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Emotional Autonomy in Adolescence: The Significance of Gender, Family Structure, Family Cohesion, Parenting Style, and Culture

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EMOTIONAL AUTONOMY IN ADOLESCENCE: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER, FAMILY STRUCTURE, FAMILY COHESION, PARENTING STYLE, AND CULTURE

by

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescence, imprecisely defined as the developmental stage which spans the second decade of life, is a period of tremendous growth and change as a dependent child evolves into an autonomous young adult. Much research in the field of adolescence has focused on the development of autonomy (Hill, 1980; Hill & Holmbeck, 1986; Offer, Ostrov, & Howard, 1981; Steinberg, 1981). More recently, a debate has developed about emotional autonomy as measured by Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) Emotional Autonomy Scale (EA). Emotional autonomy can be defined as "the process through which adolescents relinquish childish dependencies on, and conceptions of their parents" (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1990, p. 3). Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) have argued that the development of emotional autonomy, as measured by EA, is adaptive insofar as emotional distance from and a realistic perspective of parents are needed for an adolescent to begin to rely on his/her own internal resources. Others argued, however, that emotional autonomy as measured by EA is maladaptive, because it represents emotional disengagement from parents, significant others whom the adolescent utilizes for emotional support throughout adolescence (Ryan & Lynch, 1989).

It could be argued that the debate concerning EA arose because contextual factors were not taken into account (Cushman, 1991). Studies have generally correlated EA scores with dimensions of family relations without considering the

impact that systemic factors may have on the relationship between EA and adjustment (Ryan & Lynch, 1989; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) proposed that because adolescent development occurs within the context of individual, family, and cultural systems, the meaning and adaptiveness of EA should become more clear when examined within different variations of these contexts. The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between emotional autonomy, as measured by EA, and adjustment in several different contexts.

At the level of the individual, gender was expected to moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment, because emotional autonomy, separation, and relationships generally have different meanings for male and female adolescents. The family context was expected to moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment because the adolescent develops emotional autonomy in relation to his parents and within the family system. Variables at the family level which were examined were family structure (i.e., intact, single parent, or remarried family), the parenting style (i.e., parental warmth toward the adolescent and parental control in decision-making) most prevalent in the parent-adolescent relationship, and family cohesion, the adolescents' emotional bonding to his/her family. Finally, because the family is part of a larger culture, EA was interpreted in the context of ethnic and socioeconomic considerations.

The literature review that follows will include a description of the developmental changes of adolescence and psychoanalytic concepts which are related to emotional autonomy. Autonomy and emotional autonomy will be defined, and the strengths and weaknesses in past research with EA will be examined. The context of gender will be explored as a potential moderating variable for the relationship between EA and adjustment. Family structure, parenting style, and cohesion will also be examined as they are expected to impact on the relationship between EA and adolescent adjustment. Finally, socioeconomic and ethnic contexts will be explored as they are expected to moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment.

Description of Developmental Changes at Adolescence

Autonomy is embedded in a complex array of adolescent developmental changes. In this section, a framework for understanding the developmental changes of adolescence and the biological and cognitive changes associated with adolescence are briefly described. A framework for understanding early adolescent changes was delineated by Hill (1980) which included primary changes, settings, and secondary changes. Hill (1980) defined biological, social, and cognitive changes occurring in early adolescence as the primary changes of adolescence because they are universal, (i.e., they are similar across societies), and because they impact on secondary changes (i.e., attachment, autonomy,

sexuality, intimacy, achievement, and identity; Hill, 1980). The impact of primary changes on secondary changes are mediated by the family, peer, and school settings.

According to Hill (1980), attachment relationships change during adolescence "transforming childhood social bonds to parents to bonds acceptable between parents and their adult children" (p. 5). Changes in autonomy occur in the family, peer, and school settings as adolescents gain the capacity for self-initiated activity in an expanding variety of circumstances (Hill, 1980). Changes in intimacy also occur during early adolescence as greater capacities for self-disclosure, affective perspective-taking, and altruism develop (Hill, 1980). Peer relationships are transformed from same-sex, activity-based relationships to include more intimate and heterosexual relationships (Hill, 1980). Beginning in early adolescence, vocational choices begin to include the consideration of current achievements in relation to possible prospects, thereby becoming more "future-oriented and realistic" (Hill, 1980, p. 5). Identity changes also occur in adolescence as a result of primary and other secondary changes, such as the need to incorporate sexual behavior into gender identity (Hill, 1980). All of these changes are gradually incorporated into the self-concept such that adolescents gain an understanding of self as unique, integrated, and continuous over time (Hill, 1980).

Biological changes at early adolescence, (i.e., the

adolescent "growth spurt", growth of body hair, voice changes, onset of menarche, and other physical changes) signal to adolescents and to society that the young person is becoming an adult (Kidwell, Fischer, Dunham, & Baranowski, 1983). The occurrence of pubertal changes and possibly the timing of these biological changes affects adolescent self-image (Duncan, Ritter, Dornbusch, Gross, & Carlsmith, 1985; Simmons, Blyth, Van Cleave, & Bush, 1979; Tobin-Richards, Boxer, & Petersen, 1983). Family relationships are also transformed at puberty. Pubertal development was associated with a decrease in adolescent report of family cohesion, an increase in emotional autonomy from parents (Steinberg, 1987a, 1988), an increase in maternal-adolescent conflict, and a decrease in parental control (Steinberg, 1987a). Adolescent males also experienced increased influence in family decision-making with pubertal development (Steinberg, 1981) while maternal influence decreased.

Cognitive growth, especially the potential for the development of formal operations, also generates significant changes in early adolescence. New cognitive skills significantly impact upon self-perceptions and perceptions of parent-adolescent relationships because adolescents gain the ability to think about their own thoughts, think about possibilities and ideals, and understand multiple viewpoints. Adolescents can compare ideals for self and family to actual behavior or possible behaviors, and they can understand social

situations in a more mature manner (Hill, 1980). Therefore, adolescents may point out inconsistencies in family behavior and ideals, and examine their own inconsistencies as well. With the advent of formal operational thought, adolescents come to realize that parents are not omniscient and omnipotent (Kidwell, et al., 1983), and they deidealize their parents. Therefore, adolescents are more likely to question family rules and values which were previously accepted without challenge. Cognitive change also allows adolescents to develop a more integrated view of self and others, understanding and accepting both the strengths and weaknesses in themselves and significant others. This development is important to the process of disengaging from infantilized parental images, a part of emotional autonomy development. Adolescents also begin to perceive themselves "as distinct from others and as a reasonably consistent and continuous 'whole' person" (Kidwell, et al., 1983, p. 79), abilities which are important to individuation and identity development. Thus, the biological and cognitive changes which typically occur at adolescence promote the developmental tasks at hand, including the establishment of autonomy.

Definition of Autonomy

Autonomy has been defined in many different ways, but definitions usually emphasize either the concept of independence or self-governance (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986). Autonomy defined as independence usually focuses on separation

or detachment from parents, or freedom from social influence (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986). Autonomy defined as self-governance usually focuses on the ability to self-regulate rather than using parents or peers for regulation (Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Definitions of autonomy which emphasize self-governance are preferred over definitions of autonomy which emphasize independence because they highlight what is present rather than what is renounced. Further, definitions of autonomy as self-governance are preferred because they tend to be more consistent with the observation that while normal adolescents develop the capacity for self-governance and independence, they generally do not "break away" from their families, nor do they become "free" from social influence (Hill & Holmbeck, 1986).

Autonomy has been described as a multi-dimensional construct encompassing the behavioral, cognitive, and affective domains (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Research is at different stages for each domain of autonomy and little is known about how they are interrelated. Behavioral autonomy refers to the ability to make and follow through on independent decisions and to regulate one's own behavior (Douvan & Adelson, 1966). Behavioral autonomy includes research on the adolescent's role in family decision making (Cooper, et al., 1983; Hill & Holmbeck, 1987; Papini, Daton, McCluskey-Fawcett, 1988; Steinberg, 1981), and research on resistance to peer or parental pressure (Berndt, 1979).

Autonomy in the cognitive domain refers to a sense of self-reliance and the belief that one can make decisions based on ones values (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Cognitive autonomy includes research on the development of principles in moral and social decision making (Gilligan, 1987, 1982), and adolescent ego development (Bell & Bell, 1983).

Affective autonomy refers to "the degree to which the adolescent has cast off infantile ties to the family" (Douvan & Adelson, 1966, p. 130). Affective autonomy develops through individuation and parental deidealization (Blos, 1967; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Research on affective autonomy includes investigations of object relations (Avrey & Ryan, 1988) and emotional autonomy (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986) in young adolescents, and separation-individuation in college students (Levine, Green, & Millon, 1986). To understand how a growing sense of individuation, propelled by the process of parental deidealization, is considered a normal and necessary part of adolescent development, the theory underlying the construct of emotional autonomy will now be reviewed.

Psychoanalytic Concepts Related to Emotional Autonomy

Several basic psychoanalytic concepts will be reviewed briefly as they are related to emotional autonomy. Object relations theories, one school of thought within the psychoanalytic field, are based on "the central concept that the 'ego' (that part of self that copes with reality) is

capable of relating to an 'external object' (the object of attachment, namely the person that cares for the infant) from birth. The experience of the object is internalized within the psyche as an 'inner object'...a mental structure inside the ego, which is a composite of introjected experiences with significant others over the course of development" (Scharff & Scharff, 1987, p 43).

The psychic world is therefore constructed based on internalization of aspects and functions of relationships, or "object-relations." Behrends and Blatt (1985) describe internalization as a lifelong process of psychological growth. Internalization occurs in the context of a gratifying relationship in which an "experienced incompatibility" occurs (Behrends & Blatt, 1985). Experienced incompatibilities are due to the inevitable minor psychological disruptions which occur when the person is not able to instantly or completely meet all of the child's needs, spurring the child to respond to the anxiety and loss by preserving the function of the object by internalization (Behrends & Blatt, 1985).

The development of ego strength is another important concept related to emotional autonomy. The ego is, by definition, "the sum total of those mental processes which aim at safeguarding mental functioning" (Blos, 1962, p. 171). Ego functions include perception, motility, judgment, and memory (Klein, 1990). Two important functions of the ego are regulation of fluctuations in self-esteem and regulation of

affect (Blos, 1962). In childhood, the parental ego is used as a legitimate ego extension by children to control anxiety and regulate self-esteem (Blos, 1967). According to Blos (1967), adolescents must relinquish this dependence on parental ego strength in order to take over these functions for themselves and become emotionally autonomous. The psychological growth that occurs in the latency period theoretically provides the groundwork for continued ego development and ego strength in adolescence (Blos, 1962). With these basic psychoanalytic concepts in mind, the development of emotional autonomy can be discussed.

Definition of Emotional Autonomy

Emotional autonomy can be defined as the relinquishing of childlike dependence on and conceptions of parents which occurs during adolescence. When Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) operationalized the concept of emotional autonomy with EA, they based their scale on the theoretical work of psychoanalyst Peter Blos (1962, 1967, 1979). Blos (1967) described the period of adolescence as a "second separation-individuation" because of the similarities between the stage of separation-individuation described by Mahler, Pine, and Bergman (1975) in which the toddler emerges from symbiosis with mother, and the adolescent's emergence from a focus on family relationships to the inclusion of important relationships with larger society. Blos (1967) stated that adolescence involves the "shedding of family dependencies,

the loosening of infantile object ties in order to become a member of...the adult world" (p. 163). Blos (1967) postulates that at the completion of the second individuation process, adolescents are able to rely on their own ego strength for a stable sense of self-esteem and stability of mood. He also contends that adolescents disengage from infantile objects, and this deidealization of parents allows for a more complex, integrated understanding of self and others, as well as an investment in extra-familial heterosexual relationships (Blos, 1967).

Blos (1967) argues that regression is necessary so that the adolescent can rework infantile object-relations and infantile drives in order to relinquish them and move forward to mature extra-familial heterosexual relationships. If the adolescent is unsuccessful in this task, the development of mature extra-familial love relationships is precluded (Blos, 1967). The exhilaration that comes with independence from childish parental object-relations is said to be accompanied by a sense of loss of these object-relations, which were once so important (Blos, 1967; Kaplan, 1984). But by surrendering infantile object-relations, adolescents gain a sense of being self-governing and they accept increasing responsibility for what they do (Blos, 1967).

As adolescents relinquish their infantile object-relations, Blos (1967) contends that the ego ideal is consolidated. The ego ideal is a conceptualized as a

differentiated part of the ego which assumes a guiding role similar to that of the superego, but is less harsh (Blos, 1962). The ego ideal is an "implicitly ego-syntonic guiding principle without which life loses inner direction, continuity, and meaning" (Blos, 1967, p. 138). Blos (1967) theorizes that as the ego ideal gains influence during adolescence, teenagers are better able to regulate their own affect and self-esteem rather than depend on parents for this ego support. Adolescents gradually let go of their childhood dependence on parents for ego strength in order to become emotionally autonomous (Blos, 1967).

From Blos' (1967) perspective, the deidealization of parents involves the relinquishing of idealized infantile introjects. It is theorized that the long process of gradually disengaging from infantile objects and developing integrated internal objects is consolidated and completed at adolescence (Klein, 1990). What this means is that adolescents gradually and definitively let go of idealized, or "all good", and diabolic, or "all bad" representations of parents and come to see parents as having both good and bad qualities, rather than being either good or bad. This allows adolescents accept that their parents have both strengths and weaknesses. Adolescents also gradually come to see themselves in this same integrated manner, having both good and bad qualities which are continuous over time. Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) postulate that another consequence of

relinquishing idealized childhood introjects is that adolescents begin to understand that their parents have functions and roles outside of their "parent" status. In other words, adolescents are expected to gradually come to realize that mother also has roles such as wife and daughter, and that mother has functions other than nurturing self, such as sexual self and social self.

A major criticism of the psychoanalytic theories of adolescent development is that portions of these theories have been refuted by empirical research. Blos (1979) has argued that regression and the accompanying intrapsychic conflict and parent-adolescent conflict were prerequisites for adolescent development. The belief that adolescence is a turbulent period, a time of storm and stress (Blos, 1967, 1979; Freud, 1958; Kaplan, 1984), has not been supported by empirical research. Research indicates that adolescence is not an emotionally difficult time for most adolescents (Rutter, Graham, Chadwick, & Yule, 1976; Offer, Ostrov, & Howard, 1981) and that normal parent-adolescent relationships are characterized by mundane rather than severe conflict (Hill & Holmbeck, 1987; Holmbeck & O'Donnell, 1990; Montemayor, 1983; Steinberg, 1981).

Offer, Ostrov, and Howard (1981) found that most adolescents felt confident, happy, healthy, and self-satisfied. Their research also indicated that most adolescents usually felt relaxed, believed that they had

control over their lives, felt hopeful about the future, and did not feel that they had any major problems (Offer, et. al., 1981). Moreover, research does not support the psychoanalytic notion that serious conflict is a normal part of parent-adolescent relationships. In a comprehensive review of the literature, Montemayor (1983) found that while the amount of conflict in the parent-child relationship increased during adolescence, the majority of parent-adolescent conflict was about routine family matters. Hill and Holmbeck (1987) found that the amount of disagreement in the parent-adolescent relationship was not related to the early adolescent's sense of parental acceptance, except in the father-daughter relationship (Hill & Holmbeck, 1987). Others report that most adolescents have positive feelings for their parents, feel close to their parents, and feel their parents were reliable, reasonable, and patient (Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Newman, 1989; Offer, et al., 1981).

Despite this accurate criticism of the psychoanalytic theory of adolescent development, the development of emotional autonomy does not depend on the presence of storm and stress. According to Blos (1967), the process of individuation at adolescence involves the relinquishing of childhood dependence on, and conceptions of parents. This process can, and indeed does appear to take place in a relatively calm parent-adolescent relationship. Blos (1967) theorizes that as adolescents rework infantile introjects, parents are

deidealized and conceptions of parents become more integrated and realistic. But the process of deidealization is not equivalent to acrimonious devaluation of parents. The process of individuation also includes the relinquishing of childish dependence on parents, with adolescents becoming increasingly self-governing. This process does not necessitate the occurrence of severe parent-adolescent conflict, but rather it appears that mundane conflict may play a role in helping the parents and adolescents transform their relationship without severing their connection with each other (Holmbeck & O'Donnell, 1990; Montemayor, 1983; White, Speisman & Costos, 1983).

The development of emotional autonomy occurs at a time when adolescents are becoming increasingly adult-like in appearance and in social roles, and when cognitive growth allows for more complex and abstract thought. The process of individuation as postulated by Blos (1967) is embedded in an array of developmental changes, and in distinctive personal, familial, and cultural contexts. It is with this frame of reference that the development of emotional autonomy can best be understood.

Research on Emotional Autonomy

Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) sought to operationalize Blos's (1967) concept of the "second separation-individuation" with a measure of emotional autonomy (EA) which consists of twenty Likert-scale items. The measure contains four

subscales believed to reflect aspects of the separation-individuation process: "perceives parents as people"; "parental deidealization"; "nondependency on parents"; and "individuation". Parental deidealization items were designed to tap the adolescent's abdication of childish perceptions of parents as omnipotent. "Nondependency on parents" items were designed to tap the adolescent's absence of childish dependence on parents rather than the adolescence freedom from parental influence. The items included in the "perceives parents as people" subscale were designed to assess the understanding that the parent has roles and functions beyond that of parent. The "individuation" items were designed to assess the adolescents' sense of self as separate, or somewhat disengaged from the parents.

In a study of adolescents aged 10 through 16, Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) found that EA scores increased with age, and all EA subscale scores except "perceives parents as people" also increased with age. Girls scored significantly higher than boys on total EA and "deidealization" across all age groups. Scores for EA did not vary significantly with socioeconomic status. Based on these results, Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) suggest that emotional autonomy develops across the early adolescent years, with adolescents gradually developing less idealized images of their parents, relinquishing childish dependence on parents, and forming a

Silverberg (1986) suggest that the normal adolescent process is characterized by a trading of emotional dependence on parents for a temporary dependence on peers because they found that adolescents who reported higher levels of EA also reported less resistance to peer pressure.

An alternative interpretation of Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) results is that adolescents with higher EA scores were emotionally detached from parents, unable to utilize parents for emotional support, and therefore felt more susceptible to peer pressure (Ryan & Lynch, 1989). This interpretation implies that higher levels of EA are dysfunctional. However, this hypothesis does not account for Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) findings that both feelings of self-reliance and EA scores increased with age, and self-reliance and resistance to peer pressure were positively associated for girls. Nor does this explanation account for the 25% of girls and 18% of boys in the fifth grade and the 25% of girls and 12% of the boys in the ninth grade who report both high emotional autonomy and high resistance to peer pressure (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Perhaps for this portion of adolescents, the higher EA score represents an adaptive stance in relation to parents, allowing for better adjustment. An analysis of the relationship between EA and adjustment within the family context would test this hypothesis.

Ryan and Lynch (1989) examined EA and argued that EA is

a measure of detachment from parents rather than a measure of emotional autonomy. In one study, they found that seventh-graders with higher EA scores reported less utilization of parents for emotional support and less felt security in relation to parents and friends. Ryan and Lynch (1989) did not assess the quality of the emotional support that parents were able to provide so it is unclear if nonutilization of parents for emotional support was adaptive or maladaptive. They also found gender differences opposite to those of Steinberg and Silverberg (1986), with boys scoring higher than girls on total EA, and scoring higher than girls on all subscales except "nondependency on parents" (Ryan & Lynch, 1989).

Ryan and Lynch (1989) also found adolescents from divorced or separated homes reported less parental support, particularly less paternal acceptance, and higher EA scores (which were primarily due to higher scores on the "parents as people" subscale). It appears that adolescents who have witnessed parental divorce may be more aware of the parental roles and functions outside that of "parent," and that the departure of the father from the family home was associated with reduced feelings of paternal acceptance. This finding is consistent with Sessa and Steinberg's (1991) argument that divorce alters the context in which emotional autonomy develops, but does not clarify the relationship between family structure, emotional autonomy, and adaptation. It is possible

that family structure moderates the relationship between EA scores and adjustment, and that higher EA scores are adaptive for adolescents in divorced families, although this was not explored. Research has shown that quality of parenting (parental support) declines during and following divorce (Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1985; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980), and that divorce is often associated with significant financial and psychological stress which can last for several years (Hetherington, 1989). Therefore one could hypothesize that divorce facilitates a greater awareness of "parents as people", and that greater emotional autonomy from a parent may be adaptive under stressful conditions associated with divorce. This hypothesis will be explored in a later section of this paper.

Ryan and Lynch (1989) argue that higher EA scores indicate that adolescents feel less secure within the family, so that the adolescents are less willing to draw upon parental resources. Viewed in these terms, they argue that EA reflects a "loss of developmentally appropriate attachments" (Ryan & Lynch, 1989, p. 353), and imply that EA is associated with poor adjustment. However, this argument overlooks the potential interaction between parental capacity to provide support and adolescent utilization of parental support and the potential for this interaction to moderate the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy.

Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) examined the association

between emotional autonomy and adjustment in the context of the emotional climate of the mother-adolescent relationship. In a sample of over 2,000 White adolescents in the ninth- through twelfth-grades, Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) found that the relationship between EA and adjustment varied "both as a function of the overall quality of the parent-adolescent relationship and as a function of the aspect of adjustment assessed" (p. 13). For one third of the adolescents, the maternal relationship was characterized as avoidant or anxious. For these adolescents, moderate to high scores on EA were associated with the most positive adjustment profiles (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1990). For example, among avoidant adolescents, academic competence was highest and behavior problems lowest at moderate levels of EA, while psychosocial adjustment increased as EA scores increased. Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) found that the majority of adolescents characterized their relationship with their mother as secure. For these adolescents, moderate to low scores on EA were associated with the most positive adjustment profiles.

Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) conclude that it is difficult to understand the significance of EA scores without considering the parent-adolescent relationship. They argue that the adaptiveness or maladaptiveness of emotional autonomy depends on the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1990). For adolescents whose attachment relationship with parents is insecure, "a certain level of

disengagement from the family may in fact be appropriate and developmentally advantageous" (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1990, p. 14).

There are, however, several limitations to Lamborn and Steinberg's (1990) research. The results cannot be generalized beyond White, middle-class, high school students. Further, Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) assessed the parent-child relationship with one question, limiting the generalizability of this work. Nevertheless, Lamborn and Steinberg's (1990) research is noteworthy in its' examination of the parent-adolescent relationship as moderating the relationship between EA and adjustment, and the use of several aspects of adaptation. The primary benefit of this type of research is that it could extend our understanding of the development of emotional autonomy at adolescence.

The next logical step is to extend our inquiry into other contexts and other aspects of the parent-adolescent relationship as moderators of the relationship between EA and adjustment. Since adolescent development occurs within the context of the individual, family, and society, the meaning and adaptiveness of emotional autonomy may vary across each of these contexts. In the sections that follow, the potential moderating effects of gender, family characteristics, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status on the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment will be explored.

Consistent with Lamborn and Silverberg's (1990) approach,

adjustment will be broadly defined. Measures assessing both competence and negative adjustment will be included in this study. Adolescent competence will include measures of self-perception and academic achievement. Negative adjustment will include measures of behavior problems, and frequency and intensity of conflict in the parent-adolescent relationship. Adjustment will be generally defined as relatively positive self-perception, high academic achievement, low behavior problems, and low frequency and intensity of conflict in the parent-adolescent relationship.

The Context of Gender

The psychoanalytic theory of gender differences in relationships and the research on gender differences which is relevant to the development of emotional autonomy during adolescence will be reviewed in this section. Psychoanalytic theorists have long maintained that males and females experience their world and their relationships differently (Blos, 1967; Chodorow, 1978; Kaplan, 1984; Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975; Scharff & Scharff, 1987). In support of these claims, research has demonstrated that there are significant gender differences in several areas of secondary change at adolescence, including identity formation (Cooper & Grotevant, 1987; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983; Mellor, 1989; Rich, 1990) and intimacy (Bollerud, Christopherson, & Frank, 1990; Stern, 1990). On the other hand, research on attachment in family relationships (Steinberg, 1987b) and other studies of family interaction patterns at early adolescence have found surprisingly few gender differences (Hauser et al, 1987; Montemayor & Brownlee, 1987; Papini, Daton, & McCluskey-Fawcett, 1988; Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987).

