

In this chapter, we present a model of adolescent development that emphasizes the relationship dynamics of autonomy and relatedness. Research findings from concurrent and longitudinal analyses are reviewed to support the model, particularly regarding the process of leaving home in young adulthood.

Adolescent-Parent Relationships and Leaving Home in Young Adulthood

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An emerging theme in life-span and long-term longitudinal studies is the importance of transition periods in development (Emde and Harmon, 1984; Magnusson, 1990; Rutter, 1994). The study of transitions is also a predominant heuristic in developmental research on the first two decades of life. For example, the transition to early adolescence and the concomitant changes in parent-child, peer, and romantic relationships, and psychopathology has received volumes of attention (Gunnar and Collins, 1988; Montemayor, Adams, and Gullotta, 1990).

In contrast, as a recent issue of the *Journal of Research on Adolescence* attests, there are relatively few studies examining the nature of the transition from late adolescence to the third decade (Sherrod, Haggerty, and Featherman, 1993). The relative scarcity of longitudinal studies on this transition is surprising, given that young adulthood is widely believed to be a pivotal time for the establishment and embellishment of a career, family, intimate relationships, and identity (Santrock, 1983; Waterman and Archer, 1990). The importance of this transition is underscored by significant changes in levels and types of adjustment problems (Aseltine and Gore, 1993; Jessor, Donovan, and Costa, 1991).

In this chapter, we begin to address the scarcity of information on this transition period. Specifically, we examine the transition to young adulthood as it affects the nature of parent-adult child relationships. We have two aims. The first is to outline a developmental model of parent-adult child relationships based on the constructs of autonomy and relatedness (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994) and to present supporting findings from recent studies.

The second is to link the dynamics of autonomy and relatedness in adolescent-parent interactions to the process of leaving home in a longitudinal study tracking individuals from midadolescence into young adulthood.

Autonomy and Relatedness in Parent-Child Relationships

A dynamic that consistently surfaces in theoretical and empirical analyses of the parent-child relationship throughout the first two decades concerns variations on themes of autonomy and relatedness, or said differently, separation-individuation and individuality and connectedness (Grotevant and Cooper, 1985; Frank, Avery, and Laman, 1988; Mahler, Pine, and Bergman, 1975; Moore, 1987; Murphey and others, 1963; Ryan and Lynch, 1989; White, Speisman, and Costos, 1983). Researchers are increasingly documenting that children and adolescents who appear most autonomous and self-reliant report close, affectionate parental relationships (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994; Ryan and Lynch, 1989). As defined by the above studies, autonomy, an independence of thought and behavior, and relatedness, an involvement with and support or connectedness to others, are not opposing dynamics. Indeed, for theoretical and empirical reasons, we focus on *autonomous-relatedness*, a relationship dynamic originally described by Bowlby (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994; Bowlby, 1982; Murphey and others, 1963).

In previous studies, Allen and colleagues described how adolescents and parents negotiate changes in autonomy and relatedness in family interactions (Allen and others, 1993; Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994). One interesting finding from these studies is that a subset of adolescents were observed to gain pseudo-independence in parent-adolescent interactions at the expense of a positive, supportive relationship with their parents. Adolescents who undermined autonomy in interactions with their parents at age fourteen were observed to compensate for their lack of autonomy by emotionally distancing themselves from parents at age sixteen. Other studies similarly document that an imbalance in the dynamic between autonomy and relatedness, either an emotionally detached or an enmeshed relationship, is often associated with poor concurrent and longitudinal adjustment (Frank, Avery, and Laman, 1988; Moore, 1987; Ryan and Lynch, 1989). Allen and colleagues noted that adolescents who displayed comparatively low levels of autonomy and relatedness also exhibited low levels of ego development and self-esteem.

In a second set of studies, autonomy and relatedness in adolescent-parent interactions have been linked to several important indices of adjustment in young adulthood, including educational and occupational attainment (Bell, Allen, Hauser, and O'Connor, 1996), psychopathology and drug use (Allen and Hauser, 1993; Allen and others, 1995), attachment security and coherence of mind in attachment relationships (Allen and Hauser, 1994). These studies' findings support the hypothesis that successfully negotiating a stage-salient

task of adolescence—establishing autonomy while maintaining a close, affectionate relationship with parents—has important implications not only for concurrent adjustment but also for successful resolution of later developmental tasks.

