

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

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Abstract

Attachment to parents is an important and well-documented factor in the emotional development of children and adolescents, but the existing research has focused far more on biological than adopted children. To date, relatively little is known about the perceived and actual role of attachment with parents in the emotional and social development of adopted children. Even less is known about the role of attachment in the relationship of adoptees with their romantic partners. Based on a survey of 113 participants, this study assesses attachment in two samples of young adults – individuals reared by biological parents and those reared by adoptive parents.

The central question asked in the study is whether adopted children differ from biological children (who are surveyed as a comparison group) in terms of how securely attached they feel to their adoptive parents and to their romantic partners. Statistically significant differences emerged in five different areas between adoptees and non-adoptees.

Keywords: Adoption, attachment, romantic partners,

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Review of Literature

Risk and Resilience

About 2.5 percent of the children currently living in the United States, some 1.8 million individuals, have been adopted. 70.2 percent of them have been placed in a family structure that contains a married couple; 1.6 percent an unmarried couple; 22.7 percent a single female; and 5.5 percent a single male. 6 percent of adoptees were adopted between 0 and 2 years of age; 9 percent between ages 2 and 4; 30 percent between ages 4 and 9; and 55 percent above the age of 9. The racial/ethnic background of adoptees is 37 percent white, 23 percent African-American, 15 percent Asian, 25 percent Hispanic, and 9 percent in other categories. (ASPE.hhs.gov)

When compared to the alternatives – placement in an institution, foster care, or life in a household in which the biological parent (or parents) cannot (or will not) adequately address the child's material and emotional needs – adoption is widely regarded as a valuable and successful social policy. That said, concerns have been raised in American popular culture, among clinicians, and by empirical researchers about the emotional, behavioral and academic adjustment of adoptees.

Over the past fifty years, scores of studies have found significantly more pathological symptoms among adoptees than non-adoptees, many of them indicating, implicitly or explicitly, that the absence of blood relations has significantly impaired the adoptee (Wegar, 1995). Comprehensive reviews in the 1990s, for example, found that adoptees manifested more attachment-related problems, school-related behavioral issues, lower academic achievement, a greater likelihood to run away from home, and less desire

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to go to college than non-adoptees. Between 5 and 17 percent of adopted adolescents received counseling and/or spent time in mental health clinics and residential care facilities, about one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half times the rate for their non-adopted peers (Miller et al, 2000). The Department of Health and Human Services reports that 9 percent of adoptees and 4 percent of non-adoptees have been diagnosed with depression; 26 percent of adoptees and 10 percent of non-adoptees with Attention Deficit Disorder and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder; 15 percent of adoptees and 4 percent of non-adoptees with behavior and conduct problems; and 14 percent of adoptees and 9 percent of non-adoptees with social behavior problems (ASPE.hhs.gov)

Compared to non-adopted persons, adoptees also have higher rates of psychiatric disorders, including substance abuse. A study of 42,881 participants (381 of whom were adoptees) found that lifetime prevalence rates of illicit substance use disorder are about 43 percent higher among adoptees than non-adoptees: 41 percent for alcohol, compared to 27.5 percent among non-adoptees; 25.4 percent for adoptees in contrast to 16.1 percent for non-adoptees for nicotine. For illicit SUDs, the rate is 2.9 percent for opioid and 13.2 percent for cannabis for adoptees and 1.3 percent for opioids and 7.6 percent for cannabis for non-adoptees (Yoon, Westermeyer, Warwick & Kuskowski, 2012).

Noting that “there is clear evidence” (Feeney, 2004), that some adoptees feel rejected or abandoned by birth parents, a recent study concludes that adoptive status predicted perceived risk in intimacy and reports of family and social loneliness.

Adoptees scored higher than other groups on avoidance, anxiety and fear, key measures of adult attachment (Feeney, 2004).

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Within the last two decades, however, researchers and clinicians have moved away from an exclusive emphasis on risk factors and problematic differences between adoptees and non-adoptees. Researchers have pointed to the difficulty of drawing on random, representative samples of adopted children and families, given the absence of a national database of adoptions and the resulting reliance on relatively small groups of volunteers. When adoptees are compared to children in step-parent and single-parent families, one study concludes, for example, “adoption may not assume such an overshadowing influence over child developmental outcomes as previously thought” (Feigelman, 2002).

Many researchers now emphasize that the vast majority of adoptees are well within the normal range of behavioral and emotional adjustment. Utilizing data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (which has a data base of 90,000 respondents, more than 1500 of them adoptees), one study found the adaptations of adoptees to be “much like those of adolescents in intact bio-parent families, with little evidence of problem behaviors” (Feigelman, 2002).