Research with Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) measure of EA indicates some gender differences on this measure for young adolescents (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) found that girls received higher EA scores than boys in early adolescence, while Ryan and Lynch (1989) found the reverse results for

young adolescents and no gender differences for older adolescents. Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) also found that sixth- and eighth-grade girls who reported greater feelings of self reliance reported lower EA scores. Moreover, for girls, greater feelings of self reliance were associated with greater resistance to peer pressure (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). While these results are mixed, they suggest that gender may moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment in early adolescence.

Psychoanalytic theorists maintain that gender differences originate in a person's first relationship (Blos, 1967; Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Kaplan, 1984). Chodorow (1978) argues that because of powerful cultural norms, the early relational world differs for and is experienced differently by male and female children, resulting in basic gender differences in personality development. Chodorow (1978) explains how, "in any given society, feminine personality comes to define itself in relation and connection to other people more than masculine personality does" (p. 43-44). Across cultures, the primary caregiver is a usually a female, and in modern Western culture, typically the mother (Mahler, et al., 1975). Therefore, the infant's task of separation-individuation takes place in the context of a mother-and-child relationship.

Chodorow (1978) theorizes that because mothers experience their male and female children differently, the mother-and-

child relationship is different for males and females, and therefore, the foundation of all later relationships is different. Because the mother-daughter relationship is a same-sex relationship, Chodorow (1978) argues that mothers tend to experience their daughters as similar to themselves, or more connected with themselves. In turn, girls identify themselves as like their mother, blending the experience of attachment with the process of identity formation. In contrast, because the mother-son relationship is an opposite-sex relationship, Chodorow (1978) theorizes that mothers experience their sons as different or opposite from them, aware of the boy's masculinity from birth. Therefore, boys define themselves as different from their primary caretaker, and male development involves a more definite individuation with more sharply defined ego boundaries (Chodorow, 1978).

Because they define their object relational world differently, Gilligan (1982) argues that "boys and girls arrive at puberty with a different interpersonal orientation and a different range of social experiences" (p. 11). Simply put, because of distinctive societal expectations and influences, males tend to define themselves through separation, and females tend to define themselves through connectedness. Mellor's (1989) research on identity supports this hypothesis. He found that males and females tended to utilize definitions of self as separate from others or as connected to others differently for positive resolutions of

Erikson's (1968) identity crises of childhood and adolescence. Females tended to use "connected" self-definitions for positive resolution of identity crises more than males, particularly for resolution of Trust, Initiative, and Intimacy crises (Mellor, 1989). This research suggests that there may be significant gender differences in self-definitions as related to positive resolution of identity issues.

Because males and females tend to define and experience their object-relational world differently, psychoanalytic writers argue that development of autonomy at adolescence is more difficult and problematic for females than males (Blos, 1979; Kaplan, 1984). Others argue that the developmental tasks of adolescence are not more problematic for females, but rather that males and females approach and master the developmental task in a different manner (Cooper & Grotevant, 1987; Gilligan, 1987, 1990; Mellor, 1989; Stern, 1990). Based on this understanding, gender should moderate the relationship between EA scores and adjustment. It is hypothesized that a more connected stance as reflected by lower EA scores would be more adaptive for female adolescents, while a less connected stance, as reflected by a higher EA scores, would be more adaptive for male adolescents.

Because adolescent emotional autonomy develops in relation to parents, it is important to consider potential gender differences within the parent-adolescent relationships. Steinberg (1987b) argued that there are distinct differences

in maternal and paternal behavior and attitudes toward sons and daughters, such that mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, and father-daughter relationships are significantly different. For example, greater midlife identity concerns in mothers were associated with higher EA scores for daughters, while greater midlife identity concerns for fathers were associated with higher EA scores for sons (Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987). Fathers reported significantly more parental responsibility to sons than daughters (Gilbert, Hanson, & Davis, 1982), while others found that father-adolescent relationships were more distant than mother-adolescent relationships (Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). Research also suggested more mutual sharing and closeness in the decision-making process in the mother-daughter relationship than in the father-son or mother-son relationship during adolescence (Newman, 1989).

Steinberg (1987b) conceptualized a continuum of emotional involvement and intensity in parent-child relationships, with relationships ranging from high to low emotional involvement and intensity. He placed the mother-daughter relationship at the high end of the continuum, because it is characterized by high emotional involvement and intensity, and he placed the father-daughter relationship at the low end of the continuum, with low emotional involvement and intensity (Steinberg, 1987b). If mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter,

emotional involvement, these differences could be reflected in the relationship between EA scores and adjustment. Past research utilizing the EA measure has not examined EA in the maternal and paternal relationships separately.

This study will examine adolescent EA scores for the maternal and paternal relationship separately to explore differences in EA scores across mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter, and father-son dyads. It is expected that EA scores will be lowest for mother-daughter dyads, highest for father-daughter dyads, and at an intermediate level for mother-son and father-son dyads. It is also predicted that the relationship between adolescent adjustment and EA scores will vary across parent-adolescent dyads. It is expected that lower EA scores in the mother-daughter dyad and higher EA scores in the father-daughter dyad will be associated with adjustment, whereas moderate EA scores are expected to be associated with adjustment for mother-son and father-son dyads.

The Context of Family Structure

Family structure, (i.e., whether the adolescent's parents are divorced, married, remarried, or never married) helps define the relationships in which emotional autonomy develops (Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Consequently, it is expected that family structure will moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment, such that higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents in nontraditional families. The literature on divorce, single parenting, and remarriage will be reviewed as it applies to the development of emotional autonomy in adolescence. For lack of a better term, and because these terms are frequently used in the literature, the terms "traditional" and "nontraditional" will be used to refer to family structure, dispite the cultural bias inherent in these terms.

Changes in Family Structure and the Facilitation of Emotional Autonomy

Divorce or remarriage during preadolescence or early adolescence can "instigate the autonomy process by initiating changes in the parent-adolescent relationship" (Sessa & Steinberg, 1991, p. 38). When marital change occurs during the early adolescent years and the adolescent is developmentally ready to begin the task of individuating from the family, divorce or remarriage can facilitate development in several ways (Daniel, 1990; Hetherington & Anderson, 1988; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991; Wallerstein, Kelly, and Lewis, 1988).

Divorce calls into question children's image of parents as omnipotent and infallible (Sessa & Steinberg, 1991), in part because older children and adolescents may be exposed to scandalous accusations or defamation of one parent by the other during the process of divorce (Hetherington & Anderson, 1988; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein, et al., 1988). Older children and adolescents become more aware of parent's problems and mistakes, and may also question the parents' ability to provide emotional and financial support. With the adolescent's developing ability to understand psychological cause and effect relationships and multiple perspectives, parental divorce may facilitate the development of a more realistic impression of parents' strengths and weaknesses (Springer & Wallerstein, 1983). Further, when parents move out of the house or when they resume dating, adolescents see parents in adult roles outside the "parent" role, including their parent's sexuality, a developmentally sensitive issue for adolescents (Hetherington & Anderson, 1988; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Because of the openness of generational boundaries and increased role flexibility often found in single-parent homes (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), children and early adolescents in single-parent families are also likely to witnesses parents struggle with financial and family obligations and multiple adult roles.

Moreover, divorce and single parenting may facilitate the process of deidealization of father. Many children of

divorce are dissatisfied with the father-child relationship following divorce, despite the fact that children expect less from noncustodial than custodial fathers (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985). Children with noncustodial divorced fathers report that they do not get the affection they need from fathers nor do they feel emotionally close to fathers (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Children's dissatisfaction with noncustodial fathers may be due, in part, to the fact that there is no explicitly defined parenting role for divorced fathers. For both for children and parents, the expectations and the responsibilities of the noncustodial father-child relationship are unclear (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985). In a similar manner, there is no clearly defined parenting role for fathers who have never been married to their children's mothers, which is likely to result in unmet expectations and dissatisfaction for the children. Because of this dissatisfaction, divorce or single-parenting may facilitate the process of the deidealization of father. This, in turn, may facilitate the development of emotional autonomy.

Family Structure, Emotional Autonomy, and Adjustment

The development of emotional autonomy may buffer young adolescents from some of the psychological stress involved in parental divorce or remarriage by providing both distance from the crisis and additional internal and extra-familial support. If the early adolescent is emotionally ready to begin the

individuation process, he or she can utilize this disengagement to achieve distance from the turbulence of divorce or remarriage (Sessa & Steinberg, 1991; Wallerstein et al, 1988; Wallerstein and Blakeslee, 1989).

Divorce may temporarily increase maternal demands for emotional support and behavioral autonomy (Hetherington, 1989; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Springer & Wallerstein, 1983), and can temporarily reduce parental capacity for effective parenting (Hetherington, et al., 1985; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Adolescents who have begun the process of decreasing emotional dependence on parents and have begun forming important, supportive peer and extra-familial relationships can utilize these relationships to avoid an overinvolved relationship with the custodial mother, should she place too many emotional demands and responsibilities on the adolescent (Hetherington & Anderson, 1988; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991). Further, adolescents, unlike younger children, are not limited to relying on diminished parental capacities for emotional support because they have begun the process of relying on their own ego strength for regulation of self-esteem and affect (i.e., nondependence on parents).

The adolescent whose custodial parent remarries also faces difficult adjustments (Anderson, et al., 1989; Garbarino, Sebes, & Schellenbach, 1984; Hetherington, et al., 1985; Num, Parish, & Worthing, 1983; Parish, 1990). Young adolescents may perceive the stepfather as an intruder who has

upset the equilibrium of the household (Hetherington & Anderson, 1988; Pasley & Healow, 1988), and may feel that the control and independence they gained in the single-parent household has been threatened by the stepfather (Brand, et al., 1988; Hetherington, et al., 1989). At the time of remarriage, the increased level of involvement between the spouses as a new marital identity is forged may be disturbing to a young adolescent who is likely to be very sensitive to the physical aspects of the parental relationship (Brand, et al, 1988; Daniels, 1990; Hetherington & Anderson, 1988).

Divorce and remarriage are not single events, but rather a series of changes. Children must adjust to marital conflict around and following divorce. Following divorce or remarriage, children may also need to adjust to changes in parental availability and parenting style, family routines, and changes in school and home due to relocation (Hetherington, et al., 1989; Wallerstein, et al., 1988). Divorce also frequently brings the significant loss of social and economic resources associated with single parenting (Laosa, 1988; McLanahan, Garfinkel, & Ooms, 1987; Rosenbaum, 1988). Higher levels of EA may buffer the adolescent from the stress of parental divorce or remarriage and the resulting changes in the family system.

In summary, divorce, remarriage, and single parenting may facilitate the processes of emotional autonomy, and emotional autonomy may buffer adolescents from some of the

stress associated with marital transitions and single-parenting. In this manner, family structure is expected to moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment, with higher EA scores associated with better adjustment for adolescents in nontraditional homes, and lower EA scores associated with better adjustment for adolescents in intact homes.

The Context of Cohesion

Family cohesion is "the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another" (Olson, McCubbin, Barnes, Muxen, Larsen, Wilson, 1983/1989). Doherty and Hovander (1990) refer to cohesion as commitment and connectedness among family members, as the elements "perceived by most people as core ingredients in the sense of being a family" (p. 11). Because the construct of cohesion is considered a principal affective feature of families, cohesion is expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. In this section, I will review the construct of cohesion proposed by Olson and colleagues, the research on cohesion as measured by the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scales (FACES), and will discuss cohesion as a moderating variable for the relationship between EA and adjustment in adolescence.

The Construct of Cohesion

Olson and colleagues, in the Circumplex Model of family systems (Olson, et al., 1979), conceptualized cohesion as having a curvilinear relationship with adjustment. They hypothesized that moderate levels of cohesion (connected and separate) were optimal for family functioning, while extreme levels (enmeshed and disengaged) were dysfunctional (Olson, et al., 1979). Theoretically, families characterized by moderate levels of cohesion encourage in the family members a balance between being independent from others and being

connected to others (Olson, Russell & Sprenkle, 1983). Enmeshment, or extremely high levels of cohesion, is considered problematic because "loyalty to and consensus within the family prevents individuation of family members" (Olson, et al. 1983, p. 70). Disengagement, at the extreme low end of the cohesion continuum, is considered problematic because there is such limited attachment or commitment between family members that the family lacks a sense of connection (Olson, et al., 1983/1989). The construct of family cohesion has been operationalized by Olson and colleagues in the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scales (FACES), and has been used widely in family assessment research.

Research on Cohesion with FACES

The Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scales, (FACES-II, Olson, Portner, & Bell, 1982; and FACES-III, Olson, McCubbin, Barnes, Larsen, Muxen, & Wilson, 1985) are widely used measures of cohesion in family systems research (Dickerson & Coyne, 1987). A substantial amount of research has been conducted with both FACES measures, and studies with clinical and normal families demonstrate the discriminant power of the FACES in distinguishing between symptomatic and nonsymptomatic families (Olson, 1986; Olson, et al., 1983/1989; Rodick, Henggeler, & Hanson, 1986). Moreover, the FACES-II cohesion scale correlates significantly with the Family Environment Scale (FES) cohesion scale (Moos & Moos, 1976, 1981) and with the Family Assessment Device (FAD) affective involvement

subscale (Epstein, Baldwin, & Bishop, 1983), suggesting concurrent validity for these measures of cohesion (Dickerson & Coyne, 1987).

While Olson and colleagues (1983/1989) theorized that the construct of cohesion has a curvilinear relationship with adjustment, much recent research has demonstrated that the FACES-II cohesion scale has a linear relationship with adjustment (Barnes & Olson, 1985; Dickerson & Coyne, 1987; Green, Kolevzon, & Vosler, 1985a, 1985b; Olson, 1986; Pink & Wampler, 1985; Pratt & Hansen, 1987; Walker, McLaughlin, & Greene, 1988). Researchers argue that the FACES-II cohesion scale has a linear relationship with adjustment, such that high scores on the FACES-II cohesion scale are associated with functional degrees of family connectedness (Perosa & Perosa, 1990; Pratt & Hansen, 1987). Olson summarized his own research with FACES-II by stating that "families that describe themselves as very satisfied also describe themselves to be very adaptable and very cohesive, and they tend to use a large number of resources and to experience low stress levels" (Olson, et al., 1983/1989, p. 186). In summary, while Olson and colleagues created the FACES cohesion scale with a curvilinear construct in mind, the FACES-II cohesion scale appears to be a valid linear measure of cohesion, demonstrating both reliability and concurrent validity.

In a study of normal adolescents and their families, Perosa and Perosa (1990) reported that FACES-III cohesion

scores were associated with family health as measured by affiliation, low levels of conflict, and successful resolution of conflict. Further, 75% of variance for family health was accounted for by cohesion (Perosa & Perosa, 1990). Barnes & Olson (1985) found that FACES-II cohesion scores were positively associated with more open and effective parent-adolescent communication, and Pink & Wampler (1985) found that for adolescents and their families, higher cohesion scores were associated with unconditional acceptance in the parent-adolescent relationship, positive communication, and higher regard for family members.

Relationship between Cohesion, Emotional Autonomy, and Adjustment

How does this relate to emotional autonomy? It appears that higher scores on cohesion, as measured by FACES, are associated with functional levels of connectedness in families. However, not all families are characterized by this functional level of connectedness. For example, Lamborn and Steinberg (1991) found in their study of normal adolescents, one third of parent-adolescent attachments were insecure. For adolescents in less cohesive families, greater emotional distance may be beneficial and adaptive. For adolescents in more cohesive families, the family provides a functional level of involvement, so that less emotional distance would be beneficial and adaptive. Therefore, it is expected that family cohesion will moderate the relationship between EA and

adjustment, with higher EA scores associated with adjustment in families with low cohesion, and lower EA scores associated with adjustment in families with high cohesion. This hypothesis is consistent with the findings of Lamborn and Steinberg (1991), in which maternal-adolescent attachment relationship moderated the relationship between EA and adjustment. Moderate to low EA scores were associated with better adjustment for adolescents with secure attachment relationships, while moderate to high EA scores were associated with adjustment for adolescents with insecure attachment relationships (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1991).

The Context of Parenting Style

Psychological research on parenting style typically assesses two dimensions of parenting behavior: (1) the level of warmth and acceptance parents have for children; and (2) the level of control parents exercise with children versus the amount of autonomy permitted (Hill, 1987). In this section, parenting style as conceptualized by Baumrind (1968, 1973, 1978, 1991) will be defined and research related to parenting style and adjustment in adolescence will be reviewed. Parenting style will also be discussed as a possible moderator of the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment.

Parenting style as conceptualized by Baumrind (1966, 1968, 1978, 1991) involves two dimensions of parenting behavior which she labels "demandingness" and "responsiveness" (Baumrind, 1991). Demandingness is "the claims parents make on children to become integrated into the family whole, by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys" (Baumrind, 1991, pp. 61-62). Responsiveness refers to the "extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation, and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and acquiescent to children's special needs and demands" (Baumrind, 1991, p. 62). Baumrind (1991) described four basic parenting styles: Authoritative (high demandingness and high responsiveness); authoritarian (high demandingness and low

responsiveness); permissive (low demandingness and high responsiveness); and rejecting/neglecting (low demandingness and low responsiveness).

The authoritarian parent tends to demand unquestioned obedience from the child without being responsive to the child's needs (Baumrind, 1978). The authoritarian parent exerts a high level of control, limits autonomy, and closely monitors the child (Baumrind, 1978, 1991). The permissive parent makes few attempts to shape the child's behavior, but is responsive and attentive to the child's needs and encourages individuality (Baumrind, 1978). The rejecting/neglecting parent also makes few attempts to shape the child's behavior, but is not responsive to the child's needs and individuality (Baumrind, 1991). The rejecting/neglecting parent generally does not monitor or structure the child's behavior, and is either neglecting or clearly rejecting of their child's special needs.

The authoritative parent is both responsive to the child and demanding of the child (Baumrind, 1991). The authoritative parent places high demands on the child for mature behavior and is attuned to the child's special needs, valuing both individuality and obedience (Baumrind, 1978). Authoritative parenting is therefore characterized by a balance of parental demands for the child and parental responsiveness to the child's needs. Authoritative parenting compared to nonauthoritative parenting promotes psychosocial

competence (Baumrind, 1968, 1973, 1978), self-esteem (Baumrind, 1978; Isberg, et al., 1989; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), and academic competence in children (Amato, 1989; Hess & Holloway, 1984; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). In both longitudinal and cross-sectional studies, authoritative parenting is associated with children's adjustment, while nonauthoritative parenting is associated with adjustment difficulties (Hill, 1987).

Parenting Style and Adolescent Adjustment

While much of the original research on parenting style involved children (Baumrind, 1968, 1973, 1978), recent research has begun to explore how parenting style is related to adjustment in adolescents. Amanto (1989) found that general competence in adolescents was associated with high levels of support from parents (i.e., parental interest and help with problems), high levels of domestic responsibilities, low frequency of coercive discipline, high frequency of noncoercive discipline, and a high level of cohesion (i.e, feelings of closeness in parent-adolescent relationship and high frequency of family activities). In the Amanto (1989) study, general competence was defined as high academic achievement, high self-esteem, and high social competence.

Authoritative parenting has also been associated with academic competence in adolescence (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989). Dornbusch and colleagues (1987) found that

authoritative parenting was related to increased academic performance while authoritarian and permissive parenting were related to decreased academic performance. For adolescents from Asian-American, Hispanic-American, African-American, and Anglo-American families, authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were associated with lower grades, while authoritative parenting was associated with higher grades (Dornbusch, et al., 1987).

Clark (1983) studied high- and low-achieving lower socioeconomic African-American adolescents and their families. He found that the parents of high achieving adolescents compared to the parents of low achieving adolescents exhibited a high level of control (i.e., provided a very high level of structure and guidance to the adolescent), demonstrated a high level of warmth and affection for the adolescent, and communicated openly with the adolescent.

In a longitudinal study of parenting styles and academic achievement, Steinberg and colleagues (1989) reported that parental acceptance of adolescents, parental support for psychological independence, and parental control of adolescent behavior were positively related to academic achievement. These researchers concluded that adolescents who felt their parents treated them "warmly, democratically, and firmly are more likely than their peers to develop positive attitudes toward, and beliefs about, their achievement, and as a consequence, they are more likely to do better in school"

(Steinberg, et al., 1989, p. 1433).

Coombs & Landsverk (1988) studied the relationship between parenting styles and substance use in 9-17 year old Anglo-American and Hispanic-American adolescents from working class and middle-class families. They found that increased parental limit setting and increased parental involvement was related to reduced substance use (alcohol and/or illicit drugs) across all ages, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups (Coombs & Landsverk, 1988). Parental limit setting was defined as frequency of rules in the home, such as rules about homework, television viewing, dating, curfews, and use of cigarettes and alcohol. Parental involvement was defined as adolescent reports of parental involvement in adolescent decisions.

In a longitudinal study, Baumrind (1991) found that authoritative parenting fostered general competence and reduced substance abuse problems in adolescents. Compared to adolescents with nonauthoritative parents, adolescents with authoritative parents were more individuated, optimistic, achievement oriented, had higher scores on achievement tests, were more socially responsible, had less behavior problems, and perceived their parents as more loving and influential (Baumrind, 1991). Authoritative parenting was also related to less risk-taking behavior with illegal drugs and alcohol and lower rates of substance abuse. Baumrind (1991) concluded that "adolescents' developmental progress is held back by

authoritarian, officious, or nondirective and disengaged practices, and facilitated by reciprocal, balanced, committed caregiving characteristics of both authoritative and democratic parents" (p. 91).

In summary, authoritative parenting has been associated with a multitude of measures of adjustment in children and adolescents while nonauthoritative parenting (e.g., authoritative, permissive, or rejecting/neglecting) has been associated with poor adjustment. The combination of high parental demands and high parental responsiveness is associated with greater psychosocial adjustment and lower levels of dysfunction in adolescents.

Parenting Style, Emotional Autonomy, and Adjustment

Because authoritative parenting appears to facilitate development in childhood and adolescence, it is hypothesized that parenting style will moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy, as measured by Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) EA scale, and adjustment at adolescence. A less disengaged emotional stance is expected to be most adaptive for adolescents with authoritative parents because these parents provide the adolescent with a healthy balance of both warmth and structure. Because parenting which is either authoritarian or neglecting/rejecting parents is not appropriately responsive to the adolescents' emotional needs, a more disengaged emotional stance is expected to be most adaptive for these adolescents. Finally, because permissive

parents are responsive to their offsprings' needs but do not provide adequate structure, a more disengaged emotional stance is expected to be adaptive for these adolescents. Therefore, it is expected that when parenting is authoritative, lower EA scores will be associated with adolescent adjustment, and when parenting is nonauthoritative, higher EA scores will be associated with adolescent adjustment.

The Context of Culture

"Culture is a way of life shared by members of a population. It is the social, technoeconomic, and psychological adaptation worked out in the course of a people's history" (Ogbu, 1988, p. 12). Culture includes economic, political, religious, and social institutions, customs and rituals, and accompanying common beliefs and emotions (Ogbu, 1988). Culture influences child development by dictating which attributes and skills are necessary for survival, and culture dictates the appropriate manner to teach children these competencies (Ogbu, 1988).

Therefore, one can consider qualities and behavior adaptive or maladaptive only by interpreting them within the appropriate cultural context. Whether or not the development of emotional autonomy is adaptive in another cultural context will depend on the significance of emotional autonomy within the culture. Emotional autonomy may be less adaptive in a culture which stresses interpersonal connection than it is in a culture which stresses interpersonal separation.