These findings also set a context for understanding the trajectory of parent-child relationships into young adulthood. In many ways, the increased autonomy demands in parent-adolescent relationships parallel the increased autonomy demands in parent-young adult relationships. Consequently, difficulty in establishing autonomy and relatedness with parents in adolescence may forecast difficulty in maintaining the autonomy and relatedness dynamic with parents in adulthood. In adolescence, difficulty establishing autonomy and relatedness with parents may manifest as conflict (Allen and others, 1993). In adulthood, difficulty handling separation or individuation from parents may manifest as a problem in setting the appropriate degree of involvement and contact. Contact, at this stage, is a new dimension in the parent-child relationship, as young adults have a greater power to "regulate" it. Adolescents who are unable to establish autonomous-relatedness with their parents and to react with anger at them may, for example, be unable to separate from their parents—or from their anger with them—and may stay very closely connected (Allen and Hauser, 1994).

Parent-Child Relationships in the Third Decade

Relatively few studies track the quality and correlates of parent-child relationships through young adulthood (Frank, Avery, Laman, 1988; Moore, 1987). Consequently, little is known about the longitudinal predictors of parent-adult child relationships or how these relationships are transformed as young adults leave the home. To date, available research on the relationship between parents and their young-adult offspring relies heavily on two variables—amount of contact and ratings of overall satisfaction (Cooney, 1994; Lawton, Silverstein, and Bengtson, 1994).

Contact. Research findings indicate that young adults generally stay in close contact with their parents (Umberson, 1992; Rossi and Rossi, 1990) but that the amount of contact varies as a function of several demographic variables. For example, girls and young adults from nondivorced families appear to have the highest rates of contact (Aquilino, 1994; Frank, Avery, and Laman, 1988). Furthermore, young adults who have started their own families tend to report higher rates of contact (Frank, Avery, and Laman, 1988; Umberson, 1992; White, Speisman, and Costos, 1983), but young adults whose parents have divorced and remarried report comparatively less contact (Umberson, 1992; Aquilino, 1994; Cooney, 1994). This is particularly so in relation to non-custodial fathers. Although geographical proximity has also been related to more frequent contact with parents (Aquilino, 1994; Rossi and Rossi, 1990), several researchers have suggested that physical distance may be a consequence

rather than a cause, of the quality and intensity of the adult child-parent relationship (Lawton, Silverstein, and Bengtson, 1994).

The sociodemographic factors that influence the frequency of adult child-parent contact are beginning to be understood, but there is relatively little discussion regarding the meaning of young adults' frequency of contact with parents or regarding the relationship dynamics that underlie the amount of contact. Available findings offer little guidance. For example, although adult children's frequency of contact with parents *per se* appears to be only marginally related to the young adults' levels of adjustment, some studies demonstrate that contact is nonetheless more frequent in young adults in greater need of support, such as single parents (Umberson, 1992). In this chapter, we examine the meaning and the developmental significance of frequency of adult child-parent contact within an autonomy-relatedness framework.

Satisfaction. As in the case of frequency of contact, research findings point to several demographic correlates of young adults' satisfaction with their relationships with parents. Divorce history is perhaps the most consistent negative predictor of relationship satisfaction in young adulthood and may represent a continuation of the conflict that immediately followed, and most likely preceded, the divorce (Aquilino, 1994; Hetherington and Clingempeel, 1992). However, custodial status of the parent, parent gender, and parental remarriage significantly complicate this general finding (Aquilino, 1994; Cooney, 1994). Gender differences in satisfaction with parent-adult child relationships, especially regarding same-sex relationships, have been suggested but are inconsistently reported (Aquilino, 1994; Frank, Avery, and Laman, 1988). Available findings also suggest that young adults' satisfaction with their relationships with parents is positively associated with their own level of adjustment (Umberson, 1992; Rossi and Rossi, 1990.)

Remarkably little is known about the longitudinal predictors of young adults' satisfaction with their relationships with parents, especially how the quality of parent-adolescent relationships may influence later satisfaction. The studies cited above on the salience of autonomy and relatedness in adolescence suggest that satisfaction with parents may be predicted from the quality of parent-adolescent relationships.

