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Parent-Adolescent Attachment as a Mediator of Relations between Parenting and Adolescent Social Behavior and Well-Being in China

Mengfei Cai

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

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ABSTRACT

Parent-Adolescent Attachment as a Mediator of Relations between Parenting and Adolescent

Social Behavior and Well-Being in China

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Master of Science

Attachment is an important aspect of parent-adolescent relationships, and thus it may play a

key role in predicting adolescents' behavioral outcomes and well-being. This study examined how

parenting dimensions (authoritative, psychological control, and over-protecting) relate to youth

outcomes (self-esteem, autonomy, and friend attachment) by way of parent-adolescent attachment,

among Chinese families. The sample included 298 Chinese adolescents ages 15-18 years (M age =

16.36, SD = .678; 60% female). A series of structural equation models was estimated to examine

the hypothesis that authoritative parenting, psychological control, and over-protecting would

predict adolescent outcomes as mediated by attachment. The best fitting model included only

indirect paths from the three parenting variables to the three outcome variables, by way of

attachment. In this final model, authoritative parenting was positively predictive of attachment,

while psychological control was a negative predictor. In turn, parent adolescent attachment was

positively related to the three outcomes: autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment. Lastly,

parenting related to the outcomes similarly for boys and girls. These findings suggest that what

parents do might relate to the well-being of their adolescents by way of the quality of their

relationships with their adolescents.

Keywords: adolescents, attachment, parenting

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I dedicate this thesis to my father Chuanqi Cai, my mother Ling Zhao and my husband Feng Zhang. We are forever together.

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Parent-Adolescent Attachment as a Mediator of Relations between Parenting and

Adolescent Social Behavior and Well-Being in China

Parents play a central role in adolescent development, for better or for worse (Collins, 1996). A considerable amount of research has demonstrated that parenting that is more warm, structured, and autonomy-supportive, and less psychologically controlling and overprotecting, is predictive of better adolescent well-being (such as self-esteem, autonomy, and peer relations). However, in a number of ways our knowledge of the interplay between parenting and adolescent development is still quite limited. First, although research has examined links between parenting and adolescent outcomes, little work has looked at the mechanisms and processes involved. One possible avenue by which parenting may help or hinder adolescent well-being is via the quality of the parent-adolescent relationships, or the security of the attachment. Second, most parenting research has been done in Western cultures, so little is known about links between parenting and adolescent well-being in other cultures (Collins & Russell, 1991). To address these gaps in the literature, this study will examine how parenting dimensions (authoritative, psychological control and over-protecting) relate to adolescent well-being (self-esteem, autonomy, and friend attachments) by way of parent-teen attachment, among Chinese families. More specifically, the purposes of this study were to (1) assess the relationship between adolescents' perception of parenting and their attachment to parents; (2) test how adolescents' attachment to their parents influences their peer-relationship, self-esteem and autonomy; (3) test whether attachment is a mediator

between the parenting and adolescent positive functioning; and (4) examine gender differences in these processes.

Attachment Theory

An important aspect of social development is the formation of attachments to caregivers (Bowlby, 1979). Such attachment has been defined as an individual's instinct that involves the desire to seek proximity with caretakers, particularly under stressful situations. In other words, to say that a child is securely attached to a caregiver means that the child is confident about the caregiver's responsiveness and availability (Bowlby, 1979). Attachment behavior begins in infancy as the caregiver provides the infant with a secure base when the infants return in times of distress, and when they explore the external environment (Searle & Meara, 1999). In order for a child to form proper attachments, they need the experience of a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with a significant attachment figure (Bretherton, 1992). Conclusively, attachment can be seen as a bi-product of the quality of the relationship with significant adults in children's lives.

Attachment may also be very important in adolescent development. On the whole, findings from the adolescent attachment literature are consistent with those from infant and child attachment studies (Collins, 1996). Compared to infancy and childhood, attachment security in adolescence is more assessed as a characteristic of an internal state of mind (Main, Hesse, & Goldwyn, 2008). Although the frequency and intensity of attachment behaviors between children and parents seems to decline with ages, attachment bonds are not always attenuated (Bowlby, 1979). Attachment theory of adolescents suggests that adolescents who remain securely attached to their parents

develop with greater success in their lives than those who do not (Bowlby, 1979).

Research regarding adolescent-parent relationships also suggests that the quality and type of relationship between adolescent and parent remains an important influence on the development of children (Collins, 1996). Generally, children with histories of secure attachment with their parents rank higher on broad measures of competence, including emotional health, self-esteem, sociability with peers, and social skills (Nickerson, 2002). More specifically, adolescents who remain attached to parents achieve a greater level of self-concept and develop more satisfying friend attachment and greater autonomy (Sroufe & Waters, 1977, Armsden, & Greenburg, 1987, Ryan, 1995).

However, it is unclear to what extent the need for attachment is universal, as posited by attachment theorists (Bowlby, 1979). Attachment theory, so far, has been more representative of relationships between parents and children under Western culture than those under Eastern culture (Bowlby, 1979). Research on attachment relationships in China is limited, and mostly pertains to student-teacher attachments rather than parent-child attachments (e.g., Zhang, & Messner, 1996). However, attachment relationship between parents and adolescents may still be important to Chinese youth, since this relationship still plays an instrumental role in promoting adolescent's well-being and appropriate behaviors (Collins & Russell, 1991).

Parenting and Attachment

Given the central role of attachment to caregivers in development, it is important to understand aspects of parenting that facilitate or hinder attachment formation.

Baumtind (1968) identified four different types of parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, and neglectful parenting. Parenting style involves two

contradicting styles in a general sense: authoritative parenting style and authoritarian parenting style (Baumrind, 1968). Authoritative parenting is more examined as adaptive parenting behaviors. Authoritative is also discussed in terms of warmth, structure, and autonomy-support, and it is high on all three. Authoritative parenting involves more autonomy-supportive structure, and it tends to be predictive of greater child well-being (Cardinali, & D' Allura, 2001).

Besides the adaptive authoritative parenting behaviors, other research has identified negative parenting practices. One of the negative aspects of parenting that has received a lot of attention in the field is psychological control (Barber, 1996).