Two aspects of culture which are expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adaptation are ethnicity and socioeconomic status. These two contexts will be examined separately when possible. However, in most research, theoretical writings, and in reality, these two variables are, to a significant degree, intertwined.

The Context of Ethnicity

There are numerous ethnic and religious traditions which constitute the White population of America, and many value differences within and between these peoples (McCormick, Pearce, & Giordano, 1982). However, some generalizations can be made about the common values and beliefs of "mainstream" White middle-class America (Baumrind, 1978; Willie, 1985; Ogbu, 1981). It is also important to emphasize that while there is tremendous diversity within the African-American community (Boyd-Franklin, 1989), "there is a set of core values and behavior, which in its gestalt remains distinctly characteristic of and understood by a majority of Black people" (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982, p. 84).

Researchers characterize the White middle-class in the United States as emphasizing and valuing self-direction, initiative, independence, and analytical reasoning (Baumrind, 1978; Dodson, 1981; Ogbu, 1981, 1985, 1988; Raven, 1987). These values influence child-rearing, recreational, political, religious, and occupational activities (Ogbu, 1988). Hill (1987) emphasized how strongly the White middle-class emphasis on self-direction and initiative has influenced psychologists by stating that "virtually every attribute held to be a positive outcome of adolescence by developmentalists depends on the development of self-direction" (p. 18).

In comparison, much of the recent psychological theorizing about the African-American culture stresses the

importance of kinship bonds (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Hill, 1972; Ogbu, 1981, 1988). Emotional and financial reliance on an extensive network of biological and nonbiological "family" has historically been a major coping mechanism for African-Americans (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Nobles, 1981; Sudarkasa, 1981). The philosophy which underlies this kinship network focuses not on the survival of the individual, the nuclear family, or extended family, but rather on the survival of the larger community. "In contrast to the Western-european premise of 'I think, therefore, I am', the African philosophy is, 'We are, therefore, I am'" (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982, p. 87). The concepts of separation-individuation and emotional autonomy have their conceptual roots in Western philosophy (McKenry, Everett, Ramseur, & Carter, 1989). It is possible that the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy may not extend beyond Western culture, and may conflict with the African-American cultural heritage.

In his study of African-American and White families across socioeconomic levels, Willie (1985) postulated that middle-class African-Americans tended to define their current educational and occupational opportunities as resulting from the struggles of previous generations. "As such, the new opportunity is not a personal entitlement but an indebtedness that can be paid off only by helping the next generation succeed...Success among middle-class black individuals is

defined as an intergenerational and group phenomenon" rather than an individual matter (Willie, 1985, p. 76). With this philosophy, it can be expected that one's place within the kinship network and within generations may be valued more highly than emotional autonomy. As such, emotional autonomy may be more salient to the White middle-class adolescent than the African-American middle-class adolescent.

The Context of Socioeconomic Status

Ogbu (1981, 1988) focuses attention on the importance of socioeconomic status in ethnic differences in parenting behavior. He argues that the more dangerous conditions in which many African-American children are raised, as well as ethnic philosophical or world-view differences, are responsible for differences between White and African-American parenting behavior (Ogbu, 1981, 1988). Ogbu (1981) states that cultural ecology must be considered when discussing competence among inner-city African-Americans, and he maintains that researchers should not study African-American children using middle-class White definitions of competence, because inner-city African-American children have different cultural demands which require different competencies (Ogbu, 1985, 1988).

Similarily, Baumrind (1973, 1978, 1991) cautioned against concluding that one type of parenting style was optimal in all parent-child relationships. She speculated that the context

of socioeconomic status would alter the optimal balance of control relative to freedom for children and adolescents, with higher levels of control optimal at lower socioeconomic levels. Consistent with this argument, Peters (1981) observed that lower socioeconomic African-American parents tend to utilize a more direct, physical approach to discipline and place a greater emphasis on obedience than middle-class White parents.

Kohn (1977) also highlights the importance of the context of socioeconomic status when discussing the adaptiveness or maladaptiveness of behavior. He asserts that "social class is significant for human behavior because it embodies systematically-differentiated conditions of life that profoundly affect men's views of social reality" (Kohn, 1977, p. 189). Theoretically, disparate occupational experiences and educational opportunities result in differences in conformity and autonomy for the middle-class and working-class (Kohn, 1977). The educational opportunities and occupational experiences of people in the middle-class and upper-class generally emphasize self-direction and autonomy, while the lack of educational opportunities and restrictive occupational experiences of working-class and low-income families emphasize conformity (Kohn, 1977). "The essence of higher social class position is the expectation that one's decisions and actions can be consequential; the essence of lower class position is the belief that one is at the mercy

of forces and people beyond one's control, often beyond one's understanding" (Kohn, 1977, p. 189). This value difference may mean that emotional autonomy is more salient for middle-class adolescents than working-class or low-income adolescents.

Willie (1985) delineated differences between African-American and White middle-class families, and similarities between working-class White and African-American families. In his research, White middle-class families tended to be socially and geographically isolated from extended family, and child-rearing tended to focus on allowing the children maximum freedom and independence (Willie, 1985). He speculated that the focus on individual autonomy and individual freedom had a disorganizing effect on family life, with family members "doing their own thing" at the expense of family cohesion (Willie, 1985). In contrast, individualism and personal choice were secondary goals for the middle-class African-American family, while resisting racial oppression was the highest priority (Willie, 1985). Therefore, he concluded that middle-class African-American families place less emphasis on personal freedom and "doing your own thing" than middle-class White families.

Culture, Emotional Autonomy, and Adjustment

In summary, greater significance is given to self-direction by the middle-class than by the working-class or the lower-socioeconomic class. Similarly, the White culture

places greater significance on self-direction, independence, and personal freedom than does the African-American culture. It is therefore expected that socioeconomic status and ethnicity will moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. It is hypothesized that higher scores on Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) measure of emotional autonomy (EA) will be associated with adjustment for adolescents from middle-class families versus adolescents from working-class and lower socioeconomic families. It is also hypothesized that higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for White versus African-American adolescents.

Summary

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between emotional autonomy, as measured by Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) EA scale, and adolescent adjustment in several different contexts. Gender is expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment because in the American culture, males tend to define themselves through separation while females tend to define themselves through connection. Therefore, it is hypothesized that a more connected stance, as reflected by lower EA scores, will be associated with better adjustment for adolescent females, whereas a less connected stance, as reflected by higher EA scores, will be associated with better adjustment for adolescent males. Further, it has been suggested that parent-child dyads differ in emotional intensity and emotional involvement based on the gender of the parent and the child, with intensity and involvement highest in mother-daughter relationships, lowest in father-daughter relationships, and intermediate in mother-son and father-son relationships. This issue will be explored by having adolescents respond to the EA scale separately for mothers and fathers. It is hypothesized that EA scores will be lowest for mother-daughter dyads, highest for father-daughter dyads, and at an intermediate level for mother-son and father-son dyads. It is also predicted that lower EA scores in the mother-daughter dyads, higher EA scores in the father-daughter dyads, and

moderate EA scores in the mother-son and father-son dyads will be associated with adolescent adjustment.

Three contexts at the level of the family will be explored in relation to emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment: Family structure, family cohesion, and parenting style. Because it has been suggested that the development of emotional autonomy may be facilitated by and adaptive in single-parent, divorced, or remarried families, family structure is expected to moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment. It is hypothesized that higher EA scores will be associated with adolescent adjustment in single-parent and stepparent families, whereas lower EA scores will be associated with adolescent adjustment in intact families.

Family cohesion, the emotional connection that parents and adolescents have for each other, is also expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. For adolescents in less cohesive families, greater emotional distance, as reflected by higher EA scores, is expected to be beneficial and adaptive. Adolescents in more cohesive families are provided with a functional level of involvement, so that less emotional distance, as reflected by lower EA scores, may be beneficial and adaptive.

The third context at the family level that is expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment is parenting style. Research indicates that authoritative parenting, parenting behavior which is both

highly demanding and highly responsive, has been associated with positive adjustment in children and adolescents while nonauthoritative parenting has been associated with problematic behavior. It is hypothesized that when the parenting is characterized as authoritative, parents provide a healthy balance of support and structure for adolescents, so that a less disengaged stance, as reflected by lower EA scores, will be associated with adolescent adjustment. When parenting is nonauthoritative, parents do not provide a healthy balance of support and structure, so that a more disengaged stance, as reflected by higher EA scores, will be associated with adolescent adjustment.

Because the adaptiveness and appropriateness of any behavior needs to be can be understood within the larger cultural context, the adaptiveness of the development of emotional autonomy, as measured by the EA scale, will be assessed within this larger context. Ethnicity and socioeconomic status are two cultural influences which are expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. African-American heritage traditionally emphasizes interpersonal connection and kinship bonds while the Western European heritage emphasizes independence and personal freedom. Therefore, it is expected that higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for White adolescents while lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment for African-American adolescents. Likewise,

self-direction is considered a middle-class value which may not be as adaptive in a working-class or lower-socioeconomic environment. Consequently, it is hypothesized that higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents from middle-class families, while lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents from working-class and lower-socioeconomic families.

METHOD

This research was part of a larger study supported by grants from the Research Programs and Policies Committee and the Faculty Senate Research and Study Leaves Committee of Temple University. These grants were awarded to Grayson N. Holmbeck. Questionnaires were distributed and collected by graduate student research assistants of Temple University under the supervision of Dr. Holmbeck in May of 1988.

Subjects

The schools included in the research were recruited through a psychological services agency which provides services to 12 inner-city Catholic schools in a large East coast city. The principals of five of the twelve schools agreed to participate in the research project. Roughly 60% of all adolescents at the participating schools received parental permission to participate in the research.

Of the 230 adolescents who contributed data, approximately half of the mothers also agreed to participate, with complete adolescent and mother questionnaires obtained for 99 adolescents (43 males and 56 females; 60% African-American.) Questionnaires were also completed by 228 teachers, with completed adolescent, mother, and teacher questionnaires for 98 adolescents.

The sample used in the present investigation was the 98 adolescents for whom complete adolescent, teacher, and mother questionnaires were available. The mean age of the

adolescents was 13.24 (sd = 2.60), with ages ranging from 10 to 18.

General Procedure

This study consisted of self-report questionnaires completed by adolescents, teachers, and mothers. Adolescents completed questionnaires in their school classrooms. Questionnaires were read aloud to adolescents in grades 5 through 8 by graduate student research assistants. Teachers were asked to fill out questionnaires and received a payment of $5.00 for each completed questionnaire. For adolescents with more than one teacher, the adolescents were directed to select for participation the teacher that was most familiar with him/her. Mothers received questionnaires through the mail and received a payment of $10.00 after returning the completed questionnaire through the mail.

Measures: Independent Variable

Emotional autonomy. The Emotional Autonomy Scale (EA; Steinberg and Silverberg, 1986, alpha = .75) is a 20-item scale with four subscales: Perceives parents as people (six items, alpha = .61); parental deidealization (five items, alpha = .63); nondependency on parents (four items, alpha = .51); and individuation (five items, alpha = .60). While past research has directed adolescents to complete the EA scale with both parents in mind, adolescents in this study completed the EA scale twice, referencing mothers (EAM) and fathers (EAF) separately. Adolescents indicate degree of agreement

to each item using a four-point Likert-scale, scored such that high scores indicate greater emotional autonomy.

Measures: Moderating Variables

Socioeconomic status. Socioeconomic status was calculated with the Duncan Socio-Economic Index (SEI; Duncan, 1977) based on information from maternal and/or adolescent questionnaires. The SEI provided a score which ranges from 6 to 96 with higher scores indicating higher socioeconomic status, based on paternal occupation in two-parent families and or maternal occupation in single-parent families. SEI scores for the sample of 98 adolescents ranged from 6 to 75, with a mean score of 36.70 (sd = 19.00). Some examples of occupations and their ratings are as follows: Psychologist, 81; accountant, 76.8; locomotive engineer, 57.8; restaurant or bar manager, 37.6; gas station attendant, 17.9; garbage collector, 6.

Ethnicity. Ethnicity was based on the maternal report of race, with a fill-in-the-blank format. Based on a sample of 98, 38 adolescents were classified as White, and 60 adolescents were classified as African-American.

Family structure. Families were classified as either traditional (N = 58) or nontraditional (N = 40) based on adolescent report. The nontraditional families consisted of 23 single-parent families, 10 step-parent families, and 8 single-parent, additional adult families.

Cohesion. The Family Adaptability and Cohesion

Evaluation Scales III (FACES-III; Olson, et al., 1985) cohesion scale (Cronbach alpha = .77) is a 10-item scale completed by adolescents. The respondents indicate the degree to which each item describes their family using a five-point Likert-scale. Higher scores indicate a higher perceived level of cohesion in the family. An example of the statements included in this scale is "Family togetherness is very important."

Research on the validity of FACES II and FACES III is reviewed in an earlier section of this paper (i.e., "The Context of Cohesion"). The FACES II Cohesion scale is comprised of 16 items (Cronbach alpha = .91) and was revised in FACES III in order to shorten the measure and make the Cohesion and Adaptability scales independent. The test-retest reliability of the FACES III Cohesion scale is .83 for an interval of five weeks. The FACES III cohesion scale also has a low correlation with a measure of social desirability (Olson, et al., 1985).

Parenting style. Using Baumrind's (1990) concept of parenting style, two aspects of parenting style were examined: Maternal acceptance and warmth toward the adolescent (i.e., responsiveness); and parental control in decision-making (i.e., demandingness). Maternal acceptance of the adolescent was measured by the mother's report on the Inventory of Parent Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; alpha = .87). This 25-item parent measure was adapted from the 25-item child

version. The scale uses a five-point Likert-scale and was scored such that higher scores indicate higher maternal acceptance of the adolescent. An example of the items on this scale is "I wish I had a different child." The premise of this measure is that there psychological adjustment and the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship are correlated (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987). Scores on the child version of the IPPA correlated with self-esteem and life satisfaction, with the cohesion and expressiveness subscales of the Family Environment Scale, and with utilization of parents in times of need (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987).

Parental control was based on maternal response to the Steinberg Decision-Making Questionnaire (SDMQ; Dornbusch, et al., 1985; Steinberg, 1987c; Cronbach alpha = .83). The SDMQ is a 17-item checklist which assesses family decision-making on issues germane to adolescents (e.g., curfew, chores, leisure activities, clothing). For each item, the mother chooses between three statements which are scored one through three: "I/We tell my child exactly what to do"; "I/We ask my child's opinion about this, but I/We have the final say"; and "I/We leave this up to my child." The parental control score is the sum of the scores, transposed so that higher scores indicate greater parental control. Parental control was operationally defined in a similar manner by Steinberg, Elman, and Mounts (1989).

Parenting style categories were then created using a

median split of the IPPA and the SDMQ scores. Authoritative parenting was defined as high maternal acceptance and high parental control, and all other types of parenting were defined as nonauthoritative. Because of the unequal number of adolescents in these two groups, analyses were carried out with these two measures separately, with the scores used as continuous variables.

Measures: Dependent Variables

Behavior problems. The Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) was completed by mothers and by teachers. The CBCL is a 113-item measure of general behavior problems with two scales: Internalizing behavior problems, such as anxiety, depression, and somatic complaints; and externalizing behavior problems, such as hyperactivity, aggressiveness, and delinquency. An example of an internalizing item is, "Withdrawn, doesn't get involved with others" and an example of an externalizing item is, "Destroys things belonging to his/her family or other children."

The checklist utilizes standard scores (T-scores) derived from behavioral norms based on age and sex of the adolescent. The respondent indicates on a scale from zero (not true) to two (somewhat or always true) how well each of the 113 behavioral symptoms describes the adolescent's behavior. The reliability alpha for maternal reports of the internalizing and externalizing scales of the CBCL are .85 and .87 while the

reliability alpha for these scales on the CBCL teacher report are .87 and .86.

Test-retest reliability on the parent and teacher report forms is .90 and .88 for an interval of one week to one month, and for an interval of two to six months, test-retest reliability on the parent and teacher report forms is .83 and .77, respectively. Adolescents whose behavior has been independently judged to be deviant score significantly higher on the internalizing and externalizing scales of the CBCL than do adolescents whose behavior is considered within normal limits (Achenbach, 1985). For example, children referred for mental health services have significantly higher scores on the internalizing and externalizing scales of the CBCL than nonreferred children (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983).

Parent-adolescent conflict. A 17-item version (Steinberg, 1987c) of the Issues Checklist (IC; Robin & Foster, 1989) was administered to mothers and adolescents. The reliability alpha is .70 for the adolescent report and .82 for the mother report. The IC assesses frequency and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict. Frequency of conflict within the past two weeks was determined with a yes-no format on the same 17 issues covered in the SDMQ. If conflict on an issue had occurred within the past two weeks, the intensity of conflict was rated on a five-point Likert-scale, with higher scores indicating more intense conflict. The intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score was the sum

of the intensity of conflict ratings divided by the sum of the frequency of conflict.

Adolescent and parental reports on the IC discriminate between families referred for psychological treatment due to family relationship problems and families with no history of psychological treatment for relationship problems (Printz, et al., 1979; Robin & Weiss, 1980). The IC has demonstrated test-retest reliability of .72 for the maternal report and .64 for the adolescent report over a period of two weeks (Robin & Foster, 1989). The agreement between maternal and adolescent reports on the occurrence of a discussion about an issue was 48%, and IC scores and behavioral observations of family problem-solving communication were significantly negatively correlated (Robin & Foster, 1989).

Self-perception. Harter's (1982, 1983) Self-Perception Profile for Children (SP) is a 36-item measure completed by adolescents. The SP has six subscales: Scholastic competence (alpha = .80); social acceptance (alpha = .80); athletic competence (alpha = .84); physical appearance (alpha = .81); behavior/conduct (alpha = .75); and self-worth (alpha = .84). The scholastic, social, athletic, and self-worth subscales demonstrated test-retest reliability of .78, .80, .87, and .70, respectively, over a period of nine months (Harter, 1982). The social competence subscale, the self-worth subscale, and the total score were used in this study.

Teachers and parents completed a 15-item version of this

measure referred to as the Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence (AC). The parent and teacher scores are prorated so that the scores are comparable to the child version, with higher scores indicating greater actual competence. The reliability alpha for the teacher report on the scholastic, social, athletic, and self-worth subscales are .96, .93, .94, and .93, respectively (Harter, 1982). Teacher scores on the scholastic competence subscale correlate significantly with achievement test scores, the social acceptance scores correlate with a peer sociometric rating, and the gym teacher and adolescent reports for the athletic competence subscale correlate significantly with each other (Harter, 1982).

The SP scale was designed with a two-step choice format to reduce the effects of social desirability on responses. Respondents first choose which of two statements best describes them (or the adolescent). Then the respondent decides if the statement is "sort of true" or "really true" for them (or the adolescent). An example of a set of statements on the child version is "Some kids find it pretty hard to make friends... but...For other kids it's pretty easy." Items are scored such that higher scores indicate positive self-perception.

Academic achievement. Teachers reported the adolescent's grades on the most recent report card in Science, Social Science, English, and Math. These grades were used to calculate a grade point average based on a 100 point scale.

Grades were translated as follows: A = 95; B = 85; C = 75; D = 65; and F = 55.

Hypotheses

For the following hypotheses, positive adjustment was defined as: Lower T-scores on the Internalizing and Externalizing scales of the Child Behavior Checklist; lower frequency scores and lower intensity scores on the Issues Checklist; higher Social Acceptance, Self-Worth, and total scores on the Harter's Self-Perception Profile for Children; higher Social Acceptance and total scores on the Rating Scale of Children's Actual Competence, teacher and/or parent report; and higher grade point average, teacher report.

Context of Gender:

1. Lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment for females and higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for males.

2. EA scores will be lowest for mother-daughter dyads, highest for father-daughter dyads, and at an intermediate level for mother-son and father-son dyads.

3. Lower EA scores in the mother-daughter dyad, moderate EA scores in the mother-son and father-son dyad, and higher EA scores in the father-daughter dyad will be associated with adolescent adjustment.

Context of Family Structure:

4. Higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents in nontraditional (i.e., single-parent and

stepparent) families and lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents in traditional (i.e., intact biological) families.

Context of Cohesion:

5. For adolescents with lower scores on the FACES-III cohesion scale, higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment. For adolescents with higher scores on the FACES-III Cohesion scale, lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment.

Context of Parenting Style:

6. When parenting style is categorized as high Acceptance and high Control, lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment. When parenting style is classified as high Acceptance and low Control, low Acceptance and high Control, or low Acceptance and low Control, higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment.

Context of Culture:

7. Higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents residing in middle-class families, while lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment for adolescents residing in working-class and lower socioeconomic status families.

8. Higher EA scores will be associated with adjustment for White adolescents while lower EA scores will be associated with adjustment for African-American adolescents.

Plan of Analysis

The general plan of analysis, as outlined in Table 1, was to utilize the hierarchical multiple regression technique. To control for the effects of age, age was entered into the regression equation first. Next, the main effects of EA and the moderator variable (i.e., context) were entered into the regression equation, followed by the interaction of EA and the moderator variable, with the measures of adjustment as the dependent variables. Median splits and means were utilized to interpret significant interaction effects.

A second stage of analysis was conducted utilizing the moderator variables which were significant in the multiple regression analyses outlined above. Hierarchical and set-wise multiple regression analyses was utilized to evaluate the relative importance of all significant context-by-EA interactions. Age was entered into the regression equation first, then the main effects of EA and each significant context were be entered as a block. Finally, each significant context-by-EA interaction was be entered as block.

Because this research design calls for a multiple regression for each measure of adjustment, the alpha level was adjusted to control the Type I error rate. The alpha level of .01 was considered statistically significant, and the alpha level of .05 was considered marginally significant. Prior to testing the hypotheses, the dependent measures were assessed for significant correlations between scores from

Table 1

Specific plan of analysis

Hypothesis	Method of Analysis	Independent Variables	Step
1	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		Sex	1
		Sex*EAM	2
1	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		Sex	1
		Sex*EAF	2
2	T-Test Pairs	When sex = male	
		EAM	
		EAF	
2	T-Test Pairs	When sex = female	
		EAM	
		EAF	
2	T-Test (sex)	EAM	
2	T-Test (sex)	EAF	
3	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		Sex	1
		EAM^2	2
		EAM*Sex	3
		EAM^2*Sex	4
3	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		Sex	1
		EAF^2	2
		EAF*Sex	3
		EAF^2*Sex	4
4	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		Family structure	1
		EAM*FS	2
4	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		Family structure	1
		EAF*FS	2

(table continues)

Table 1 (continued)

Hypothesis	Method of Analysis	Independent Variables	Step
5	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		Cohesion	1
		EAM*Cohesion	2
5	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		Cohesion	1
		EAF*Cohesion	2
6	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		Parenting style	1
		EAM*Parent Style	2
6	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		Parenting style	1
		EAF*Parent style	2
7	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		SEI	1
		EAM*SEI	2
7	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		SEI	1
		EAF*SEI	2
8	Hierarchical multiple R	EAM	1
		Ethnicity	1
		EAM*Ethnicity	2
8	Hierarchical multiple R	EAF	1
		Ethnicity	1
		EAF*Ethnicity	2

EAM Adolescent emotional autonomy from mother
EAF Adolescent emotional autonomy from father

adolescents, mothers, and/or teachers. When scores from different sources were significantly correlated for a measure, these scores were combined. Handling the data in this manner further controlled the Type I error rate and at the same time utilized all possible sources of information.

The benefits of utilizing multiple regression techniques included the capacity to analyze the independent variables as continuous rather than dichotomous data, the ability to test a specified model, and the flexibility provided in approaching complicated "real-world" problems (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989, p. 123). The advantage of multiple regression over MANOVA techniques was that independent variables, such as EA scores, could be managed as continuous data with multiple regression techniques. Multiple regression was more useful in this study than canonical correlation because canonical correlation is considered a descriptive technique while hierarchical multiple regression is considered a hypothesis testing technique. Further, canonical correlations detect only linear relationships, and are applicable only when variables are orthogonal (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989).