We examined three hypotheses that expand previous research on parent-adult child relationships and further examined the hypothesis that establishing autonomy while maintaining relatedness with parents is a stage-salient task of adolescence. First, we hypothesized a significant positive relationship between satisfaction with parents and young-adult adjustment. Second, we hypothesized that compared to adolescents who display autonomous-relatedness with parents, adolescents who display imbalances in autonomy and relatedness would have greater difficulty separating from parents in young adulthood. Third, based on previous research, we hypothesized that men and adult children from families that have experienced divorce in which fathers left home would report less contact and less satisfaction with their parents in young adulthood.

Methods

The sample consisted of a subset of a larger sample of 146 adolescents and their families, initially studied when the adolescents were approximately fourteen years old (Hauser, Powers, and Noam, 1991). To assess a broad range of psychosocial and family functioning, we initially selected one-half of the adolescents from the ninth grade. The other one-half of the subjects were selected from a psychiatric hospital and had diagnoses of mood or conduct disorders. Families in the study were white and predominantly middle and upper middle class. Adolescents in both sample groups were similar in age, gender composition, and number of siblings. However, families with hospitalized adolescents were slightly but significantly lower in social class and, at the time of the year twenty-five assessment, were more likely to have experienced a divorce.

Because of missing data on some of the measures, sample sizes in the current study vary with each analysis (see below). Previous attrition analyses found few differences in individual and family characteristics in those families who were not available for all assessments (Allen and Hauser, 1994).

Procedures. The current study includes data collected when the subjects were, on average, fourteen, sixteen, and twenty-five years old. At the fourteen- and sixteen-year assessments, adolescents and their mothers and fathers (if applicable) participated in a revealed differences interaction task (Strodbeck, 1951) using Kohlberg moral dilemmas. Families were asked to discuss and, if possible, resolve three disagreements among family members based on the moral dilemmas (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994).

When subjects were twenty-five, they were asked to complete a variety of questionnaire measures. In addition, a Q-sort rating of personality and adjustment was obtained from a peer whom the target young adult named as knowing well.

Demographic Variables. Socioeconomic status, family type, and other family-demographic variables were examined and used as covariates or predictors in some analyses. This information was collected and updated in questionnaires obtained throughout the study.

Autonomy and Relatedness Coding System. The Autonomy and Relatedness Coding System (Allen, Hauser, Borman, and Worrell, 1991) was used to code adolescent-family interactions. The coding system combines micro- and macroanalytic strategies of classifying behaviors into three categories: exhibiting *autonomous-relatedness*, behaviors reflecting differentiation of thought and opinion in the context of interest and engagement in others' thoughts; *undermining autonomy*, behaviors that make it difficult to reason or disagree or that personalize a disagreement; and *undermining relatedness*, behaviors that are critical, hostile, or that otherwise discourage affectionate, accepting interactions. Previous research has demonstrated the validity and reliability of the system (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994). Observational data were available on seventy-nine mother-adolescent pairs. Data on only fifty-one

father-adolescent pairs were available because some families were single-parent families, and in some nondivorced families the father did not participate in the observational task.

Contact with Mother and Father. At age twenty-five, young adults were asked to rate how often they had phone contact and how often they had personal contact with their mothers and fathers on a 6-point scale (1 = not at all, 6 = more than once a week). The items are comparable to other studies (Cooney, 1994). Young adults whose mothers ($N = 7$) or fathers ($N = 12$) were deceased were excluded from analyses.

Satisfaction with Relationship with Mother and Father. Also at age twenty-five, young adults were asked to rate how satisfied they were with their relationships with mothers and fathers on a 5-point scale (1 = not at all, 5 = extremely). As with the contact measures, this measure is comparable to other studies assessing relationship satisfaction (Aquilino, 1994).

Psychosocial Adjustment in Young Adulthood. At age twenty-five, young adults were asked to complete a battery of measures assessing overall adjustment. *Self-worth* and *social competence* are subscales taken from the Harter Self-Perception Profile (Harter, 1988). The Hopkins Symptom Checklist (HSCL) is a widely used and well-validated self-report measure of general symptomatology; only the global scale is examined in this report (Derogatis, 1983). *Ego undercontrol* and *ego resiliency* are based on one of the young adults' designated friends' California Q-sort ratings of the target young adult (Block and Block, 1980).