In addition to methodological problems, researchers have also identified other explanations for the “problematic” behavior of adoptees. There is now considerable evidence, for example, that adoptees do not appear more frequently in therapeutic settings “purely because they are more troubled.” According to one researcher, parents of adoptees who have lower self-esteem or difficulty trusting others are often “expected to have more negative views about being adopted and to feel heightened distress over this aspect of their lives.” (Brodzinsky, 1993). Adoptive parents, perhaps because they are more well educated and have greater financial resources than non-adoptive parents,

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appear to exhibit a “referral bias”: they are more likely to seek psychological help, to do so more quickly and for less serious problems. Their willingness to use therapeutic resources, however, might well be “perceived as a strength rather than an adjustment deficit” (Feigelman, 2002). It is worth noting, moreover, that the expectations of adopted children among teachers, therapists, and others, and the social stigma attached to adoption in a society that typically defines kinship in genetic terms, may also result in more negative evaluations of their conduct (Borders, Black & Pasely, 1998).

There is mounting evidence of substantial variability in adoptees' patterns of adjustment. Studies have indicated as well that adoptees adjust better than children reared by biological parents who are ambivalent about caring for them or do not want them (Brodzinsky, 1993). For these reasons, researchers have supplemented the focus on pathology and attachment-related problems with an investigation of protective factors as well as risk factors. These protective factors include resilience, which is defined as a capacity to succeed despite adversity, through self-regulation, seeking out and accepting support, and persistence. Resilience can neutralize exposure to risk. Content or context specific, protective and risk factors for adoptees are also correlated with several variables, the most important of which are age at placement and pre-placement history; family structure; family dynamics; gender, nationality and race.

Attachment Theory:

Before turning to these variables and their influence on adoptees, let us first review the principal tenets of Ethological Attachment Theory. Attachment theory is one of the most studied features of psychology today. It is at the core of human bonding,

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and the aspect of life that often brings us the greatest value and the most meaning. Psychologist John Bowlby, "the father of attachment theory," devoted extensive research to the concept of attachment, describing it as a "lasting psychological connectedness between human beings" (Bowlby, 1969).

Bowlby believed that the earliest bonds formed by children with their caregivers have a tremendous impact that continues throughout life. He noted that, "just as animals of many species, including man, are disposed to respond with fear to sudden movement or a marked change in level of sound or light because to do so has a survival value, so are many species, including man, disposed to respond to separation from a potentially caregiving figure and for the same reasons." (Bowlby, 1988)

Drawing on ethological theory, Bowlby believed that attachment behaviors, such as crying and smiling, were adaptive responses to separation from a primary attachment figure--someone who provides support, protection, and care. According to Bowlby, a motivational system, what he called the attachment behavioral system, was gradually designed by natural selection to regulate proximity to an attachment figure. He argued that over the course of evolutionary history infants who were able to maintain proximity to an attachment figure through attachment behaviors would be more likely to survive to a reproductive age. He believed that "the propensity to make strong emotional bonds to particular individuals is a basic component of human nature" (Bowlby, 1988).

Bowlby's attachment theory had four primary components:

Safe Haven: When the child feels threatened or afraid, he or she can return to the caregiver for comfort and soothing.

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Secure Base: The caregiver provides a secure and dependable base for the child to explore the world.

Proximity Maintenance: The child strives to stay near the caregiver, thus keeping the child safe.

Separation Distress: When separated from the caregiver, the child becomes upset and distressed.

Bowlby's attachment theory was put to the test by Mary Ainsworth, a psychologist, who like many others, built on and extended Bowlby's work. Her Strange Situation study revealed the consequential effects of attachment on behavior. In the study, researchers observed children between the ages of 12 and 18 months as they responded to a situation in which they were briefly left alone and then reunited with their mothers (Ainsworth, 1978). Based upon the responses of the infants, Ainsworth described three major styles of attachment: secure attachment, insecure-avoidant attachment, and insecure-ambivalent attachment.

Ainsworth indicated that **securely attached** children exhibit distress when separated from attachment figures but are reassured when they return. These children know that the attachment giver will provide security, comfort and protection, especially in times of need. Securely attached infants are easily soothed by the attachment figure when upset. Infants develop a secure attachment when the caregiver is sensitive to their signals and responds appropriately to their needs (Ainsworth, 1979). These children use the attachment figure as a safe base to explore the environment and seek the attachment figure in times of distress (Main & Cassidy, 1988).

The second attachment style identified by Ainsworth was an **insecure-avoidant** attachment. These children do not seek contact with the attachment figure when

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distressed. When offered a choice, these children generally show no preference between a caregiver and a complete stranger. Such children are likely to have a caregiver who is insensitive and rejecting of their needs (Ainsworth, 1979).

