the family, which may subsequently re-influence power and decision-making patterns. Moreover, the direction of influence may reverse at each point in the continuum (Newman and Murray, 1983).

In summary, the family's level of differentiation affects adolescent identity development through the mediating impact of the individuation process and family authority relations. As noted by Sabatelli and Mazor (1985), "the degree of system differentiation impacts on how interpersonal distances are regulated among family members and how system adjustments and alterations are managed" (p.628). Interpersonal distances are regulated by the family's level of *cohesion* while system adjustments depend upon the family's level of *adaptability* . From the literature, a process emerges of the interaction of family cohesion and adaptability with individual identity development. When represented in a spiral configuration, it suggests the recursive and ongoing nature of the process. A model of this process is depicted graphically in Figure 2.

The concepts of cohesion and adaptability are the dimensions of family behavior that make up the Circumplex Model of Families (Olson et al.1979). A brief overview of the model is presented here.

Circumplex Model

The Circumplex Model (Olson et al. 1979) provides a conceptual integration of the basic constructs inherent in family systems theory. These constructs correspond with those family process variables that the literature suggests are related to identity development. The model postulates two dimensions of family process; family cohesion and adaptability. Communication is considered to be a facilitating dimension because it enables movement on

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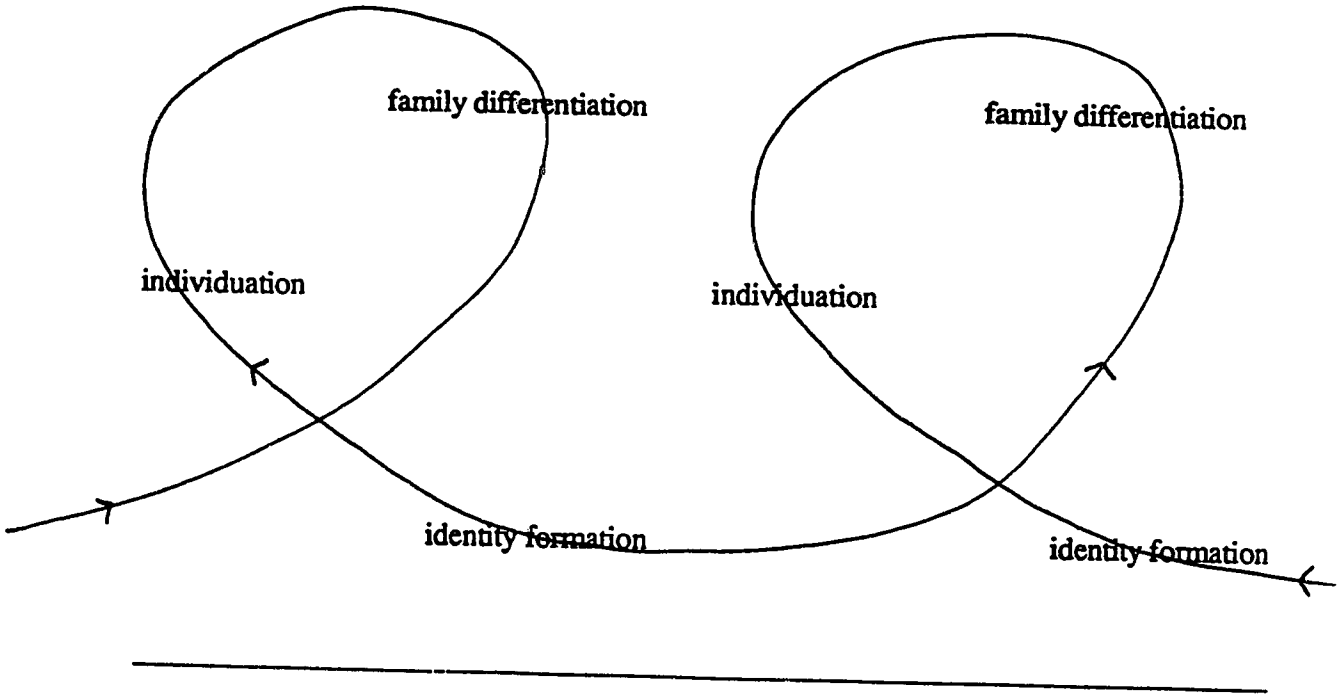
Individuation, Family Differentiation, Identity Formation Within a Spiral Model



the other two dimensions. Family *cohesion* is defined as "the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another" (Olson,McCubbin, et al., 1983, p.48). This is clearly closely related to the process by which families regulate interpersonal distances. The specific concepts involved in family cohesion are emotional bonding, boundaries, coalitions, use of time and space, friends, decision-making and interests and recreation. The four levels of cohesion range from disengaged (very low) to separated (low to moderate) to connected (moderate to high) to enmeshed (very high). A summary of the dimensions of family cohesion is provided in Table 2. Olson hypothesized that the central levels of cohesion (separated and connected) are most conducive to effective family functioning and to optimal individual development. High levels of cohesion (enmeshed systems) promote overidentification so that loyalty to and consensus within the family prevent individuation of family members. Low levels of cohesion (disengaged systems) promote high levels of autonomy but limited attachment or commitment to the family. Balanced levels of cohesion (separated and connected) encourage individuals to experience independence from and connection with their family. Grotevant and Cooper's (1985,1986) findings suggest that a balance between separateness and connectedness facilitates identity development.

Family *adaptability* refers to the extent to which the family system is flexible and able to change and is defined by Olson et al. (1983) as "the ability of a marital or family system to change its power structure, role relationships and relationship rules in response to situational and developmental stress"(p.48). Related concepts are family power (assertiveness, control, discipline), negotiation styles, role relationships and relationship rules (see Table 3). As with the cohesion dimension, the four levels of adaptability range from rigid (very low) to structured (low to moderate) to flexible (moderate to high) to chaotic (very high). Olson hypothesizes that the most viable family systems are those in the central areas of the adaptability dimension. They are able to change or resist change when appropriate and are characterized by egalitarian leadership, successful negotiation, role

Table 2
Family Cohesion Dimensions (Olson, D. & McCubbin, H., 1982)

	DISENGAGED (Very Low)	SEPARATED (Low to Moderate)	CONNECTED (Moderate to High)	ENMESHED (Very High)
Emotional Bonding	Very Low	Low to Moderate	Moderate to High	Very High
Independence	High independence of family members.	Moderate independence of family members.	Moderate dependence of family members.	High dependence of family members.
Family Boundaries	Open external bondaries Closed internal boundaries. Rigid generational bondaries.	Semi-open external and internal boundaries. Clear generationa boundaries.	Semi-open external boundaries. Open internal boundaries. Clear generational bondaries.	Closed external boundaries. Blurred internal boundaries. Blurred generational boundaries.
Coalitions	Weak coalitions.	Marital coalition clear.	Marital coalition strong.	Parent-child coalitions, usually a family scapegoat.
Time	Time apart from family maximized (physically and/or emotionally).	Time alone and together is important.	Time together is important Time alone permitted for approved reasons.	Time together maximized. Little time alone permitted.
Space	Separate space both physically and emotionally is maximized.	Private space maintained; some family space.	Family space maximized. Private space maximized.	Little or no private space at home.
Friends	Mainly individual friends seen alone. Few family friends.	Some individual friends. Some family friends.	Some individual friends. Scheduled activities with couple and family friends.	Limited individual friends. Mainly couple or family friends seen together.
Decision Making	Primarily individual decisions.	Most decisions are individually based, able to make joint decisions on family issues.	Individual decisions are shared. Most decisions made with family in mind.	All decisions, both personal and relationship must be made by family.
Interests and Recreation	Primarily individual activities done without family. Family not involved.	Some spontaneous family activities. Individual activities supported.	Some scheduled family activities. Family involved in individual interests.	Most or all activities and interests must be shared with family.

Table 3
Family Adaptability Dimensions (Olson, D. & McCubbin, H., 1982)

	Assertiveness	Control	Discipline	Negotiation	Roles	Rules	System Feedback
CHAOTIC (Very High)	Passive and Aggressive styles.	Limited leadership.	Laissez faire. Very lenient.	Endless negotiations. Poor problem-solving.	Dramatic role shifts.	Dramatic rule shifts. Many implicit rules. Few explicit rules. Arbitrarily enforced rules.	Primarily positive loops; few negative loops.
FLEXIBLE (High to Moderate)	Generally Assertive.	Egalitarian with fluid changes.	Democratic. Unpredictable consequences.	Good negotiation; good problem-solving.	Role making and sharing. Fluid change of roles.	Some rule changes. More implicit rules. Rules often enforced.	More positive than negative loops.
STRUCTURED (Moderate to Low)	Generally Assertive.	Democratic with stable leader.	Democratic. Predictable consequences.	Structured negotiations; good problem-solving.	Some role sharing	Few rule changes. More explicit than implicit rules. Rules usually enforced.	More negative than positive loops.
RIGID	Passive or Aggressive styles.	Authoritarian leadership.	Autocratic. Overly strict.	Limited negotiations; Poor problem-solving.	Role rigidity. Stereotyped roles.	Rigid rules. Many explicit rules. Few implicit rules. Strictly enforced rules.	Primarily negative loops; few positive loops.

sharing, few implicit rules and more explicit rules (Olson, McCubbin et al. 1983). Rigid family systems resist change and are highly controlling while chaotic families are so changable that they lack stability, roles are unclear and leadership is erratic or limited.

Family communication, the third dimension in the Circumplex Model, is considered to facilitate movement on the other two dimensions. Effective communication skills include sending clear and congruent messages, empathy, supportive statements and effective problem-solving skills. Conversely, poor communication skills restrict movement on the other two dimensions. Olson's Circumplex Model is depicted graphically in Figures 3 and 4.

By combining the dimensions of cohesion and adaptability, the model identifies sixteen family systems that fall in balanced, mid-range or extreme regions. Olson (Olson, McCubbin et al., 1983) hypothesizes that families with balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability "function more adequately across the family life cycle than those at the extreme of these dimensions" and "are more able to change compared to extreme families"(p.66). He further hypothesizes that balanced families "tend to have more positive communication skills than extreme families" which enables them to "change their levels of cohesion and adaptability more easily than those at the extremes" (p. 66).