Psychological control refers to parents' control that intrudes on children's psychological and emotional development (Barber, 2005). Parents with psychological control over their children do not allow children to express their own ideas (Steinberg, 1990). A psychologically controlling environment makes an adolescent difficult to develop a healthy autonomy (Grolnick, Price, Beiswenger, & Sauck, 2007). This is because the psychological controlled environment interrupted with children's self-exploration which is necessary for them to establish a stable identity (Barber, 1996).

Negative parenting behavior is also marked by parental over-protectiveness (Segrin, & Flora, 2005). Parental over-protection is a level of protection that is excessive for a child taking into account his/her developmental level (Holmbeck, et al, 2002). Unlike psychological control, over-protecting includes more anxious emotional component, such as excessive concern for the child's well-being (Holmbeck, et al, 2002). Many studies show that parental over-protection can have deleterious effects on the development of adolescents (Bokszczanin, 2008; Berg, & McGuire, 1974). Prior research

suggests that adolescent's perceptions of the control from their parents are influenced by the behaviors parents use when attempting to monitor and regulate their children (Smetana, & Daddis, 2002). Adolescents who believe that their parents should have less control over them and that their parents' authority is too much usually think their parents' are over-protectors, especially in the personal domain.

Although research suggests cultural differences in the level or prevalence of various parenting practices (Chao, 1994; Chang, & Chang, 1998), the role of these parenting practices in adolescent development may be similar between Western cultures and Eastern cultures (Rohner, 1975). It seems that, regardless of the culture, children everywhere have certain basic needs (e.g., acceptance) that can only be adequately satisfied with particular kinds of parenting and parent-child relationships.

Attachment to Parents and Attachment to Friends

One of the goals in peer relationships in middle childhood is achieving acceptance by peers and attachment to friends (Gottman & Mettetal, 1986). Attachment theory is useful when studying family-peer links because of the associations between the quality of child-mother attachment and that of other close relationships (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1986). If a child has a secure base in the relationship with caregivers in his/her young age, this foundation will support his/her exploration of the external environment, including the interaction with peers in the later age (Sroufe & Waters, 1977). This may encourage their opportunities to be exposed to peer interactions and practice social skills with outside world (Kerns, Klepac, &Cole, 1996). One of the key ways in which parent-child attachments are linked to friend attachment is through what is sometimes called the "working model of relationships" that is developed in relationships with

caregivers in early childhood. In continuity models, it is also argued that the form of relationships that develops with friends is an extension of it that has developed within the family (Wilkinson, 2004). Prior studies have found that indeed children's relationships with parents and friends are linked, and at least part of this association may be attributed to the influence of parent-child attachment on later relations with friends (Cohn, Patterson, & Christopoulous,1991; Elicker, Englund, & Sroufe, 1992; Putallaz & Heflin, 1990).

Given that attachment is generally seen as a universal aspect of the human experience (Bowlby, 1979), it likely will have a similar role in adolescent friends attachment across cultures. In other words, the concept of a "working model of relationships" likely functions similarly for youth in China as it does for youth in other, Western cultures. Unfortunately, no prior research has examined these processes among Chinese youth.

Attachment and Self-esteem

Rosenberg (1965) defined self-esteem as self judgments of worth and general feelings of competence and self-achievement. Rosenberg (1965) proposed that self-esteem is derived from two sources: (a) how a person views his/her performance in activities of high value and (b) how a person believes his/her behaviors are perceived by significant others. In line with this, there is evidence for two underlying evaluative aspects of self-esteem: "ability" and "worth" (Brown, 1998; Kellar-De Mers, 2001). Studies with adolescents have found that low self-esteem are associated with negative outcomes, including depressive mood, dissatisfaction with life, and lack of general well-being (Stacy, Sussman, Dent, Burton, & Flay, 1992). Adolescents with a higher

level of attachment to their parents tend to have higher self-esteem (Armsden, & Greenburg, 1987). This might be because quality of attachments within family members is intimately related to how we view and think ourselves outside the family environment (Wilkinson, 2004). George Mead (1934) observed that the way individuals are viewed by significant others (e.g., parents, teachers, peers) in their lives will have a profound impact on how they see themselves. So this correlation may also support the idea that the level of attachment to one's parents is positively related to children's self-esteem.

Self-esteem seems to have a different meaning in Eastern than Western cultures (Kellar-De Mers, 2001). There is little prior research which tests the relationship between attachment and self-esteem in Chinese adolescents. However, since attachment is universal, it is likely that attachment relates to outcomes similarly between Western cultures and Eastern cultures (Rohner, 1975). Thus, we should expect positive associations between attachment and self-esteem in Chinese youth because the quality of the parent-adolescent relationship influences adolescents' perceptions of how their parents think of them.

Attachment and Autonomy

Autonomy is generally defined as one's ability to regulate one's own behavior (Collins and Repinski, 1994, Grolnick, Price, Beiswenger, & Sauck, 2007). Although it appears that autonomy is the opposite side of attachment, some reviews state that they should not be considered as two opposite sides of one dimension but as two different dimensions (Noom, Dekovic, & Meeus, 1999). The negotiation between independence and relatedness is very important regarding the adolescent-parental relationships (Collins, et al, 1997). According to Blos (1967), differentiation from relatedness to independence

is achieved when adolescents give up childish dependencies and then develop their individuality and separateness while still maintaining their relationship with their parents. Deci and Ryan (1985) argue that autonomy means that an individual expresses his/her perspectives and feelings without pressures and demands by others. Research has examined the interaction between autonomy and relatedness. Ryan (1995) proposed that there was a positive relationship between perceptions of autonomy and the quality of relatedness. This may be caused by that greater self-awareness and appreciation of differences in authoritative parenting contribute positively to the development of adolescents' age-appropriate autonomy and identity development. Adolescents need more freedom from parental control compared to their younger age, but not absolute freedom (Eccles et al, 1993).

Very little is known about autonomy among Chinese youth. One study found that Chinese adolescents had lower expectations for autonomy, and less conflict and more cohesion with their parents than American adolescents (Zhang & Fuligni, 2006). However, since the research of Chinese adolescents' autonomy is scarce, more research is needed to further examine the relationship between autonomy and attachment in China.