The third attachment style identified by Ainsworth was an **insecure-ambivalent** attachment style. Here children adopt an ambivalent behavioral style towards the attachment figure. They will oftentimes exhibit clingy and dependent behavior, but will be rejecting of the attachment figure when they try to re-engage. Research suggests that ambivalent attachment is a result of poor maternal availability. These children cannot depend on their mother (or caregiver) to be there when they are in need (Ainsworth, 1979).

Later, researchers Main and Solomon (1986) added a fourth attachment style, associated with abuse or neglect, called disorganized-insecure attachment. Children with a disorganized-insecure attachment style, they indicated, show a lack of clear attachment behavior. Their actions and responses to caregivers are often a mix of behaviors, including avoidance or resistance.

According to John Bowlby, attachment is best understood as comprised of four distinct phases; Pre-attachment (Phase I) lasts from birth to approximately 8 weeks of age; Attachment- in-the-making (Phase II) manifests itself from 8 weeks- 6 months of age; Clear-cut Attachment (Phase III), which is the phase most relevant to this study, exists in individuals from 6-8 months of age to about 2 years; and Goal-Corrected Partnership (Phase IV) is in evidence from age 2 and thereafter (Bowlby, 1969).

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Much of the existing literature on the successful attachment of adoptees places a premium on the age at which an individual is adopted. A consensus does not exist, however, about the optimal age at adoption. A study from 2009, which included two series of meta-analyses, one using only observational assessments of attachment and one using both observational and self-report assessments, underscored the importance of earlier adoptions. Observational assessments showed that children who were adopted before 12 months of age were as securely attached as their non-adopted peers, whereas children adopted after 12 months showed less attachment security than non-adopted children (van den Dries, Juffer, Van Ijzendoorn & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2009).

Phase III, The Clear-Cut Attachment Phase, is the time in which young children clearly discriminate between people who provide primary care and others. As they begin to explore the world around them, they use the attached person as a secure base from which they move out to interact with people and things. The bonds between the primary caregiver and the child is strong, and it is hard for him or her to be separated from these attachment figures. Strangers produce more anxiety and concern for children during this phase as well.

Age at Placement and Pre-placement Experiences

Although observable behavioral differences between adoptees and non-adoptees rarely appear until children are five to seven years old, researchers agree that age at adoption is an important factor in the development of emotional regulation and social adaptation, in no small measure because many children have developed a close bond (i.e.,

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a secure attachment) with a caregiver during the first year of life (Zolkowski & Bullock, 2012). Children adopted within six months of birth tend to show normative patterns of attachment with their adopted parents, while those adopted at the age of six to twelve months can be at significantly greater risk of attachment problems (Singer, Brodzinsky, Ramsay, Steir & Waters, 1985).

A study conducted by Yarrow and three colleagues found that socio-emotional difficulties following separation from biological parents were common among adopted infants. More specifically, they found that all infants separated after 6-7 months of age showed evidence of social-emotional maladjustment (Yarrow, Goodwin, Manheimer & Milowe, 1973).

One study found more cognitive impairments at age six in children adopted between six and twenty-four months than those who had been adopted at a younger age (Van Ijzendoorn, Juffer & Poelhuis, 2005). A study of 85 children adopted at age three or older found higher rates of aggression and hyperactivity on the Achenbach Child Behavior Checklist, compared to national norms (Berry, 1992). Age at adoption appears to be irrelevant for the IQ scores of adoptees, but does appear to make a difference in terms of school achievement and language abilities. A larger proportion of children adopted after their first birthday lag behind in these areas. Thus early adoption appears to be a protective factor for cognitive performance, though apparently not for cognitive competence (Van Ijzendoorn et al, 2005).

Later age adoptions often imply longer periods of time spent in institutions or in adverse living conditions with biological parents. In addition to adoptees' genetic background, risk factors include psychiatric problems in the biological family, birth

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complications, exposure of the fetus to alcohol or drugs, malnutrition, discontinuities in care-giving, inadequate stimulation, poor medical care, neglect, or abuse. These factors, which appear to be even more pervasive for the children who experience multiple changes in care-giving environments and for internationally adopted children from poor and war-torn countries, can have long-term implications for emotional and social development (Habersaat, Tessier, Larose, Nadeau, Tarbulsy, Moss & Pierrehumbert, 2010).

Family Structures

The adjustment of adoptees depends on the structure and characteristics of their adoptive families – and on the perceptions of many adoptive parents that adoption presents unique issues and challenges that distinguish it from consanguineous families (Sobol, Delaney & Earn, 1994). As noted, roughly seven out of ten adopted children live in families with two married parents. Despite some conflicting findings about single mothers and gay and lesbian parents, and evidence of considerable variation among and within family types, empirical research tends to conclude that children in alternative family structures are at some disadvantage because parents confront stressors that decrease their capacity to provide important resources to their children. (Sobol et al, 1994).