Empirical Literature

There are few researchers who have attempted to consider the implications of the family system on the content and process of emerging adolescent identity. Of those who do, however, most demonstate a common conceptualization of the process of individuation as an integral part of the identity formation process. Although the variables utilized in the studies cited below do not involve all the dimensions that comprise Olson's constructs of cohesion and adaptability, they nevertheless constitute one or more of these dimensions and

Figure 3: CIRCUMPLEX MODEL - Balanced and Extreme Types

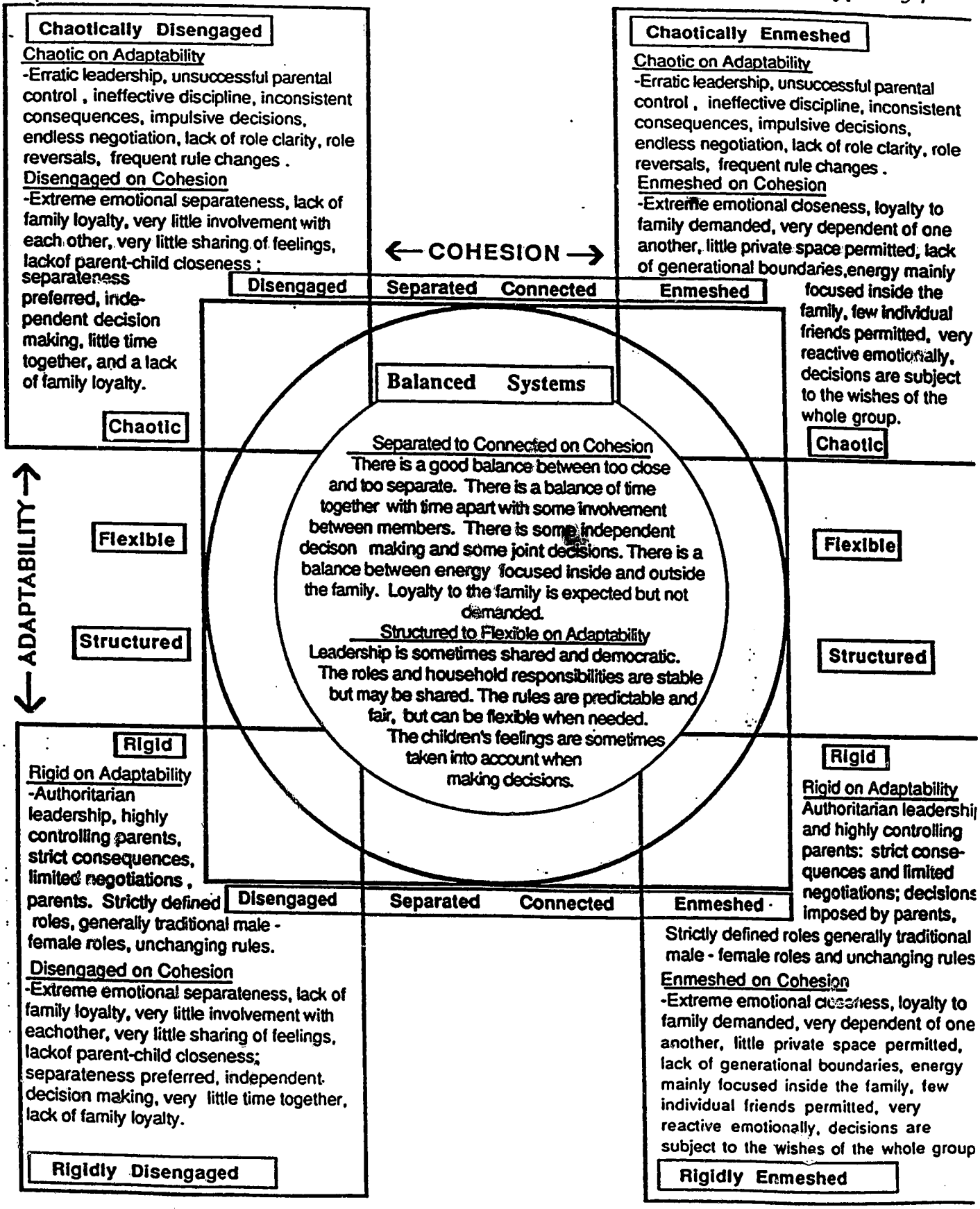
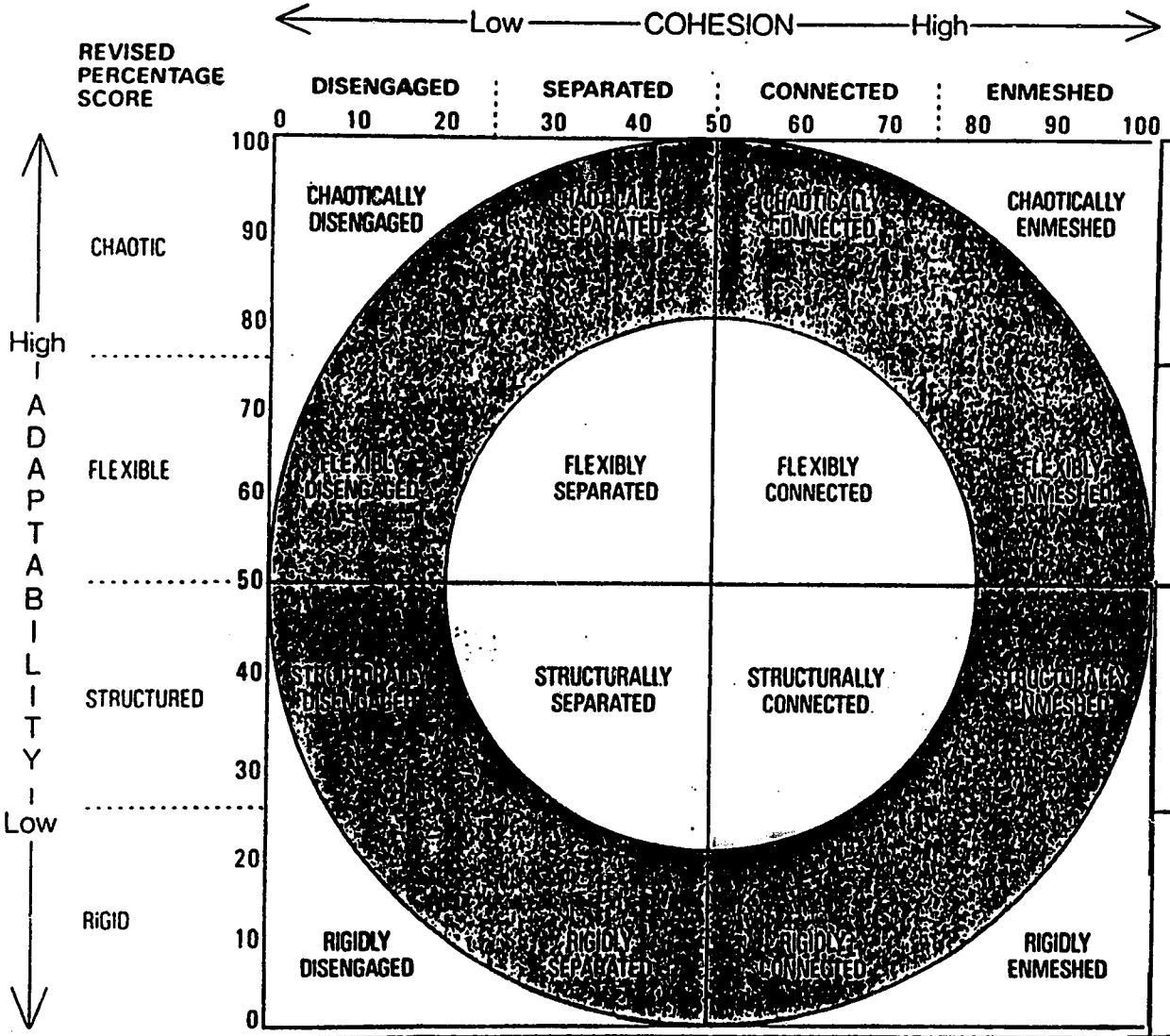


Figure 4: **CIRCUMPLEX MODEL - Couple & Family Map**



Levels of Adaptability (Change)

Chaotic
- -Lack of Leadership
- -Dramatic Role Shifts
- -Erratic Discipline
- -Too Much Change

Flexible
- -Shared Leadership
- -Role Sharing
- -Democratic Discipline
- -Change When Necessary

Structured
- -Leadership Sometimes Shared
- -Roles Stable
- -Somewhat Democratic Discipline
- -Change When Demanded

Rigid
- -Authoritarian Leadership
- -Roles Seldom Change
- -Strict Discipline
- -Too Little Change

Levels of Cohesion	Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
I - We Balance	I	I - we	I - WE	WE
Closeness	Little Closeness	Low-Moderate	Moderate-High	Very High
Loyalty	Lack of Loyalty	Little Loyalty	Some Loyalty	High Loyalty
Independence-Dependency	High Independence	Interdependent More Independence Than Dependence	Interdependent More Dependence Than Independence	High Dependency

BALANCED

MID-RANGE

EXTREME

hence are closely related. The first two studies (Bell & Bell,1982; Anderson & Fleming, 1986) examine dimensions of cohesion at the extreme level; cross-generational coalitions and triangulation. The third (Teyber, 1983) examines the effects of the marital coalition and boundary issues which are dimensions of family cohesion. The next three studies discussed (Hauser, Powers, Noam, Jacobson, Weiss, & Follansbee, 1984; Powers, Hauser, Schwartz, Noam & Jacobson, 1983; Cooper, Grotevant, Moore, & Condon,1984) examine the effects of family interaction and communication patterns on the individuation process and on identity development.

Bell and Bell (1982) recognize that both children and parents contribute to the the creation and maintenance of the family system which affects the individual functioning and development of all family members. A study by Bell and Bell (1982) examines the effects of the adolescent's role in triangulation relationships on the adolescent's level of functioning, including identity and ego development. Bell and Bell define the term, *triangulation* as "two types of coalition formation in the family; scapegoating and cross-generational coalition" (p.523). They explain that scapegoating occurs when the husband and wife orient their interaction to talking about an outsider (a child) in order to avoid whatever is causing stress or anxiety between them. The second type of coalition is a cross-generational coalition in which one spouse forms a bond with a child, oriented toward complaining about the other spouse. They state that "both forms of trangulation are invalidating to the child because she is related to out of the needs of the parents rather than out of empathy and respect for her own needs" (p. 523).

They hypothesize that girls who are triangulated into scape-goating or cross-generational coalitions are more likely to score lower on measures of ego development and social and psychological functioning. Their results support this hypothesis and demonstrate the impact of the adolescent's particular role in the family system on her development. Their data also suggest that for a female adolescent, a cross-generational coalition with her father is more detrimental to her psychosocial development than a coalition with her

mother. They found that those adolescents who were well adjusted describe their families as more cohesive, more expressive of feelings, more independent (self-sufficient), less organized and in particular, less controlled.

Anderson and Fleming (1986) examine the relationship between adolescent ego identity and individuation from their family. They define *individuation* as the adolescents' perceptions of their degree of psychological enmeshment in the transactional processes of fusion and triangulation within their family. *Fusion* is defined as "the tendency for two family members to bind into each other such that the boundaries between individuals become blurred or overlap" (Karpel, 1976). *Triangulation* is referred to as a type of transaction between three family members characterized by a lack of differentiation between family members. It is manifested in three different ways; by scapegoating the adolescent to create a conflict free image of pseudomutuality, by a cross-generational coalition between the adolescent and one parent against the other parent, and finally by each parents competing demands for loyalty from the adolescent. The results revealed a highly significant relationship between adolescents' level of identity-identity confusion and perceived level of individuation from their families. Anderson et al. (1986) report that:

> Adolescents more individuated from and more differentiated within their families were more likely to report such characteristics as a sense of continuity which integrates the past with the present and future, a feeling of self-confidence and independence, a flexibility in experimenting with various roles in order to discover and develop one's innate abilities, and a general sense of comfort with one's self-conception and future goals (p.793).

A study by Teyber (1983) which examines the coalition component of family cohesion provides empirical support for the clinically based theories of structural family therapy with regard to adolescent adjustment, including identity formation. The study tests

the hypothesis that adolescents who perceive a primary marital coalition in their families are better adjusted than those reporting any other dyad as primary. One of the measures of adolescent adjustment utilized is an Eriksonian measure of the resolution of identity versus identity diffusion. The results support the hypothesis for females but not for males. Female adolescents from families in which the marital relationship is perceived as primary tend to score higher on successful resolution of the psychosocial crisis of industry, identity and intimacy than do females reporting any other familial dyad as primary.

Two of the studies reviewed above concur that involvement in a fused or triangulated relationship with parents (enmeshed level of cohesion) interferes with the individuation process and is detrimental to the adolescent's psychosocial development. The third study reports that a primary coalition between parents (balanced cohesion) enhances identity development for female adolescents. Consequently, it would appear that a level of family cohesion which allows for the maintainence of firm boundaries around the parental subsystem and prevents adolescent involvement in unhealthy coalitions with parents is conducive to adolescent individuation and identity development.