Results

The initial analyses tested whether gender or history of psychiatric hospitalization were associated with young adults' contact with parents. No gender differences in the adolescent-parent interaction behaviors, age twenty-five adjustment variables, and contact and satisfaction measures with parents in young adulthood were found. History of psychiatric hospitalization was not significantly related to frequency or quality of contact with parents at age twenty-five; however, adolescents with a history of psychiatric hospitalization exhibited significantly lower levels of autonomous-relatedness to both mothers and fathers (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994).

Contact and Satisfaction. There was a close correspondence between young adults' contact with both mothers and fathers by phone and in person (for mothers, $r = .64$, $p < .001$; for fathers, $r = .77$, $p < .001$). Given the high correlation between these variables and the tendency for previous research to combine measures of personal and phone contact (Aquilino, 1994; Cooney, 1994), these two measures were averaged in analyses.

The frequencies of visits and phone contacts with parents suggested that most of the young adults had regular contact with one or both parents, while one subset had either no or rare contact, and another subset had contact more than once a week. For example, slightly over 50 percent of the sample reported

at least weekly contact with their mothers; 43 percent of the sample had weekly contact with their fathers.

Young adults' frequency of contact was moderately positively related to satisfaction with the relationship (for mothers, $r = .38$, $p < .001$; for fathers, $r = .54$, $p < .001$). The magnitude of this correlation did not vary significantly by gender or divorce history (but see Cooney, 1994).

Correlates and Predictors of Young Adult-Parent Relationships. Frequency of contact with either mother or father showed no consistent link with young-adult adjustment. Correlations between relationship satisfaction and measures of adjustment are generally moderate in magnitude and differ in many cases, depending on whether the parental relationship is with mothers or fathers. Relationship satisfaction was significantly correlated in expected directions with ego undercontrol and ego resiliency (mothers), psychopathological symptoms (fathers), self-worth (mothers and fathers), and social competence (mothers and fathers) (see Table 3.1).

Correlations between parent-adolescent interactions at ages fourteen and sixteen and relationship variables at age twenty-five are displayed in Table 3.2. Of the family interactions variables, adolescents' autonomous-relatedness was strongly negatively correlated with frequency of contact in their relationships with their parents ten years later; this relationship was slightly stronger at age sixteen than at age fourteen, especially regarding fathers.

With one exception, neither undermining autonomy nor undermining relatedness was correlated with frequency of contact at age twenty-five. The one exception was a significant positive correlation between adolescents inhibiting autonomy toward mothers and more frequent contact with mothers ten years later ($r = .19$, $p < .05$). Interestingly, none of the adolescent interaction variables were significantly correlated with satisfaction with maternal or paternal relationships at age twenty-five.

Table 3.1. Correlations Between Adult Child-Parent Relationship Variables and Young-Adult Adjustment

Adjustment	Frequency of Contact		Relationship Satisfaction	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Self-worth	.03	-.01	.23**	.20*
Social competence	-.03	-.07	.32**	.20*
Psychological symptoms	.12	-.02	-.11	-.24**
Ego undercontrol	.24*	-.11	.21*	-.14
Ego resiliency	.01	.11	.27**	.07

Note: Ns for correlations range from 102 to 125.

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Table 3.2. Correlations Between Adolescent-Parent Interactions at Ages Fourteen and Sixteen and Adult Child-Parent Relationship Variables

	1	2	3	4
1. Autonomous relatedness (14)	—	.57**	-.15	.15
2. Autonomous relatedness (16)	.61**	—	-.51**	.09
3. Frequency of contact	-.25**	-.31**	—	.55**
4. Relationship satisfaction	.02	.05	.38**	—

Note: Correlations above the diagonal pertain to fathers; correlations below the diagonal pertain to mothers. N's for correlations range from 51 to 125; all available data were used, i.e., a pairwise deletion was used (see Methods section in this chapter for an explanation).