More generally, adoptive parents tend to be older, better educated, more affluent, and more advanced in career and life stages than adults making the transition to biological parenthood (Ceballo, Lansford, Abbey & Stewart, 2004). These attributes often increase the levels in which they invest in their children. Adoptive parents tend to

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allocate more financial, cultural, social and interactional resources to their children than do parents in other family types. Two-parent adoptive families are much more likely than other family structures to make available more books for their children, provide home computers, send their children to private schools, read to them, eat meals with them, involve them in extracurricular activities, and attend religious services with them (Hamilton, Cheng & Powell, 2007). According to one researcher, compensation theory suggests that individuals who are not granted the title of parents through a biological connection, "may actually fulfill and even exceed the accompanying expectations better than those who have been accorded this title" (Hamilton et al, 2007).

Protective factors related to the familial characteristics of the adoptee also include the length of time in which the adoptive parents were married prior to their decision to adopt; the support of members of the extended family, especially of a live-in grandparent or grandparents; and, as indicated above, the age of the child at adoption. Also helpful is the preparation, often provided by adoption agencies, which includes information about the child's past history and current behavior, and behavior management training (Berry, 1992).

Risk factors related to familial characteristics include the residual emotional impact of infertility on adoptive parents; the absence of models for using adoption as a means of forging family ties; the uncertain time frame, in contrast to the traditional nine month pregnancy, between the decision to adopt and the arrival of the child in the household; lack of information or uncertainty about the adoptee's genetic or prenatal history; anxiety about scrutiny by social workers and other adoption agency personnel and a decision by the adoptee to seek out and/or return to his or her biological parents;

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and a reluctance, born perhaps of the social stigma attached to adoption, to talk regularly with the parents of other children (Brodzinsky, 1990).

About 38% of adopted children have no adopted or biological siblings in the household. Research on the role of siblings on adjustment, however, has yielded no consistent pattern. Some studies report that the presence of a biological child in the family, whether or not his or her birth predates the adoption, has no discernible impact on the behavior of the adoptee. Other studies have found greater psychological vulnerability in a household that includes a biological child, especially when he or she is born following the adoption. Studies of the impact on adjustment of the ordinal position of adopted children (i.e., first-place or later-placed in the family) have also been inconclusive (Brodzinsky, 1993).

Family Dynamics

Researchers agree that family dynamics – and communication patterns – are linked to the adjustment of adoptees. An “authoritative” parenting style has been associated for decades with the development of positive self-esteem, self-confidence, self-regulation and social competence in all children. Authoritative parents tend to be responsive, warm and loving, firm, rational and consistent, without being overbearing or unreasonably controlling (Zolkoski & Bullock, 2012). Maternal expressions of positive emotion appear to play a key role (Eisenberg, Valiente, Morris, Fabes, 2003), as do the temperamental characteristic of resilient children whose will to succeed and willingness to seek out and accept assistance provoke supportive responses from family members (Zolkowski & Bullock, 2012).

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The ability of adoptees to express their feelings about adoption – and for their parents to be empathetically sensitive to those feelings – is especially important.

Children who have more information about and contact with birth family members and children who experience more open communication about adoption with their families display fewer behavioral problems. Although there is universal agreement that children should be told they have been adopted, some researchers point out that until age six most children cannot understand the difference between pregnancy and adoption as paths to parenthood. They raise some concern that “early telling” might promote confusion on the part of children or a false sense of security on the part of parents (Brodzinsky, 1993).

Some research suggests that family process variables, including parent-child communication patterns, the modes in which parents manage conflict and discipline their children, and the quality of parental emotional attunement “are more important for children’s long term adjustment than the type of family in which the child is raised.” (Brodzinsky, 1993).

If the adoptive family has developed successful intra-familial and inter-familial communication skills, dealt openly with issues related to identity, and acknowledged differences as well as shared traits between the child and his or her parents, the adoptees are more likely to be close with family members when they reach adolescence and young adulthood. In fact, with greater closeness, the perceived acknowledgment of differences decreases. Adoptees do not see themselves as particularly different from their adoptive parents, tend not to recall greater distance from parents during adolescence, but remain willing to acknowledge and discuss their adoption (Sobol et al, 1994).