RESULTS

Prior to testing the hypotheses, preliminary analyses were conducted to test for violations of the statistical assumption of normality. To determine the degree of overlap among the different sources of information, correlations of the mother, teacher, and adolescent reports were examined, and when scores were significantly correlated (i.e., r = .30 or greater), they were averaged to create one score per measure. This was done to reduce the number of dependent measures in the analyses. These averaged scores were also evaluated for violations of statistical assumptions. Finally, correlation coefficients were inspected to assess the necessity of controlling for subject age in subsequent analyses.

Statistical tests of the hypotheses follow the preliminary analyses. Main effects of age, EAM, and EAF in the prediction of adolescent adjustment are presented first because these results were identical for all multiple regression analyses for all contexts. Results related to significant main effects of context and the interaction of context and EA are then presented for each hypothesis. Finally, multiple regression analyses were conducted with all significant context by EA interactions entered into the regression equation.

Preliminary Analyses

All measures were examined for violations of the assumption of normality. Mother report on the Inventory of

parent Attachment and adolescent report on the FACES-III Cohesion scale were significantly negatively skewed. As recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (1989), scores on these measures were transposed and a square root transformation was utilized to reduce the negative skew of the scores. In the multiple regression analyses, a high value on the transformed cohesion score indicates low cohesion, and a high value on the transformed parent attachment score indicates low warmth from the mother to the adolescent. Because the mother and teacher CBCL raw scores for the internalizing and externalizing scales were positively skewed but the T-scores were not, the T-scores were selected for subsequent analyses.

All measures were assessed for univariate outliers, defined as scores greater than three standard deviations from the mean score. One high outlier was found for teacher report on the CBCL Externalizing scale and one high outlier was found on adolescent report of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict. Because outlier scores significantly influence multiple regression equations, the two subjects were removed from subsequent analyses, reducing the sample to 96 subjects.

In order to reduce the alpha error rate, the number of dependent measures was reduced by averaging scores when the mother, teacher, and/or adolescent scores were significantly correlated. Mother, teacher, and adolescent scores were averaged on the Harter's Social Acceptance scale because they were significantly correlated: Mother and adolescent scores,

r =.428 (p <.001); teacher and adolescent scores, r =.209 (p < .05); and mother and teacher scores, r =.398 (p < .001). The mother, teacher, and adolescent Harter's total scores were averaged because they were significantly correlated: Mother and adolescent scores r =.436 (p < .001); teacher and adolescent scores, r =.316 (p <.001); and mother and teacher scores, r =.499 (p < .001). An average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score was also created for subsequent analyses because adolescent and mother intensity of conflict scores were significantly correlated, r =.341, (p < .001).

The teacher and mother T-scores on the CBCL externalizing scale were significantly correlated, r = .196 (p < .05), but the teacher and mother T-scores for the CBCL Internalizing scale were not significantly correlated, r = -.05 (p = .31). In order to maintain consistency in reporting results, the mother and teacher T-scores on the externalizing and internalizing scales were not averaged.

Averaged scores for Harter's Social Acceptance scale, Harter's total score, and report of the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict were also evaluated for violations of the assumption of normality. None of the averaged measures had significantly nonnormal kurtosis or skewness, and no scores were greater than three standard deviations from the mean score. Table 2 lists the final measures utilized in the multiple regression analyses. See Appendix A for descriptive statistics of these measures.

Table 2

Measures included in multiple regression analyses

Measure	Source
Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL) internalizing	Mother
CBCL externalizing	Mother
CBCL internalizing	Teacher
CBCL externalizing	Teacher
Issues Checklist (IC) Frequency of Conflict	Mother
IC Frequency of conflict	Adolescent
IC Intensity of conflict (average score)	Mother + Adolescent / 2
Harter's Social Acceptance (average score)	Mother + Teacher + Adolescent / 3
Harter's Self-worth	Adolescent
Harter's total score (average score)	Mother + Teacher + Adolescent / 3
Grade Point Average (GPA)	Teacher

Finally, correlation coefficients of age and the dependent measures were inspected to assess the necessity of controlling for subjects' age in analyses. The following variables were negatively correlated with age: Maternal Steinberg Decision-making Questionnaire (SDMQ) scores; maternal CBCL Internalizing T-score; average score on the Harter Social Acceptance scale; adolescent report on the Harter Self-Worth scale; average Harter's total score; and adolescent report of frequency of parent-adolescent conflict. This indicates that as adolescent age increased, there was a decrease in maternal ratings of parental control, a decrease in maternal ratings of adolescent internalizing behavior, a decrease in the social acceptance rating, a decrease in adolescent's report of self-worth, and a decrease in total competence scores. The teacher CBCL Externalizing scale was positively correlated with age, indicating that as the age of the adolescent increased, teacher ratings of externalizing behavior problems also tended to increase. As listed in Table 3, because age was significantly correlated with five dependent measures, age was entered first into all multiple regression equations. Because it was not utilized as a dependent measure, the correlation between adolescent age and maternal report of parental control, $r = -.60$, ($p < .001$), is not listed in Table 3. See Appendix B for Pearson product-moment correlations of all variables.

Table 3

Correlations between age of adolescent and dependent measures

Measure	Source	Correlation Coefficient
CBCL Int	mother	-.21*
CBCL Ext	mother	-.14
CBCL Int	teacher	.27**
CBCL Ext	teacher	.06
Harter SA	average	-.32***
Harter SW	adolescent	-.19*
Harter total	average	-.31***
Conflict freq	adolescent	-.35***
Conflict freq	mother	-.10
Conflict Intensity	average	.09
GPA	teacher	.06

Int= CBCL Internalizing T-score
Ext= CBCL Externalizing T-score
Harter SA= Harter's Social Acceptance scale Harter
SW= Harter's Self-Worth scale
Harter total= Harter's total scale score
Conflict freq= IC frequency of parent-adolescent conflict
Conflict Intensity= IC intensity of parent-adolescent conflict
GPA= grade point average

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

Age, EAM, and EAF Scores as Predictors of Adjustment

In this study, the value of *F* Change for variables in the regression analyses was considered significant at $p < .01$ and marginally significant at $p < .05$. The purpose of this conservative approach was to reduce the likelihood of Type I errors.

Across all contexts, adolescent age contributed significantly to the prediction of adolescent adjustment as measured by teacher report of internalizing behavior problems, Harter's Social Acceptance score, average Harter's total score, and adolescent report of parent-adolescent conflict. Age was marginally significant in the prediction of maternal report of internalizing behavior problems. As adolescent age increased, mother report of internalizing behavior problems decreased, teacher report of internalizing behavior problems increased, Harter's Social Acceptance scores and Harter total scores decreased, and adolescent report of frequency of parent-adolescent conflict decreased.

Across all contexts, EAM was marginally significant in the prediction of GPA, with lower EAM scores correlated with slightly higher GPA's. Across all contexts, EAF was marginally significant in the prediction of teacher report of externalizing behavior problems and Harter's total score. Higher EAF scores were associated with higher teacher ratings of externalizing behavior problems and with lower averaged competence scores.

Test of Hypotheses for Each Context

Tables 4 and 5 list the correlation of each dependent measure with EAM and EAF at different levels of each context. These tables can be used as an aid in interpreting significant interactions in the following section.

Context of gender. In hypothesis 1, it was predicted that lower EA scores would be associated with adjustment for females and higher EA scores would be associated with adjustment for males. Tables 6 and 7 summarize the multiple regression analyses of gender and EA in the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Sex of the adolescent was marginally significant in the prediction of maternal report of the frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, with mothers reporting greater frequency of conflict with daughters than with sons. The interaction of sex and EAM and the interaction of sex and EAF were not significant in the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Therefore, results do not support hypothesis 1.

In hypothesis 2, it was predicted that EA scores would be lowest for mother-daughter dyads, highest for father-daughter dyads, and at an intermediate level for mother-son and father-son dyads. Mean EA scores were lowest for mother-daughter dyads (M = 51.01, sd = 9.33), highest for father-daughter dyads (M = 55.09, sd = 9.27), and at an intermediate level for mother-son dyads (M = 52.63, sd = 8.41) and father-son dyads (M = 52.92, sd = 9.29). Nevertheless, EAM scores

Table 4

Correlation between emotional autonomy from mother and adjustment within each context

Context	MInt	MExt	TInt	TExt	HSoc	HSW	HTot	ACon	MCon	CHot	GPA
Gender											
male	.03	.14	.12	.07	-.11	-.20	-.25	.12	.01	.31*	-.20
female	-.03	.06	.14	.27	-.02	-.02	-.16	-.12	-.00	.04	-.22*
Family Structure											
intact	-.08	.06	.03	.06	.03	-.08	-.15	-.09	.06	.22	-.19
altered	.01	.10	.25	.27*	-.20	-.12	-.31*	.06	-.15	.06	-.30*
Cohesion											
high	-.03	.05	-.00	.20	-.01	.00	-.19	.07	-.20	.11	-.26*
low	-.07	.14	.18	-.01	-.07	-.18	-.14	-.17	.12	.20	-.19
Warmth											
high	-.01	.11	.09	.37**	-.10	-.12	-.32**	-.01	-.09	-.04	-.41**
low	-.34*	-.25	.18	-.15	.08	.07	.11	-.06	-.07	.18	.03
Control											
high	.16	.16	.11	.07	-.16	-.03	-.25*	-.11	.08	.22	-.34**
low	-.22	.04	.16	.29*	.00	-.14	-.19	.08	-.13	.10	-.10
Socioeconomic status											
high	-.11	-.03	.34**	.34**	-.07	-.11	-.19	-.18	-.11	.17	-.39**
low	.06	.20	-.11	-.02	-.04	-.04	-.22	.17	.18	.15	-.14
Ethnicity											
Black	.17	.18	.20	.21	-.17	-.01	-.26*	-.17	-.04	.04	-.24*
White	-.30*	-.02	.01	.12	.10	-.22	-.13	.28*	.03	.30*	-.20

(table continues)

Table 4 (continued)

Context	MInt	MExt	TInt	TExt	HSoc	HSW	HTot	ACon	MCon	CHot	GPA
Intensity of Conflict											
high	.07	.15	.18	.06	-.04	.04	-.01	--	--	--	-.04
low	-.19	-.06	-.02	.26*	-.02	-.14	-.32*	--	--	--	-.39**

Note. High and low categories for the contexts of maternal warmth, parental control, family cohesion, socioeconomic status, and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict were created using a median split.

MInt= mother report CBCL Internalizing T score
MExt= mother report CBCL Externalizing T score
TInt= teacher report CBCL Internalizing T score
TExt= teacher report CBCL Externalizing T score
HSoc= average score on Harter's social acceptance scale
HSW= adolescent report on Harter's self-worth scale
HTot= average Harter's total score
ACon= adolescent report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict
MCon= mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict
CHot= average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict
GPA= adolescent grade point average

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

Table 5

Correlation between emotional autonomy from father and adjustment within each context

Context	MInt	MExt	TInt	TExt	HSoc	HSW	HTot	ACon	MCon	CHot	GPA
Gender											
male	.16	.06	-.09	.18	-.08	-.15	-.24	.02	-.08	.13	-.16
female	.06	-.08	.06	.20	-.21	-.15	-.27	-.14	-.02	-.07	-.19
Family Structure											
intact	-.03	-.10	-.01	.31**	-.12	-.29**	-.32**	-.14	-.00	.22	-.13
altered	.06	-.03	.02	.03	-.22	-.06	-.20	.06	-.16	-.06	-.30*
Cohesion											
high	.10	.10	.11	.19	-.20	-.15	-.28*	-.01	-.00	.22	-.24
low	.02	-.14	-.12	.16	-.07	-.17	-.15	-.15	-.07	.20	-.01
Control											
high	.14	.10	.05	.28*	-.26*	-.14	-.39**	.01	.08	.09	-.40**
low	-.05	-.13	-.08	.14	-.06	-.22	-.17	-.21	-.12	-.00	.10
Socioeconomic status											
high	.02	-.00	.04	.26*	-.24*	-.24*	-.33**	.01	-.02	.16	-.28*
low	.01	-.10	-.06	.13	.09	-.01	-.12	-.15	.01	.03	-.11
Ethnicity											
Black	.09	.07	.15	.32**	-.31**	-.17	-.40***	-.18	-.02	.02	-.33**
White	-.07	-.18	-.26	.05	.08	-.31*	-.11	.03	.01	.09	.10
Intensity of Conflict											
high	.12	-.05	-.10	.13	-.09	-.26*	-.13	--	--	--	.05
low	-.05	-.04	.07	.27*	-.16	-.02	-.34**	--	--	--	-.34*

(table continues)

Table 5 (continued)

Note. High and low categories for the contexts of maternal warmth, parental control, family cohesion, socioeconomic status, and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict were created using a median split.

MInt= mother report CBCL Internalizing T score
MExt= mother report CBCL Externalizing T score
TInt= teacher report CBCL Internalizing T score
TExt= teacher report CBCL Externalizing T score
HSoc= average score on Harter's social acceptance scale
HSW = adolescent report on Harter's self-worth scale
HTot= average Harter's total score
ACon= adolescent report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict
MCon= mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict
CHot= average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict
GPA = adolescent grade point average

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

Table 6

Heirarchical multiple regression of sex and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	EAM	0.010	.215	.000	0.010
3	Sex	-0.008	.215	.000	0.006
4	Sex*EAM	-0.267	.219	.002	0.001
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	EAM	0.117	.186	.014	1.297
3	Sex	-0.076	.200	.005	0.518
4	Sex*EAM	-0.422	.212	.005	0.455
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAM	0.107	.291	.011	1.143
3	Sex	0.026	.292	.001	0.066
4	Sex*EAM	0.125	.293	.000	0.042
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	Sex	0.178	.185	.030	2.910
3	EAM	0.180	.258	.032	3.147
4	Sex*EAM	0.591	.275	.009	0.921
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116 ***
2	EAM	-0.036	.328	.001	0.133
3	Sex	0.027	.329	.001	0.074
4	Sex*EAM	0.164	.330	.001	0.073
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Sex	-0.180	.260	.031	3.070
3	EAM	-0.072	.270	.005	0.513
4	Sex*EAM	0.429	.282	.006	0.641
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAM	-0.172	.352	.029	3.097
3	Sex	-0.020	.353	.000	0.040
4	Sex*EAM	0.254	.355	.002	0.181

(table continues)

Table 6 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Sex	-0.078	.357	.006	0.616
3	EAM	0.006	.357	.000	0.004
4	Sex*EAM	-0.892	.386	.021	2.278
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Sex	0.211	.214	.042	4.128*
3	EAM	-0.009	.214	.000	0.007
4	Sex*EAM	0.013	.214	.000	0.000
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAM	0.142	.167	.020	1.898
3	Sex	0.146	.219	.020	1.951
4	Sex*EAM	-0.896	.264	.022	2.103
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Sex	0.056	.286	.003	0.293
4	Sex*EAM	-0.132	.287	.000	0.046

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

Table 7

Heirarchical multiple regression of sex and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	EAF	0.081	.229	.006	0.638
3	Sex	-0.021	.230	.000	0.041
4	Sex*EAF	-0.561	.247	.008	0.796
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Sex	-0.084	.167	.007	0.638
3	EAF	0.014	.167	.000	0.019
4	Sex*EAF	-0.444	.182	.005	0.485
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAF	-0.041	.274	.002	0.165
3	Sex	0.025	.275	.001	0.057
4	Sex*EAF	0.508	.287	.007	0.669
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	Sex	0.152	.256	.021	2.109
4	Sex*EAF	0.076	.256	.000	0.015
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116 ***
2	EAF	-0.101	.341	.010	1.052
3	Sex	0.046	.344	.002	0.204
4	Sex*EAF	-0.400	.350	.004	0.434
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Sex	-0.180	.260	.031	3.070
3	EAF	-0.120	.286	.014	1.387
4	Sex*EAF	-0.007	.286	.000	0.000
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.374	.045	4.900*
3	Sex	0.025	.375	.001	0.061
4	Sex*EAF	-0.085	.376	.000	0.020

(table continues)

Table 7 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Sex	-0.078	.357	.006	0.616
3	EAF	-0.021	.358	.000	0.044
4	Sex*EAF	-0.502	.367	.007	0.694
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Sex	0.211	.214	.042	4.128*
3	EAF	-0.055	.221	.003	0.285
4	Sex*EAF	0.168	.222	.001	0.070
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Sex	0.135	.159	.017	1.653
3	EAF	0.007	.159	.000	0.004
4	Sex*EAF	-0.604	.187	.010	0.899
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAF	-0.139	.236	.019	1.889
3	Sex	0.093	.253	.008	0.791
4	Sex*EAF	-0.136	.254	.000	0.047

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

were not significantly different for males and females, t (94) = 0.88, p = .38, EAF scores were not significantly different for males and females, t (94) = -1.14, p = .236, and the difference between EAM and EAF scores was not significant for males, $t(42)$ = -0.19, p = .85. However, EAM and EAF scores were significantly different for females, $t(54)$ = -3.27, p < .01. for females. These results support hypothesis 2.

In hypothesis 3, it was predicted that lower EA scores in the mother-daughter dyad, moderate scores in the mother-son and father-son dyad, and higher scores in the father-daughter dyad would be associated with adolescent adjustment. Tables 8 and 9 summarize the results of the multiple regression analyses of the curvilinear effects of EA and sex on adolescent adjustment. EAM^2 is the term for the curvilinear effect of EAM, and EAM^2 *Sex is the term for the interaction between gender and the curvilinear effect of EAM.

EAM^2 contributed significantly to the prediction of teacher report of externalizing behavior problems. Because the unstandardized regression coefficient (B) for EAM was negative and B for EAM^2 was positive, the slope of regression line of EAM on teacher report of externalizing behavior problems was predominantly negative, with a concave upward curve (Aiken & West, 1991). Teacher report of adolescent externalizing behavior problems decreased as EAM scores increased, with a relatively large decrease associated with moderate EAM scores. EAM^2 contributed marginally to the

Table 8

Heirarchical multiple regression of sex and curvilinear effects of emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.231	.231	.053	5.350*
2	Sex	0.022	.232	.000	0.047
3	EAM	0.003	.232	.000	0.001
4	EAM^2	0.164	.232	.000	0.027
5	EAM*Sex	-0.320	.238	.003	0.262
6	EAM^2*Sex	0.639	.239	.000	0.031
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.162	.162	.026	2.547
2	EAM	0.110	.195	.012	1.157
3	Sex	-0.089	.213	.007	0.731
4	EAM^2	0.463	.218	.002	0.214
5	EAM*Sex	-0.484	.232	.006	0.597
6	EAM^2*Sex	-0.773	.233	.000	0.046
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.276	.276	.076	7.802**
2	EAM	0.107	.295	.011	1.168
3	Sex	0.027	.297	.001	0.070
4	EAM^2	2.886	.417	.086	9.585**
5	EAM*Sex	0.024	.417	.000	0.002
6	EAM^2*Sex	1.920	.421	.003	0.323
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.062	.062	.004	0.370
2	Sex	0.174	.181	.029	2.816
3	EAM	0.177	.252	.031	3.068
4	EAM^2	0.977	.271	.010	0.979
5	EAM*Sex	0.535	.285	.008	0.753
6	EAM^2*Sex	-0.490	.285	.000	0.019
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.317	.317	.100	10.580**
2	Sex	0.040	.319	.001	0.162
3	EAM	-0.029	.320	.001	0.084
4	EAM^2	-0.648	.327	.004	0.447
5	EAM*Sex	0.225	.329	.001	0.137
6	EAM^2*Sex	-5.416	.363	.024	2.439

(table continues)

Table 8 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.193	.193	.037	3.691
2	Sex	-0.177	.260	.030	3.032
3	EAM	-0.071	.269	.005	0.491
4	EAM^2	1.178	.295	.014	1.449
5	EAM*Sex	0.466	.304	.006	0.577
6	EAM^2*Sex	-2.682	.314	.006	0.576
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.298	.298	.089	9.281***
2	EAM	-0.166	.341	.027	2.911
3	Sex	-0.007	.341	.000	0.006
4	EAM^2	1.188	.362	.015	1.543
5	EAM*Sex	0.257	.364	.002	0.184
6	EAM^2*Sex	-5.706	.399	.026	2.796
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.348	.348	.121	13.057***
2	Sex	-0.073	.355	.006	0.548
3	EAM	0.009	.355	.000	0.008
4	EAM^2	-1.959	.407	.040	4.373*
5	EAM*Sex	-0.806	.428	.017	1.921
6	EAM^2*Sex	3.503	.439	.010	1.098
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.388
2	Sex	0.212	.217	.043	4.263*
3	EAM	-0.008	.218	.000	0.007
4	EAM^2	1.789	.284	.033	3.307
5	EAM*Sex	-0.048	.284	.000	0.006
6	EAM^2*Sex	-4.013	.306	.013	1.283
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.136	.136	.019	1.798
2	Sex	0.168	.214	.027	2.668
3	EAM	0.163	.268	.026	2.616
4	EAM^2	-0.694	.277	.005	0.496
5	EAM*Sex	-0.662	.297	.012	1.163
6	EAM^2*Sex	-1.609	.301	.002	0.206
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.193	.193	.037	3.682
2	EAM	-0.206	.282	.042	4.284*
3	Sex	0.057	.287	.003	0.312
4	EAM^2	-0.950	.303	.010	0.944
5	EAM*Sex	-0.095	.303	.000	0.024
6	EAM^2*Sex	-5.190	.337	.022	2.195

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

Table 9

Heirarchical multiple regression of sex and curvilinear effects of emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.231	.231	.053	5.350*
2	EAF	0.075	.243	.006	0.555
3	Sex	-0.034	.245	.001	0.109
4	EAF^2	1.259	.283	.020	1.990
5	EAF*Sex	-0.831	.311	.017	1.710
6	EAF^2*Sex	0.004	.311	.000	0.000
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.162	.162	.026	2.547
2	Sex	-0.095	.186	.009	0.850
3	EAF	0.012	.187	.000	0.012
4	EAF^2	1.137	.226	.016	1.574
5	EAF*Sex	-0.685	.250	.011	1.120
6	EAF^2*Sex	3.301	.270	.010	0.987
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.276	.276	.076	7.802**
2	EAF	-0.040	.278	.016	0.162
3	Sex	0.026	.280	.001	0.066
4	EAF^2	0.404	.283	.002	0.205
5	EAF*Sex	0.473	.293	.006	0.548
6	EAF^2*Sex	3.577	.312	.012	1.192
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.062	.062	.004	0.370
2	EAF	0.200	.208	.039	3.872*
3	Sex	0.147	.252	.020	2.005
4	EAF^2	-0.193	.253	.001	0.046
5	EAF*Sex	0.098	.253	.000	0.023
6	EAF^2*Sex	3.072	.270	.009	0.856
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.317	.317	.100	10.580**
2	EAF	-0.097	.331	.009	0.968
3	Sex	0.056	.335	.003	0.309
4	EAF^2	-1.015	.354	.013	1.360
5	EAF*Sex	-0.227	.356	.001	0.132
6	EAF^2*Sex	-1.002	.357	.001	0.097

(table continues)

Table 9 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.193	.193	.037	3.691
2	Sex	-0.177	.260	.030	3.032
3	EAM	-0.119	.285	.014	1.381
4	EAM^2	-0.546	.291	.004	0.376
5	EAM*Sex	0.093	.292	.000	0.021
6	EAM^2*Sex	-2.052	.298	.004	0.388
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.298	.298	.089	9.281**
2	EAF	-0.210	.364	.043	4.701*
3	Sex	0.036	.366	.001	0.131
4	EAF^2	-0.242	.366	.001	0.078
5	EAF*Sex	-0.020	.367	.000	0.975
6	EAF^2*Sex	-1.896	.371	.003	0.350
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.348	.348	.121	13.057***
2	Sex	-0.073	.355	.005	0.548
3	EAF	-0.020	.355	.000	0.039
4	EAF^2	-1.435	.359	.002	0.251
5	EAF*Sex	-0.445	.365	.005	0.512
6	EAF^2*Sex	-3.256	.366	.000	0.006
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.388
2	Sex	0.212	.217	.043	4.263*
3	EAF	-0.055	.224	.003	0.286
4	EAF^2	1.383	.272	.024	2.386
5	EAF*Sex	-0.050	.272	.000	0.006
6	EAF^2*Sex	8.102	.368	.061	6.382**
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.136	.136	.019	1.798
2	Sex	0.168	.214	.027	2.668
3	EAF	0.166	.214	.003	0.026
4	EAF^2	-0.431	.220	.002	0.226
5	EAF*Sex	-0.414	.229	.004	0.405
6	EAF^2*Sex	-0.757	.230	.000	0.051
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.193	.193	.037	3.682
2	EAF	-0.139	.238	.019	1.900
3	Sex	0.093	.254	.008	0.809
4	EAF^2	-0.924	.274	.011	1.068
5	EAF*Sex	0.009	.274	.000	0.000
6	EAF^2*Sex	-6.792	.344	.043	4.397*

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

prediction of adolescent report of parent adolescent conflict. Because B for EAM was positive and B for EAM^2 was negative, the slope of the regression line of EAM on adolescent report of parent-adolescent conflict was predominantly positive, with a concave downward curve (Aiken & West, 1991). This indicates that adolescent report of parent-adolescent conflict increased as EAM scores increased, with a relatively large increase in frequency of conflict associated with moderate EAM scores. The interaction between EAM and gender and the interaction between EAM^2 and gender did not contribute significantly to the prediction of adolescent adjustment. In the multiple regression analyses of the curvilinear effects of EAF and gender on adolescent adjustment, the interaction between EAF^2 and sex contributed significantly to the prediction of maternal report of parent-adolescent conflict and marginally to the prediction of GPA. Report of frequency of conflict was highest with average EAF scores for males, but frequency of conflict was lowest with average EAF scores for females. In looking at grade point average, GPA decreased slightly as EAF scores increased for males, but GPA was highest with average EAF scores and decreased slightly with either higher or lower EAF scores for females.