The Importance of Gender

It is unclear to what extent gender plays a role in links between parenting, parent-adolescent relationships, and adolescent well-being. While boys and girls seem to experience similar levels of parenting styles (Paulson, Hill & Holmbeck, 1991) and attachment to parents (Paterson, Field & Pryor, 1994), research on gender differences in the role of parenting on adolescent outcomes is limited and somewhat inconsistent. If, as noted above, all children have certain needs that can only be satisfactorily met by certain

types of parenting, then we should anticipate minimal gender differences in the role of parenting and attachment in predicting youth outcomes. In line with this, some studies have not found gender differences in the influence of parenting on child and adolescent outcomes. For example, harsh discipline relates to internalizing and externalizing similarly for boys and girls (McKee, Roland, Coffelt, Olson, Forehand, Massari et al., 2007). However, other studies have reported gender differences. For example, permissive parenting is predictive of early sexual behavior for African American boys, while authoritarian parenting is for girls (Kapungu, Holmbeck, & Paikoff, 2006). Thus, the presence of gender differences in the role of parenting and parent-child relationships may depend on the particular parenting practices and adolescent outcomes.

The Present Study

This study examined how parenting dimensions (authoritative, psychological control and over-protecting) relate to adolescent outcomes (self-esteem, autonomy, and friend attachment) by way of parents-teen attachment, among Chinese families. The purposes of the study were to assess the relationship between adolescents' perception of parenting and their attachment to parents; test how adolescents' attachment to their parents relates to their social behaviors and well-being; and examine attachment as a mediator between parenting and adolescent well-being. Specifically, the following hypotheses were examined:

First, authoritative parenting will positively predict parent-adolescent attachment, and psychology control and over-protecting will negatively predict parent-adolescent attachment.

Second, parent-adolescent attachment will positively predict autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment.

Third, attachment will mediate relations between parenting and adolescent well-being.

In addition to assessing these specific hypotheses, the analyses explored possible gender differences in the model paths.

Methods

Participants

Participants were 298 late adolescents ages 15-18 years (*M* age = 16.36, *SD* = .678; 60% female). Approximately 14% of these adolescents were from villages, 13% were from small towns, and the 73% were from big cities. Regarding the level of education of the participants' parents, 13% of the parents had a primary school degree or less, 36% of them had a middle school degree, 38% of them had a high school degree, and 13% of them had a bachelor's degree or higher.

Procedure

Participants were recruited through a public high school in Hainan province,

China. I visited classrooms to recruit participants. The study was described, and students interested in participating took a packet home to their parents with a short letter describing the study and a parental consent form. All students in attendance took packets, and all of them received parental consent to participate.

Students who obtained parental consent were allowed to participate. Youth assent was obtained at the beginning of the data collection session. All forms and measures were in Chinese, so participants needed to speak and read Chinese in order to participate.

Adolescent-report data was collected in classroom during school hours, which involved a set of self-report questionnaires. The questionnaires were paper-pencil designed, and they took approximately 45 minutes.

Measures

All measures were adolescent-report. All the measures except PSDQ were already in Chinese and had been previously used in China. Only the PSDQ and IPPA assessed adolescents' perceptions of their fathers and mothers separately; all other measures just assessed adolescents' perception of their parents' behaviors more generally. Given this, all analyses pertained to parenting more generally, not father or mother parenting specifically or separately.

Authoritative parenting. Authoritative parenting style was assessed using a version of the Parenting Styles and Dimensions Questionnaire (PSDQ; Porter, et al, 2005) created for adolescents by Nelson, and the reliability of this measure is .86 in their studies. This measure only existed in English, and thus needed to be translated into Chinese. The measure was translated to Chinese by the principal investigator who is fluent in both Chinese and English. Then a research assistant translated the measure back into English without seeing the original English version. This back-translation was sent to the author of the measure (David Nelson) who provided feedback regarding the extent to which the meaning of the original items had been maintained. There are 22 items in this measure, and $\alpha = .94$; a sample item is: "My mother/father tells me that she loves me" Participants responded to statements about their mother's and father's parenting behaviors (separately for each parent) using a 5-point scale from "never" to "always". Responses were averaged for authoritative parenting style separately for mothers and fathers.

Parental psychological control. Adolescents reported on their parents' psychological control by responding to an 18-item measure. The items were from the research of the role of parents' control in US and China (Wang, Pomerantz, & Chen, 2007), in which some items were selected and translated from the existing measures of Barber (1996). The reliability of this measure in their study is .92. Adolescents indicated how true each statement was of their parents using a scale from 1 (*not at all true*) to 5 (*very true*). There are three dimensions in this measure: (1) guilt induction (10 items, α =.83), e.g. "My parents tell me how disappointed they are in me when I do not do things their way"; (2) love withdrawal (5 items, α =.83), e.g. "My parents avoid looking at me when I have disappointed them"; and (3) authority assertion (3 items, α =.78). e.g. "My parents tell me that what they want me to do is the best for me and I should not question it".

Parental Overprotecting. Parental overprotection was assessed using a Chinese version of the Parental Authority Index (PAI; Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004), and the reliability of personal domain items in their study is .86. This measure obtains adolescents' judgments regarding parental control over personal issues, normative issues, and some issues that are a mix of both. The PAI is composed of two sections: (1) The Ideal Control Index, which ask participants to indicate who they think should make the decisions about a given topic; (2) The Perceived Control Index, which ask participants to evaluate the same terms of who actually would make the decision. The difference between Perceived minus Ideal was used as an indicator of parental overprotection. There are 34 items in each section, and the responses are on a scale from A (I decide this without having to discuss this with my parents) to E (My parents decide this without

discussing this with me). The 34 items have three domains: personal domain, conventional domain, and overlapping domain. But for this study's purpose, I just use the personal domain (9 items) which could predict more about parental overprotecting in adolescents' personal domain (α =.72.), e.g. "Choosing what clothes to wear".

Attachment to parents. Parent-adolescent attachment was assessed using a Chinese version (Wu, 1992) of the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment Scale (IPPA; Greenberg, Seigal, & Leitch, 1983). Adolescents responded to 25 items regarding their relationship with their mother, and 25 regarding their relationship with their father, on a scale from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). In prior research these 25 items regarding attachment to mothers and attachment to fathers both showed high reliability ($\alpha = .93$). The IPPA taps three aspects of attachment: (1) trust (10 items, $\alpha = .88$ for mom, .89 for father), e.g. "My father/mother respects my feelings"; (2) communicating (8 items, $\alpha = .85$, and .88), e.g. "I like to get my mother/father's point of view on things I'm concerned about"; and (3) distance (7 items, $\alpha = .73$, and .76), e.g. "Talking over my problems with my mother/father makes me feel ashamed or foolish".