Gender, Race, and Nationality

The gender distribution of adopted children varies substantially by adoption type. About one third of children adopted internationally are male, while males comprise a majority of adoptees from foster care (57%) and through private domestic adoption (51%). Among international adoptees only 19% of Asian children are male, a result of the large number of Chinese available for adoption. (ASPE.hhs.gov)

Although few gender differences have been found related to identity formation in areas involving religion, and politics, gender does appear to play a role in adjustment to adoption. Adopted females tend to struggle with identity development in sex roles and interpersonal relationships, while males focus on aspects of identity related to school and work. And girls appear to establish a more stable identity than boys (Grotevant, 2000).

Studies offer an array of findings regarding the impact of gender differences on many other areas related to adjustment. Whether they are adopted or not adopted, males tend to manifest more psychological, behavioral, and academic problems than females. Adopted males, for example, are more than twice as likely as those in intact biological families to have been expelled from school. Adopted females, by contrast, are found to be less likely to be expelled compared to females in intact biological families (Feigelman, 2002). Examining another area, a study found that male adoptees rated their families as more adaptive and cohesive than did male non-adoptees. (Sobol et al, 1993)

The racial distribution of adoptees also varies by type of adoption. Children adopted from foster care are 37% white, 35% black, 16% Hispanic, and 12% "other"; individuals adopted internationally are 19% white, 17% Hispanic, 59% Asian and 3% black; children adopted privately from the United States are 50% white, 25% black, 13%

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Hispanic, and 12% “other.” The racial and ethnic distribution of parents differs markedly from that of adopted children. While a majority of adopted children are not white, 73% of adoptive parents are white (ASPE.hhs.gov).

Most studies have demonstrated that transracial adoption in and of itself does not expose children to greater risks for emotional and behavioral problems – and helps reverse the impact of deprivation (Berry, 1992). The rate of individuals with significant adjustment problems seems to be comparable to same-race adopted and non-adopted children. There does not appear to be a difference between transracial adoptees and other children in terms of self-esteem and social adjustment. Problematic behavior is more often associated with factors such as age at adoption and adverse pre-adoption experiences (Lee, 2003).

The principal challenge for transracial adoptees appears to be the development of a racial identity. Transracial adoptees sometimes feel they have to choose between the racial identity of their biological and adoptive parents. Nearly half of adoptive parents emphasize biculturalism during early childhood, but adoptive parents often deemphasize race and express ambivalence about African-American culture when their children are adolescents. Perhaps for this reason, there is some evidence that transracial adoptees have conflicting emotions about race and exhibit a greater awareness of prejudice and discrimination than African-American non-adoptees. (Lee, 2003)

Although the circumstances of transnational adoptees often improve dramatically following placement and the majority of them adjust quite well to their new circumstances, the adjustment is often complicated by deficiencies in the pre-adopted environment, including malnutrition and poor medical care. Following placement, they

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must cope with attrition in their first language, a desire to fit in while their English is rudimentary, and little or no knowledge of or possibility of contact with their birth parents (Gindis, 2005). More than for any other group, transnational adoptees show a significant difference in behavioral problems between individuals adopted before six months and after twenty-four months (Habersaat, Tessier & Pierrehumbert, 2011).

Like transracial adoptees, children adopted transnationally (who now comprise about 25 percent of all adoptions in the United States) also encounter challenges to their emerging identities (ASPE.hhs.gov). They too, may align themselves to ethnic or racial groups to which their adoptive parents may or may not belong.

Attachment of Adoptees to Romantic Partners

More than two decades ago, two researchers elaborated on Bowlby's claim that much like infants and caregivers adult romantic partners tend to feel safe when the other is nearby and responsive, and insecure when the other is unavailable or inaccessible. They emphasized that romantic relationships are attachment relationships; are subject to the attachment behavioral and motivational systems; and that the individuals in these relationships tend to act in accordance with their experiences with their primary caregivers (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

The role of adoption in attachment to romantic partners, however, has only recently begun to be empirically assessed. Despite a lack of consensus about the general adjustment patterns of adoptees (compared to non-adoptees), some studies have found adoptees to be at somewhat greater risk of interpersonal (i.e., relational) problems. Associated at times with a feeling of "not belonging," adoption has been linked with

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perceptions that the individual is unworthy of love and attention, and that romantic partners will therefore be unavailable, uncaring or rejecting (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). One short-term longitudinal study found a correlation between adoption and relationship difficulties in adult life, but only with individuals who exhibited negative working models of attachment (Brennan & Shaver 1995). The findings support a view that the adoption – and attachment – experience is a lifelong process (Borders, Black & Pasley, 1998).

Goals of the present study

More than twenty years ago, David Brodzinsky expressed surprise at the absence of the voices of adoptees in studies of their adjustment. Researchers should listen closely to adoptees, he wrote, “to hear their hopes and desires, their gratitude and resentments, their joys and their sorrows. Only by moving away from preconceived notions about adoption and entering the inner world of the adoptees can researchers ever hope to understand their experience and be helpful to them when needed” (Brodzinsky, 1993).