** $p < .01$

Correlations between parents' behavior toward their adolescents and adolescents' frequency of contact and satisfaction with parental relationships as young adults were also examined. The pattern of findings is almost identical to those found with adolescents' behavior. Specifically, the most robust correlations were found between parents' autonomous-relatedness in interactions and a decreased frequency of later contact (for fathers' behavior, $r = -.34$, $p < .05$; for mothers' behavior, $r = -.37$, $p < .05$).

Regression analyses were examined to determine the combined prediction of adolescent relationship and demographic variables to the frequency of contact and relationship satisfaction with parents in young adulthood. Demographic variables were entered first and were followed by adolescent behaviors at age sixteen (Table 3.3). Only the age sixteen variables were used in regression analyses because of the high correlation between the interaction variables at age fourteen and sixteen and because relating the later interaction variables to age twenty-five would be a more direct examination of the pre- and postseparation process.

For contact with mothers, only autonomous-relatedness made a significant contribution. In contrast, autonomous-relatedness and the gender \times autonomous-interaction were significant predictors of contact with fathers, accounting for approximately 38 percent of the variance. Follow-up analyses of the interaction indicated that the link between autonomous-relatedness and contact with fathers was stronger for males than for females.

An inspection of the scatter plot helps clarify the nature of the negative relationship between autonomous-relatedness in adolescent-parent interactions and frequency of contact with parents ten years later. Almost without exception, adolescents who displayed the lowest levels of autonomous-relatedness with mothers and fathers maintained very close contact with parents as young adults. In contrast, adolescents who displayed middle to high levels of

Table 3.3. Hierarchical Regression Analyses Predicting Frequency of Contact and Relationship Satisfaction

	Frequency of Contact		Relationship Satisfaction			
	Mother (N = 83)	Father (N = 51)	Mother (N = 83)	Father (N = 51)		
	β	R ²	β	R ²	β	R ²
Step 1						
Gender	-.08		-.06		.02	-.06
Psychological history	.04		-.02		.05	.00
Statistics for step		.03		.05		.01
Step 2						
Divorce history	-.04		-.19		-.25*	-.43**
Statistics for step		.05		.13+		.05
Step 3						
Autonomous-relatedness (16)	-.28*		-.45**		.11	.13
Statistics for step		.11+		.31**		.06
Step 4						
Autonomous-relatedness \times Gender	—		.27*		—	—
Total R ²		.11+		.38***		.06
						.20*

Note: Beta coefficients reported are those obtained from the final model.

+ $p < .1$

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

autonomous-relatedness appeared neither especially likely nor especially unlikely to maintain close contact with parents.

Regression analyses predicting satisfaction in adult child-parent relationships were similar for mothers and fathers (Table 3.3). In both cases, young adults reported less satisfaction with their relationships with both mothers and fathers if the family had experienced a divorce; only for fathers did autonomous-relatedness positively predict relationship satisfaction.

Discussion

The goals of this chapter have been first, to outline a theory of adolescent development emphasizing the stage-salient task of developing autonomy while maintaining close, affectionate attachments with parents, and second, to merge current findings with previous findings reported by Allen and colleagues,

which document concurrent and, more important, longitudinal results of the relative success or failure in developing autonomous-relatedness in parent-adolescent relationships.

Moderate associations between the quality of, or satisfaction with, parent-adult child relationships and several indices of young-adult adjustment were obtained. These findings are in general agreement with other studies that have examined the developmental significance of positive adult child-parent relationships (Rossi and Rossi, 1990; Selzer, 1994; Umberson, 1992). The finding that some adjustment measures were related to relationship satisfaction with mothers, whereas other measures were related to satisfaction with fathers or with both parents, requires further inquiry. The finding that mothers and fathers may play distinct roles in their children's development is consistent with reports regarding different indices of development both from this project and from other studies (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994; Phares and Compas, 1992).

Consistent with previous research (Aquilino, 1994; Cooney, 1994), a history of divorce in the family was found to be negatively related to relationship satisfaction in adult child-parent relationships. However, in contrast to other reports (Cooney, 1994), a history of divorce was not related to frequency of contact, nor did divorce status influence the relationship between frequency of contact and relationship satisfaction. As other researchers have suggested (Aquilino, 1994), this finding may be a continuation of the well-documented negative effects of divorce on parent-child relationships in adolescence (Hetherington and Clingempeel, 1992). It is significant to note that the negative effects of divorce on parent-child relationships continue into adulthood despite a major transformation in the nature of the parental relationship. In the current study, small sample sizes precluded tests of whether remarriage, the age of target children at the time of divorce (or remarriage), or the number of marital transitions would qualify this finding (Aquilino, 1994).