Friend attachment. Attachment to peers was also assessed using the friend subscale from the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment Scale (IPPA) which was created by Greenberg and translated by Wu into Chinese version (Greenberg, Seigal, & Leitch, 1983; Wu, 1992), and the reliability of this measure is .86 in their studies. Adolescents were asked to rate "feelings about your relationships with your close friends". There are 25 items regarding to three aspects: (1) trust ($\alpha = .83$), e.g. "My friends understands me"; (2) communicating ($\alpha = .77$), e.g. "When we discuss things, my friend cares about my point

of view"; and (3) distance (α =.75), e.g. "I get upset a lot more than my friends know about". The responses will be from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*).

Autonomy. Autonomy was measured by the 6-item version of the individual autonomy subscale from the Adolescent Autonomy Scale (AAS), which was developed in Chinese (Yeh, & Yang, 2006) and the reliability is .81. The responses were from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). A sample item is "I always feel confident about my own decisions." The reliability of this scale is .80 in this study.

Self-esteem. Self-esteem was assessed using a Chinese version (Cheng, & Nicholas, 1995) of the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965). Prior studies have shown reliabilities from .77 to .88. Individuals respond to statements about their feelings about themselves on a scale from 1 (*strongly agree*) to 4 (*strongly disagree*). The reliability of this scale in this study is .80. A sample item is "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself."

Analysis Plan

All primary analyses to test study hypotheses were conducted using structural equation modeling in the Mplus 5 statistical software package. In the present analyses we did not specifically test for differences between mother and father parenting – so all measures were used in the analyses in a way that captured general parenting. The model parameters were estimated using full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML), which capitalizes on available data and thus includes all cases with data on at least one variable. As indicators of model fit (Brown, 2006), I used the Chi-Square (χ^2) statistic, the Root Mean Squared Error of Approximation (RMSEA; values below .05 indicate good fit, and below .08 indicate moderate fit, and below .10 indicating mediocre

fit), and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI; values above about .95 indicate good fit, and value above .90 indicate moderate fit). Additionally, χ^2 difference tests were used to assess the relative fit of nested models.

The following sequence of models was estimated. The first step was to estimate a baseline measurement model which included all of the latent variables, and the covariances among them, but no structural paths. Second, I revised the model based on the factor loadings, potential methods factors, and modification indexes. Third, I added in the regression parameters to test for direct and indirect effects of parenting on the outcomes using three alternative models (Direct-Only, Indirect-Only, and Direct-Indirect). Fourth, starting with the final, best-fitting model for the sample combined, I estimated a series of multi-group models to examine gender differences.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Bivariate correlations between the latent variables were obtained as part of the revised baseline model (noted above and described below). These correlations are reported in Table 1. Most of the bivariate correlations between variables are significant. The exceptions are that over-protecting is not significantly correlated with self-esteem or friend attachment, and psychological control is also not correlated with friend attachment. Correlations between latent variables tend to be higher than those for observed or scale measures, because correlations between observed scale measure are attenuated due to measurement error, whereas measurement error is taken into account in latent variable analysis.

Measurement Model

Prior to examining the hypothesized structural model, I wanted to establish the measurement model for all of the latent variables. Thus, a confirmatory factor analysis was estimated that included all eight latent study variables. The following four of these latent variables had as indicators two or more subscale scores (with the subscales listed in parentheses): authoritative parenting style (mothers authoritative parenting, fathers authoritative parenting), psychological control (love withdrawal, guilt induction, and authority assertion); parent-adolescent attachment (trust, communication, and distance), and friend attachment (trust, communicating, and distance). The following three of the latent variables had as indicators the scale items: autonomy (6 items), over-protecting (9 items) and self-esteem (10 items). For all seven latent variables in the model, higher scores indicated higher levels on the variables. In other words, higher scores correspond to more authoritative parenting, psychological control, over-protecting, parent-adolescent attachment, autonomy, friend attachment, and self-esteem. These latent variables were specified, as well as all possible covariances between them. This model was a relatively poor fit to the data, $\chi^2(573) = 1189.05$; CFI = .84; RMSEA = .06.

A number of steps were taken to improve the fit of this baseline model. First, one self-esteem item and three over-protecting items were dropped due to low factor loadings (less than .40). Second, there were a number of items or subscales that entailed similar item wording. The three subscales for parent-adolescent attachment and peer relations include similar wording, as they are part of the same measure, so the errors for each subscale were correlated between parent-adolescent attachment and peer relations. Also, for the self-esteem measure, the errors of the reverse-worded items were allowed to

correlate. With these revisions in place, χ^2 (434) = 779.88, CFI = 0.90, RMSEA = 0.05, the model fit the data moderately well, and was a significant improvement over the original baseline model based on χ^2 difference tests.

Structural Models to Assess the Hypothesized Mediation Model

The next step was to examine the study hypotheses by comparing the fit of three alternative structural models. The first model estimated was the Direct-Indirect-Both Model, which included direct paths from the predictors to the outcomes, paths from the predictors to the mediator (parent-adolescent attachment), and paths from the mediator to the outcomes. Starting with the prior model (the modified measurement model), I retained the covariances between predictors and the correlated disturbances between outcomes, while all other covariances between latent variables were dropped. In their place, I added 15 regression paths based on the direct and indirect paths noted above. This model fit the data well, χ^2 (434) = 779.88, CFI = 0.90, RMSEA = 0.05.

The second alternative structural model tested was the Direct-Effects-Only Model, in which the paths from parenting to attachment were dropped. This model did not fit the data well, $\chi^2(437) = 1088.26$, CFI = 0.82, and RMSEA = 0.07. The third alternative structural model estimated was the Indirect-Effects-Only Model in which all direct paths from parenting to the adolescent outcomes were dropped. This model fit the data well, $\chi^2(443) = 792.91$, CFI = 0.90, and RMSEA = 0.05. Further, the fit of this model was not significantly worse than the Direct-Indirect-Both Model, based on χ^2 difference tests. Therefore, given that it fit the same as the Direct-Indirect-Both Model, but was more parsimonious (i.e., retained more degrees of freedom), the Indirect-Effects-Only Model was seen as the best structural model (see Table 2).