Studies of adoptees' and non-adoptees perceptions present challenges for empirical researchers. By definition subjective, they are also difficult to quantify and generalize about. Furthermore, they present a snapshot taken at a particular moment (Sobol et al, 1994).

Motivated by the absence of empirical studies that actually document attachment problems among adoptees, the present study begins with a survey and comparison of the perceptions of adoptees and non-adoptees about their attachments to members of their families and romantic partners. It then seeks to investigate associations between these

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perceptions and the variables most often associated with successful adjustment of adoptees. Variables measured in this study include age at adoption, gender, sexual orientation, income, race, and ethnicity. The principal goal of the study is to discern whether there are differences between adoptees and non-adoptees with respect to the quality of attachment to family members and romantic partners and in the relative weight of these variables (i.e., adopted vs., not adopted) in explaining those attachment differences.

Research Questions

Until now, relatively few empirical studies have measured the emotional connection (e.g. values, support, and trust) adopted children feel for their adoptive parents and what impact that connection has on their development. Studies have shown the positive impact associated with strong emotional connectedness between children and their parents within the context of a biological dynamic; this impact, tied specifically to a measurement of anxious and avoidant attachment has yet to be thoroughly studied with adopted children.

In this study the investigator assesses the current connection between adopted children and their adoptive parents and romantic partners.

Does being adopted negatively impact attachment to the primary caregiver (the adoptive mother), especially among individuals adopted after the age of 1?

Will adoption before the age of 1 positively affect attachment to romantic partners? Does a disrupted Phase III increase the likelihood of anxious and avoidant

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adult attachments with romantic partners as well as primary caregivers? Do individuals adopted after age 1 have more anxious and avoidant attachments with romantic partners?

Method

Participants:

157 participants were recruited using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. Of the 157 individuals who filled out the questionnaires, 52 stated that they were adopted and 105 stated they were not adopted. Of the 157 individuals who responded, 113 completed the questionnaires; 47 of them were adopted and 66 were not adopted.

Of the respondents who completed the questionnaire, 59 were male and 53 were female and 1 did individual did not complete a response. The respondents ranged in age from 20 to 64 with a mean age of 33.8 and a standard deviation of 11.10.

Of the 47 adopted respondents who completed the questionnaire, 34 were adopted between the age of 0-1, 10 between the age of 1-2, and 13 at age 2 or more. Of the total number of respondents who completed the questionnaire, 47 were adoptees and 66 were not adopted. 76 were white; 6 were black; 7 were Native American; 20 were Asian; 1 was Pacific Islander; and 3 identified themselves as "other."

The breakdown of sexual orientation for the entire sample was as follows: 77% of respondents consider themselves to be exclusively heterosexual. 8% consider themselves to be mostly heterosexual. 5.3% consider themselves to be bisexual, leaning heterosexual. 3.5% consider themselves bisexual, or equally attracted to the opposite and same sex. 2.7% consider themselves to be bisexual, leaning gay/lesbian. .9% consider themselves to

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be mostly gay/lesbian or mostly sexually attracted to the same sex and occasionally attracted to the opposite sex. 2.7% consider themselves to be exclusively gay/lesbian.

Apparatus and materials:

To measure attachment among adoptees and non-adoptees to their parents and to their romantic partners, a survey was created in Qualtrics and administered to group of adoptees and non-adoptees using Amazon's Mechanical Turk survey tool.

Study 1

The study involved asking respondents to complete anonymous questionnaires about their relationships with your parents. If they were adopted and 18 years of age or older, they were eligible to participate. The study took about 25 – 35 minutes to complete. Upon completion of the survey, individuals were told they would receive \$1 through the Mechanical Turk site.

Study 2

The study involved asking respondents to complete anonymous questionnaires about their relationships with their parents. If they were 18 years of age or older, they were eligible to participate. The study took about 25 – 35 minutes to complete.

Instruments and Instructions:

Recruitment occurred through Amazon's Mechanical Turk, where non-adopted

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and adopted individuals read a brief message asking if they would like to participate in the study.

Participants were informed that the questionnaire was part of a research project. They were also assured of anonymity and that all personal identifiers would be removed when the study was disseminated. The questionnaire and the study as a whole were scrutinized by Cornell University's IRB. The Board determined that the study would not impose any physical or emotional harm on the participants.