The novel finding in this study is that the failure to establish autonomy and relatedness in adolescence predicts difficulty separating from parents in young adulthood. Virtually all of the adolescents who displayed low levels of autonomous-relatedness with their parents tended to stay in close contact with them as young adults approximately ten years later. In contrast, adolescents who displayed middle to high levels of autonomous-relatedness did not show a restricted response to the stress associated with separation in young adulthood. That this finding is also reflected in parents' behavior toward the adolescents suggests that low autonomy and relatedness characterized these dyads rather than, or in addition to, the individuals. A focus on autonomy as a central dynamic underlying this process is also supported by the finding that adolescents who actively inhibit autonomy from mothers reported increased contact a decade later.

The findings reported in this chapter link to other findings from this longitudinal study in several ways. For example, adolescents who display low levels of autonomous-relatedness in adolescent-family interactions have been

previously reported to exhibit low levels of ego development and self-esteem and may be especially vulnerable to the negative impact of critical or autonomy-undermining interactions (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994). These adolescents withdraw from the task of establishing autonomy and relatedness with parents. In young adulthood, this withdrawal manifests in a tendency to maintain very close—but not necessarily affectionate—contacts with parents, perhaps a strategy to avoid the conflict or stress associated with separation. Similar developmental patterns have been reported by Frank, Avery and Laman (1988).

A high level of contact with parents in young adulthood is not necessarily believed to represent a developmental failure. Indeed, amount of contact was unrelated to several indices of adult adjustment. However, the uniformity with which adolescents low in autonomous-relatedness maintain close parental contacts, compared to the wide variability in contact frequency among young adults with moderate to high levels of autonomous-relatedness as adolescents, is striking in its apparent consistency. These individuals may illustrate one strategy for managing the stress associated with separation.

It is somewhat surprising that the quality of parent-adolescent relationships was more closely related to later contact than with later relationship satisfaction. These findings support Lawton and colleagues' suggestion that distance from, and by extension contact with, parents is more than a demographic variable. It may actually reflect underlying dynamic parent-child relational processes, especially regarding separation. In this vein, it is interesting to note that other patterns of leaving home and separating from parents have been described within this general framework. Aro and Palosari's report (1992) of marriage to an undesirable partner as a method for leaving home may be another dysfunctional strategy.

Several limitations of the present study should be noted. First, the influence of geographical distance between adult children and their parents on contact and satisfaction could not be directly examined. Although this could be considered a potentially important omission, other research suggests that geographical distance has a small but significant relationship with contact (Cooney, 1994). It may be an index, rather than a determinant, of relationship quality (Lawton, Silverstein, and Bengtson, 1994). Furthermore, it should be remembered that the current focus on contact and satisfaction in parent-adult child relationships should be complemented in future research with a broader index of relationship dynamics. Finally, although the correlations and beta weights of the hypothesized variables are significant at the $p < .05$ level, the overall regression model for satisfaction with mothers was nonsignificant, and the model predicting frequency of contact with mothers was significant only at the $p < .1$ level. In addition to requiring clarification in further research, these analyses and previous reports suggest that it is most likely that the processes hold for both mothers and fathers, but they may be slightly stronger for the fathers.

Despite these limitations, we believe there are several strengths in the design employed in these analyses as well as in other studies we have done. In

particular, a consistent pattern of findings linking observations of interactions in adolescence to self-reports and other reports of adjustment and developmental processes a decade later offers compelling evidence for the model.

Despite the heuristic appeal of transitions or stages of development in adulthood (Levinson, 1978), their significance past adolescence has received relatively little empirical attention. Even scarcer are data linking continuities of adaptation across developmental stages. In this chapter, we offer evidence suggesting that a developmental task of young adulthood, leaving home, is parallel to, and may evoke a model of adaptation that resembles, the manner in which an individual negotiated the task of developing autonomy while maintaining relatedness to parents in adolescence. We hope that these data spur additional efforts to connect patterns of adaptation across developmental transitions.

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