The longitudinal research program of Powers et al.(1983) and Hauser et al., (1984) investigated the interactions between adolescents and their families that stimulate or inhibit development.

The analysis of family interaction was guided by Stierlin's (1974) theory that within disturbed families, parents make numerous attempts to interfere with the autonomous functioning of their adolescent children. Through these binding interactions, parents actively resist their child's differentiation. In contrast to *binding* or *constraining* family interaction styles that impede and undermine adolescent ego development, Hauser et al. (1984) identify *enabling* interaction styles that facilitate ego development. Constraining and enabling interactions have both cognitive and affective domains. Constraining family styles include behaviors that discourage, reject and distract initiative taken by other family

members. Enabling family styles include behaviors that encourage, respect and stimulate speeches and approaches of other family members through such mechanisms as acceptance, empathy and focusing (Hauser et al. 1984).

The authors found that constraining interaction patterns, in which parents actively resist adolescent differentiation behaviors, are associated with lower adolescent development levels and enabling behaviors with higher levels. Constraining families were observed to have difficulty permitting progressive change in adolescent interactions. From a cognitive perspective, adolescents most advanced in development came from families with high levels of noncompetitive sharing of perspectives in the absence of low levels of conflict and cognitively inhibiting behavior.

Cooper et al.(1984), Grotevant (1983) and Grotevant & Cooper (1985, 1986) provide evidence for linking individuation to the development of identity in adolescence. Their model of individuation connects relational qualities to individual development. They conceived of individuation as a relationship property not as characteristic of individuals or whole families. They define *the individuated relationship* as "one that displays a balance between *individuality* and *connectedness* " (Cooper et al. 1983, p. 45). In their model, individuality is indicated by *separateness* , the expression of differences between the self and others and by *self-assertion*, awareness of one's own viewpoint and the assumption of responsibility for its clear communication. Connectedness is indicated by *mutuality* , the demonstration of sensitivity to or respect for the ideas of others and *permeability* , openness and responsiveness to the views of others" (Cooper et al.,1983, p.47). These four distinct factors were derived from an earlier examination of the composition of the behavioral indicators of individuality by means of factor analysis (Grotevant & Cooper, 1982).

The purpose of their research program was to develop and test their model of individuation in relationship and determine its association with adolescent identity

formation (Cooper et al.,1983). They found that adolescents who observed an individuated relationship between their parents and who participated in individuated relationships with their parents and/or siblings had the highest ratings of identity exploration.

Grotevant (1983) focused on the interplay of individuality and connectedness among family members rather than unidirectional parent-child influences. When adolescents rated highest in identity exploration were contrasted with those rated lowest, clear differences in family relationships emerged. The author found that high-exploring adolescents all participated in an individuated relationship with a parent, characterized by the co-occurence of separateness, the expression of differences between self and others, and permeability, openness and responsiveness to the views of others. Their families appeared to thrive on exploring their differences, but within the context of connectedness. The families of low-exploring adolescents, on the other hand, tended to avoid disagreement and instead expressed high levels of permeability. The authors suggest that disagreement is a way of expressing the difference between oneself and others while permeability facilitates the consideration, selection, and integration of information about the self and others.

The research of these authors indicates that both individuality and connectedness in family relationships are important to adolescent identity development. Grotevant (1983) states that:

> The family context most likely to facilitate the adolescent's developing sense of identity is one that maneuvers within the dynamic tension between individuality and connectedness. Individuality facilitates the developing sense of self as distinctive and unique; connectedness provides the security and self-esteem which permit the adolescent to venture out and explore (p. 234).

Campbell et al. (1984) assessed the utility of Cooper and Grotevant's notions of connectedness and individuality in predicting differences among identity statuses in perceptions of parent-adolescent relations. They examined dimensions of perceived

interpersonal relationships, specifically affection, communication, and independence as indications of individuality and connectedness in the family context. They found that a moderate level of perceived affectional ties between adolescents and their mothers and a reasonable degree of independence from fathers, are the most important family relationship correlates associated with establishing a moratorium or achieved status in adolescence. In contrast, high degrees of perceived attachment and low independence were correlated with the foreclosure status while low levels of attachment and moderate to low independence were related to identity diffusion. The findings are generally consistent with Cooper and Grotevant's contention that a balance in family connectedness and encouragement of individuality facilitates healthy adolescent identity formation.

These studies offer a perspective on the role of communication in the process of adolescent individuation from the family. They noted the importance of communication to helping family members strike a balance between separateness from and connectedness to each other. Grotevant and Cooper (1983) clearly link family communication and a balance between separateness and connectedness (balanced cohesion).They suggest that adolescent identity formation is realized in individuated relationships in which differences are freely expressed within a basic context of connectedness.

Studies that have examined the relationship between adolescent identity development and family cohesion and adaptability, using the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scales are limited to three. The latter two reviewed here also used a form of Adam's OM-EIS (1979).

Kamptner (1988) investigated familial influences on identity development utilizing only the cohesion scale of FACES. Kamptner (1988) examines the simultaneous interaction among family and social variables of parental warmth, parental autonomy, familial security, family cohesion, social confidence and social relatedness on identity development in adolescence. Security in parent-adolescent relationship was found to enhance identity formation directly and also indirectly by first enhancing adolescents' social confidence and

social relatedness. A stronger influence of familial variables on identity for males than for females was observed. The relationship between family cohesion and adolescent identity development was not significant.

A recent investigation by Watson and Protinsky (1988) explores the hypothesis that adolescents with balanced levels of family cohesion and adaptability have more mature levels of ego identity. Two hundred and thirty-seven adolescents completed self-report measures of self-esteem, ego identity and family process patterns. The latter two measures are the same as those utilized in this study, that is the EOM-EIS-2 and FACES III. The authors found that, in general, the relationship between ego identity status groups and cohesion is nonsignificant. Similarily, the relationship between ego identity status groups and adaptability is nonsignificant. However, a statistically significant but weak positive relationship was found between the foreclosure identity status and cohesion and the achievement identity status and cohesion. The authors note that the former finding is consistent with theoretical and clinical speculation that an enmeshed family system will encourage a foreclosed identity in its adolescent, but the latter finding is unexpected. They speculate that this relationship may be related to the fact that their sample contained a large number of Black single-parent families.

Using FACES III and the original form of Adams OM-EIS, Sneep (1989) found in a late adolescent sample that the family's perception of its cohesiveness was not a satisfactory predictor of adolescent identity scores. Adaptability was significantly related to adolescent identity but the nature of the relationship was difficult to ascertain. Family adaptability levels appeared to promote or affect some identity processes, but not others. Further, low cohesion and high adaptability were found to be most conducive to identity achievement.

The findings of these studies with regard to the relationship between cohesion and adolescent identity development are both similar and disparate. All three studies indicate that the relationship between overall identity (total identity score) is non-significant.

However, with regard to the relationship between cohesion and identity achievement (the identity status type), Sneep found that low cohesion is most conducive to identity achievement while Watson and Protinsky found high cohesion to be most conducive to identity achievement.

Furthermore, the findings regarding adaptability also were disparate. Watson and Protinsky found the relationship between adaptability and adolescent identity development to be nonsignificant, whereas Sneep found it to be significant but difficult to interpret. Clearly, an attempt to clarify these disparate results is warranted.

In summary, a review of the literature indicates that adolescent individuation and family differentiation are central to the study of adolescent identity development. The Circumplex Model provides a conceptual framework for the examination of the dimensions of family differentiation, that is, cohesion and adaptability. Communication, the facilitating dimension of the Circumplex Model, has been shown in literature to be related to identity development. There is mounting empirical evidence that the course of identity development in females is different from that in males. In addition, it has been suggested that the course of identity development varies according to content area or domain, ideological (Erikson's ego-identity) or interpersonal (Erikson's self-identity). Thus this study's examination of adolescent identity development in the context of the family will consider the following questions.

Research Questions

1. What is the degree of relationship between perceived family cohesion and adolescent identity formation?
2. What is the degree of relationship between perceived family adaptability and adolescent identity formation?

3. Are there gender differences in adolescent identity formation and in perceived family cohesion and adaptability?

4. Are there significant differences between ideological identity formation and interpersonal identity formation?

5. What is the degree of relationship between adolescent perception of quality of adolescent/parent communication and adolescent identity formation?

6. Can the Circumplex Model distinguish adolescents with more mature identity from adolescents with less mature identity ?

CHAPTER 3

Methods

A correlational research design was utilized to investigate the relationship between adolescent identity formation and the family process variables of cohesion, adaptability, and communication. Data related to perception of family functioning and to identity formation was collected from a single group of subjects. The variables under consideration were analyzed as continuous scores using the Pearson product-moment correlation statistic and as categories using the Chi-square statistic.

Sample

A sample consisting of 170 adolescents was surveyed. The subjects were recruited from grade eleven, Career and Life Mangagement Classes (CALM) in a large high school in Red Deer, Alberta.

Eight CALM teachers agreed to permit the author to request participation in the study from their students. An explanation of the nature and purpose of my study was given to the students, followed by an invitation to participate. The students were assured that their participation was voluntary, could be withdrawn at any time and that they would remain anonymous.

Sample descriptors were obtained with a demographic questionnaire. They are presented here. The mean age of the sample is 16.5 years, the standard deviation is .79 and the range is from 15 to 19 years. 86% of the subjects were 16 or 17 years old.

The total sample of 170 adolescents consisted of 74 males (44%) and 96 females (56%).

The participants indicated that 90% of them were Caucasian, 5% Asian and 2.5% were Black and Native Indian.

With regard to their place of residence, 94% of the participants lived in the city while 6% lived in a rural area.

Since the CALM classes, from which the participants were recruited, are compulsory to all students, the participants were enrolled in a variety of school programs (academic, general and vocational).

Of the total sample, 103 (61%) of the participants were living in intact families, with their biological mother and their biological father. 29 (17%) of the participants were living in single parent families, 25 of whom lived with their biological mother only and 4 with their biological father only. Another 29 (17%) participants lived in blended families, with a biological parent and a step-parent. The remaining 5% lived with other relatives, foster parents, spouses or on their own.

Of the total sample, 44% lived with one sibling, 31% lived with two siblings, 10% with three siblings and 6% with no siblings.

With respect to birth order, 45% of the participants were first born, 34% were second born, 14% were third born and the remainder were fourth or later born.

The age range of fathers was from 33 to 67, with a mean age of 43.6 years; the age range for mothers was 30 to 56, with a mean age of 40.4 years.

Sample Limitation

Since a random sample was not utilized in this study and since the sample contained a disproportionate number of Caucasian participants living in an urban area, its generalizability is limited.

Another significant limitation of the sample is that it is restricted to adolescents and does not include parents and siblings. As such, it does not conform to one of the basic requirements of family systems research - to assess and account for the responses of multiple family members. Olson et al. (1985) suggest that ideally their instrument (FACES

III) should be administered to all family members and that family mean scores should be calculated.

The voluntary nature of the subjects' participation was unlikely to have effects upon the results because, in this case, only two students declined to participate.

Instruments

Each student was asked to complete four questionnaires: a demographic questionnaire, the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (Olson, Portner, Lavee,1985), the Revised Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (Bennion & Adams, 1986), and the Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale (Barnes & Olson, 1982). Copies of these instruments are included in the appendices. The total sample of students (170) completed the first three instruments but due to limited test administration time, only 149 students completed the Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale with regard to father and 145 with regard to mother. A description of each of the instruments employed is provided here.

Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales (FACES III)

FACES III is the third version of the original FACES scale (Olson, Bell & Portner, 1978) which was developed to assess the two major dimensions on the Circumplex Model, family cohesion and family adaptability.