Results of the analysis of linear and curvilinear effects of EA and sex on adolescent adjustment do not support hypothesis 3. Results suggest that moderate EAF scores for females were associated with lower maternal report of parent-

adolescent conflict and slightly higher GPA, while moderate EAF scores for males were associated with an increase in maternal report of parent-adolescent conflict.

Context of family structure. In hypothesis 4, it was predicted that higher EA scores would be associated with adjustment for adolescents in single-parent and stepparent families and lower EA scores would be associated with adjustment for adolescents in intact families. Tables 10 and 11 summarize the multiple regression analyses of family structure and EA in the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Family structure, the interaction of family structure and EAM scores, and the interaction of family structure and EAF scores did not contribute significantly to the prediction of adolescent adjustment. In other words, the relationship between EAM and adjustment was not dissimilar for adolescents residing in intact marriage households versus those residing in single-parent or stepparent households. Therefore, results of multiple regression analyses did not support hypothesis 4.

Context of cohesion. In hypothesis 5, it was predicted that higher EA scores would be associated with adjustment for adolescents with lower Cohesion scores, and that lower EA scores would be associated with adjustment for adolescents with higher Cohesion scores. Because the adolescents' scores on the FACES-III Cohesion scale were transposed and transformed to adjust for a significantly negatively skewed distribution, the signs of the standardized regression

coefficients (Beta) listed in Tables 12 and 13 are also transposed. Cohesion, the interaction of cohesion and EAM and the interaction of cohesion and EAF did not contribute significantly to the prediction of adolescent adjustment. In other words, there was no significant relationship between cohesion and adolescent adjustment, nor was there a significant relationship between cohesion and EA scores and adolescent adjustment. Results of the multiple regression analyses do not support hypothesis 5.

Context of parenting style. In hypothesis 6, it was predicted that when parenting style was categorized as authoritative (high parental acceptance and high parental control), lower EA scores would be associated with adjustment, and that when parenting style was categorized as nonauthoritative (e.g., low parental acceptance and high parental control; low parental acceptance and low parental control; high parental acceptance and low parental control), higher EA scores would be associated with adolescent adjustment. The original plan of analysis for evaluating the significance of parenting style and emotional autonomy on adolescent adjustment was to categorize parenting style as either authoritative or nonauthoritative based on a median split for scores on two measures: Maternal report of warmth toward and acceptance of the adolescent; and maternal report of parental control. However, analyses were not conducted in this manner because of significantly unequal groups

Table 10

Heirarchical multiple regression of family structure and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	FS	-0.152	.263	.023	2.321
3	EAM	-0.015	.264	.000	0.021
4	FS*EAM	-0.008	.264	.000	0.000
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	FS	-0.165	.220	.027	2.659
3	EAM	0.092	.238	.008	0.796
4	FS*EAM	0.151	.239	.001	0.055
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAM	0.107	.291	.011	1.143
3	FS	0.052	.296	.003	0.260
4	FS*EAM	-1.025	.337	.026	2.693
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAM	0.166	.178	.028	2.640
3	FS	-0.028	.180	.001	0.074
4	FS*EAM	-0.672	.209	.011	1.072
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAM	-0.036	.328	.001	0.133
3	FS	-0.014	.328	.000	0.018
4	FS*EAM	1.122	.373	.031	3.320
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	FS	-0.099	.216	.010	0.956
3	EAM	-0.078	.229	.006	0.566
4	FS*EAM	0.296	.234	.002	0.002
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAM	-0.172	.352	.029	3.097
3	FS	-0.080	.361	.006	0.657
4	FS*EAM	0.554	.372	.008	0.809

(table continues)

Table 10 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	FS	0.024	.350	.006	0.063
3	EAM	0.016	.350	.000	0.025
4	FS*EAM	-0.037	.350	.000	0.004
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	FS	-0.104	.120	.011	1.024
3	EAM	-0.048	.126	.002	0.158
4	FS*EAM	0.551	.153	.008	0.705
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAM	0.142	.167	.020	1.898
3	FS	-0.042	.172	.002	0.162
4	FS*EAM	0.517	.190	.007	0.630
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	FS	-0.065	.288	.004	0.412
4	FS*EAM	0.266	.291	.002	0.176

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

Note. FS = Family structure

Table 11

Heirarchical multiple regression of family structure and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	FS	-0.152	.263	.023	2.321
3	EAF	0.029	.265	.001	0.073
4	FS*EAF	-0.207	.266	.001	0.090
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	FS	-0.165	.220	.027	2.659
3	EAF	-0.067	.228	.004	0.370
4	FS*EAM	-0.138	.229	.000	0.039
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAF	-0.041	.274	.002	0.165
3	FS	0.021	.275	.000	0.037
4	FS*EAF	-0.261	.277	.002	0.145
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	FS	0.021	.211	.000	0.035
4	FS*EAF	0.701	.234	.011	1.016
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAF	-0.101	.341	.010	1.052
3	FS	-0.050	.344	.002	0.228
4	FS*EAF	0.575	.354	.007	0.739
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	FS	-0.099	.216	.010	0.956
3	EAF	-0.078	.229	.006	0.566
4	FS*EAF	-0.364	.297	.036	3.579
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.374	.045	4.900*
3	FS	-0.146	.398	.019	2.031
4	FS*EAF	-0.205	.400	.001	0.098

(table continues)

Table 11 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	EAF	-0.032	.350	.001	0.103
3	FS	0.015	.350	.000	0.021
4	FS*EAF	-0.434	.356	.004	0.423
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	FS	-0.104	.120	.011	1.024
3	EAF	-0.071	.137	.004	0.409
4	FS*EAF	0.538	.158	.006	0.581
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	FS	-0.064	.110	.004	0.383
3	EAF	0.003	.110	.000	0.001
4	FS*EAF	-0.347	.121	.003	0.239
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAF	-0.139	.236	.019	1.889
3	FS	-0.092	.251	.007	0.721
4	FS*EAF	0.676	.270	.010	0.964

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

Note. FS = Family structure

Table 12

Heirarchical multiple regression of cohesion and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Cohesion	0.024	.216	.001	0.055
3	EAM	0.006	.216	.000	0.003
4	Coh*EAM	0.127	.217	.000	0.028
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	EAM	0.117	.186	.014	1.297
3	Coh	-0.004	.186	.000	0.001
4	Coh*EAM	0.178	.188	.001	0.055
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAM	0.107	.291	.011	1.143
3	Coh	-0.016	.291	.000	0.024
4	Coh*EAM	0.806	.311	.012	1.202
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	Coh	0.187	.196	.034	3.314
3	EAM	0.133	.235	.017	1.619
4	Coh*EAM	-0.724	.254	.010	0.938
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAM	-0.036	.328	.001	0.133
3	Coh	0.004	.328	.000	0.001
4	Coh*EAM	0.179	.329	.001	0.060
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Coh	-0.196	.273	.038	3.785
3	EAM	-0.018	.277	.000	0.031
4	Coh*EAM	-1.193	.318	.062	2.649
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAM	-0.172	.352	.029	3.097
3	Coh	-0.049	.355	.002	0.232
4	Coh*EAM	0.570	.364	.006	0.627

(table continues)

Table 12 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	EAM	0.011	.349	.000	0.013
3	Coh	0.009	.349	.000	0.008
4	Coh*EAM	-0.505	.356	.005	0.489
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Coh	-0.053	.080	.003	0.258
3	EAM	-0.013	.080	.000	0.014
4	Coh*EAM	1.094	.168	.022	2.059
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Coh	0.144	.168	.020	1.933
3	EAM	0.116	.202	.013	1.222
4	Coh*EAM	0.911	.237	.015	1.470
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Coh	0.068	.288	.004	0.433
4	Coh*EAM	0.865	.311	.014	1.385

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

Note. Because scores on the cohesion scales were transposed and transformed, lower cohesion scores indicate higher levels of cohesion, as indicated in the Beta weights.

Table 13

Heirarchical multiple regression of cohesion and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	EAF	0.081	.229	.006	0.638
3	Coh	0.012	.229	.000	0.012
4	Coh*EAF	-0.664	.245	.007	0.717
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Coh	0.022	.147	.001	0.043
3	EAF	-0.001	.147	.000	0.000
4	Coh*EAF	-1.004	.196	.017	1.601
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAF	-0.041	.274	.002	0.165
3	Coh	0.015	.274	.000	0.020
4	Coh*EAF	-0.465	.281	.004	0.359
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	Coh	0.160	.261	.024	2.396
4	Coh*EAF	-0.510	.270	.004	0.430
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAF	-0.101	.341	.010	1.052
3	Coh	0.012	.341	.000	0.014
4	Coh*EAF	1.014	.366	.017	1.815
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Coh	-0.096	.273	.037	3.785
3	EAF	-0.115	.296	.013	1.285
4	Coh*EAF	0.024	.296	.000	0.001
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.374	.045	4.900*
3	Coh	-0.051	.378	.002	0.268
4	Coh*EAF	1.021	.400	.018	1.899

(table continues)

Table 13 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	EAF	-0.032	.350	.001	0.103
3	Coh	0.016	.350	.000	0.027
4	Coh*EAF	-0.470	.356	.004	0.387
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Coh	-0.053	.079	.003	0.258
3	EAF	-0.016	.080	.000	0.023
4	Coh*EAF	-0.310	.100	.002	0.148
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Coh	0.143	.168	.020	1.933
3	EAF	0.004	.168	.000	0.001
4	Coh*EAF	-0.090	.168	.000	0.013
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAF	-0.139	.236	.019	1.889
3	Coh	0.043	.240	.002	0.173
4	Coh*EAF	0.528	.250	.005	0.454

Note. Because scores on the cohesion scales were transposed and transformed, lower cohesion scores indicate higher levels of cohesion, as indicated in the Beta weights.

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

(authoritative N= 75, nonauthoritative N= 21). Therefore, maternal report of warmth and maternal report of strictness were analyzed separately as continuous variables.

Results of the multiple regression analyses of warmth and EA on adolescent adjustment are summarized in Table 14. Because scores for maternal warmth (i.e., maternal scores on the Inventory of Parent Attachment), were significantly negatively skewed, they were transposed and transformed, so the signs of the normative regression coefficients (Beta) are also transposed. Multiple regression analyses were not conducted with EAF in the context of warmth because there was no measure which assessed father's warmth toward the adolescent.

Maternal report of warmth toward the adolescent contributed significantly to the prediction of three measures of adolescent adjustment. Higher maternal scores of warmth toward adolescent were correlated with lower maternal reports of adolescent internalizing and externalizing behavior, and with lower maternal report of parent-adolescent conflict.

The interaction of warmth and EAM significantly predicted teacher report of adolescent externalizing behavior problems and Harter's total scores, and marginally predicted Harter's social acceptance scores and GPA. See Figures 1 through 4 for an illustration of these interactions. Consistent with hypothesis 6, when mother's report's of warmth toward adolescent were lower, higher adolescent EAM scores were

Table 14

Heirarchical multiple regression of maternal warmth and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Warmth	0.391	.446	.153	17.718***
3	EAM	-0.091	.454	.007	0.891
4	Warm*EAM	-0.962	.472	.016	1.869
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Warmth	0.466	.487	.216	26.394***
3	EAM	0.003	.487	.000	0.001
4	Warmth*EAM	-0.275	.489	.001	0.156
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAM	0.107	.291	.011	1.143
3	Warmth	-0.017	.292	.000	0.027
4	Warmth*EAM	-0.367	.295	.023	1.232
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAM	0.167	.178	.028	2.640
3	Warmth	-0.138	.222	.018	1.729
4	Warmth*EAM	-2.266	.372	.089	9.361**
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	Warmth	-0.122	.348	.015	1.583
3	EAM	-0.006	.348	.000	0.004
4	Warmth*EAM	1.519	.401	.040	4.322*
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Warmth	-0.151	.244	.023	2.254
3	EAM	-0.024	.245	.000	0.052
4	Warmth*EAM	1.078	.283	.020	1.986
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	Warmth	-0.172	.352	.029	3.147
3	EAM	-0.138	.377	.018	1.891
4	Warmth*EAM	2.002	.460	.069	7.982**

(table continues)

Table 14 (continued)

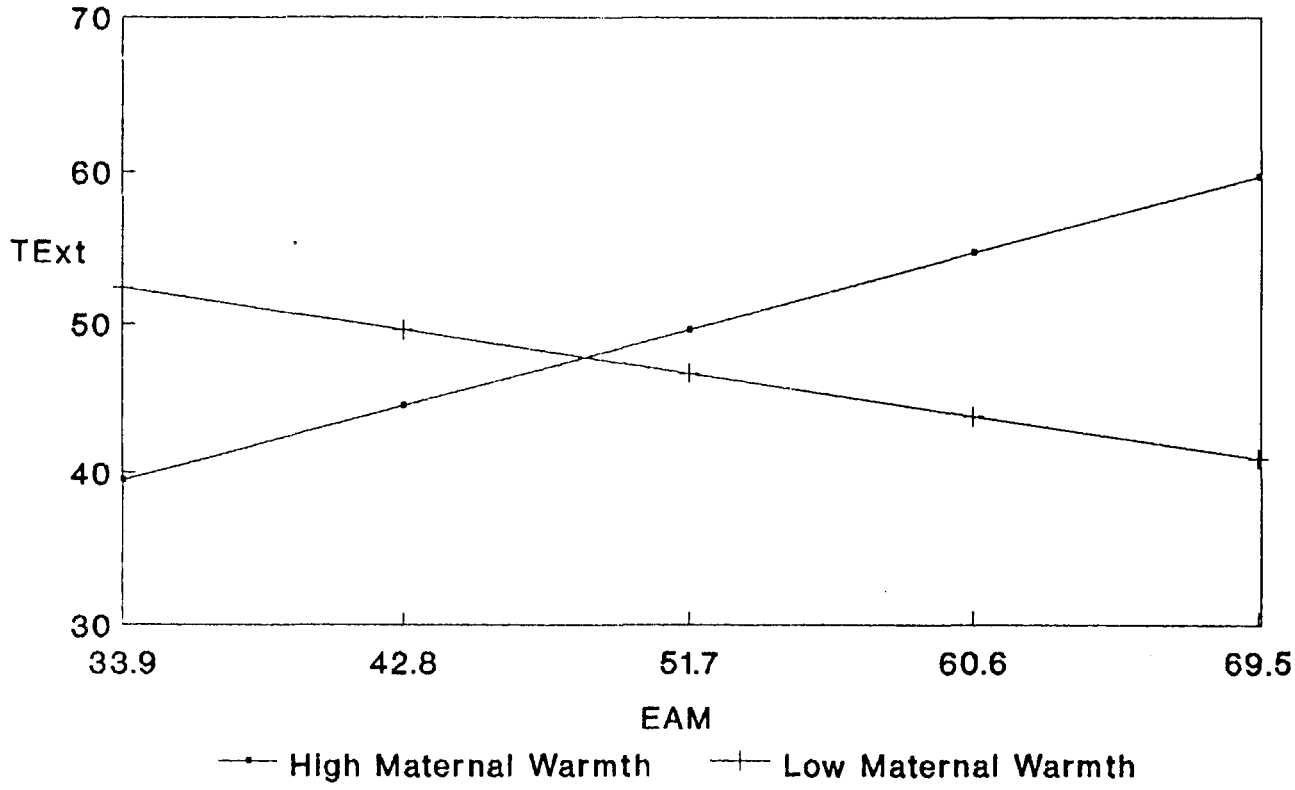
Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	*F* Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Warmth	-0.012	.349	.000	0.016
3	EAM	0.015	.349	.000	0.023
4	Warmth*EAM	1.006	.374	.018	1.848
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Warmth	0.251	.258	.063	6.285**
3	EAM	-0.091	.272	.008	0.760
4	Warmth*EAM	-0.685	.287	.008	0.803
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Warmth	0.352	.362	.123	13.204
3	EAM	0.059	.367	.003	0.344
4	Warmth*EAM	0.973	.388	.016	1.752
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Warmth	0.192	.337	.035	3.604
4	Warmth*EAM	1.745	.408	.053	5.738*

Note. Because the warmth scores have been transposed and transformed, lower warmth scores indicate higher levels of warmth, as indicated by the Beta weights.

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

Figure 1

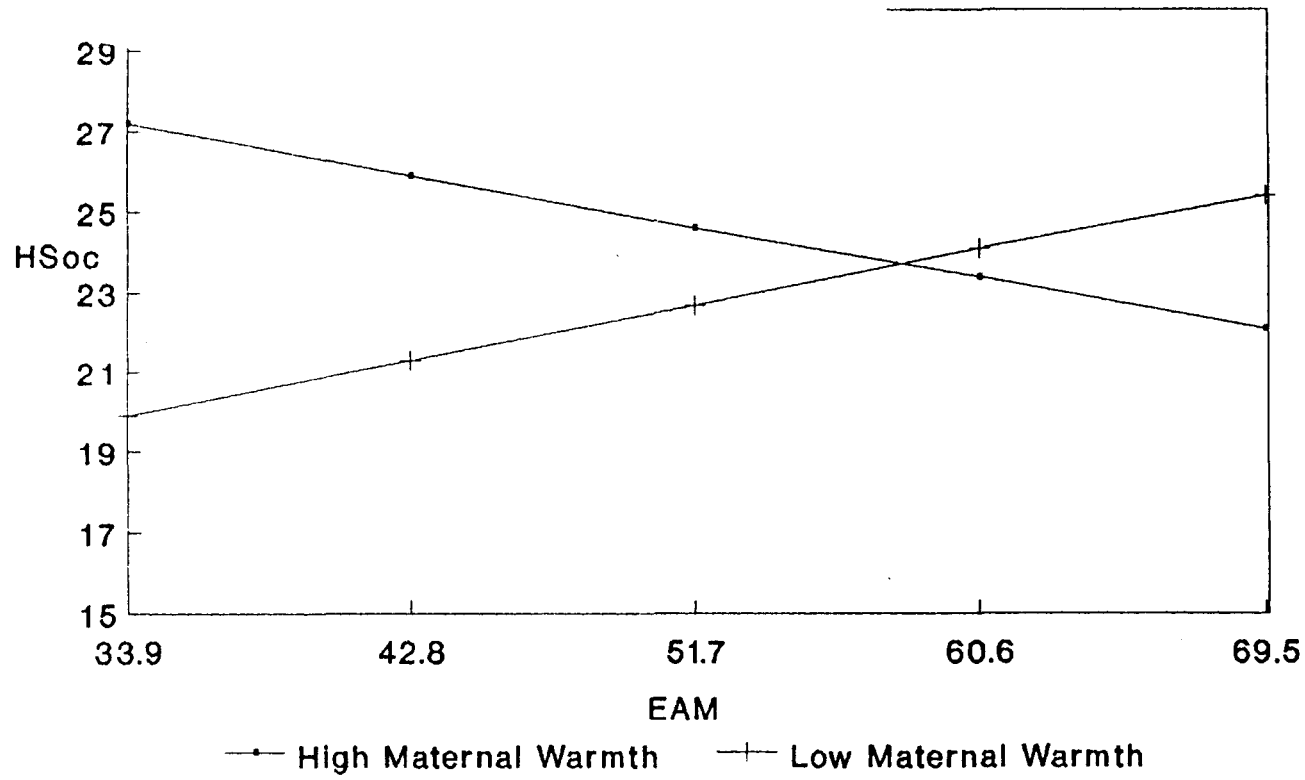
Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and maternal warmth on externalizing behavior problems



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
TExt = Teacher report of adolescent externalizing behavior problems
High maternal warmth = simple regression line of TExt on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviations above mean
Low maternal warmth = simple regression line of TExt on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviations below mean

Figure 2

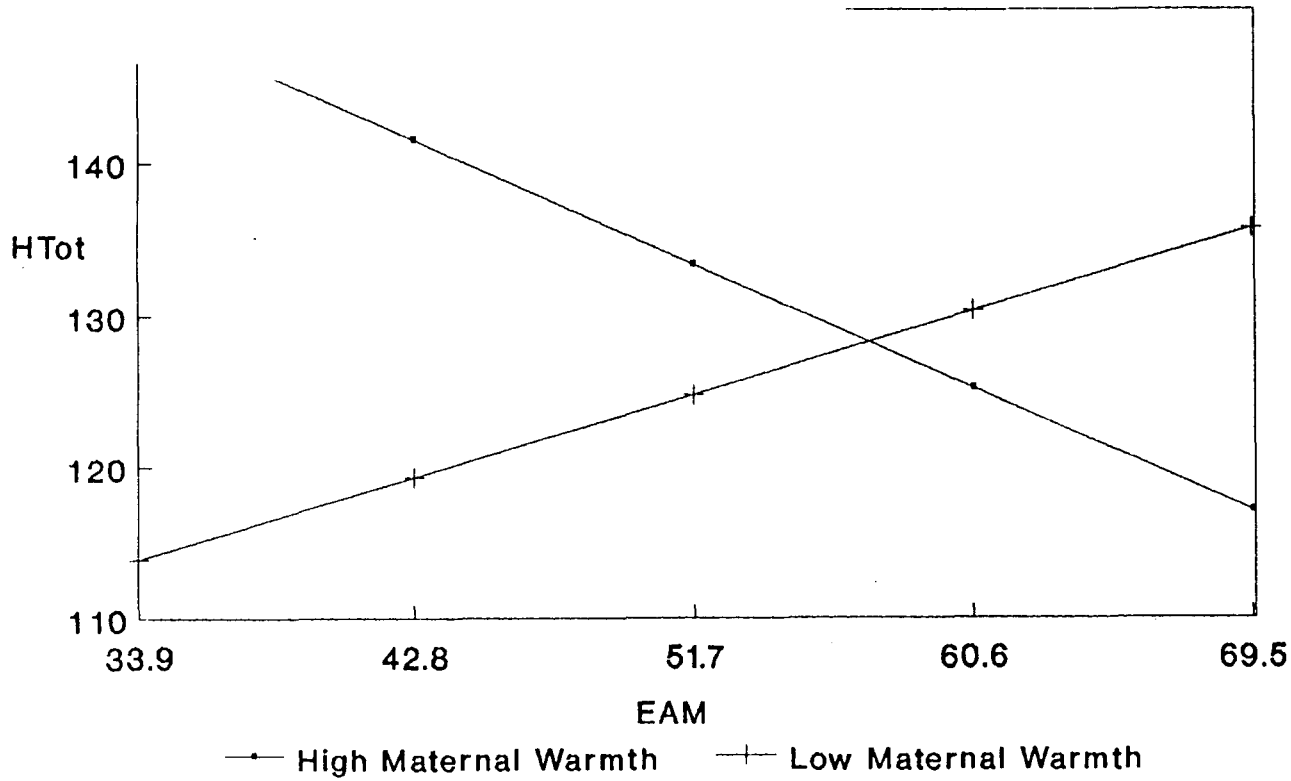
Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and maternal warmth on social acceptance scores