An anonymous self-report measured respondents' perception of affective quality of the relationship, parental facilitation of independence, and parents as a source of support. The Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ; Kenny, 1987) is a 55 item self-report questionnaire designed to assess young adults' and older adolescents' perceptions of their relationship with parents. The scale has demonstrated high levels of consistency, evidenced by Chronbachs Alpha of .96 (Kenny, 1990).

The Parental Attachment Questionnaire was designed to assess the following: perceived parental availability, understanding, acceptance, respect, and facilitation of autonomy; adult children's interest in interaction with their parents and their affect toward parents during visits; adult child help-seeking behavior in situations of stress; and their satisfaction with help obtained from parents. Participants were asked to answer each of the 55 items on a 5-point Likert scale with the response that best describes their relationship and experiences with their primary parent(s): (1) not at all, (2) somewhat, (3) a moderate amount, (4) quite a bit, (5) very much (Kenny, 1987). Each participant was asked to provide a single rating to describe his or her parents, and his or her relationship with them. If only one parent was living, or if a participant's parents were divorced, each

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participant was asked to respond with reference to the living parent or the parent with whom the participant felt closest. See Appendix A for PAQ questionnaire.

The survey also included questions from the Experiences in Close Relationships - Relationship Structures Questionnaire (ECR-RS) (Fraley et al, 2011) to measure current romantic relationships. Once again, both groups were asked to answer the same set of questions. The test-retest reliability (over 30 days) of the individual scales are approximately .65 for the domain of romantic relationships (including individuals who experienced breakups during the 30-day period) and .80 in the parental domain (Fraley et al, 2011).

See Appendix B for the ECR-RS Questionnaire.

Lastly, additional questions were added to gather demographic data (gender, household income, race, sexual orientation) about the respondents.

Data extraction and analytic procedure

Once the survey was complete, the investigator used SPSS to analyze the responses and complete the statistical analysis.

Results

Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ)

In order to test the hypothesis that adopted children will have a different pattern of parental attachment than non-adopted children, the investigator analyzed the differences in the scores of the Parental Attachment Questionnaire (see Appendix A for the scale items and scoring method). This scale measures attachment to a parental figure by

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providing an overall score of parental attachment (PAQ-AVG), as well as three subscales measuring features of an individual's relationship with their parents 1) the affective quality of relationships (PAQ-AQR), 2) parents as facilitators of independence (PFI), and 3) parents as source of support (PAQ-PSS).

Overall differences between the adopted and non-adopted participants emerged such that adopted children reported lower scores on the PAQ facilitation of independence subscale (PFI), ($M = 42.06$, $SD = 10.09$) than did non-adopted children ($M = 46.15$, $SD = 10.91$), $t(110) = 2.02$, $p = .046$, and marginally lower overall scores on the (PAQ_AQR) ($M = 73.79$, $SD = 18.87$) than did non-adopted children ($M = 78.97$, $SD = 19.95$), $t(108) = 1.38$, $p = .17$.

Table 1 shows a side by side comparison of the means and standard deviations for the PAQ. The asterisk highlights findings that were statistically significant.

Adopted vs., Non-Adopted (PAQ)

Table 1

	Adopted (n = 47)		Not Adopted (n = 66)	
	M	SD	M	SD
PAQ_AQR	73.79	18.87	78.97	19.95
PAQ_PFI	42.06	10.09	46.15	10.91
PAQ_PSS	33.96	9.72	33.89	10.49
PAQ_Total	150.41	36.19	158.97	39.00

Relationship Structures (ECR-RS)

In order to test the hypothesis that differences would also emerge in the quality of other close relationships, the investigator analyzed participants' scores on the Experiences in Close Relationship Structure Questionnaire (ECR; Fraley et al, 2011). See Appendix 1 for the scale items and scoring method. The ECR assesses the quality of three

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relationships (father, mother, and partner), as well as providing an overall score for the quality of relationships across the three. In addition, the ECR provides a score on two separate dimensions of attachment: avoidance and anxiety.

Overall differences between the adopted and non-adopted participants emerged such that adopted children were significantly more likely to report anxious attachment to their mother ($M=22.13$, $SD=1.86$) than non-adopted children, ($M=21.36$, $SD=1.59$) $t(111)=2.35$, $p=.021$.

In addition, scores between the adopted and non-adopted participants revealed that adoptees were more likely to have an avoidant attachment to their romantic partners compared to their non-adopted counterparts. (ECRP Avoid) ($M=21.73$, $SD=1.21$) Non-adopted children :($M=21.22$, $SD=1.19$) $t(110)=2.24$, $p=.027$

As well, scores between the adopted and non-adopted participants revealed that adoptees were more likely to have an anxious attachment to their romantic partners compared to their non-adopted counterparts. (ECRP Anxious) ($M=22.46$, $SD=1.80$) Non-adopted children, ($M=21.54$, $SD=1.82$) $t(111)=2.67$, $p=.009$

Lastly, scores between the adopted and non-adopted participants revealed that adoptees were more likely to have anxious attachments to their romantic partners on the general or global scale compared to their non-adopted counterparts. (ECRG) ($M=21.22$, $SD=1.50$) Non-adopted children, ($M=21.50$, $SD=1.24$) $t(111)=2.79$, $p=.006$

Table 2 shows a side by side comparison of the means and standard deviations for the ECR-RS. The asterisk highlights what was found to be statistically significant.