In Indirect-Effects-Only Model, authoritative parenting was a positive predictor of parent-adolescent attachment, while psychological control was a negative predictor, and over-protecting was not a significant predictor. Parent-adolescent attachment, in turn, was a positive predictor of autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment (See Table 3). Indirect effects were also estimated in Mplus, and Sobell tests were conducted to evaluate statistical significance. These tests of mediation showed that authoritative parenting and psychological control (but not over-protecting) indirectly related to all three youth outcomes (autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment) by way of attachment between adolescents and their parents (see Figure 1 and Table 4). In other words, the ways in which parents try to raise their children may indirectly affect the well-being and relationships of their children by way of the quality of the relationship.

Multi-Group Models to Assess Gender Differences

In addition to estimating the overall hypothesized model, I also wanted to assess whether the model functioned differently for girls and boys. This was a multi-step process, as outlined earlier. First, a model was estimated where all factor loadings, regression coefficients, variances, and covariances were free to vary across gender, χ^2 (911) = 1439.85, CFI = 0.86, and RMSEA = 0.06. Second, a model was estimated with the factor loadings constrained to be equal across gender, but all other parameters free, χ^2 (936) = 1496.03, CFI = 0.85, and RMSEA = 0.06. Based on the chi-square difference test, this second model was a poorer fit to the data, suggesting that at least some of the parameters should be free to vary across gender.

Next, to establish partial factorial invariance, I freed the factor loadings for one latent variable at a time (separate models), and then conducted χ^2 difference tests to

compare the fit of these models to the model above with all factor loadings fixed. Freeing the factor loadings for psychological control and over-protecting resulted in improved model fit. Thus, a partial-factorial invariance model was estimated, χ^2 (916) = 1465.56, CFI = 0.85, and RMSEA = 0.06.

The different pattern of factor loadings for psychological control and over-protecting for girls and boys may reflect potential gender differences in how these items were interpreted. In terms of psychological control, boys seemed to place emphasis on love withdrawal (as it had the largest factor loading), while for girls it was guilt induction. In terms of over-protecting, the confidentiality of their diary seemed most important for boys, while the way they wear their hair was most important for girls.

Lastly, a model was estimated building on the partial factorial invariance model above, but also constraining the regression coefficients to be equal across gender, χ^2 (922) = 1469.32, CFI = 0.85, and RMSEA = 0.06. The χ^2 difference test indicated that this model was not a poorer fit to the data than the partial factorial invariance model above (with regression paths freed to vary across gender). Given that it is a more parsimonious model, but does not fit worse than the prior model, it is the preferred model. In other words, although there were some gender differences in factor structure, there do not appear to be gender differences in the model paths.

Discussion

The current research was designed to shed light on the question of whether positive and negative aspects of parenting influence adolescents' well-being by way of attachment to parents. The study hypotheses were partially supported. Specifically, in Chinese families, parents' authoritative parenting and psychological control (but not

over-protecting) indirectly related to the youth outcomes (autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment) by way of attachment between adolescents and their parents. In addition, these relations seemed to hold across gender.

The finding that more authoritative parenting was linked to greater parent-adolescent attachment is congruent with and supportive of prior work on parenting styles (Baumtind, 1968; Barber, 2005; Bokszczanin, 2008). Authoritative parenting style is seen as one of the primary contributors to the good quality of parent-child relationships (Baumrind, 1968). It is generally believed that the authoritative style is positively related to children's well-being and relationship with parents since children will trust, as well as communicate with their parents more about their lives and problems (Baumrind, 1968; Cardinali, & D' Allura, 2001).

Conversely, greater parental psychological control predicted lower attachment between adolescents and their parents. This could be because parents with psychological control over their children do not allow them to express their individuality, and this psychologically controlling environment makes it difficult for adolescents to develop a warm relationship with their parents (Barber, 1996). As a result, the children under parents' psychological control usually have less trust and communication with their parents.

It is unclear why over-protecting was not predictive of parent-adolescent attachment. It should be noted that in terms of bivariate correlations, over-protecting related negatively to attachment and positively to psychological control. Thus, it is not that over-protecting is unrelated to attachment, just that it did not contribute anything unique after accounting for psychological control. This suggests a significant amount of

overlap between over-protecting and psychological control. Perhaps parents' meddling in their adolescents' personal affairs, is perceived of by youth as being controlling and manipulative, similar to psychological control. Future research should seek to better articulate and identify similarities and differences between these constructs.

In line with prior theory and research on attachment, parent-adolescent attachment was associated with three important indicators of adolescent well-being (autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment). In terms of autonomy, adolescents who had a stronger attachment with their parents also had a greater sense of autonomy. In other words, adolescents who trust and communicate with their parents also have greater latitude and independence regarding their life decisions. This is congruent with a prior study showing that children's close relationships with parents provide them a secure base that permits and encourages their emotional autonomy (Allen, et al, 2007). Moreover, because parents to whom children have a secure attachment usually exhibit greater appreciation of differences among people, these characteristics contribute to the development of autonomy and identity during adolescence.

Adolescents with stronger attachment to their parents also had higher self-esteem in the present study, consistent with prior attachment research (Arbona, & Power, 2003; Hoffman, Ushipz, & Levy-Shiff, 1988; LeCroy, 1988; Noom, Dekovic, & Meeus, 1999; Paterson et al., 1995). This happens because a secure attachment to parents makes children feel more confident with themselves (Greenberg, Seigal, & Leitch, 1983). Especially in China, children's self-esteem is influenced more by parents' awareness and recognition of their acknowledgements. That is why the quality of parents-adolescent relationship influences adolescents' perception about their parents' views of them.

As anticipated, adolescents with stronger attachments to their parents also had stronger friend attachments. Abundant literature provides empirical support for associations between attachment to caregivers and the nature of friend relationships (Cohn, Patterson, & Christopoulous, 1991; Elicker, Englund, & Sroufe, 1992; Putallaz & Heflin, 1990). For example, secure attachment to the caregivers has related to high levels of peer acceptance and popularity (Coleman, 2003). Early emotional experiences with attachment figures are internalized as a relatively fluid cognitive–affective schema, which would influence children's emotions and behaviors in peer interactions (Coleman, 2003).