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
HSoc = Harter social acceptance score
High maternal warmth = simple regression line of HSoc on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low maternal warmth = simple regression line of HSoc on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviations below mean

Figure 3

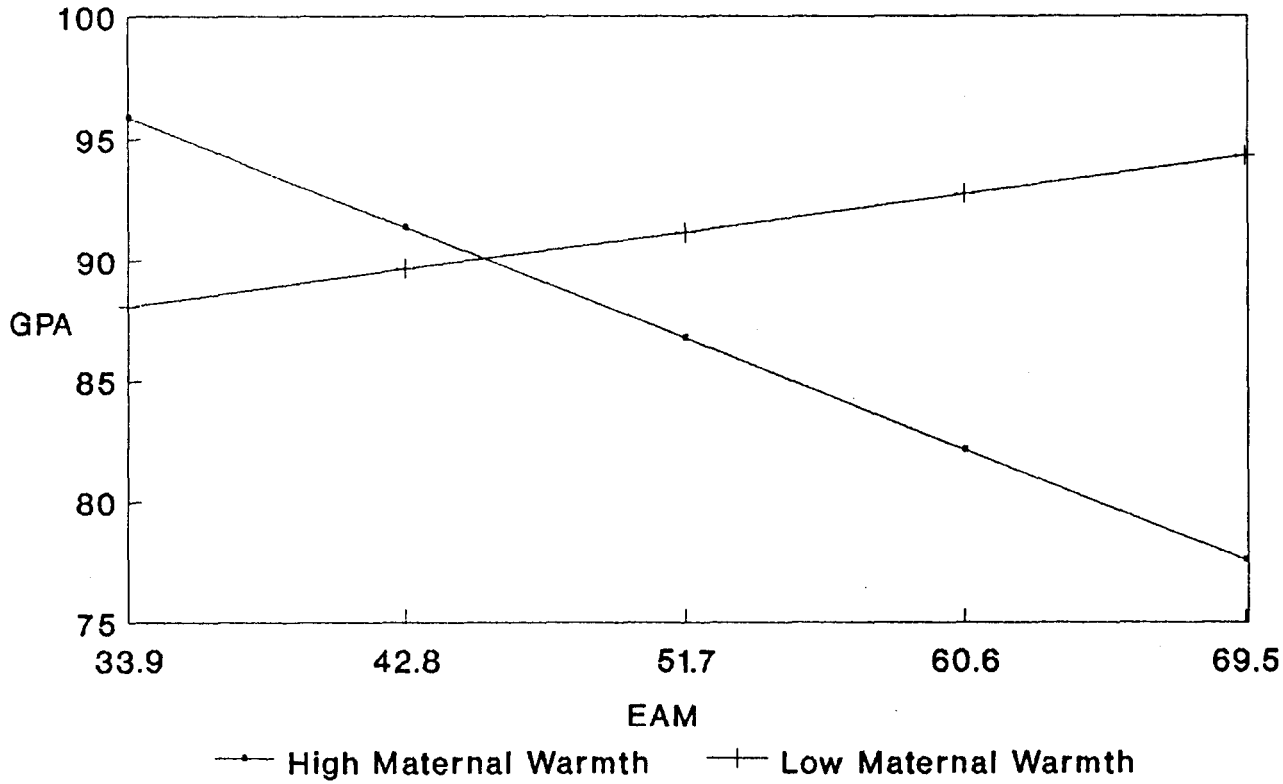
Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and maternal warmth on Harter competence scores



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
HTot = Harter total competence score
High maternal warmth = simple regression line of HTot on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low maternal warmth = simple regression line of HTot on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviations below mean

Figure 4

Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and maternal warmth on grade point average



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
GPA = grade point average
High maternal warmth = simple regression line of GPA on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low maternal warmth = simple regression line of GPA on EAM when maternal warmth score is 2 standard deviations below mean

significantly correlated with less externalizing behavior problems and higher competence scores, and marginally correlated with higher social acceptance scores and higher GPA's. Similarly, when mother's report's of warmth toward adolescent were higher, lower adolescent EAM scores were significantly correlated with lower externalizing behavior problems and higher competence scores, and marginally correlated with higher social acceptance scores and higher GPA's.

Tables 15 and 16 summarize the multiple regression analyses of parental control and EA in the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Maternal report of parental control, the interaction between parental control and EAM and the interaction between parental control and EAF did not contribute significantly to the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Therefore, in this study, maternal report of parental control was not associated with adjustment.

The results of the multiple regression analyses involving maternal warmth partially support hypothesis 6, while the results of the multiple regression analysis involving parental control offer not support of hypothesis 6. These results suggest that the interaction between mother report of warmth toward the adolescent and the adolescent's report of emotional autonomy from mother interact in the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Positive adolescent adjustment was associated with greater emotional autonomy when mother reported less

Table 15

Heirarchical multiple regression of parental control and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Control	0.105	.230	.007	0.692
3	EAM	0.020	.231	.000	0.040
4	Control*EAM	1.288	.270	.019	1.894
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	EAM	0.117	.186	.013	1.297
3	Control	0.079	.196	.004	0.379
4	Control*EAM	0.505	.204	.003	0.281
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAM	0.107	.291	.011	1.143
3	Control	-0.115	.305	.008	0.846
4	Control*EAM	-0.984	.323	.011	1.114
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	Control	0.167	.178	.028	2.640
3	EAM	-0.160	.219	.016	1.563
4	Control*EAM	-1.197	.254	.017	1.197
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	Control	0.141	.345	.013	1.340
3	EAM	-0.023	.346	.000	0.054
4	Control*EAM	0.068	.346	.000	0.006
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Control	0.217	.259	.030	3.018
3	EAM	-0.040	.262	.002	0.152
4	Control*EAM	1.540	.310	.028	2.781
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAM	-0.172	.352	.029	3.097
3	Control	0.177	.379	.020	2.127
4	Control*EAM	0.813	.389	.008	0.825

(table continues)

Table 15 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	EAM	0.011	.349	.000	0.013
3	Control	0.015	.349	.000	0.014
4	Control*EAM	-0.604	.355	.004	0.441
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Control	0.106	.103	.008	0.671
3	EAM	-0.014	.104	.000	0.018
4	Control*EAM	1.108	.158	.014	1.334
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAM	0.142	.167	.020	1.898
3	Control	0.009	.167	.000	0.005
4	Control*EAM	0.399	.172	.002	0.174
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Control	0.072	.287	.003	0.331
4	Control*EAM	-1.190	.314	.016	1.665

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

Table 16

Heirarchical multiple regression of parental control and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Control	0.105	.230	.007	0.692
3	EAF	0.079	.243	.006	0.602
4	Control*EAF	0.550	.250	.003	0.292
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Control	0.061	.153	.002	0.228
3	EAF	-0.001	.153	.000	0.000
4	Control*EAF	0.991	.182	.010	0.922
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Control	-0.129	.290	.011	1.079
3	EAF	-0.038	.292	.001	0.145
4	Control*EAF	-0.969	.308	.009	0.941
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	Control	-0.189	.258	.023	2.244
4	Control*EAF	-1.091	.258	.000	0.008
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	Control	0.141	.345	.013	1.340
3	EAF	-0.104	.360	.011	1.120
4	Control*EAF	0.090	.360	.000	0.008
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Control	0.217	.259	.030	3.018
3	EAF	-0.148	.298	.022	3.166
4	Control*EAF	0.760	.307	.006	0.578
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.375	.045	4.900*
3	Control	0.207	.409	.027	3.017
4	Control*EAF	-0.049	.409	.000	0.003

(table continues)

Table 16 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	EAF	-0.032	.350	.001	0.103
3	Control	0.014	.350	.000	0.013
4	Control*EAF	1.192	.370	.014	1.494
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Control	0.106	.103	.007	0.671
3	EAF	-0.026	.106	.001	0.063
4	Control*EAF	1.713	.128	.005	0.469
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAF	0.026	.093	.001	0.063
3	Control	-0.012	.093	.000	0.009
4	Control*EAF	-0.113	.094	.000	0.012
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAF	-0.139	.236	.019	1.899
3	Control	0.106	.251	.007	0.704
4	Control*EAF	-1.893	.314	.036	3.608

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

warmth toward the adolescent, and positive adolescent adjustment was associated with less emotional autonomy when mother reported a greater warmth toward the adolescent.

Context of culture. In hypothesis 7, it was predicted that higher EA scores would be associated with adjustment for adolescents in middle-class families, while lower EA scores would be associated with adjustment for adolescents residing in working-class and lower socioeconomic status families. Tables 17 and 18 summarize the multiple regression analyses of socioeconomic status (SES) and EA on adolescent adjustment. Socioeconomic status contributed significantly to the prediction of Harter's Social Acceptance scores, and contributed marginally to the prediction of maternal ratings of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems and Harter's total scores. This indicates that higher SES scores were correlated with higher maternal reports of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, lower social acceptance, and lower competence scores.

The interaction between SES and EAM contributed marginally to the prediction of mother report of frequency of conflict. Consistent with hypothesis 7, when SES scores were lower, lower EAM scores were correlated with lower parent-adolescent conflict. Similarly, when SES scores were higher, higher EAM scores were correlated with lower parent-adolescent conflict.

Although not in the predicted direction, the interaction

Table 17

Heirarchical multiple regression of socio-economic status and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.064	.004	4.535*
2	SES	0.235	.318	.055	5.700*
3	EAM	0.016	.318	.000	0.040
4	SES*EAM	-0.790	.344	.017	1.730
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	SES	0.234	.275	.055	5.497*
3	EAM	0.122	.301	.015	1.493
4	SES*EAM	-0.666	.320	.012	1.207
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAM	0.107	.291	.011	1.143
3	SES	0.032	.293	.001	0.102
4	SES*EAM	0.992	.335	.026	2.707
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAM	0.167	.178	.028	2.640
3	SES	0.029	.180	.001	0.080
4	SES*EAM	1.111	.256	.033	3.225
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	SES	-0.310	.450	.096	11.181***
3	EAM	-0.043	.451	.002	0.213
4	SES*EAM	-0.162	.452	.001	0.081
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	SES	-0.169	.256	.028	2.837
3	EAM	-0.063	.263	.004	0.394
4	SES*EAM	-0.330	.269	.003	0.287
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	SES	-0.189	.361	.036	3.800*
3	EAM	-0.176	.401	.031	3.366
4	SES*EAM	-0.264	.404	.002	0.204

(table continues)

Table 17 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	SES	0.048	.352	.002	0.248
3	EAM	0.012	.352	.000	0.016
4	SES*EAM	-0.562	.364	.008	0.890
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	SES	0.099	.115	.010	0.919
3	EAM	-0.021	.117	.000	0.042
4	SES*EAM	-1.254	.236	.042	4.065*
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAM	0.142	.167	.020	1.898
3	SES	0.023	.168	.000	0.048
4	SES*EAM	0.102	.169	.000	0.026
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	SES	0.051	.286	.003	0.263
4	SES*EAM	-0.888	.320	.021	2.146

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

Table 18

Heirarchical multiple regression of socio-economic status and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	SES	0.235	.318	.055	5.700*
3	EAF	0.068	.325	.004	0.467
4	SES*EAF	0.151	.326	.000	0.046
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	SES	0.234	.275	.055	5.497*
3	EAF	-0.011	.276	.000	0.012
4	SES*EAF	0.221	.277	.001	0.095
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	EAF	-0.041	.274	.002	0.165
3	SES	0.032	.276	.001	0.100
4	SES*EAF	0.715	.294	.010	0.999
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	SES	0.014	.210	.000	0.019
4	SES*EAF	0.937	.248	.017	1.671
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	SES	-0.310	.450	.096	11.181***
3	EAF	-0.083	.457	.007	0.792
4	SES*EAF	-1.876	.527	.069	8.707**
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	SES	0.169	.259	.028	2.837
3	EAF	-0.134	.288	.018	1.762
4	SES*EAF	-1.199	.334	.028	2.892
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.375	.045	4.900*
3	SES	-0.177	.414	.031	3.467
4	SES*EAF	-1.509	.465	.045	5.191*

(table continues)

Table 18 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	SES	0.048	.352	.002	0.248
3	EAF	-0.034	.354	.001	0.122
4	SES*EAF	0.591	.363	.007	0.719
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	SES	0.099	.115	.010	0.919
3	EAF	-0.030	.118	.001	0.081
4	SES*EAF	-0.391	.131	.003	0.277
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAF	0.026	.093	.001	0.063
3	SES	0.018	.094	.000	0.030
4	SES*EAF	0.756	.142	.011	1.044
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAF	-0.139	.236	.019	1.899
3	SES	0.064	.245	.004	0.400
4	SES*EAF	-0.998	.282	.020	1.933

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

of SES and EAF contributed significantly to the prediction of Harter's Social Acceptance score, and marginally to the prediction of Harter's total score. When SES scores were higher, lower EAF scores were correlated with higher Harter's social acceptance scores. Similarly, when SES scores were lower, higher EAF scores were correlated with higher Harter's social acceptance scores. Higher EAF scores were associated with higher competence scores for adolescents with lower SES scores, while lower EAF scores were associated with higher competence scores for adolescents with higher SES scores.

In summary, results of the multiple regression analyses generally do not support hypothesis 7, and results are inconsistent. It was not expected that SES would have a main effect on adolescent adjustment, however, adolescents with higher SES scores had higher maternal reports of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, lower social acceptance scores, and lower competence scores.

In hypothesis 8, it was predicted that higher EA scores would be associated with adjustment for White adolescents and that lower EA scores would be associated with adjustment for African-American adolescents. Tables 19 and 20 summarize the results of multiple regression analyses of ethnicity and EA on adolescent adjustment. Ethnicity contributed marginally to the prediction of Harter's self-worth scores, indicating that African-American adolescents reported higher self-worth scores than White adolescents.

The interaction of ethnicity and EAM contributed significantly to the prediction of adolescent report of frequency of parent-adolescent conflict. For White adolescents, there was an increase in parent-adolescent conflict as EAM scores increased, while for African-American adolescents, there was a decrease in parent-adolescent conflict as EAM scores increased. This interaction was not in the predicted direction.

The interaction of ethnicity and EAM scores also contributed marginally to the prediction of maternal report of internalizing behavior problems and Harter's total competence score. As predicted, there was an increase in social acceptance scores as EAM scores increased for White adolescents, and there was a decrease in social acceptance scores as EAM increased for African-American adolescents. Also in the predicted direction, there was a decrease in mother report of internalizing behavior problems as EAM scores increased for White adolescents; and there was an increase in internalizing behavior problems as EAM scores increased for African-American adolescents.

Also within the context of ethnicity, the interaction of ethnicity and EAF contributed marginally to the prediction of adolescent GPA. As predicted in hypothesis 8, GPA increased as EAF scores increased for White adolescents, and GPA increased as EAF scores decreased for African-American adolescents.

Table 19

Heirarchical multiple regression of ethnicity and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Ethnicity	0.124	.240	.012	1.162
3	EAM	0.001	.240	.000	0.000
4	Ethn*EAM	1.301	.314	.041	4.149*
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	EAM	0.117	.186	.014	1.297
3	Ethnicity	0.067	.195	.003	0.326
4	Ethn*EAM	0.427	.206	.004	0.420
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Ethnicity	-0.152	.302	.018	1.823
3	EAM	0.119	.324	.014	1.436
4	Etnh*EAM	0.937	.356	.021	2.221
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAM	0.167	.178	.028	2.640
3	Ethnicity	-0.053	.184	.002	0.207
4	Ethn*EAM	0.277	.189	.002	0.176
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAM	-0.360	.328	.001	0.133
3	Ethnicity	0.028	.329	.001	0.060
4	Ethn*EAM	-1.333	.389	.043	4.625*
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Ethnicity	0.276	.309	.059	6.016*
3	EAM	-0.081	.319	.006	0.667
4	Ethn*EAM	0.629	.334	.010	0.985
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAM	-0.172	.352	.029	3.097
3	Ethnicity	0.108	.364	.009	0.946
4	Eth*EAM	-0.720	.382	.013	1.339

(table continues)

Table 19 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Ethnicity	0.094	.358	.007	0.720
3	EAM	0.004	.358	.000	0.002
4	Ethn*EAM	-1.819	.457	.080	9.235**
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Ethnicity	-0.045	.071	.002	0.145
3	EAM	-0.020	.073	.000	0.038
4	Ethn*EAM	-0.149	.077	.000	0.049
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	EAM	0.142	.167	.020	1.898
3	Ethnicity	-0.101	.188	.008	0.741
4	Ethn*EAM	-0.991	.244	.024	2.306
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Ethnicity	-0.154	.312	.018	1.845
4	Ethn*EAM	-0.395	.318	.004	0.384

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

Table 20

Heirarchical multiple regression of ethnicity and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Ethnicity	0.124	.240	.012	1.162
3	EAF	0.058	.247	.003	0.309
4	Ethn*EAF	0.562	.262	.008	0.764
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Ethnicity	0.078	.160	.005	0.445
3	EAF	-0.015	.161	.000	0.020
4	Ethn*EAF	0.867	.211	.019	1.770
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Ethnicity	-0.152	.302	.018	1.823
3	EAF	-0.009	.302	.000	0.008
4	Etnh*EAF	1.064	.345	.028	2.890
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	Ethnicity	-0.097	.225	.007	0.657
4	Ethn*EAF	0.820	.260	.017	1.623
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAF	-0.101	.341	.010	1.052
3	Ethnicity	0.054	.344	.002	0.223
4	Ethn*EAF	-1.091	.384	.030	3.145
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Ethnicity	0.276	.309	.059	6.016*
3	EAF	-0.214	.371	.042	4.535*
4	Ethn*EAF	0.503	.380	.006	0.664
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.374	.045	4.900*
3	Ethnicity	0.158	.398	.018	1.968
4	Ethn*EAF	-0.738	.414	.014	1.480

(table continues)

Table 20 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Ethnicity	0.094	.358	.007	0.720
3	EAF	-0.054	.362	.003	0.292
4	Ethn*EAF	-0.564	.373	.008	0.830
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Ethnicity	-0.045	.071	.002	0.145
3	EAF	-0.015	.072	.000	0.020
4	Ethn*EAF	-0.092	.074	.000	0.019
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Ethnicity	0.086	.117	.006	0.537
3	EEF	-0.047	.125	.002	0.193
4	Ethn*EAF	-0.287	.133	.002	0.189
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	Ethnicity	-0.174	.245	.023	2.286
3	EAF	-0.109	.266	.011	1.092
4	Ethn*EAF	-1.248	.331	.038	3.935*

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

The results of the multiple regression analyses provide marginal and mixed support for hypothesis 8. While the results do not provide compelling support for the hypothesis that ethnicity moderates the relationship between adolescent adjustment and adolescent emotional autonomy, the results suggest that further analysis of this issue is warrented.

Post hoc Analysis of the Intensity of Parent-Adolescent Conflict and Emotional Autonomy on Adolescent Adjustment

Context of conflict. Thus far, results suggest that the context of the parent-adolescent relationship, as operationally defined by maternal report of warmth toward the adolescent, significantly affects the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment in adolescence. Because results suggest that the affective relationship between parent and adolescent impacts on the interaction of EA and adolescent adjustment, other measures which index this emotional relationship were sought. The intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, which had been used as a dependent measure in prior multiple regression analyses, was examined as an index of the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship, because past research has indicated that intense conflict is a symptom of a problematic parent-adolescent relationship (Hill & Holmbeck, 1987; Holmbeck & O'Donnell, 1990; Montemayor, 1983; Steinberg, 1981). As reported earlier, maternal and adolescent scores were averaged for this measure because they were significantly correlated.

It was hypothesized that when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was higher, higher EA scores would be associated with adjustment, and when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was lower, lower EA scores would be associated with adolescent adjustment. Tables 22 and 23 summarize the multiple regression analyses of the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and EA on adolescent adjustment.

Intensity of parent-adolescent conflict contributed significantly to the prediction of maternal report of externalizing behavior problems, and marginally to the prediction of maternal report of internalizing behavior problems. Higher scores of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict were predictive of higher maternal reports of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems.

The interaction between intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and EAM scores contributed significantly to the prediction of adolescent GPA, and contributed marginally to the prediction of Harter total competence scores and teacher report of externalizing behavior problems. The interaction of EAF and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict also contributed significantly to the prediction of GPA. These interactions were in the predicted direction and are illustrated in Figures 5 through 8.