FACES III is a 20 item self-report inventory containing 10 cohesion items and 10 adaptability items. There are 2 items for each of the following five concepts related to the cohesion dimension; emotional bonding, supportiveness, family boundaries, time and friends, and interest in recreation. There are two items for each of the following concepts related to the adaptability dimension; leadership, control, and discipline; and four items for the combined concept of roles and rules. The inventory requires responses on a 5 point

Likert scale ranging from "almost never" to "almost always", referring to the degree to which the described behavior occurs in his/her family.

Scoring of FACES III as outlined in the manual (Olson, McCubbin et al., 1985) provides separate scores for cohesion and adaptability, as well as a combined score that represents the designation of family type. Individual cohesion and adaptability scores can be used to place the individual in one of the four cohesion categories and in one of the four adaptability categories. Norms for families with adolescents are provided.

Olson et al. (1985) claim that cohesion and adaptability are clearly independent dimensions. They report a negligible correlation between cohesion and adaptability (r=.03). Construct validity of the instrument is also demonstrated by the lack of correlation between adaptability and social desirability (r=0) although some correlation remains between cohesion and social desirability (r=.35). Olson suggests this is due to the degree to which high cohesion is considered an ideal for families in our culture. An internal consistency check yielded Cronbach Alphas of .77 for cohesion and .62 for adaptability,with a total scale Alpha of .68. A copy of FACES III appears in Appendix A.

The Revised Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS-2)

This questionnaire (Bennion & Adams, 1986) is the second revision of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS) developed originally by Adams, Shea, and Fitch (1979). The extended version (EOM-EIS) represents a combination of the OM-EIS and a structured interview of identity status (Grotevant, Thorbecke & Meyer, 1982). It was originally validated from samples of college students (Grotevant & Adams, 1984) but was subsequently found to be equally appropriate for use with early and middle adolescents (Jones & Straitmatter, 1987).

The second revision (EOM-EIS-2) is a 64 item scale designed to assess the presence or absence of an exploration period and/or commitment in ideological and

interpersonal identity content areas. It contains 32 items that assess ideological identity in the domains of occupation, religion, politics and philosophical life-style and 32 items that assess interpersonal identity in the domains of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreation. Each item is responded to by the subjects on a 6-point Likert scale that forces agreement or disagreement.

Subscales (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement) can be scored and the raw scores used for analyses or a single identity status classification can be obtained by applying scoring rules. Cut-off scores for each subscale are calculated by adding one standard deviation to the mean of each identity scale. Individuals scoring one standard deviation above the mean or higher on a given subscale are scored as being in that identity status. Individuals with scores falling less than one standard deviation above the mean on all four measures are scored as a low profile moratorium. If an individual has more than one score above the cutoff, he is given a transition status category (Adams, Bennion & Huh, 1989).

Studies by Adams and his collegues have demonstrated the psychometric properties of the OM-EIS (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979), the EOM-EIS (Grotevant & Adams,1984) and the EOM-EIS-2 (Bennion and Adams,1986). For the EOM-EIS-2, reported internal consistency (Cronbach alphas) ranged from .62 to .75 for the ideological subscales and from .58 to .80 for the interpersonal subscales. Acceptable to good concurrent validity with the Rosenthal et al. (1981) measure of identity and satisfactory predictive validity with related personality constructs has been demonstrated. A copy of the EOM-EIS 2 appears in Appendix B.

Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale (PAC)

This 40 item Likert questionnaire (Barnes and Olson, 1982) consists of two subscales each of which tap both content and process issues. The first subscale, Open Family Communication, measures the more positive aspects of parent-adolescent

communication. It focuses on the freedom of exchange of information, both factual and emotional, and on the degree of understanding and satisfaction experienced in their interaction. The second subscale, Problems in Family Communication, focuses on the negative aspects of communication, hesitancy to share, negative styles of interaction, and selectivity and caution in what is shared.

The Cronbach Alpha internal consistency of the scales ranged from .87 for Open Family Communication and .78 for Problems in Family Communication to .88 for the Total Scale. A copy of this questionnaire appears in Appendix C.

Demographic Questionnaire

The respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire designed to obtain information about their sex, age, ethnic background and current living arrangement. They were also asked for information about their family such as parents age, marital situation, and occupation, number of siblings and birth order. A copy of the form appears in Appendix D. The information was coded and used to determine whether any of the demographic variables were significantly related to adolescent identity, family cohesion or family adaptability.

A revised socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada (Blishen, Bernard, Carroll & Moore, 1987), based on 1981 Canadian census data, was used to code the occupations of both the mothers and fathers in the study. The socioeconomic status of the family was determined by an observation of the socioeconomic indices for the occupational classifications of the mother and/or the father currently living with the adolescent.

Data Analysis

The data gathered was keyed into the MTS computer system and analyzed using the SPSS-X computer program. Those subjects with any missing data were dropped, leaving only those with complete data utilized in the analysis.

Scattergrams of the relationships between identity status (ideological and interpersonal) and cohesion were plotted to determine whether they were linear or curvilinear. Because there was no evidence of curvilinearity, research question number one was tested by calculating Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients on family cohesion and each scale (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and identity achieved) of identity status in both ideological and interpersonal domains.

Scattergrams of the relationship between identity status (ideological and interpersonal) and adaptability were plotted to determine whether they were linear or curvilinear. Because there was no evidence of curvilinearity, research question number two was tested by calculating Pearson product- moment correlation coefficients on perceived family adaptability and each scale (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and identity achieved) of identity status in both ideological and interpersonal domains.

In order to test research question number three, regarding gender differences, univariate T tests for independent samples were performed to determine if there is a significant difference between the means of male and female scores on any of the scales.

Research question number four regarding differences in scores on ideological and interpersonal scales, was tested by performing paired T-tests on the differences between means on the ideological and the interpersonal scales.

Research question number five was tested by calculating Pearson product-moment correlations on quality of parent-adolescent communication and each scale of identity status in interpersonal and ideological domains.

In order to answer research question number six, each subject was categorized into one of four identity statuses using the rules for categorization provided in the EOM-EIS Manual. Cohesion and adaptability were each split into two levels; balanced and extreme, using cutting points calculated by adding one standard deviation to and subtracting one standard deviation from the mean. Two chi-square analysis were conducted, to determine the degree of significance of the difference between the observed and expected frequencies

of the two levels of cohesion and the two levels of adaptability in each of the identity status types.

CHAPTER 4

Results

This chapter presents the results of the research. Firstly, a summary of the sample data regarding adolescent identity, family cohesion, family adaptability and parent-adolescent communication is presented. Secondly, each research question is restated and followed by a description of the statistical analysis and the statistical findings. Thirdly, a summary of the results of statistical procedures with selected demographic variables of the sample is provided.

Description of Sample

Cohesion and Adaptability

The sample means, standard deviations, and cut-off scores (mean score and one standard deviation above and below the mean) on the family cohesion and family adaptability variables are presented in Table 4.

Since Olson, McCubbin, et al. (1985) provide norms for families with adolescents and not for adolescents alone, it may not be appropriate to compare sample means with these norms. Keeping this in mind, a mean of 37.1 and a standard deviation of 6.1 for cohesion in families with adolescents is reported in the FACES III manual (Olson et al., 1985). Since adolescents tend to perceive less cohesiveness in their families than do their parents, it is understandable that the mean for cohesion in this sample is lower. The sample mean for adaptability is somewhat higher and the standard deviation greater than in Olson's norms for families with adolescents ($\overline{X}$ =24.3, SD =4.8).

Of the total sample, 16% of the adolescents perceived their families' level of cohesion as disengaged, 32% as separated, 37% as connected and 15% as enmeshed. These proportions are very similar to those in Olson's study of 1315 families with

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Cutoffs for Family Cohesion

	Mean	SD	Cutoffs
Total Sample (N =170)	31.5536	8.6998	23 32 40
Male (N=74)	30.0167	7.9359	
Female (N=96)	32.0313	9.2434	

Means, Standard Deviations, and Cutoffs for Family Adaptability

	Mean	SD	Cutoffs
Total Sample (N=170)	26.2235	6.3103	20 26 33
Males (N=74)	25.7397	5.9161	
Females (N=96)	26.5876	6.5982	

adolescents, in which he found 19% were disengaged, 30% were separated, 40% were connected and 15% were enmeshed.

In the sample, the proportions of perceived levels of family adaptability were17% rigid, 34% structured, 38 % flexible and 11% chaotic. In Olson's study, 16% were rigid, 37% were structured, 33% were flexible, and 14% were chaotic.

In Table 5 the data from the present study regarding the proportions of youths in each of the levels of cohesion and adaptability are compared with data provided by Olson et al. (1985).

Identity Scales

Table 6 records the sample means, standard deviations and cut-off scores on the diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement scales in the ideological and the interpersonal domains of the Revised Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status. Cutoff scores were derived by adding one standard deviation to the mean.

This data can be compared with the norms provided in the EOM-EIS-2 Manual by Adams et al. (1989). Using a sample of 2,331 adolescents in Arizona, Jones (1987) provided the following means and standard deviations for the ideological identity status scale scores: diffusion $\overline{X}$ =26.88 SD =6.21; foreclosure $\overline{X}$ =23.86, SD =7.21; moratorium $\overline{X}$ =30.25 SD =6.52 and achievement $\overline{X}$ =32.77, SD =6.31. For the interpersonal scale, norms given were diffusion $\overline{X}$ =25.30, SD =5.83, foreclosure $\overline{X}$ =22.79, SD =6.72, moratorium $\overline{X}$ =30.15, SD =6.13 and achievement $\overline{X}$ =34.52 SD =5.61. The sample data cannot be compared with the norms on interpersonal diffusion and interpersonal moratorium scales because one item had to be dropped from each of these scales. Otherwise the sample data is similar to the norms except on the foreclosure scales. It appears that the sample adolescents were less inclined to adopt their parents values and commitments than were the adolescents in the Arizona norm group.

Table 5

Adolescent Perception of Family Functioning: Percentage Respondents

Cohesion	Present Study (N = 168)	Olson's Study (N = 1315)
Disengaged	16	19
Separated	32	30
Connected	37	40
Enmeshed	15	15

Adaptability	Present Study (N = 168)	Olson's Study (N = 1315)
Rigid	17	16
Structured	34	37
Flexible	38	33
Chaotic	11	14

Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations and Cutoffs for Adolescents' Identity Status Scale Scores (N=168)

Identity Scale	Mean	SD	Cutoff
Ideological			
Diffusion	28.0476	5.9838	34
Foreclosure	19.4286	6.7350	26
Moratorium	27.8253	5.6300	33
Achievement	31.0595	5.3987	36
Interpersonal			
Diffusion	19.3216	5.2442	25
Foreclosure	17.8235	6.4582	24
Moratorium	23.4235	4.9718	28
Achievement	32.1953	5.5230	38

Note: Both the interpersonal diffusion and interpersonal moratorium scales had one item missing.

In the sample, the percentage of adolescents in each identity status was as follows: 16% diffused, 15% foreclosed, 52% moratorium and 16% achieved. In Table 7, the data from this study regarding the proportions of youths in each of the identity statuses are compared with data provided by Adams and his collegues (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979; Grotevant and Adams, 1984). The proportions in Adams, Shea & Fitch most closely resemble those found in this study. The large number of youths in the moratorium status is related to the practice of placing adolescents whose scores do not clearly identify them as belonging to one of the other statuses within the moratorium status, as suggested by the manual (Adams et al., 1989).

Research Question Number One:

To what extent does a relationship exist between adolescent perception of family cohesion and adolescent identity formation in ideological and interpersonal domains?

Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated on cohesion score and each identity scale score (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement) in the ideological and interpersonal domains. These correlation coefficients are presented in Table 8.

On the basis of these results, it is evident that there is a significant negative relationship ($p<.01$) between the extent to which sample adolescents neither explore alternatives nor establish ideological commitments, as indicated by the ideological diffusion scale, and their perception of the degree of cohesion in their families as indicated by their cohesion score. Similarly, there is a significant negative relationship ($p<.001$) between the extent to which adolescents neither explore alternatives nor make interpersonal commitments, as indicated by the interpersonal diffusion scale, and their perception of the degree of cohesion in their families. In others words, the lower the degree of cohesion in an adolescent's family, the greater the likelihood that he/she will be identity diffused in both ideological and interpersonal areas.

Table 7

Percentage of Adolescents in Four Identity Statuses

	Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achieved
Present Study	16	15	52	16
Adams, Shea, & Fitch (1979)	17	13	52	19
Grotevant & Adams (1984)	34	10	44	12

Table 8

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between EOM-EIS-2 Scales and FACES III Cohesion Scale

Identity Status	Cohesion		
	Total Sample N = 168	Males N = 72	Females N = 96)
Ideological diffusion	-.2022**	-.2741**	-.1494
Ideological foreclosure	.2022**	.3237**	.1474
Ideological moratorium	.0140	.0242	-.0162
Ideological achievement	.1238	.0493	.1757*
Interpersonal diffusion	-.2501***	-.2972**	-.2115*
Interpersonal foreclosure	.2248**	.3319**	.1812*
Interpersonal moratorium	.0173	.0316	.0120
Interpersonal achievement	.2439***	.2257	.2610**

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

There is a significant positive relationship ($p<.01$) between the extent to which sample adolescents have adopted the commitments of their parents, without prior exploration of alternatives, as indicated by the foreclosure score, and their perception of the degree of cohesion in their families. This is the case in both ideological and interpersonal domains. Therefore, the higher the level of cohesion in the adolescent's family, the greater the likelihood that he/she will be identity foreclosed, both ideologically and interpersonally.

In addition, there is a significant positive relationship ($p<.001$) only in the interpersonal domain, between the extent to which adolescents have substantially explored alternatives prior to making personal and unique commitments, as indicated by the achievement scale, and their perception of the extent of cohesion in their families. This suggests that the greater the level of cohesion in an adolescent's family, the greater the likelihood that he/she will be interpersonally identity achieved.

The greatest amount of variance in identity formation accounted for by degree of family cohesion, as indicated by the data in Table 8 for the total sample, is 6%. This occurs in the relationships of interpersonal diffusion and interpersonal achievement with perceived family cohesion. Within the male sample, however, slightly greater variance in identity formation, 9% and 11% of the variance in ideological foreclosure and in interpersonal foreclosure respectively, can be accounted for by perceived degree of family cohesion.

Research Question Number Two:

To what extent does a relationship exist between adolescent perception of family adaptability and adolescent identity formation in ideological and interpersonal domains?

Pearson product-moment correlations were calculated on adaptability scores and each identity subscale score (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement) in the ideological and interpersonal domain. These correlation coefficients are presented in Table 9.

Table 9

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between EOM-EIS-2 Scales and FACES III Adaptability Scale

Identity Status	Adaptability		
	Total Sample N = 168	Male N = 72	Female N = 96
Ideological diffusion	-.0928	-.0689	.1494
Ideological foreclosure	.0385	.1955*	.0596
Ideological moratorium	.0929	.1580	.0596
Ideological achievement	.0527	.0185	.0752
Interpersonal diffusion	-.2007**	-.1747	.2123*
Interpersonal foreclosure	.0980	.2042*	.0507
Interpersonal moratorium	.0031	.144	.0959
Interpersonal achievement	.1333*	.1207	.1416

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

From the data in Table 9 , it is evident that a significant negative relationship ($p<.01$) exists between adolescent lack of exploration and commitment in interpersonal areas as indicated by the interpersonal diffusion scale and adolescent perception of degree of family adaptability. Specifically, the lower the degree of adaptability in a family, the greater the likelihood that the adolescent will be interpersonally identity diffused. On the other hand, the significant positive relationship ($p<.05$) between the interpersonal achievement scale and family adaptability suggests that the higher a family's level of adaptability, the more likely its adolescent will be interpersonally identity achieved. Although the relationships mentioned are statistically significant, their practical significance is minimal. The greatest amount of variance in adolescent identity formation, in this case interpersonal diffusion, accounted for by family adaptability is 4%. When the correlations are computed by sex, the amount of variance accounted for increases to 5% for the female sample.

Research Question Number Three:

Do gender differences exist in adolescent perception of family cohesion and adaptability and in adolescent identity formation in ideological and interpersonal domains?

Means on all the variables were calculated by sex. T-tests for independent sample means were performed to determine if male means were significantly different from female means. The means and standard deviations for males and females on each variable are provided in Table 10.

The results of t-tests for independent sample means indicate that the sample means for males and females on the identity scales and on the family process scales are generally comparable. The sample mean for the foreclosure subscales and the ideological moratorium subscale are the only ones that are significantly different ($p<.05$). It appears that the males in the sample tend to be more likely than the females to ascribe to parental values without exploring alternatives. The significant difference in means for males and females on the

Table 10

Means and SD's of Males and Female Scores on the EOM-EIS-2

Identity Scale	Male N = 69		Female N = 87	
	X	SD	X	SD
Ideological Diffusion	28.52	6.30	27.31	5.59
Ideological Foreclosure	20.62	7.07	18.41*	5.95
Ideological Moratorium	26.62	5.56	28.61*	5.73
Ideological Achievement	30.09	5.58	31.09	5.5
Interpersonal Diffusion	19.83	5.58	18.52	4.80
Interpersonal Foreclosure	19.26	6.85	16.75*	5.80
Interpersonal Moratorium	24.04	5.13	23.40	4.78
Interpersonal Achievement	31.94	5.39	32.39	5.57
Cohesion	30.88	8.03	32.55	8.69
Adaptability	25.64	5.96	26.56	6.33

*p < .05 df (154)

ideological moratorium subscale, indicates that females in the sample are more engaged in active exploration of alternatives and have not as readily made ideological commitments.

Research Question Number Four:

Is there a significant mean difference between adolescent scores on ideological identity and adolescent scores on interpersonal identity?

Paired t-tests were performed to determine whether the ideological means differed significantly from the interpersonal means within each scale score (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement). This data is presented in Table 11.

From the data in Table 11, it is apparent that there are significant differences ($p<.001$) between the ideological and the interpersonal means in the diffusion and foreclosure scales. There is a less significant difference between means in the achievement scale. This suggests that in this sample, adolescents tended to be more identity diffused (neither interested in exploration or commitment) with regard to occupation, politics, religion and philosophical issues than in interpersonal areas such as friendship, sex roles, recreation and dating. They also tend to be significantly more foreclosed (adhering to parental values and commitments without exploring other options) in ideological areas than in interpersonal areas.

Research Question Number Five:

To what degree does a relationship exit between adolescent perception of quality of adolescent/parent communication and adolescent identity formation?

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were calculated on communication scores and each identity subscale score in the ideological and interpersonal domain. The correlation coefficients are provided in Table 12.

Table 11

Paired T-Tests of Difference Between Ideological and Interpersonal Means

Identity Scale	means	correlation	T value
Ideological Diffusion	28.047	.257	9.79***
Interpersonal Diffusion	22.4583		
Ideological Foreclosure	19.3533	.701	3.69***
Interpersonal Foreclosure	17.8982		
Ideological Moratorium	27.8303	.435	1.50
Interpersonal Moratorium	27.1212		
Ideological Achievement	31.0904	.334	-2.16*
Interpersonal Achievement	32.1446		

***p < .001; **p < .01; *p < .05; df(166)

Table 12

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between EOM-EIS Scales and Parent-Adolescent Communication Scale

Identity	Communication with Father N = 149	Communication with Mother N = 146
Ideological Diffusion	-.0798	-.0140
Ideological Foreclosure	.1475*	.0163
Ideological Moratorium	-.0101	.0994
Ideological Achievement	.0006	.0069
Interpersonal Diffusion	-.1001	-.3348***
Interpersonal Foreclosure	.1520*	.0104
Interpersonal Moratorium	-.0277	-.2431**
Interpersonal Achievement	.1054	.2389**

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

It is apparent from the data presented in Table 12 that, in this sample, adolescent perception of communication with mother is more strongly related to identity formation than is perception of communication with father. The relationship of the greatest magnitude is the negative relationship between the lack of exploration and commitment in the interpersonal domain, as indicated by the interpersonal diffusion scale, and communication with mother. This suggests that within the sample, the lower the perceived quality of communication between an adolescent and his/her mother, the more likely that adolescent will have little interest in exploring issues of sex roles, friendship, and dating and in making commitments in those areas. The variance in communication with mother accounts for 11% of the variance in identity formation, in this case interpersonal diffusion.

Quality of communication with mother is also significantly related ($p<.001$) to interpersonal identity achievement, but in this case, the relationship is positive. Good communication with mother is associated with substantial interpersonal exploration prior to the establishment of personal and unique commitments. On the other hand, good communication with mother is related to the same degree with the interpersonal moratorium scale, but in this case, negatively. Here, as with interpersonal achievement, communication with mother accounts for 6% of the variance in identity formation.

Communication with father is significantly related ($p<.05$) to both ideological and interpersonal foreclosure, or the acquistion of commitments from others without testing their personal fit. The magnitude of the relationship is low, however.

Adolescent communication with father is significantly related to family cohesion ($r=.52$; $p<.001$) and to adaptability ($r=.35$; $p<.001$). Adolescent communication with mother is significantly related to family cohesion ($r=.56$; $p<.001$) and adaptability ($r=.334$; $p<.001$). There were no significant differences between mean scores for males and females on communication scales.

Research Question Number Six:

Can the Circumplex Model distinguish adolescents with more mature identity from adolescents with less mature identity ?

The assumption that adolescents who reported balanced family cohesion and those who reported balanced family adaptability would have higher ego identity was tested for significance using the chi-square test of independence. Each subject was categorized into one of four identity statuses using the rules for categorization provided in the EOM-EIS Manual. Cohesion and adaptability were each split into two levels, balanced and extreme, using cutting points determined by subtracting one standard deviation from, and adding one standard deviation to, the sample mean. Two chi-square analysis were conducted, to determine the degree of significance of the difference between the observed and expected frequencies of the two levels of cohesion and the two levels of adaptability in each of the identity status types. The chi-squares are provided in Table 13 and Table 14.

The relationship between identity status groups and cohesion was nonsignificant (X^2 = 1.48; p=.69). The relationship between identity status groups and adaptability was also nonsignificant (X^2 = 1.84; p=.61). Adolescent identity statuses could not be distinguished by the level of perceived family cohesion and adaptability (balanced or extreme).