Regarding to gender differences, while there were some gender differences in perceptions of psychological control and over-protecting (in terms of the factor structure), there were no differences in the model paths. Thus, it appears that the role of parenting in parent-adolescent relationships, and links between relationship quality and adolescent outcomes, function similarly for boys and girls. This may be because during adolescence, boys and girls perceive their parents' parenting behaviors differently, but have no significant difference in attachment and show similar connection between attachment and their social behaviors and well-beings (Forbes, & Adams-curtis, 2000; Haigler, Day, & Marshall, 1995).

Limitations

Despite the interesting pattern of findings, this study had a number of notable limitations. First, even though most of the present measures had been used previously in China, there may be ways in which some of these measures can be further improved to fit their use with Chinese adolescents. For example, in the autonomy measure, there is a question asking about tattoos, which are rather uncommon among Chinese adolescents.

Second, all the data in this study was collected from adolescents. Nevertheless, adolescents are likely the best source of information about their internal states (e.g., autonomy and self-esteem; Clarke, Lewinsohn, Hops, & Seeley, 1992). Additionally, adolescents' own perceptions of parenting may be more strongly linked to their well-being than the perceptions of their parents (Padilla-Walker, Hardy, & Christiansen, in press). Finally, the data were cross-sectional, limiting the ability to draw inferences about temporal ordering. Future research should examine links between parenting, attachment, and adolescent well-being longitudinally. Further, dynamical analyses might reveal a number of bidirectional effects, such as effects of adolescent well-being on attachment and parenting.

Conclusions

The present study examined whether what Chinese parents do might relate to the well-being of their adolescents by way of the quality of their relationships with their adolescents. There are a number of important strengths that enable the present analysis to make a contribution to the literature. First, this study systematically examined attachment as a mediator by which parenting might relate to important youth outcomes. In this way it moved beyond merely demonstrating outcomes of parenting practices to exploring potential mechanisms. Second, this study provided knowledge of parenting and parent-adolescent relationships in China, a prototypically interdependence-oriented culture. The results suggest that autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment are also important among Chinese youth, and that the socialization processes involved may be similar to those in Western cultures (although this comparison was not directly examined in the present study). Third, this study assessed the extent to which the processes linking

parenting to youth outcomes were different for boys and girls, and showed that the processes do appear to be similar across gender. In short, the study suggests that parenting behaviors can play an important role in adolescent development and well-being. Authoritative parenting can strengthen relationships between parents and their children, while over-protecting and psychological control may hinder such relationships. Accordingly, children may succeed more in their friend attachment, self-esteem, and their own decision-making when parents parent them appropriately.

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Table 1

Bivariate Correlations among Latent Variables

	Authoritative parenting	Psychological Control	Over-protecting	Attachment to parents	Autonomy	Self-esteem	Friend attachment
Authoritative parenting		14*	16**	.92***	.58***	.37***	.18**
Psychological Control			.34***	40***	25***	16**	08
Over-protecting				28***	18**	11	05
Attachment to parents					.63***	.40***	.19***
Autonomy						.67***	.43***
Self-esteem							.36***
Friend attachment							

^{*}p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001.

Table 2
Structural Models to Assess the Hypothesized Mediation Model

Model	Chi-Square (df)	Chi-square	CFI	RMSEA
		difference		
Model 1	1189.05(573)		.84	.06
Baseline				
Model 2	779.88(434)	409.17(139)* ^a	.90	.05
Revised Baseline				
Model 3	779.88(434)		.90	.05
Direct-Indirect-Both				
Model 4	1088.26(437)	308.38(3)* ^b	.82	.07
Direct-Only				
Model 5	792.91(443)	$13.03(9)^{b}$.90	.05
Indirect-Only				

^{*} p < .05;

^a is compared to model 1; ^b is compared to model 3.

Table 3

Path Coefficients from Final Model

Predictors			Criterions	
	Attachment	Autonomy	Self-esteem	Friend Attachment
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Authoritative	.88 (.03)***			
Psychological Control	28(.05)***			
Over-protecting	013(.05)			
Attachment		.37(.06)***	.39(.06)***	.19(.06)**

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

Blank means paths not included in the model.

Table 4

Indirect Effects for Final Model

Mediation Paths	Self-Esteem	Autonomy	Friend Attachment
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Authoritative → Attachment	.35(.05)***	.33 (.05)***	.17(.06)**
Psych Control→ Attachment	11(.03)***	10(.03)***	05(.02)**
Over-protecting → Attachment	01(.02)	01(.02)	00(.01)

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

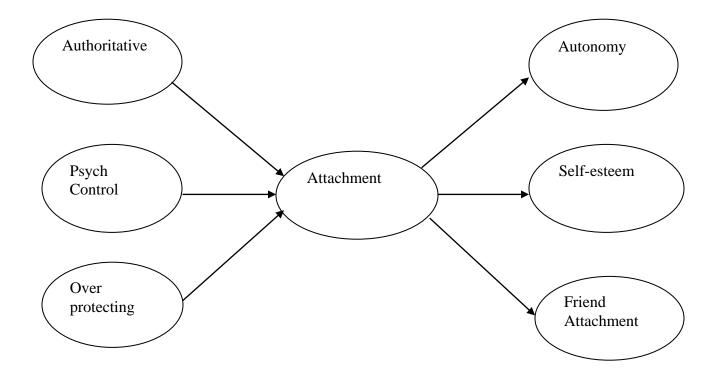


Figure 1. The Structural equation model of this study. This is the model we got at last. Authoritative, Psych control and over-protecting in the left are parenting predictors, Attachment in the middle is a mediator. Autonomy, Self-esteem, and Friend attachment in the right are youths' outcomes. This model tells us that authoritative, psych control and over-protecting predict youths' outcomes (autonomy, self-esteem, and friend attachment) by way of attachment.

Appendix

PSDQ (for mothers)

People in	teract with their adolescents in different ways. Below are some common							
parenting	parenting situations that may or may not happen in your own home. Please rate <u>how</u>							
often you	r mother act this way with you, and place your answer on the line next to each							
question.	Use the following scale to record your answers:							
1=never,	2=once in a while, 3= about half of the time, 4= very often, 5= always							
1.	My mother shows patience with me.							
2.	My mother expresses affection by hugging, kissing, and holding me.							
3.	My mother encourages <u>me</u> to talk about <u>my</u> troubles.							
4.	4. My mother has warm and intimate times together with <u>me</u> .							
5.	My mother tells <u>me</u> that she loves <u>me</u> .							
6.	My mother gives praise when <u>I am</u> good.							
7.	My mother shows respect for <u>my</u> opinions by encouraging <u>me</u> to express							
myself.								
8.	My mother jokes and plays with me.							
9.	My mother gives comfort and understanding when <u>I am</u> upset.							
10.	My mother is easy going and relaxed with me.							
11.	My mother gives me reasons why rules should be obeyed.							
12.	My mother encourages me to freely express myself even when disagreeing							
with her.								
13.	My mother shows sympathy when <u>I am</u> hurt or frustrated.							