As illustrated in Figures 5 and 6, when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was higher, teacher report of

Table 21

Heirarchical multiple regression of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Conflict	0.217	.304	.046	4.769*
3	EAM	-0.021	.305	.000	0.000
4	Con*EAM	-0.581	.315	.006	0.653
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Conflict	0.269	.305	.071	7.363**
3	EAM	0.080	.315	.006	0.637
4	Con*EAM	-0.451	.321	.004	0.396
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Conflict	0.107	.291	.011	1.149
3	EAM	0.093	.305	.008	0.858
4	Con*EAM	0.118	.306	.000	0.027
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAM	0.167	.178	.028	2.640
3	Conflict	-0.019	.179	.000	0.033
4	Con*EAM	-1.612	.286	.050	4.928*
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAM	-0.360	.328	.001	0.133
3	Conflict	-0.022	.328	.000	0.047
4	Con*EAM	0.420	.334	.003	0.345
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Conflict	-0.151	.244	.023	2.236
3	EAM	-0.039	.247	.002	0.144
4	Con*EAM	0.515	.257	.005	0.494

(table continues)

Table 21 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAM	-0.172	.352	.029	3.097
3	Conflict	-0.114	.370	.013	1.359
4	Con*EAM	1.551	.428	.046	5.128*
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Conflict	-0.028	.282	.001	0.076
4	Con*EAM	2.000	.395	.077	8.257**

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

Table 22

Heirarchical multiple regression of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Conflict	0.217	.304	.046	4.769*
3	EAF	0.076	.313	.006	0.574
4	Con*EAF	-0.168	.314	.001	0.064
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.029
2	Conflict	0.269	.305	.072	7.363**
3	EAF	-0.005	.305	.000	0.002
4	Con*EAF	-0.891	.333	.018	1.826
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Conflict	0.107	.291	.011	1.149
3	EAF	-0.044	.294	.002	0.189
4	Con*EAF	-0.310	.298	.002	0.216
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	Conflict	0.037	.213	.001	0.129
4	Con*EAF	-1.843	.248	.016	1.545
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	EAF	-0.101	.341	.010	1.052
3	Conflict	-0.024	.342	.001	0.058
4	Con*EAF	-0.060	.342	.000	0.008
	Adolescent report Harter's Self Worth score				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.603
2	Conflict	-0.151	.244	.023	2.236
3	EAF	-0.139	.280	.019	1.903
4	Con*EAF	-0.783	.304	.014	1.378

(table continues)

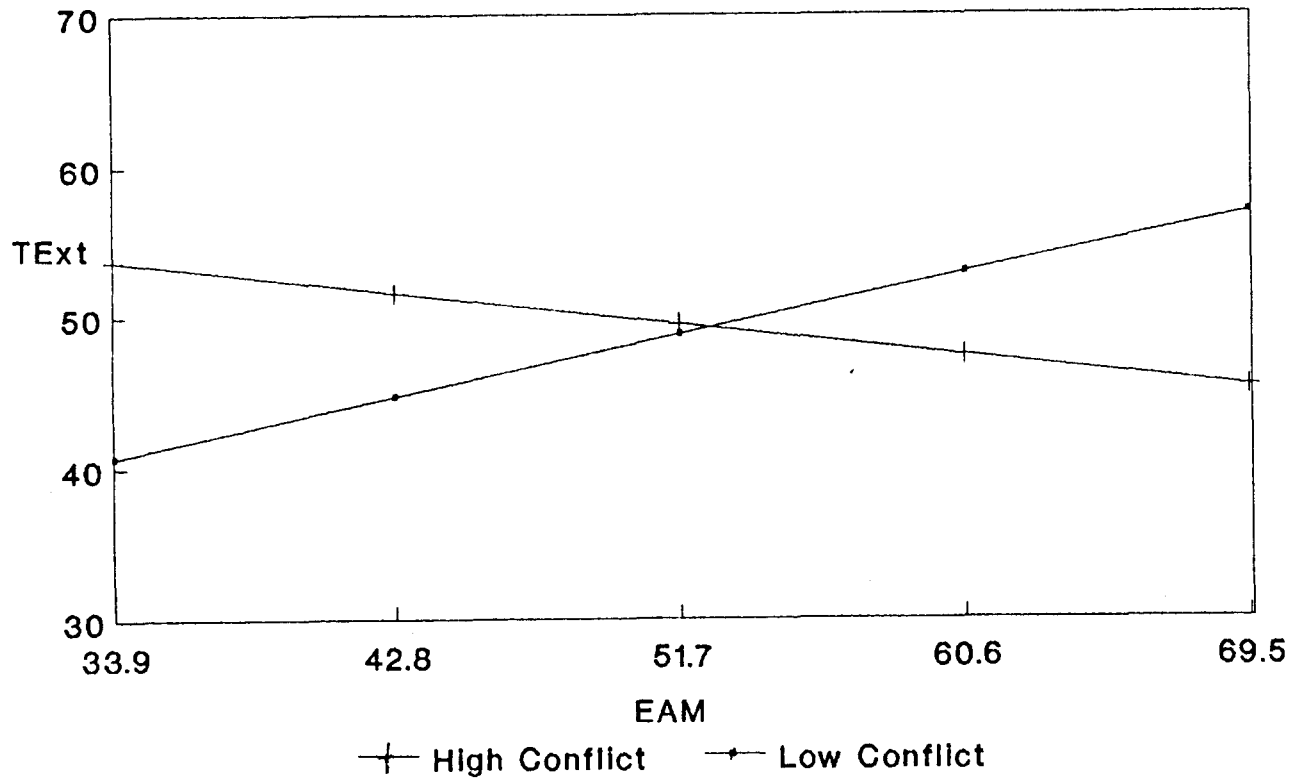
Table 22 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.374	.045	4.900*
3	Conflict	-0.131	.397	.017	1.858
4	Con*EAF	0.598	.407	.008	0.876
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAF	-0.139	.236	.019	1.889
3	Conflict	-0.053	.242	.003	0.272
4	Con*EAF	1.894	.373	.080	8.511**

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

Figure 5

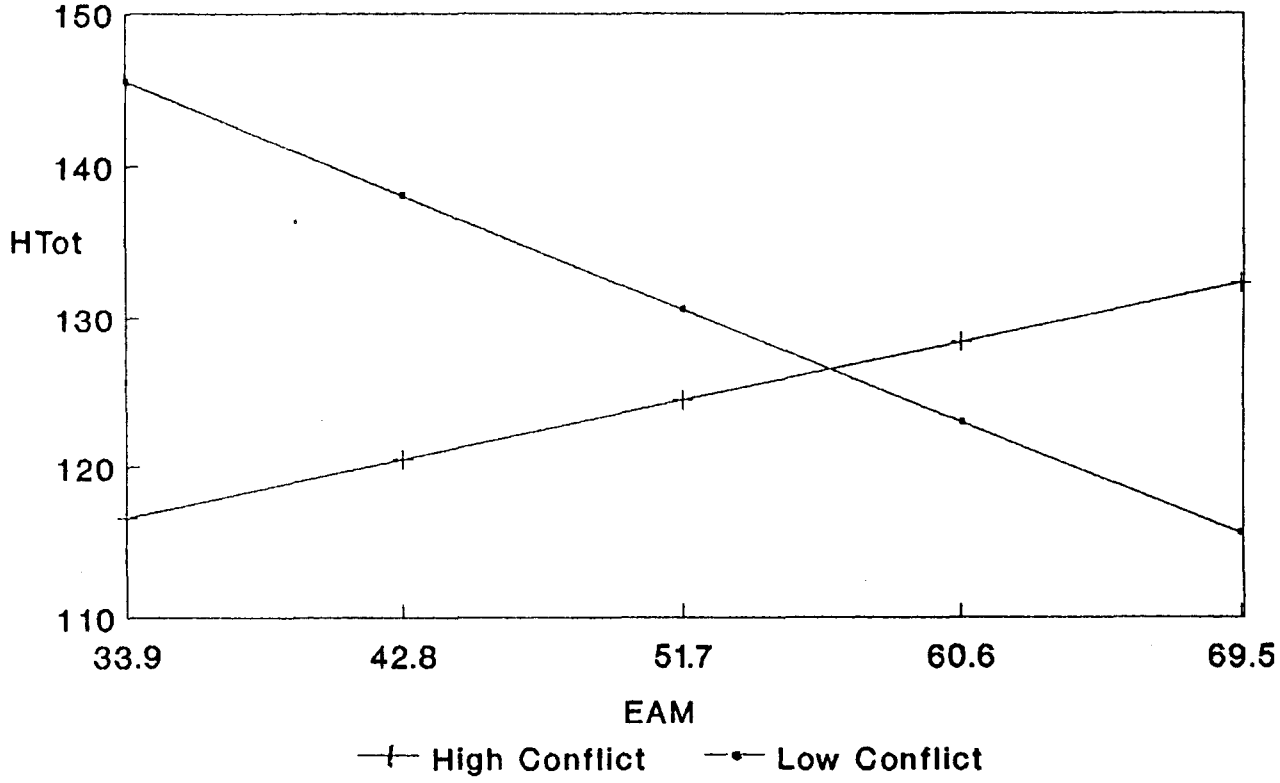
Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict on externalizing behavior problems



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
TExt= Teacher report of adolescent externalizing behavior problems
High conflict = simple regression line of TExt on EAM when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low conflict = simple regression line of TExt on EAM when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviations below mean

Figure 6

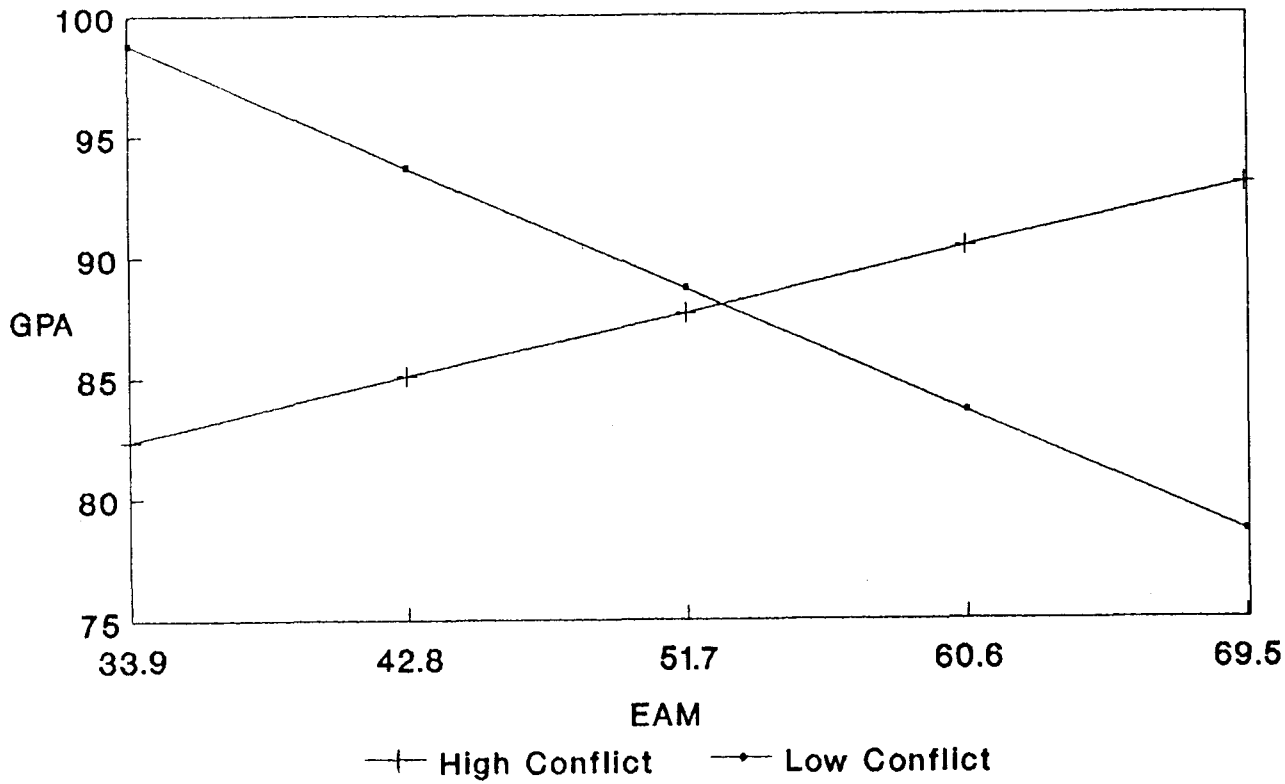
Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict on Harter competence scores



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
HTot= Harter total competence score
High conflict = simple regression line of HTot on EAM when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low conflict = simple regression line of HTot on EAM when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviations below mean

Figure 7

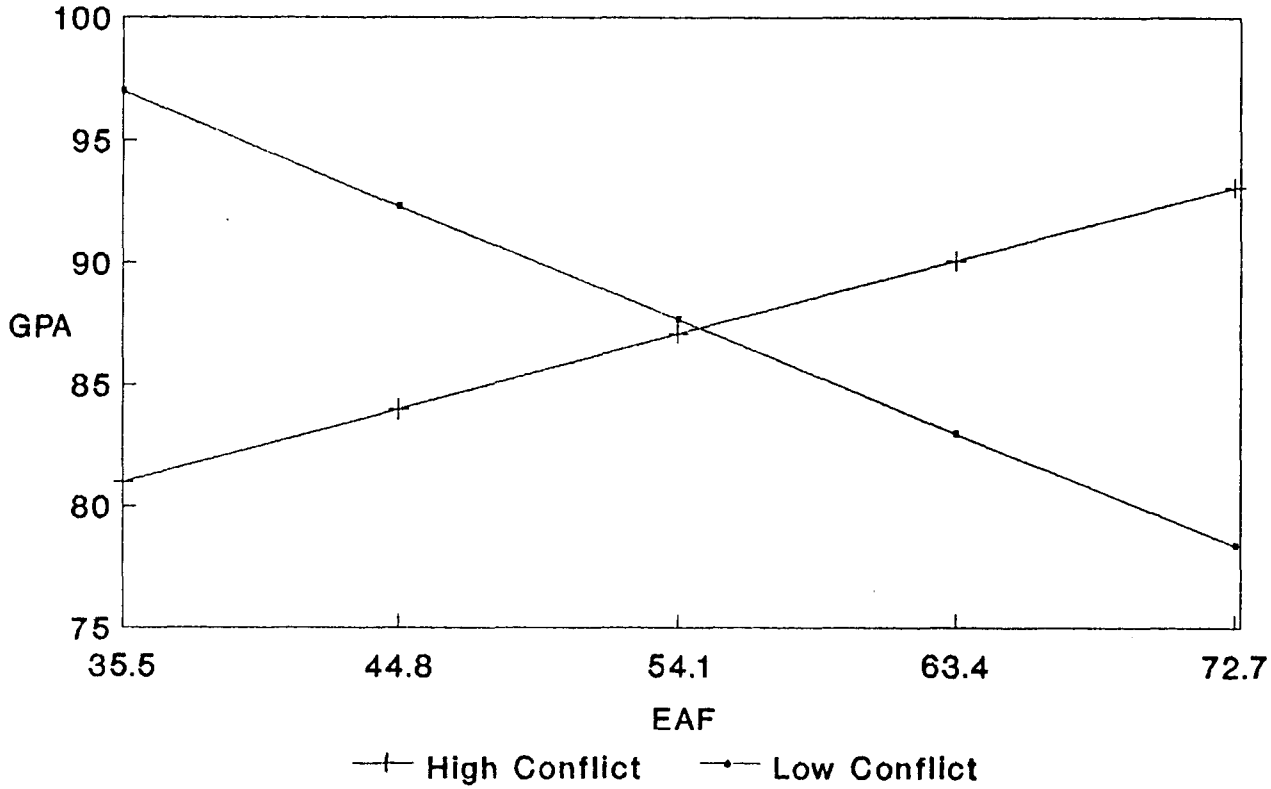
Interaction of emotional autonomy from mother and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict on grade point average



Notes. EAM = Emotional autonomy from mother
GPA = Grade point average
High conflict = simple regression line of GPA on EAM when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low conflict = simple regression line of GPA on EAM when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviations below mean

Figure 8

Interaction of emotional autonomy from father and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict on grade point average



Notes. EAF = Emotional autonomy from father
GPA = Grade point average
High conflict = simple regression line of GPA on EAF when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviatons above mean
Low conflict = simple regression line of GPA on EAF when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score is 2 standard deviations below mean

externalizing behavior problems decreased as EAM scores increased, and competence total scores increased as EAM increased. Similarly, when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was lower, externalizing behavior problems decreased and competence scores increased as EAM scores decreased. As illustrated in Figures 7 and 8, when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was lower, GPA increased significantly as EA (EAM, EAF) scores decreased, and when intensity of conflict in the parent-adolescent relationship was higher, GPA increased as EA (EAM, EAF) scores increased.

In summary, in the multiple regression analysis of the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and emotional autonomy on adolescent adjustment, higher intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was predictive of higher maternal report of internalizing and externalizing adolescent behavior problems. Results also support the hypothesis that the relationship between intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and adolescent adjustment was moderated by EA scores. Higher EA scores were associated with adjustment when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was higher, while lower scores on EA were associated with adjustment when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was lower. The interaction of EAM and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was significant for three measures of adolescent adjustment: Teacher report of externalizing behavior, competence scores, and GPA. The interaction of EAF and intensity of parent-adolescent

conflict was significant for GPA.

Multiple Regression of EA and Significant Context-by-EA Interactions on Adolescent Adjustment

A second stage of data analyses was conducted in order to evaluate the relative importance of those contexts which interacted significantly with EA in the prediction of adolescent adjustment. Tables 23 and 24 summarize the multiple regression analyses of all significant context-by-EA interactions and EA on adolescent adjustment. Interpretation of these results should be viewed with caution, due to a relatively small cases-to-independent variable ratio (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). For emotional autonomy from mother, the main effects and context-by-EA interactions for the following variables were entered into the multiple regression equation: EAM, maternal report of warmth, intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, SES, and ethnicity. The interaction of maternal warmth and EAM contributed significantly to the prediction of adjustment in the school setting: Prediction of teacher report of externalizing behavior problems; and GPA. The interaction of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and EAM contributed significantly to the prediction of Harter total competence score. Finally, the interaction of ethnicity and EAM contributed significantly to the prediction of adolescent report of frequency of parent-adolescent conflict. The direction of the significant interactions was consistent with previous analyses.

For emotional autonomy from father, the main effects and context-by-EA interactions for the following variables were entered into the multiple regression equation: EAM, intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, SES, and ethnicity. The interaction of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict and EAF contributed significantly to the prediction of GPA. The interaction of EAF and SES contributed significantly to the prediction of social acceptance score, and contributed marginally to the prediction of Harter total competence score. The interaction of ethnicity and EAF contributed marginally to the prediction of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict. The direction of the significant interactions was consistent with previous analyses.

These analyses suggest that the emotional climate of the mother-adolescent relationship, primarily maternal warmth toward the adolescent, contributed to a greater extent than ethnicity to the relationship between adolescent emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. These analyses also suggest that cultural factors contributed to a greater extent than the emotional climate of the father-adolescent relationship to the association between adolescent emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment.

Table 23

Multiple regression of maternal warmth, intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and emotional autonomy from mother on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	Warmth	0.391	.446	.153	17.718***
3	SES	0.179	.480	.031	3.742
4	Ethnicity	0.164	.500	.020	2.415
5	EAM	-0.101	.520	.009	1.138
6	Conflict	0.107	.545	.010	1.212
7	Warm*EAM	-1.332	.560	.028	3.489
8	Ethn*EAM	0.992	.573	.016	2.061
9	SES*EAM	-0.754	.573	.015	1.875
10	Conf*EAM	-0.871	.580	.011	1.374
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.021
2	Warmth	0.466	.487	.216	26.394***
3	SES	0.167	.514	.027	3.382
4	Conflict	0.126	.528	.014	1.436
5	Ethnicity	0.134	.540	.013	1.686
6	EAM	-0.010	.540	.000	0.012
7	Conf*EAM	-0.920	.554	.015	1.952
8	SES*EAM	-0.773	.567	.014	1.856
9	Ethn*EAM	0.086	.567	.000	0.016
10	Warm*EAM	0.004	.567	.000	0.000
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Ethnicity	-0.152	.302	.018	1.823
3	EAM	0.119	.324	.014	1.436
4	Conflict	0.081	.334	.006	0.652
5	Warmth	-0.077	.341	.005	0.498
6	SES	0.062	.346	.004	0.365
7	SES*EAM	1.123	.391	.032	3.375
8	Ethn*EAM	1.206	.422	.026	2.713
9	Conf*EAM	0.529	.428	.005	0.498
10	Warm*EAM	-0.113	.428	.000	0.016

(table continues)

Table 23 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAM	0.167	.178	.028	2.640
3	Warmth	-0.138	.222	.018	1.729
4	Ethnicity	-0.081	.233	.005	0.466
5	Conflicty	0.069	.242	.004	0.392
6	SES	0.066	.250	.004	0.393
7	Warm*EAM	-2.365	.388	.088	9.097**
8	SES*EAM	1.118	.427	.032	3.428
9	Conf*EAM	-0.440	.430	.003	0.288
10	Ethn*EAM	-0.153	.431	.000	0.040
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	SES	-0.310	.450	.096	11.181***
3	Warmth	-0.077	.456	.006	0.667
4	Ethnicity	0.052	.458	.002	0.229
5	EAM	-0.033	.459	.001	0.111
6	Conflict	-0.033	.459	.000	0.011
7	Warm*EAM	0.011	.487	.026	3.033
8	Ethn*EAM	-1.294	.500	.013	1.515
9	SES*EAM	-0.889	.502	.002	0.192
10	Conf*EAM	0.118	.502	.000	0.022
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	SES	-0.189	.361	.036	3.800*
3	EAM	-0.176	.401	.031	3.366
4	Ethnicity	0.135	.418	.014	1.518
5	Conflict	-0.100	.430	.010	1.062
6	Warmth	-0.062	.433	.003	0.334
7	Conf*EAM	1.876	.501	.064	7.518**
8	Warm*EAM	1.334	.524	.023	2.801
9	Ethn*EAM	-0.213	.525	.001	0.089
10	SES*EAM	-0.158	.525	.000	0.065
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Ethnicity	0.094	.358	.007	0.720*
3	SES	0.040	.360	.002	0.163
4	Conflict	0.026	.361	.008	0.072
5	Warmth	-0.020	.362	.000	0.034
6	EAM	0.006	.362	.000	0.004
7	Ethn*EAM	-2.222	.467	.087	9.797**
8	SES*EAM	-0.631	.478	.010	1.154
9	Conf*EAM	-0.740	.487	.009	1.045
10	Warm*EAM	0.896	.497	.009	1.109

(table continues)

Table 23 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Warmth	0.251	.258	.063	6.258*
3	EAM	-0.091	.272	.008	0.760
4	SES	0.056	.278	.003	0.305
5	Conflict	0.054	.282	.003	0.246
6	Ethnicity	-0.000	.282	.000	0.000
7	SES*EAM	-1.138	.336	.033	3.308
8	Conf*EAM	0.947	.358	.015	1.531
9	Warm*EAM	-1.408	.392	.026	2.607
10	Ethn*EAM	-0.536	.398	.005	0.479
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Warmth	0.351	.362	.123	13.204***
3	EAM	0.059	.367	.003	0.344
4	Ethnicity	-0.040	.368	.001	0.127
5	SES	-0.027	.369	.001	0.074
6	Ethn*EAM	-1.343	.411	.033	3.541
7	Warm*EAM	0.746	.422	.008	0.886
8	SES*EAM	0.381	.426	.004	0.399
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	EAM	-0.206	.281	.042	4.261*
3	Warmth	0.192	.337	.035	3.604
4	Ethnicity	-0.122	.353	.011	1.152
5	Conflict	-0.106	.367	.010	1.013
6	SES	0.035	.368	.001	0.119
7	Warm*EAM	2.277	.466	.081	9.145**
8	Conf*EAM	1.012	.482	.016	1.763
9	SES*EAM	-0.491	.488	.006	0.650
10	Ethn*EAM	-0.250	.489	.001	0.115

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

Note. Because the warmth scores have been transposed and transformed, lower warmth scores indicate higher levels of warmth, as indicated by the Beta weights.