Previously a chi-square analysis using the four identity status categories and the four levels of cohesion and adaptability corresponding to the levels in the Circumplex Model was conducted. However, the expected cell frequencies were not large enough to interpret the chi square statistic with confidence. Where the expected frequencies are small, appreciable error may occur in the estimation of probabilities. Nonetheless, the cross-tabulation from this analysis revealed some interesting trends. Table15 and Table 16 provide a comparison of the percentage of respondents in each identity status category whose perception of their family functioning fell in each level of cohesion and adaptability,

Table 13

Chi Square: Four Identity Status Categories by Two Categories of Cohesion (Balanced and Extreme)

TOTALID	COUNT / EXP VAL / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	COHESION 1.00	COHESION 2.00	ROW TOTAL
1.00		9 6.6 40.9% 19.1% 5.8%	13 15.4 59.1% 11.9% 8.3%	22 14.1%
2.00		6 6.9 26.1% 12.8% 3.8%	17 16.1 73.9% 15.6% 10.9%	23 14.7%
3.00		26 27.1 28.9% 55.3% 16.7%	64 60.9 71.1% 58.7% 41.0%	90 57.7%
4.00		6 6.3 28.6% 12.8% 3.8%	15 14.7 71.4% 13.8% 9.6%	21 13.5%
COLUMN TOTAL		47 30.1%	109 69.9%	156 100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
1.48204	3	0.6862	6.327	NONE

Note. Identity status group 1 is diffusion, group 2 is foreclosure, group 3 is moratorium and group 4 is achievement. Cohesion group 1 is extreme and group 2 is balanced.

Table 14

Chi Square: Four Identity Status Categories by Two Categories of Adaptability (Balanced and Extreme)

TOTALID	COUNT / EXP VAL / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	ADAPT 1.00	ADAPT 2.00	ROW TOTAL
1.00		7	17	24
		6.5	17.5	15.2%
		29.2%	70.8%	
		16.3%	14.8%	
		4.4%	10.8%	
2.00		6	17	23
		6.3	16.7	14.6%
		26.1%	73.9%	
		14.0%	14.8%	
		3.8%	10.8%	
3.00		27	64	91
		24.8	66.2	57.6%
		29.7%	70.3%	
		62.8%	55.7%	
		17.1%	40.5%	
4.00		3	17	20
		5.4	14.6	12.7%
		15.0%	85.0%	
		7.0%	14.8%	
		1.9%	10.8%	
	COLUMN TOTAL	43	115	158
		27.2%	72.8%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE	MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F.< 5
1.84437	3	0.6053	5.443	NONE

Note: Identity status group 1 is diffusion, group 2 is foreclosure, group 3 is moratorium and group 4 is achievement. Adaptability group 1 is extreme and group 2 is balanced.

respectively. For further comparison, Tables 15 and 16 also provide the percentage of the total sample and of Olson's sample of families with adolescents whose perception of their family functioning falls in each level of cohesion and adaptability.

As is evident from Table 15 and Table 16, the distribution of family cohesion and adaptability levels among the identity statuses differs from what would be expected based on the total sample. There is a disproportionately high percentage (23%) of diffused adolescents whose families function at the very low (disengaged) level of cohesion. There is also a disproportionate percentage (42%) of interpersonally identity achieved adolescents whose families are seen to have extremely high (enmeshed) levels of cohesion and a disproportionate percentage (.0%) of identity achieved adolescents whose families are seen to have extremely low levels of cohesion (disengaged). It is also evident that the enmeshed level of family cohesion is overrepresented (25%) in the interpersonally foreclosed identity category.

In terms of family adaptability, a similar pattern is evident. Once again, a disproportionately high percentage (30%) of identity diffused adolescents are represented in the extremely low (rigid) levels of adaptability while a disproportionately low percentage (.0%) of interpersonally foreclosed and achieved adolescents perceive their families as rigid. In contrast, a high percentage (18%) of interpersonally achieved adolescents perceive the level of adaptability in their families as extremely high (chaotic).

Demographic Variables

To what degree is adolescent identity formation and adolescent perception of family cohesion and adaptability related to selected individual and family characteristics obtained by the Demographic Questionnaire?

In response to this question, Pearson correlation coefficients were calculated on age, birth order, parent's ages and socioeconomic status.

Since identity formation is a developmental phenomenon, it is expected to be age

Table 15

Cross-tabulation of Adolescent Perception of Family Cohesion by Identity Status Category: Percentage Respondents

		Cohesion			
		Disengaged	Separated	Connected	Enmeshed
Olson's Study (N = 1315)		18.6	30.3	36.4	13.6
Present Study - Total Sample (N = 168)		16.5	31.7	37.3	14.6
Row Percentage		Present Study by IdentityStatus Categories (N = 168)			
Diffusion	Ideo	**23.1**	42.3	23.1	11.5
	Inter	**21.7**	33.3	30.0	15.0
Foreclosure	Ideo	**4.2**	29.2	50.0	16.7
	Inter	**8.3**	33.3	33.3	**25.0**
Moratorium	Ideo	16.9	28.9	41.0	13.3
	Inter	17.7	31.6	43.0	7.6
Achievement	Ideo	15.4	34.6	26.9	**23.1**
	Inter	**.0**	16.7	41.7	**41.7**

Table 16

Cross-tabulation of Adolescent Perception of Family Adaptability by Identity Status Category: Percentage Respondents

Chaotic		Adaptability Rigid	Structured	Flexible	
Olson's Study (N = 1315)		15.9	37.3	32.9	13.9
Present Study - Total Sample (N = 168)		16.6	34.4	38.0	11.1
Row Percentage		Present Study by Identity Status Categories (N = 168)			
Diffusion	Ideo	**30.8**	34.6	26.9	**7.7**
	Inter	21.0	40.3	30.2	8.1
Foreclosure	Ideo	12.0	32.0	40.0	16.0
	Inter	.0	41.7	41.7	16.7
Moratorium	Ideo	17.9	33.3	35.7	13.1
	Inter	17.5	30.0	42.5	16.7
Achievement	Ideo	**3.8**	34.6	53.8	7.7
	Inter	**.0**	36.4	45.5	**18.2**

dependent. However, the low magnitude of the correlations between adolescent age and the identity scales suggests that the restriction in age range in this sample has effectively eliminated age as a confounding variable.

Birth order, father's age and mother's age were not significantly related to identity formation, family process variables, or communication. Family socioeconomic status was signicantly related ($r = .15$, $p < .05$) to interpersonal achievement identity scale but the common variance of the two variables is trivial in a practical sense.

Conclusion

Although the family variables of cohesion, adaptability and communication are in some cases related significantly to stage of identity formation, the magnitude of the relationships is low. However, the magnitude of the correlation, is enhanced when the direction of the correlation (positive or negative) is taken into consideration. In all cases, ideological and interpersonal diffusion correlated negatively with family cohesion, adaptability and communication. In contrast, for young men and women, both ideological and interpersonal foreclosure correlated positively with family cohesion, adaptability and communication. Similarily, identity achievement, both ideological and interpersonal, correlated positively with family cohesion, adaptability and communication. The correlations of moratorium with family cohesion, adaptability and communication were all positive although negligable except communication with mother.

In general, adolescent identity is more strongly related to family cohesion than to family adaptability. The relationship between family cohesion and adolescent identity is stronger for males than for females, particularily with regard to identity diffusion and foreclosure. In this sample, there were few significant differences between male and female identity development and between ideological and interpersonal identity development.

Identity formation is related more strongly to communication with mother than with communication with father. Poor communciation with mother is most strongly associated with a tendency toward adolescent interpersonal identity diffusion.

There is no significant difference between the observed and expected frequencies of balanced and extreme levels of family cohesion and adaptability in each of the four identity status categories.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Implications

This chapter presents a summary and evaluation of the results in relation to previous research and relevant theory related to individual development in the context of the family. This includes identity status theory, Olson's family systems theory and Sabatelli and Mazor's theory regarding the mediating effects of individuation and family differentiation on adolescent identity development. The chapter closes with a discussion of the study's methodological limitations, its implications for practitioners and suggestions for further research.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between adolescent identity formation as measured by the Revised Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS-2) and adolescent perception of family cohesion and adaptability, as measured by the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scales (FACES III). This issue arose from recent trends toward an integration of developmental and family systems approachs to the study of individual development in the context of the family.

The investigation is built upon research findings in three main areas. The first is that of identity status researchers who found that there is a developmental continuum in identity formation (Marcia,1968; Waterman,1982), and a distinct set of personality, attitude and relational characteristics associated with each identity status (Marcia, 1980). The second is that of researchers who found that there is a relationship between adolescent identity development and degree of individuality and connectedness indicated by family patterns of communication and interaction. (Cooper & Grotevant,1983; Hauser & Powers, 1984). The third is the work of researchers who found that balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability are associated with optimal family and individual functionning (Olson et al., 1983).

Discussion of Results

Results of the analyses of data indicated that there were some significant relationships between degree of family cohesion and adaptability and modes of identity development in the sample. Adolescent identity development was found to be more strongly related to family cohesion than family adaptability. The specific relationships found are discussed below.

Diffusion

There was a tendency in this sample for adolescents who percieve their families as highly incohesive or disengaged to be identity diffused, in ideological and interpersonal areas but particularily the latter. Diffused adolescents who report no specific interpersonal commitment nor a desire to establish one, also tend to perceive their families as rigid, unable to adapt.

findings are consistent with Campbell et al, (1984) whose independent similar to cohesion and adaptability but more limited. They found that low attachment and low levels of encouragement for independence are diffused identity. The findings of this study are also consistent with Montana (1987) and Adams (1983) who found that high levels of paternal control inhibits adolescent ego identity development. However, they are inconsistent with Sneep's (1989) results which indicate that identity diffusion is associated with a balance in family cohesion and adaptability.

The disproportionate number of identity diffused adolescents who fell in the extremely low, disengaged level of cohesion (23% ideological and 22% interpersonal) and the extremely low, rigid level of adaptability (31% ideological and 21% interpersonal), in this sample supports Olson's theory that extreme levels of cohesion and adaptability are detrimental to individual development.

Foreclosure

There is a tendency for adolescents who accept parental values and commitments without a searching and selecting process in both ideological and interpersonal areas to perceive their families as highly cohesive. This is consistent with Campbell et al. (1984) who found foreclosed adolescents to be strongly bonded to their parents and Watson and Protinsky (1988) who found high cohesion to be a significant predictor of the foreclosure identity status.

The finding that high family cohesion is associated with the foreclosure identity status provides empirical support for Erikson's theory that identity development is a process of increasing differentiation. It also supports the theories of Sabatelli and Mazor (1985) that a poorly differentiated family (extreme cohesion) inhibits the individuation process and adolescent identity development.

The results of this study indicate that there is no significant relationship between degree of family adaptability and identity foreclosure. Sneep (1989) also found identity foreclosure to be unrelated to family adaptability.

The disproportionate number of identity foreclosed adolescents who fell in the extremely high, enmeshed level of family cohesion (25% interpersonal) found in this sample, supports Olson's theory that an extreme level of family cohesion promotes over-identification and inhibits the individual's ability to define oneself as distinctive from others.

Moratorium

Neither perceived family cohesion nor perceived family adaptability were significantly related to the development of a moratorium identity among adolescents in this study. A curvilinear relationship in which the two extreme levels of cohesion and adaptability might possibily cancel each other out and hide an indication of a linear relationship was also not observed. The assumption that families of adolescents with high

moratorium scores must be highly adaptable in order to either encourage or tolerate a high degree of exploration on the part of the adolescent is not supported by these results.

The results are consistent, however, with Marcia's (1980) contention that youths who are actively exploring but have not made commitments tend to have an ambivalent relationship with their parents. But they are directly in contrast to Sneep's (1989) contention that moratorium scores are more dependent than other identity scores on cohesion and adaptability and that adolescents with high moratorium scores have families with balanced cohesion and adaptability.

Achievement

A significant association between interpersonal, but not ideological, identity achievement and high levels of family cohesion was found in this sample. This suggests that in interpersonal areas, adolescent engagement in an identity crisis and resolution of the crisis through self-selected personal commitments is enhanced by a high degree of family cohesion. It suggests that the maintenance of emotional connectedness to family members facilitates the adolescent task of differentiating self and sorting out self from other.