____ 14. My mother tells me that I appreciate what I try or accomplish.

 _ 15.	My mother is responsive to <u>my</u> feelings and needs.
 16.	My mother explains to me how she feels about my good and bad behavior.
 17.	My mother explains to me the consequences of my behavior.
 18.	My mother emphasizes to me the reasons for rules.
 19.	My mother helps \underline{me} understand the impact of \underline{my} behavior by encouraging \underline{me}
	to talk about the consequences of my own actions.
 20.	My mother takes my desires into account before asking me to do something
 21.	My mother allows me to give input into family rules.
 22.	My mother takes into account my preferences in making plans for the family.

PSDQ for fathers

People interact with their adolescents in different ways. Below are some common parenting situations that may or may not happen in your own home. Please rate how often your father act this way with you, and place your answer on the line next to each question. Use the following scale to record your answers:

Use the	following scale to record your answers:
1=never	2=once in a while, 3= about half of the time, 4= very often, 5= always
1.	My father shows patience with me.
2.	My father expresses affection by hugging, kissing, and holding me.
3.	My father encourages me to talk about my troubles.
4.	My father has warm and intimate times together with me.
5.	My father tells <u>me</u> that he loves <u>me</u> .
6.	My father gives praise when <u>I am</u> good.
7.	My father shows respect for my opinions by encouraging me to express myself.
8.	My father jokes and plays with me.
9.	My father gives comfort and understanding when <u>I am</u> upset.
10.	My father is easy going and relaxed with me.
11.	My father gives me reasons why rules should be obeyed.
12.	My father encourages me to freely express myself even when disagreeing with
him.	
13.	My father shows sympathy when <u>I am</u> hurt or frustrated.
14.	My father tells \underline{me} that I appreciate what \underline{I} try or accomplish.
15.	My father is responsive to my feelings and needs.
16.	My father explains to me how he feels about my good and bad behavior.

17	. My father explains to <u>me</u> the consequences of <u>my</u> behavior.
18	. My father emphasizes to <u>me</u> the reasons for rules.
19	. My father helps me understand the impact of my behavior by encouraging me
	to talk about the consequences of my own actions.
20	. My father takes <u>my</u> desires into account before asking <u>me</u> to do something
21	. My father allows me to give input into family rules.
22	. My father takes into account my preferences in making plans for the family.

Psychological Control

1=not at all true, 2=a little bit true, 3=kind of true, 4=pretty true, 5=very true

- 1. My parents tell me about all the things they have done for me.
- 2. My parents say, if I really cared for them, I would not do things that cause them to worry.
- 3. My parents tell me how disappointed they are in me when I do not do things their way.
- 4. My parents bring up my past mistakes when they criticize me.
- 5. My parents tell me of all the sacrifices they have made for me.
- 6. My parents tell me that I should feel guilty when I do not meet their expectations.
- 7. My parents tell me that I am not a good member of the family when I do something against their wishes.
- 8. My parents tell me that I should feel ashamed when I do not behave as they wish.
- 9. My parents say, if I really loved them, I would do my best for the sake of the family.
- 10. My parents tell me that I am not as good as other kids when I fall short of their expectations.
- 11. My parents are less friendly with me, if I do not see things their way.
- 12. My parents will not let me do things with them if I do something they do not like.
- 13. My parents avoid looking at me when I have disappointed them.
- 14. My parents act cold and unfriendly if I do something they do not like.
- 15. If I have hurt their feelings, my parents stop talking to me until I please them again.

- 16. My parents tell me that what they want me to do is the best for me and I should not question it.
- 17. My parents say, when I grow up, I will appreciate all the decisions they make for me.
- 18. My parents answer my arguments by saying things like "You'll know better when you grow up".

Self-Esteem Scale

Below is a list of statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself.

3=strongly agree, 2=agree, 1=disagree, 0=strongly disagree

- 1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
- 2. At times, I think I am not good at all.
- 3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
- 6. I certainly feel useless at times.
- 7. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
- 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
- 9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
- 10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

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Parental Authority Index

Age (years and months): _____

Sex: (Circle One) Male

Female

I. General Instructions

For each of the following questions, you will be asked for your opinion. We are interested in your opinions about some different matters. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you do not have to participate if you do not want to. You may refuse to answer any question you do not want to and you may stop participating at any time. Your name will not appear anywhere on the paper, so we will not know whose paper belongs to whom. We are not interested in any one person's answers, but only how students in general think about these things. If you would like to participate, please continue reading.

Part I: Below are listed several topics that adolescents and their parents often have to make decisions about. Who do you think should make the decision on each topic?

E. My parents shou	ld be ab	le to dec	cide/tell	me wha	at to
about this without discussing it with me.					
D. My parents should	ld be ab	le to ma	ke the f	inal dec	cision
about the	his after	discuss	sing it w	ith me.	
C. My parents and I show	uld mak	e this d	ecision 1	together	:.
B. I should make the final decision	on this a	ıfter dis	cussing		
it with my parents.			-		
A. I should be the one to decide this without h	aving to		↓	*	
discuss this with my parents.		\			
V 1	¥				
1. Choosing what clothes to wear	A	В	C	D	E
2. What music I listen to	A	В	C	D	Е
3. Who my boyfriend or girlfriend is	A	В	C	D	E
4. Choosing who to be friends with	A	В	C	D	Е
5. Whether I should go out for a school activity	A	В	C	D	Е
6. How I wear my hair	A	В	C	D	Е
7. What I write in my diary/journal	A	В	C	D	Е
8. How I spend my allowance or money I earn from	n				
part-time jobs	A	В	C	D	Е
9. Whether I take good care of my own things	A	В	C	D	E

Part 2: Below are listed several topics identical to those in the previous pages.

In your family, who <u>does</u> make, or who <u>would</u> make the decision on each topic?