Table 24

Multiple regression of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, ethnicity, socioeconomic status and emotional autonomy from father on adolescent adjustment

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Mother report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.214	.214	.046	4.535*
2	SES	0.235	.318	.055	5.700*
3	Conflict	0.212	.381	.046	4.804*
4	Ethnicity	0.115	.394	.010	1.067
5	EAF	0.041	.396	.002	0.167
6	Ethn*EAF	0.561	.404	.006	0.609
7	Conf*EAF	-0.139	.404	.000	0.043
8	SES*EAM	-0.017	.404	.000	0.001
	Mother report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	-0.145	.145	.021	2.021
2	Conflict	0.269	.305	.072	7.363**
3	SES	0.229	.381	.052	5.624*
4	Ethnicity	0.073	.386	.004	0.426
5	EAF	-0.035	.388	.001	0.120
6	Conf*EAF	-0.997	.415	.022	2.353
7	Ethn*EAF	0.726	.426	.009	0.979
8	SES*EAM	-0.004	.426	.000	0.000
	Teacher report CBCL Internalizing T-score				
1	age	0.271	.271	.073	7.449**
2	Ethnicity	-0.152	.302	.018	1.823
3	Conflict	0.097	.317	.009	0.953
4	SES	0.042	.320	.002	0.179
5	EAF	-0.015	.320	.000	0.021
6	Ethn*EAF	1.248	.362	.028	2.898
7	SES*EAF	0.719	.375	.010	1.024
8	Conf*EAF	-0.147	.376	.000	0.046
	Teacher report CBCL Externalizing T-score				
1	age	0.064	.064	.004	0.391
2	EAF	0.201	.210	.040	3.877*
3	Ethnicity	-0.097	.225	.007	0.657
4	Conflict	0.030	.227	.001	0.085
5	SES	0.022	.228	.000	0.045
6	Conf*EAF	-0.925	.266	.019	1.802
7	SES*EAF	0.907	.295	.016	1.536
8	Ethn*EAF	0.814	.314	.011	1.103

(table continues)

Table 24 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Average Harter's Social Acceptance score				
1	age	-0.326	.326	.106	11.116***
2	SES	-0.310	.450	.096	11.181***
3	EAF	-0.083	.457	.007	0.792
4	Ethnicity	0.092	.464	.006	0.700
5	Conflict	-0.012	.464	.000	0.015
6	SES*EAF	-1.906	.534	.070	8.767**
7	Ethn*EAF	-1.112	.555	.022	2.095
8	Conf*EAF	-0.121	.555	.000	0.845
	Average Harter's total score				
1	age	-0.308	.308	.095	9.861**
2	EAF	-0.214	.374	.045	4.900*
3	SES	-0.177	.414	.031	3.467
4	Ethnicity	0.181	.441	.023	2.646
5	Conflict	-0.115	.456	.013	1.488
6	SES*EAF	-1.467	.500	.042	4.950*
7	Conf*EAF	0.766	.512	.013	1.541
8	Ethn*EAF	-0.657	.520	.007	0.887
	Adolescent report frequency parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	-0.349	.349	.122	13.018***
2	Ethnicity	0.094	.358	.007	0.720
3	EAF	-0.054	.362	.003	0.292
4	SES	0.041	.364	.002	0.176
5	Conflict	0.029	.366	.001	0.086
6	Conf*EAF	-0.735	.381	.012	1.238
7	Ethn*EAF	-0.908	.400	.014	1.492
8	SES*EAF	0.493	.406	.005	0.489
	Mother report frequency of parent-adolescent conflict				
1	age	0.059	.059	.003	0.324
2	Conflict	0.129	.141	.016	1.570
3	SES	0.096	.171	.009	0.879
4	Ethnicity	-0.047	.176	.002	0.158
5	EAF	-0.024	.178	.001	0.051
6	SES*EAF	-0.485	.190	.005	0.421
7	Conf*EAF	0.348	.197	.003	0.243
8	Ethn*EAF	-0.084	.197	.000	0.011
	Average intensity of parent-adolescent conflict score				
1	age	0.089	.089	.008	0.752
2	Ethnicity	-0.086	.117	.006	0.537
3	EAF	0.047	.125	.002	0.193
4	SES	0.027	.128	.001	0.065
5	Ethn*EAF	0.026	.129	.001	4.134*
6	SES*EAF	0.073	.129	.000	0.348

(table continues)

Table 24 (continued)

Step	Variable	Beta	R	RSqCh	F Change
	Adolescent grade point average				
1	age	-0.192	.192	.037	3.583
2	Ethnicity	-0.174	.245	.023	2.286
3	EAF	-0.109	.266	.011	1.092
4	SES	0.076	.277	.006	0.582
5	Conflict	-0.066	.284	.004	0.419
6	Conf*EAF	-1.796	.390	.071	7.453**
7	Ethn*EAF	-1.170	.419	.024	2.527
8	SES*EAF	-0.919	.438	.016	1.755

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

DISCUSSION

The focus of this investigation was on the relationship between emotional autonomy, as measured by Steinberg and Silverberg's (1986) Emotional Autonomy Scale (EA), and adolescent adjustment. First, the results will be briefly outlined and discussed in the order they were presented in the Results section. Contexts which contributed significantly to the interpretation of the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment will be highlighted. Conclusions will be drawn from this contextual analysis of emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. Finally, the strengths and weaknesses of this study will be discussed and recommendations for future research will be made.

Overview of Results

Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) proposed that the development of emotional autonomy, as measured by the EA scale, is a normal developmental process, while Ryan and Lynch (1989) proposed that emotional autonomy is indicative of a maladaptive emotional distance from parents. In the current study, EAM and EAF scores were not significantly correlated with age, $r = .10$, $p = .17$, and $r = .11$, $p = .14$, respectively. The only subscale score which was correlated significantly with age was "nondependence on parents" ($r = .29$, $p < .001$ for EAM, and $r = .28$, $p < .01$ for EAF). Therefore, with the exception of a gradual lessening of childlike dependence on parents to solve problems for them,

EA scores did not seem to tap into a "normal" developmental process.

Furthermore, results of this study provide minimal evidence that EA scores were associated with maladjustment. Although emotional autonomy from mother was marginally predictive of lower GPA, EAM scores were not directly related to maternal ratings of internalizing or externalizing behavior problems, teacher ratings of internalizing or externalizing behavior problems, social acceptance scores, averaged Harter competence scores, frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, or intensity of parent-adolescent conflict. Emotional autonomy from father was marginally predictive of higher teacher ratings of externalizing behavior problems and lower averaged Harter competence scores, but was not related to maternal reports of internalizing or externalizing behavior problems, teacher report of internalizing behavior problems, social acceptance scores, frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, or GPA.

The present results are most consistent with Lamborn and Steinberg's (1990) argument that the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy should be interpreted within the context of the parent-adolescent relationship. In the present investigation, the relationship between EA and adolescent adjustment was analyzed within individual, family, and cultural contexts. All contexts which were explored will be briefly reviewed, followed by a discussion of the relative importance of the

significant contexts.

Discussion of Contexts

At the level of the individual, gender was expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment because, theoretically, separation and autonomy are approached and experienced differently for males and females (Chodorow, 1978, 1989; Kaplan, 1984). Consistent with past research (Newman, 1989; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987a), greater emotional involvement was evidenced in the mother-daughter than father-daughter relationship, with daughters reporting greater emotional autonomy from fathers than mothers. However, the multiple regression analyses of gender and emotional autonomy on measures of adolescent adjustment did not support the hypothesis that gender moderates the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. There were two exceptions to this with emotional autonomy scores for father, in which moderate EAF scores predicted higher levels of adjustment for females while higher EAF scores predicted better adjustment for males. Nevertheless, there was no convincing pattern of results to suggest that gender moderates the relationship between emotional autonomy from mother and father and adolescent adjustment.

Overall, this finding is consistent with past studies of family attachment patterns at early adolescence which found few gender differences (Hauser, et al., 1987; Steinberg, 1987b; Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). It appears that the

theoretical differences in early attachment experiences and interpersonal orientations of boys and girls (Blos, 1967; Chodorow, 1978, 1989; Gilligan, 1982; Kaplan, 1984) do not translate into gender differences which moderate the relationship between EA and adjustment.

Because adolescent emotional autonomy develops primarily in relation to parents, the family context was expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Specifically, family structure, family cohesion, maternal warmth, parental control, and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict were explored as moderators of the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Results of this study suggest that the "emotional climate" (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1990, p. 2) of the parent-adolescent relationship (i.e., maternal warmth, and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict) influenced the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy, while other family systems variables (i.e., family structure, family cohesion, and parental control) did not.

Based on past research (Ryan & Lynch, 1989; Sessa & Steinberg, 1991), the context of <u>family structure</u> was expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Sessa and Steinberg (1991) postulated that divorce and remarriage altered the context in which emotional autonomy developed, and Ryan and Lynch (1989) found that adolescents from divorced or separated homes reported less parental support and higher EA scores. In the present study,

family structure did not moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment, nor did family structure alone impact adolescent adjustment. Current data suggest that the simple fact that a biological parent either does or does not reside in the same house as the adolescent does not moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Perhaps a measure of the parent-adolescent relationship which can be affected by divorce or remarriage, such as the adolescent's level of satisfaction with his/her relationship with the noncustodial parent, or the adolescent's assessment of the parent's ability to provide emotional and financial support, would moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment.

Family cohesion, or the sense of emotional connection among family members, was a family systems variable which was expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. Family cohesion, as measured by FACES-III (Olson, et al., 1985) did not moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. Perhaps the lack of significant findings was due to a sampling issue, since the average Cohesion score for adolescents in this sample was one standard deviation below the normative data reported by Olson and colleagues (1985). Another possible explanation is that FACES-III Cohesion scores reflect a more general characteristic or trait of a family, rather than the specific affective nature of the parent-

adolescent relationship.

The context of parenting style, as defined by maternal warmth toward the adolescent and parental control, was expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. Lower reported maternal warmth toward adolescent was associated with higher maternal reports of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, increased maternal report of parent-adolescent conflict, and greater intensity of parent-adolescent conflict. Moreover, multiple regression analyses of teacher report of externalizing behavior problems, Harter competence scores, social acceptance scores, and GPA indicated that maternal report of warmth and attachment toward the adolescent significantly influenced the adaptiveness of adolescent emotional autonomy.

When the maternal report of warmth toward the adolescent was high, lower emotional autonomy scores predicted better adolescent adjustment, and when the maternal report of warmth toward the adolescent was low, higher emotional autonomy scores predicted adolescent adjustment. Therefore, when the maternal report of warmth and attachment to the adolescent was lower, adolescents who were more emotionally autonomous (i.e., perceived self as more separate from mother, reported a less childlike dependence on mother and a more realistic, less idealized image of mother) displayed better adjustment than adolescents who reported less emotional autonomy. These

results support Lamborn and Steinberg's (1990) assertion that EA scores are best interpreted within the context of the parent-adolescent relationship. These results elucidate Ryan and Lynch's (1989) finding that seventh-graders with higher EA scores reported less secure attachments to parents and less utilization of parents for emotional support, because Ryan and Lynch (1989) did not assess the quality of the emotional support that parents gave to their adolescents.

Ryan and Lynch (1989) asserted that higher EA scores reflected a "loss of developmentally appropriate attachments" (p. 353), but the present results suggest that higher EA scores reflect a loss of appropriate attachments only when the maternal report of warmth toward the adolescent was high. On the other hand, higher EA scores reflect an appropriate and realistic autonomy when the maternal report of warmth toward the adolescent was low. Therefore, the context of the emotional climate of the parent-adolescent relationship was essential in interpreting the adaptiveness of adolescent emotional autonomy.

The context of parental control did not affect adolescent adjustment, nor did parental control moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Past research has found that increased parental warmth and increased parental control were correlated with increased general competence (Baumrind, 1991), reduced substance use (Baumrind, 1991; Coombs & Landsverk, 1988), and increased academic competence

(Dournbusch, et al., 1987; Steinberg, et al., 1989). It was therefore surprising that the context of parental control was not a significant predictor in the present research. Perhaps the manner in which parental control was defined in this study did not adequately tap the emotional processes related to parental control which may moderate the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy. With this hypothesis in mind, an index of the emotional aspect of parental control was sought.

Because research has indicated that normal parent-adolescent relationships are characterized by mundane rather than severe conflict, and that severe conflict may be indicative of a dysfunctional parent-adolescent relationship (Hill & Holmbeck, 1987; Holmbeck & O'Donnell, 1990; Montemayor, 1983; Steinberg, 1981), the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict related to parent-adolescent decisions was explored as a moderator of the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. Although greater intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was correlated with maternal report of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, when intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was high, greater emotional autonomy was associated with increased GPA, decreased teacher report of externalizing behavior, and increased Harter's competence score. This pattern of results suggested that emotional autonomy was adaptive when the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was high. Similarly, lower emotional autonomy was adaptive when

the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was low. These results are consistent with the assertion that the emotional climate of the parent-adolescent relationship moderates the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment.

Finally, because adolescent development takes place within a larger cultural context, socioeconomic status and ethnicity were expected to moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Results of the analysis of socioeconomic status as a moderator for the relationship between EA and adjustment were marginal and mixed. The direction of results was not in the predicted direction. With emotional autonomy from father, lower emotional autonomy scores for middle-class adolescents were associated with higher social acceptance scores and higher Harter competence scores, while higher emotional autonomy scores for lower socioeconomic adolescents were associated with greater social acceptance and higher competence scores.

Keeping in mind that these results should be interpreted cautiously because of the marginal statistical significance and the minimal pattern of significant results, two interpretations are possible. Halpern (1990) argues that poverty creates a number of emotional, physical, and environmental obstacles to conscientious and reliable parenting. The chronic stress and limited resources associated with lower socioeconomic status may have a

pervasive impact on the parent-adolescent relationship, such that increased emotional autonomy from fathers at lower socioeconomic levels is associated with adjustment. It is also possible that for adolescents whose fathers have less rewarding and less socially desirable jobs, a greater sense of adolescent emotional autonomy, in terms of perceiving self as separate and less dependent upon father, and perceiving father in a more realistic manner, is associated with slightly better social adjustment.

Regarding the context of ethnicity, results were marginal, but generally in the predicted direction. Higher emotional autonomy scores for White adolescents were marginally associated with less internalizing behavior problems and greater social acceptance, but also with greater frequency of parent-adolescent conflict. Likewise, lower emotional autonomy scores for African-American adolescents were marginally associated with less internalizing behavioral problems and greater social acceptance, but also with greater frequency of parent-adolescent conflict.

With the exception of maternal report of frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, these results are consistent with the hypothesis that ethnicity moderates the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. In terms of comparing White and African-American cultural values, the White culture tends to emphasize self-direction and independence (Baumrind, 1978; Dodson, 1981; Ogbu, 1981, 1985,

1988; Raven, 1987), and the African-American culture tends to emphasize kinship bonds (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Hill, 1972; Ogbu, 1981, 1988). It appears that these disparate value systems may moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. However, this conclusion is tentative because the effects that did emerge were marginal and only occurred for a few measures of adjustment.

Finally, in an attempt to understand the relative significance of the contexts which moderated the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment, multiple regression analyses were conducted with all significant context-by-EA interactions. Interpretation of these results should be viewed with caution due to a relatively small cases-to-independent variable ratio (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). Regarding emotional autonomy from mother, these analyses are consistent with the interpretation that the context of maternal warmth toward the adolescent contributed to a greater extent than the contexts of intensity of parent-adolescent conflict or ethnicity in moderating the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment. Regarding emotional autonomy from father, these analyses are consistent with the interpretation that the cultural factors of socioeconomic status and ethnicity contributed to a greater extent than the emotional climate of the parent-adolescent relationship in moderating the relationship between emotional

autonomy and adolescent adjustment.

However, it is important to remember that analyses of emotional autonomy from father did not contain a measure of paternal reported warmth and attachment to the adolescent, so the impact of the emotional climate of the father-adolescent relationship on the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy is speculative at this point. Moreover, because emotional autonomy from father and emotional autonomy from mother were highly correlated, $r = .45$, $p < .001$, it is possible that if the same measures and contexts were included in the above multiple regression analyses, the results may have been similar.

Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research

In conclusion, the results of this investigation support Lamborn & Steinberg's (1990) assertion that the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy varies with the "emotional climate" of the parent-adolescent relationship. Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) argued that "the outcomes of the process of detachment depend in large measure on the nature of the attachment relationship undergoing transformation" (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1990, p. 3). The current investigation expands the generalizability of Lamborn and Steinberg's (1990) findings in several ways. Lamborn and Steinberg (1990) studied White adolescents in the ninth through twelfth grades, and examined mother-adolescent attachment with one question. By utilizing two different parent-adolescent relationship variables, (i.e.,

maternal warmth toward the adolescent and intensity of parent-adolescent conflict), the present study further explores the relationship between the parent-adolescent relationship, emotional autonomy, and adolescent adjustment. The subjects in the present study varied in age from eleven to eighteen, expanding the examination of the importance of the parent-adolescent attachment relationship into early adolescence.

Furthermore, adolescents in the present study represented lower socioeconomic to middle-class families and both White and African-American cultural backgrounds. The inclusion of more than one socioeconomic level and ethnic group in this study leads to the speculation that the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy is influenced by cultural factors.

Another strength of the current study is that it explored emotional autonomy from mother and emotional autonomy from father separately. While cultural variables appeared to moderate the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy from father to a greater extent than the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy from mother, this may be due to the design of the present study (i.e., there was no measure of paternal warmth and attachment to the adolescent). It is possible that the inclusion of measures of the emotional climate of the father-adolescent relationship could reduce to nonsignificance the effects of culture on the relationship between emotional autonomy from father and adolescent adjustment. Future studies should evaluate both culture and the emotional climate

of father-adolescent and mother-adolescent relationships as moderating variables for the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. Only then can any conclusions be drawn about the differential impact of culture on adolescent emotional autonomy from mother and adolescent emotional autonomy from father.

In interpreting these results, it is important to keep in mind several limitations of this study. Foremost, because this study is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, the issue of causality cannot be addressed. It is possible that adolescents developed a higher level of emotional autonomy in response to a low level of maternal warmth toward the adolescent or high intensity of parent-adolescent conflict. It is also possible that the adolescent's development of a higher level of emotional autonomy from parents caused a reduction in maternal feelings of warmth and attachment to the adolescent or caused an increase in the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict.

It is also important to stress that while the emotional climate of the parent-adolescent relationship and cultural factors moderated the relationship between emotional autonomy and adolescent adjustment, the adolescents with lower levels of adjustment did not exhibit clinically significant levels dysfunction. Rather, these adolescents exhibited lower levels of adjustment within the normal (i.e., nonclinical) range of behavior. This was not surprising since the subjects were

selected from a private school rather than a clinical setting, and does not negate the importance of the subclinical variations in adolescent adjustment.

Another limitation of this study is that the parent-adolescent dyad was examined rather than the parent-adolescent system. As mentioned earlier, crucial information about paternal warmth and acceptance toward the adolescent and paternal report of the intensity of parent-adolescent conflict was unavailable. Also unavailable was an assessment of the emotional climate of the marital relationship, as it may moderate the relationship between emotional autonomy and adjustment. A further limitation of this study is that the context of biological development was not examined, as research has indicated that adolescent pubertal development alters the parent-adolescent relationship (Duncan, et al., 1985; Kidwell, et al., 1983; Simmons, et al., 1979).

It is recommended that future research address the limitations of the present study in order to gain a more complete understanding of the process in which the emotional climate of the parent-adolescent relationship and cultural factors moderate the adaptiveness of emotional autonomy. A greater understanding of this process could add to the scientific understanding of adolescent and family development.

APPENDIX A

Descriptive statistics for all measures

Measure	Mean score (sd)	Minimum score	Maximum score
EAM	51.72 (8.93)	31.00	72.00
EAF	54.14 (9.30)	34.00	76.00
FACES-III Cohesion	3.51 (0.86)	1.00	5.57
IPPA	4.19 (1.23)	1.00	7.14
SDMQ	36.70 (5.46)	25.00	48.00
SEI	36.94 (19.14)	6.00	75.10
CBCL MInt	54.36 (10.23)	35.00	75.00
CBCL MExt	52.19 (8.76)	36.00	71.00
CBCL TInt	53.03 (7.60)	40.00	76.00
CBCL TExt	50.60 (6.55)	39.00	66.00
Harter Soc	18.13 (3.28)	7.67	23.33
Harter SW	17.94 (4.12)	7.00	24.00
Harter total	109.39 (12.64)	78.00	139.56
IC ACon	6.65 (3.62)	0.00	17.00
IC MCon	6.46 (3.95)	0.00	16.00
IC Intensity	1.71 (0.61)	0.00	3.30
GPA	82.59 (6.58)	66.25	95.00

Notes.
EAM = Emotional Autonomy Scale, emotional autonomy from mother, adolescent report
EAF = Emotional Autonomy Scale, emotional autonomy from father, adolescent report
FACES-III Cohesion = Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales III, Cohesion scale, transposed and transformed score, adolescent report
IPPA = Inventory of Parent Attachment, transposed and transformed score, maternal report
SDMQ = Steinberg Decision-making Questionnaire, maternal report
SEI = Duncan Socioeconomic Index
CBCL MInt = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Internalizing scale, maternal report
CBCL MExt = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Externalizing scale, maternal report
CBCL TInt = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Internalizing scale, teacher report
CBCL TExt = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Externalizing scale, teacher report

(Appendix A continues)

Appendix A (continued)

Harter Soc = Average of adolescent report, Harter's Self Perception Profile for Children, Social acceptance subscale; teacher report on Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence, Social acceptance subscale; and parent report on Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence, Social acceptance subscale

Harter SW = Harter's Self Perception Profile for Children, Self worth subscale, adolescent report

Harter total = Average of adolescent total score on Harter's Self Perception Profile for Children; teacher total score on Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence; and parent total score on Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence

IC ACon = Issues Checklist, frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, adolescent report

IC MCon = Issues Checklist, frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, maternal report

IC Intensity = Issues Checklist, intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, average of adolescent and maternal report

GPA = Grade point average, teacher report

APPENDIX B

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients for all variables

	EAM	EAF	Age	Sex	FS	Coh	Warm	Ctl	SES	Eth
EAM		.45***	.10	-.09	-.16	.23**	.25***	-.15	-.03	.03
EAF			.11	.12	-.36***	.17*	.05	-.05	.05	.15
Age				-.22*	.02	.16	.04	-.60***	-.05	-.48***
Sex					-.04	.04	-.10	.19*	.04	-.03
FS						-.02	-.12	.01	-.19*	-.24**
Coh							.15	-.03	-.04	-.08
Warm								-.01	.15	-.14
Ctl									-.01	.51***
SES										.12
MI	-.01	.06	-.21**	.04	-.16	-.01	.38***	.20*	.25**	.20*
ME	.10	.01	-.14	-.05	-.17*	.00	.46***	.13	.24**	.13
TI	.13	-.01	.27**	-.04	.04	.05	.02	-.24**	.02	-.24**
TE	.17*	.21*	.06	.16	-.05	.19*	-.09	-.16	.02	-.06
Soc	-.07	-.14	.33***	.10	-.01	-.06	-.14	.28**	-.29**	.18*
SW	-.08	-.16	-.19*	-.13	-.10	-.22*	-.16	.25**	-.16	.30***
HT	-.20*	-.25**	-.31***	.06	-.05	-.13	-.18*	.31***	-.17*	.22*
ACon	-.02	-.07	-.35***	.00	.02	-.04	-.03	.22*	.06	.24**
MCon	-.02	-.02	.06	.19*	-.10	-.04	.25**	.03	.10	-.06
ConI	.15	.04	.09	.11	-.06	.15	.35***	-.06	.01	-.11
GPA	-.22**	-.16	-.19*	.11	-.03	-.01	.12	.18	.06	-.04

(Appendix B continues)

Appendix B (continued)

	MI	ME	TI	TE	Soc	SW	HT	ACon	MCon	ConI	GPA
MI		.79***	-.05	.09	-.15	-.01	-.17*	.09	.29**	.20*	-.02
ME			-.01	.18*	-.09	.00	-.15	.21*	.34***	.25**	-.06
TI				.53***	-.33***	-.03	-.25**	-.10	.12	.13	-.25**
TE					-.21*	-.21*	-.39***	.01	.08	.05	-.45***
Soc						.43***	.80***	.05	.07	-.06	.35***
SW							.62***	.14	-.13	-.17*	.20*
HT								.02	-.01	-.16	.50***
ACon									-.12	-.01	-.03
MCon										.13	-.08
ConI											-.07

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

Notes.
EAM = Emotional Autonomy Scale, emotional autonomy from mother, adolescent report
EAF = Emotional Autonomy Scale, emotional autonomy from father, adolescent report
FS = Family structure
Coh = FACES-III Cohesion Scale, adolescent report, transposed and transformed score
Warm = Inventory of Parent Attachment, maternal report, transposed and transformed score
Ctl = Steinberg Decision-making Questionnaire, maternal report
SES = Duncan Socioeconomic Index
Eth = Ethnicity
MI = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Internalizing scale, maternal report
ME = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Externalizing scale, maternal report
TI = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Internalizing scale, teacher report
TE = Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, T score, Externalizing scale, teacher report

(Appendix B continues)

Appendix B (continued)

Soc = Average of Harter's Self Perception Profile for Children, Social acceptance subscale, adolescent report; Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence, Social acceptance subscale, teacher report; and Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence, Social acceptance subscale, parent report

SW = Harter's Self Perception Profile for Children, Self worth subscale, adolescent report

HT = Average of adolescent total score on Harter's Self Perception Profile for Children; teacher total score on Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence; and parent total score on Rating Scale of Child's Actual Competence

ACon = Issues Checklist, frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, adolescent report

MCon = Issues Checklist, frequency of parent-adolescent conflict, maternal report

ConI = Issues Checklist, intensity of parent-adolescent conflict, average of adolescent and maternal report

GPA = Grade point average, teacher report

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The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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