This finding is contrary to Sneep's (1989) finding that identity achievement is associated with low levels of family cohesion. In contrast, it is consistent with Campbell et al., (1984) who found that achieved adolescents were highly attached to their mothers and Watson and Protinsky's (1988) finding that identity achievement is significantly positively related to family cohesion.

The association between interpersonal achievement and family cohesion found in this study is noteworthy because it is contrary to what one would expect from the theoretical literature. The theoretical literature suggests that a balanced level of cohesion (Olson et al., 1982) or a balance between individuality and connectedness (Grotevant & Cooper, 1984) is most conducive to optimal identity development. In contrast, the results of this study indicate that the higher the level of family cohesion, the higher the level of

interpersonal identity achievement. Indeed 42% of interpersonally identity achieved adolescents in this sample perceived their family as functioning at the enmeshed level of cohesion. It appears that it is possible for an adolescent to retain a strong emotional attachment to his/her family while simultaneously developing a strong sense of self.

An attempt to account for the discrepancy between the empirical results of this study and the theoretical literature suggests several possibilities.

Since the sample for this study consists of normal rather than dysfunctional families, the designation of the high scoring families as extreme may be somewhat misleading. Thus a possible explanation is that the extreme group, in this normal sample, actually consists of high balanced levels rather than extreme dysfunctional levels of cohesion.

It is possible as well that individual identity development is related not so much to the degree of cohesion as it is the quality or the form of cohesion. In Olson's model, the degree of cohesion determines the quality of cohesion. However this study suggests that a high degree of cohesion does not necessarily stifle the individuation that is requisite to identity formation. Thus it may be that it is only extreme cohesion in pathological form such as fusion or intergenerational coalition that is detrimental to development. Certainly Bell & Bell (1982) and Anderson (1986) found these pathological forms of family cohesion to be detrimental to adolescent identity formation.

It is possible that foreclosed adolescents are emotionally bonded, but fused, whereas the achieved are emotionally bonded, but individuated. If this is the case, then it lends credence to the theory of individuation as a mediator of identity development. The construct of cohesion may not distinquish between emotional dependence and emotional attachment to parents. Olson implies that the former is an extreme of the latter. However, they may be very different constructs, not just a question of degree. Foreclosure may be a system in which psychological dependence is the rule, dependence on the other, manifested in the inability to psychologically separate from the other, and resulting in a

close identification with the other. In contrast, achievement may occur in a system that allows the evolution of a sense of self that is separate from, but still strongly connected to the other. The self is defined in relationship to others. If that relationship is strong but not characterized by emotional dependence or fusion, the process of definition of self may be enhanced. The difference may be that in a system that engenders foreclosure, the individuation process is seen as threatening to the system's stability, whereas in the system that engenders identity achievement, it is not. The latter system is able to change or adapt to the individuation process in adolescence.

The discrepancy may be related to weaknesses in the instrument. It is possible that the cohesion scale of FACES III does not adequately differentiate between the positive effects of high levels of attachment and the negative effects of fusion and enmeshment.

Another possible reason for the present study's finding may be related to the fact that adolescent perception of the level of cohesion in his or her family is inaccurate. The adolescent may perceive that it is enmeshed when in fact it is not. According to Olson (1983), adolescents see their families as more extreme than do their parents, neither perception necessarily reflecting the reality within a family. Or the adolescent may have responded in a socially desirable manner, since the correlation between cohesion and social desirability was not reduced to zero.

Family adaptability is significantly positively related to interpersonal identity achievement. In other words, the greater the family's ability to change its power structure, role relationships and relationship rules, the greater the likelihood that the adolescent will be identity achieved. Although the magnitude of this relationship is low ($r=.13$; $p<.05$), it is nonetheless, greater than any of the other positive correlations between adaptability and the identity status scales.

This data is generally consistent with previous research that has shown that primary parental factors associated with advanced identity formation include parental encouragement of independence and autonomy and minimal control (Enright et al, 1980). Sneep (1989)

also found that identity achievement was related to high family adaptability. Adams & Jones (1983) found that foreclosed adolescents perceive more parental control and regulating behavior than do their achieved counterparts.

Gender Differences

In general, this study indicates that the identity formation process among males is very similar to the process among females. Only two significant gender differences were observed with respect to identity development and perception of family cohesion and adaptability. Males in the sample, as compared to females, were observed to more readily adopt their parents values and commitments in ideological and interpersonal areas without prior exploration of alternatives. Conversely, females in the sample were more inclined to be actively exploring alternatives and to have not yet made commitments.

This finding is surprising since identity foreclosure is, according to some theorists, considered to be more stable and adaptive for females than for males. It suggests instead that a period of identity exploration is just as important to the development of female ego identity as male ego identity and may be a reflection of changing societal expectations for women.

Another possible reason for the higher foreclosure scores among males and the higher moratorium scores among females may be the general maturational lag characteristic of male adolescents compared to their female counterparts.

The study of sex differences in identity development has produced conflicting and varied results. Many of the studies using the OM-EIS report no significant gender differences (Adams and Fitch,1982; Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979)

In general, the number of significant correlations between identity scales and family cohesion and the magnitude of these correlations are greater for males than for females. This suggests that family cohesion has a greater influence on male identity development.

More specifically however, family cohesion is more strongly related to diffusion (negatively) and foreclosure (positively) for males than for females. For females, family cohesion is most strongly related (positively) to interpersonal identity achievement. Thus for males, although a highly cohesive family is associated with identity achievement, it is more strongly associated with identity foreclosure. On the other hand, for females, a highly cohesive family is associated with identity achievement rather than foreclosure, particularily in interpersonal areas. This suggests that, for females, a high degree of family cohesion enhances identity development whereas, for males, it is more likely to impede identity development. This is consistent with Gilligan's (1982) theory that girls' identity development occurs in relationship and connection with others. The contention that male adolescents' identity development occurs through separation and individuation from their parents is refuted by the positive association between family cohesion and achievement but nevertheless is supported insofar as high family cohesion among the males was observed to be more closely associated with foreclosure than achievement.

Differences between Ideological and Interpersonal Identity Formation

The significant difference between ideological and interpersonal diffusion scores indicates that the adolescents in this sample were less interested in exploration and commitment in occupational, political, and religious areas than in friendship, dating and sex roles. This is understandable for mid-adolescents and would perhaps be different for late adolescents and young adults.

The significant difference between ideological and interpersonal foreclosure scores indicates that the adolescents in this sample were more inclined to adopt their parents' values concerning occupational, political and religious issues than in issues related to dating, sex roles and friendship.

Communication

This study found substantial differences in patterns of parent-adolescent communication between mothers and fathers. Adolescent perception of communication with mother is more strongly related to adolescent identity formation than is perception of communication with father. Quality of communication with mother has more influence on interpersonal than on ideological identity development. Poor communication with mother is conducive to the development of a diffused and a moratorium interpersonal identity, both of which are characterized by a lack of commitment. In contrast, good communication with mother is conducive to adolescent identity achievement or substantial interpersonal exploration prior to the establishment of personal and unique commitments.

Olson's original hypothesis, derived from the Circumplex Model, that families that are balanced on the cohesion and adaptability dimensions of the Circumplex Model would have more positive parent-adolescent communication than extreme families was not supported by this study. A positive linear relationship between adolescent perception of parent-adolescent communication and family cohesion and adaptability was found in this sample. In other words, the better the communication between adolescent and parent, the higher the level of perceived family cohesion and adaptability is likely to be.

This finding is consistent with Barnes and Olson (1985) who found that families with better parent-adolescent communication were higher in family cohesion and family adaptability.

Conclusion

In summary, the correlations between identity formation and family cohesion and adaptability were small but in the direction expected, and some were significant at a high level ($p=<.001$). Adolescent identity is more strongly related to family cohesion than to family adaptability.

Specifically, identity diffusion is associated with low family cohesion and low family adaptability. Identity foreclosure is associated with high family cohesion and moderate to high family adaptability. Moratorium is neither associated with cohesion nor adaptability and interpersonal identity achievement is associated with high family cohesion and high adaptability.

This study has identified the family configuration of adolescents who score high on identity diffusion and found it to be distinct from that of the families of other identity status adolescents. It has also identified the family configuration of adolescents who score high on identity foreclosure and identity achievement but it has not distinguished between them. Since both foreclosure and interpersonal achievement are associated with high family cohesion, the question remains as to what family processes, if any, distinguish one from the other.

Grotevant's proposal (1983) that the family context most likely to facilitate the adolescent's developing sense of identity is one that provides a balance between the individual's need for individuality and connectedness, and Olson's theory that individual development is optimal in a family characterized by balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability, appear to need further clarification. This study, in which there is an association between identity achievement and high, even extreme, levels of family cohesion, does not support Olson's theory with respect to adolescent identity development.

Limitations and Delimitations

Since identity is essentially an existential position, it is extremely difficult to delimit. Marcia (1980, p.159) warns that "studying identity in adolescence is not a task for the methodologically hypersensitive".

This study is limited by the fact that identity status is not a stable trait. Nor is the developmental pattern necessarily a linear progression. Temporary regression is not uncomman. Consequently, the relation between family cohesion and adaptability and

identity status depends in part on when the tests were administered. For example, at the time of testing some adolescents may have been in the regressive stage of a regressive/progressive developmental trajectory. Thus an adolescent who scored high on achievement a year earlier, may now score high on moratorium.

Similarly, family relationships are dynamic rather than static. The identity exploration of an adolescent may trigger a re-consideration of occupational, relationship or value commitments on the part of his or her parents thereby changing the levels of cohesion and adaptability in the family. The family dynamics observed would depend therefore on when the "snapshot" of the family was taken. A longitudinal approach would overcome many of the limitations inherent in this study.

The correlational nature of the present study makes causal interpretations impossible. It may be that adolescents' current identity status predisposes them to certain perceptions of their familial relations. From the family systems perspective, the influence is bidirectional insofar as family levels of cohesion and adaptability influence identity which in turn influences family cohesion and adaptability in a recursive fashion. A longitudinal study would better enable one to discern whether the family process variables reported in this study are actual facilitators of identity formation or merely correlates associated with and possibly caused by individual differences in an adolescent's identity formation.

The magnitude of the correlations between adolescent identity and the family process variables of cohesion and adaptability was lower than expected. Possible reasons for the low magnitudes are offered here.

The reliability of most of the identity scales of the EOM-EIS-2 with the present sample was lower than those reported in the test manual. Reliability estimates for all the scales except foreclosure were in the .5 to .6 range. The reliability estimates for two of the scales may have been affected by the necessity of dropping two items because they were incorrectly typed on the questionnaire in the manual.

The constructs of family cohesion and family adaptability encompass so many different dimensions (see Tables 2 and 3) that they may be too imprecise to be effectively utilized in the study of family variables that influence identity development.

A further limitation of this study is the restriction of family assessment to a single person's perspective. This may be misleading since significant differences have been found in the convergent validities of mothers', fathers' and adolescents' reports (Cole & Jordan, 1989). Furthermore the focus on the family per se and not its subsystems reduces discriminant validity. Cole and Jordan (1989) found that the degree of reported cohesion and adaptability varied considerably from one family dyad to another. Thus global assessment of family process variables such as cohesion and adaptability may overlook substantial differences between family subsystems. This may account for the strength of results in studies that assessed dyadic relationships in the family (Bell & Bell,1982; Teyber,1983; Anderson and Fleming,1986) as opposed to using global family assessment.

Theoretical Implications

This study contributed support for Marcia's identity status paradigm by demonstrating that there are differential family variables that are characteristic of three identity statuses. It also supports Sabatelli and Mazor's family systems position that adolescent identity formation is related to family differentiation, specifically cohesion and adaptability.