E. My parents would decide/tell me what to do about this

	with	out dis	cussing	it with	me.
D. My parents wou	ıld make	the fin	al decis	ion abou	ut this
after di	scussing	it with	me.	_	
C. My parents and I wou	ıld make	this de	cision to	ogether.	
B. I would make the final decision of	on this a	fter disc	cussing_	-	
it with my parents.			-		•
A. I would be the one to decide this without ha	aving to	discuss	\	·	
this with my parents.		•			
1. Choosing what clothes to wear	A	В	C	D	Е
2. What music I listen to	A	В	C	D	E
3. Who my boyfriend or girlfriend is	A	В	C	D	E
4. Choosing who to be friends with	A	В	C	D	Е
5. Whether I should go out for a school activity	A	В	C	D	Е
6. How I wear my hair	A	В	C	D	Е
7. What I write in my diary/journal	A	В	C	D	Е
8. How I spend my allowance or money I earn from	n				

part-time jobs A B C D E

9. Whether I take good care of my own things A B C D E

Adolescence Autonomy Scale

<u>Instruction.</u> This part includes statements concerning personal life conditions. Please express the extent to which your ACTUAL CONDITION agrees with the statements, according to the following scale. Please <u>mark the number</u> that best represents your actual condition.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly	Somewhat	Slightly	Slightly	Somewhat	Strongly
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree

- 1 I always feel confident about my own decisions.
- 2 I always know what I want.
- I am highly capable of controlling the immediate environment around me and thus am able to achieve my goals.
- 4 I am always able to find the most beneficial way of doing things for myself.
- 5 Trying new things is not difficult for me.
- 6 I feel more confident about a decision when taking my parents' suggestions into consideration.

IPPA

Some of the following statements ask about your feelings about your <u>mother</u> or the person who has acted as your mother. If you have more than one person acting as your mother (e.g. a natural mother and a step-mother) answer the questions for the one you feel has most influenced you.

Please read each statement and circle the <u>ONE</u> number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

_	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
1. My mother respects my feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel my mother does a good job as my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I wish I had a different mother.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My mother accepts me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I like to get my mother's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show around my mother.	1	2	3	4	5

7. My mother can tell when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Talking over my problems with my mother makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My mother expects too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5
10. I get upset easily around my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I get upset a lot more than my mother knows about.	1	2	3	4	5
12. When we discuss things, my mother cares about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
13. My mother trusts my judgment.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My mother has her own problems, so I don't bother her with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My mother helps me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I tell my mother about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel angry with my mother	1	2	3	4	5
18. I don't get much attention from my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
19. My mother helps me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5

20. My	mother understands me	1	2	3	4	5
	en I am angry about g, my mother tries to be nding.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I tu	ust my mother.	1	2	3	4	5
understar	mother doesn't nd what I'm going hese days.	1	2	3	4	5
	n count on my mother eed to get something off	1	2	3	4	5
	ny mother knows g is bothering me, she about it.	1	2	3	4	5

This part asks about your feelings about your <u>father</u>, or the man who has acted as your father. If you have more than one person acting as your father (e.g. natural and step-father) answer the question for the one you feel has most influenced you.

_	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True	Often True	Almost Always or Always True
1. My father respects my feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel my father does a good job as my father.	1	2	3	4	5
3. I wish I had a different father.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My father accepts me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I like to get my father's point of view on things I'm concerned about.	1	2	3	4	5
6. I feel it's no use letting my feelings show around my father.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My father can tell when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Talking over my problems with my father makes me feel ashamed or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
9. My father expects too much from me.	1	2	3	4	5

10. I get upset easily around my father.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I get upset a lot more than my father knows about.	1	2	3	4	5
12. When we discuss things, my father cares about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
13. My father trusts my judgment.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My father has his own problems, so I don't bother him with mine.	1	2	3	4	5
15. My father helps me to understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	5
16. I tell my father about my problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel angry with my father.	1	2	3	4	5
18. I don't get much attention from my father.	1	2	3	4	5
19. My father helps me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
20. My father understands me.	1	2	3	4	5
21. When I am angry about something, my father tries to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I trust my father.	1	2	3	4	5
23. My father doesn't					

understand what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
24. I can count on my father when I need to get something off my chest.	1	2	3	4	5
25. If my father knows something is bothering me, she asks me about it.	1	2	3	4	5

Friend Attachment

10. My friends don't understand

This part asks about your feelings about your relationships with your close friends.

Please read each statement and circle the <u>ONE</u> number that tells how true the statement is for you now.

_	Almost Never or Never True	Not Very Often True	Some- times True	Oftei Tru A	Almost Always or Always True
1. I like to get my friend's point of view on things I'm concerned about.		2	3	4	5
2. My friends can tell when I'm upset about something.	1	2	3	4	5
3. When we discuss things, my friend care about my point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Talking over my problems with friends makes me feel ashame or foolish.	1	2	3	4	5
5. I wish I had different friends.	1	2	3	4	5
6. My friends understand me.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My friends encourage me to talk about my difficulties.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My friends accept me as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel the need to be in touch with my friends more often.	1	2	3	4	5

what I'm going through these days.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I feel alone or apart when I an with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
12. My friends listen to what I have to say.	1	2	3	4	5
13. I feel my friends are good friends.	1	2	3	4	5
14. My friends are fairly easy to talk to.	1	2	3	4	5
15. When I am angry about something, my friends try to be understanding.	1	2	3	4	5
16. My friends help me to	1	2	2	4	5
understand myself better.	1	2	3	4	3
17. My friends care about how I am feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My friends care about how I					
17. My friends care about how I am feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
17. My friends care about how I am feeling.18. I feel angry with my friends.19. I can count on my friends when I need to get something off m	1	2	3	4	5
 17. My friends care about how I am feeling. 18. I feel angry with my friends. 19. I can count on my friends when I need to get something off m chest. 	1 1 1	2 2	3 3	4 4	5 5
 17. My friends care about how I am feeling. 18. I feel angry with my friends. 19. I can count on my friends when I need to get something off m chest. 20. I trust my friends. 21. My friends respect my 	1 1 1	2 2 2	333	4 4	5555

24. I can tell my friends about my					
problems and troubles.	1	2	3	4	5
25. If my friends know something					
is bothering me, they ask me about	1	2	3	4	5
it.					