The significant relationships between family cohesion and identity diffusion, foreclosure and achievement lend credence to the validity of the family cohesion construct. Olson's theory, that suggests that families with balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability are more conducive to individual development than are families with extreme levels of cohesion and adaptability, was not supported by this study.

Diffusion, foreclosure and identity achievement were found to be linearly related to cohesion. Interpersonal diffusion and achievement were linearly related to adaptability.

Thus, Olson's hypothesis of curvilinearity was unsupported with regard to identity development.The findings of this study also challenge Olson's curvilinear hypothesis, derived from the Circumplex Model, regarding effective parent-adolescent communication and suggest instead the linearity of the relationship between parent-adolescent communication and the dimensions of family cohesion and adaptability with normal families.

Olson's Circumplex Model was developed from the work of family therapists with a clinical population and has been shown to be most effective in distinguishing between problem families and non-symtomatic families. Its inability to identify the family configurations of moratorium adolescents and to distinquish between the family configuations of foreclosed and achieved adolescents put its efficacy with a normal population in question.

Practical Implications

The implications of this study are applicable to parents, counsellors, family therapists and educators.

With regard to implications for parents, the negative effects of low family cohesion on adolescent identity development underscore the importance in families of emotional bonding, family closeness, time spent together in family activities, and a strong marital coalition. Similarly, the negative effects of low family adaptability on adolescent identity development underscore the importance in families of flexibility in role-making and role sharing, democratic discipline and appropriate use of negotiation. Hostility, rejection, withdrawal, control and emotional distance are forms of parental behavior that tend to discourage the adolescent from exploring identity issues and making self-determined commitments. Finally parents would do well to keep in mind that adolescent exploration of religious, political and occupational issues as well as interpersonal issues such as friendship, dating and sex roles, however stressful for the family, is nonetheless a healthy

adolescent developmental process which should be encouraged. On the other hand, parental pressure on adolescents to make commitments without prior exploration, will have a detrimental effect upon their identity development.

Parents can discourage the maintenance of adolescent identity diffusion by encouraging attempts at independence. They can also provide role models worthy of emulation and provide access to knowledge and to opportunities for exploration among alternatives.

Counsellors should be sensitive to the fact that most adolescents are struggling with personal identity issues and, in some cases, with their families' response to this struggle. The results of this study suggest the need to take a family perspective when addressing career, lifestyle and personal issues with adolescents. Family processes and relationships may support the adolescent's identity explorations and commitments, or they may delay or direct his explorations and commitments. Thus, the counsellor should be aware of the impact of the adolescent's identity explorations on his family and the influence of the family's responses on the adolescent.

Structural family theorists (Minuchin & Fishman, 1981) propose that enmeshed families fail to provide adequately for the developmental needs of adolescent members thereby imposing a threat to the adolescent's personal identity. In light of the results of this study, however, family therapists should carefully consider whether, in a particular family, the level of cohesion is such that it facilitates identity development by providing a secure base from which the adolescent can explore alternatives or whether it inhibits identity development with pressure toward, loyalty to and consensus within, the family.

Teachers can encourage identity exploration among their students by introducing alternative perspectives on ideological and interpersonal issues and promoting tolerance for alternate lifestyles. Similarily, encouraging the dialectic process and providing opportunities for expressive writing in the classroom would further facilitate identity

development. The Career and Life Management curriculum, implemented with this in mind, should prove to encourage exploration and self-determined commitments.

Suggestions for Further Research

Further research in the area of familial contributions to adolescent identity development should be longitudinal in nature in order to overcome many of the limitations of this study.

Since this study found both foreclosure and achievement to be associated with high family cohesion, a further study is needed to determine what family process variables distinquish one from the other.

Subsequent research should involve consideration of each dyad in the family (or at minimum the mother-adolescent, father-adolescent and mother-father dyads) from the perspective of each member. Because each family member's perception varies considerably from that of other family members and because family process variables differ considerably from one family dyad to another, a multitrait-multimethod approach (Cole & Jordan, 1989) would be most effective.

The use of family variables that are less inclusive than cohesion and adaptability would likely strengthen the results. Possibilities are family variables that relate directly to the individuality - relatedness continuum such as dependence versus autonomy or variables such as family authority relations, and family decision-making. Similarily, since the family's contribution to identity formation may differ as a function of domain, a further narrowing of the ideological and interpersonal domains to a more specific identity domain such as sex-roles, religion or political identity would likely be informative. Examining these content areas separately may provide greater clarity regarding adolescent identity development.

The family interactions of adolescents representing one of the identity status types could be studied in depth using observation or interview methods. The use of different

samples, such as black or native adolescents would examine cultural effects on family variables that affect adolescent identity development. Samples limited to adolescents with urban or rural residence or from father-absent or mother-absent homes would also prove interesting.

Finally, it may be fruitful to reverse the focus of this investigation to focus on the processes that inhibit or promote change in families responding to the identity struggles of mid to late adolescents rather than on the process of identity development itself.

This study has contributed to the understanding of the relationship between adolescent identity development and the family process variables of family cohesion and adaptability. Its equivocal results suggest that this relationship is stronger in theory than in reality.

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APPENDIX A

FAMILY ADAPTABILITY AND COHESION EVALUATION SCALE

FACES III

David H. Olson, Joyce Portner, and Yoav Lavee

1	2	3	4	5
ALMOST NEVER	ONCE IN AWHILE	SOMETIMES	FREQUENTLY	ALMOST ALWAYS

DESCRIBE YOUR FAMILY NOW:

_____ 1. Family members ask each other for help.

_____ 2. In solving problems, the children's suggestions are followed.

_____ 3. We approve of each other's friends.

_____ 4. Children have a say in their discipline.

_____ 5. We like to do things with just our immediate family.

_____ 6. Different persons act as leaders in our family.

_____ 7. Family members feel closer to other family members than to people outside the family.

_____ 8. Our family changes its way of handling tasks.

_____ 9. Family members like to spend free time with each other.

_____ 10. Parent(s) and children discuss punishment together.

_____ 11. Family members feel very close to each other.

_____ 12. The children make the decisions in our family.

_____ 13. When our family gets together for activities, everybody is present.

_____ 14. Rules change in our family.

_____ 15. We can easily think of things to do together as a family.

_____ 16. We shift household responsibilities from person to person.

_____ 17. Family members consult other family members on their decisions.

_____ 18. It is hard to identify the leader(s) in our family.

_____ 19. Family togetherness is very important.

_____ 20. It is hard to tell who does which household chores.

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APPENDIX B

THE REVISED EXTENDED VERSION OF THE OBJECTIVE MEASURE OF EGO IDENTITY STATUS

Appendix C. The Revised, Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects you thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, please indicate reaction to the statement as a whole. Indicate your answer on the line preced the question number.

1 = strongly agree 4 = disagree

2 = moderately agree 5 = moderately disagree

3 = agree 6 = strongly disagree

____ 1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm jus 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 identical to my parents What has worked for them will obviously work for me.

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

____ 5. There's a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the man possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me.

____ 6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own.

____ 7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned whether I date or not.

____ 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. There are so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me.

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

____ 13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on.

____ (4) While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really committed to, I'm experiencing numerous possibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me.

____ 15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now.

____ 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's 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 and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe.

19

____ 20. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "lifestyle" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective.

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

____ 22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices.

____ 23. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it as it comes.

____ 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 so 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 came right from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further.

____ 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 don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now.

____ 30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly.

____ 31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decide what is best 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 for me.

____ 35. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in

marriage and I've decided what will work best for me.

____ 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 only pick friends my parents would approve of.

____ 38. I've always liked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else.

____ 39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date.

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

____ 41. My parents decide a long time ago what I should to into for employment and I'm following through 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 play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision.

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

____ 45. I've tried many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend.

____ 46. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends.

____ 47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided 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 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 know 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.

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

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

____ 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. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it.

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

____ 61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me.

____ 62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else.

____ 63. I date only people my parents would approve 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.

APPENDIX C

PARENT - ADOLESCENT COMMUNICATION

PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMMUNICATION

Adolescent and Father Form

HOWARD L. BARNES & DAVID H. OLSON

RESPONSE CHOICES

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Neither Agree Nor Disagree	4 Moderately Agree	5 Strongly Agree

_____ 1. I can discuss my beliefs with my father without feeling restrained or embarrassed.

_____ 2. Sometimes I have trouble believing everything my father tells me.

_____ 3. My father is always a good listener.

_____ 4. I am sometimes afraid to ask my father for what I want.

_____ 5. My father has a tendency to say things to me which would be better left unsaid.

_____ 6. My father can tell how I'm feeling without asking.

_____ 7. I am very satisfied with how my father and I talk together.

_____ 8. If I were in trouble, I could tell my father.

_____ 9. I openly show affection to my father.

_____10. When we are having a problem, I often give my father the silent teatment.

_____11. I am careful about what I say to my father.

_____12. When talking to my father, I have a tendency to say things that would be better left unsaid.

_____13. When I ask questions, I get honest answers from my father.

_____14. My father tries to understand my point of view.

_____15. There are topics I avoid discussing with my father.

_____16. I find it easy to discuss problems with my father.

_____17. It is very easy for me to express all my true feelings to my father.

_____18. My father nags/bothers me.

_____19. My father insults me when she is angry with me.

_____20. I don't think I can tell my father how I really feel about some things.

PARENT-ADOLESCENT COMMUNICATION

Adolescent and Mother Form

HOWARD L. BARNES & DAVID H. OLSON

RESPONSE CHOICES

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Moderately Disagree	3 Neither Agree Nor Disagree	4 Moderately Agree	5 Strongly Agree

_____ 1. I can discuss my beliefs with my mother without feeling restrained or embarrassed.

_____ 2. Sometimes I have trouble believing everything my mother tells me.

_____ 3. My mother is always a good listener.

_____ 4. I am sometimes afraid to ask my mother for what I want.

_____ 5. My mother has a tendency to say things to me which would be better left unsaid.

_____ 6. My mother can tell how I'm feeling without asking.

_____ 7. I am very satisfied with how my mother and I talk together.

_____ 8. If I were in trouble, I could tell my mother.

_____ 9. I openly show affection to my mother.

_____10. When we are having a problem, I often give my mother the silent teatment.

_____11. I am careful about what I say to my mother.

_____12. When talking to my mother, I have a tendency to say things that would be better left unsaid.

_____13. When I ask questions, I get honest answers from my mother.

_____14. My mother tries to understand my point of view.

_____15. There are topics I avoid discussing with my mother.

_____16. I find it easy to discuss problems with my mother.

_____17. It is very easy for me to express all my true feelings to my mother.

_____18. My mother nags/bothers me.

_____19. My mother insults me when she is angry with me.

_____20. I don't think I can tell my mother how I really feel about some things.

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer the following questions by filling in the space provided or by circling the letter beside your answer. **Do not put your name on this paper.**

1. What is your sex?

   a) male
   b) female

2. How old are you?

   _____ years and _____ months old.

3. To which racial group do you belong?

   a) Caucasian (white)
   b) Asian
   c) Black
   d) North American Indian
   e) other (please specify) _____

4. What program of study are you in?

   a) academic
   b) vocational
   c) business education

5. Where do you live?

   a) in the city
   b) in the country

6. How many brothers/sisters have you? _____

7. How many are older than you? _____

8. With whom are you currently living? Two answers may be required.

   a) biological (natural mother)
   b) biological (natural father)
   c) step-mother
   d) step-father
   e) foster mother
   f) foster father
   g) other (specify) _____

Note: The following questions refer only to the members of your family with whom you are currently living (as in question 8).

9. How old is your father? _____ 10. How old is your mother? _____

11. What is your mother's occupation? _____

12. What is your father's occupation? _____