Adopted vs., Non-Adopted (ECR-RS)

Table 2

Adopted (n=47)		Not Adopted (n = 66)	
M	SD	M	SD

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Average Avoidance Mom	22.26	1.57	22.36	1.76
Average Anxiety Mom	22.13	1.86	21.36	1.59
Average Avoidance Dad	22.58	1.57	22.88	1.71
Average Anxiety Dad	22.08	1.61	21.60	1.56
Average Avoidance Partner	21.73	1.21	21.22	1.19
Average Anxiety Partner	22.46	1.80	21.50	1.82
Average Avoidance Global	22.19	1.13	22.15	1.11
Average Anxiety Global	22	1.50	21.50	1.24

Does age at adoption affect attachment style?

Researchers agree that age at adoption is an important factor in the development of emotional regulation and social adaptation, largely because resilient children have often developed a close bond (i.e., a secure attachment) with a caregiver during the first year of life (Zolkowski & Bullock, 2012). Children adopted within six months of birth tend to show normative patterns of attachment with their adopted parents, while those adopted at the age of six to twelve months or later are at significantly greater risk of attachment problems (Singer et al, 1985).

To test whether age at adoption would influence attachment scores the investigator compared whether individuals adopted between the ages of 0-1 vs., 1-2 showed any appreciable differences. See chart below for results:

Attachment Variables by Age of Adoption (ECR-RS)

Table 3

	Under 1 Year (n = 34)		Older than 1 Year (n = 23)	
	M	SD	M	SD
Average Avoidance Mom	22.33	1.72	22.16	1.38
Average Anxiety Mom	21.96	1.86	22.28	1.75
Average Avoidance Dad	22.45	1.55	22.75	1.5

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Average Anxiety Dad	21.82	1.61	22.3	1.6
Average Avoidance Partner	21.5	1.1	22	1.31
Average Anxiety Partner	22.22	1.88	22.67	1.79
Average Avoidance Global	22.1	1.17	22.29	1.14
Average Anxiety Global	22	1.48	22.42	1.46

The chart points out the small separations in the mean values for virtually all of these measures when compared to their respective standard deviations. For example: The largest separation between means exists for “average anxiety partner”, which is 0.45; this is a substantial fraction of the standard deviation of the two mean values, however, when subjected to a t-test, there is no statistical significance. (ECR AVG ANXIETY PARTNER) Adopted between 0-1 years: ($M=21.2$, $SD=1.88$) Adopted 1-2 years: ($M=22.67$, $SD=1.79$) $t(55)=0.907$, $p=.368$. See table below for a comparison of means and standard deviations.

Attachment Variables by Age of Adoption (PAQ)

Table 4

	Under 1 Year (n = 34)		Older than 1 Year (n = 23)	
	M	SD	M	SD
PAQ_AQR	75.71	22.04	74.17	14.71
PAQ_PFI	42.97	11.44	42.3	7.53
PAQ_PSS	35.09	10.95	34.77	8.37
PAQ_Total	153.76	42.76	152.55	26.38

Much like the Relationship Structures chart, the PAQ chart displays the small separations in the mean values for virtually all of these measures when compared to their respective standard deviations. For example: The largest separation between means exists for “Affective Quality of Relationship”, which is 1.54; this is a substantial fraction of the standard deviation of the two mean values, however, when subjected to a t-test, there is no statistical significance. (PAQ AQR) Adopted between 0-1 years: ($M=75.71$,

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$SD=22.04$) Adopted 1-2 years: ($M=74.17$, $SD=14.71$) $t(55)=2.92$, $p=.771$. The other attempts to see statistical significances are even less convincing.

Discussion

This study used attachment theory as a framework to examine the emotional connection between adoptees (and a comparison group of non-adoptees) with their parents and romantic partners. The results confirm the implicit or explicit assumptions of many researchers cited in the introduction of the present study: anxious and avoidant attachment (the two key measures of adult attachment) toward mothers is more prevalent among adoptees than non-adoptees. Responses to the Parental Attachment Questionnaire showed adoptees with higher scores on all three subscales measuring attachment features to mothers.

No statistically significant differences were found between adoptees and non-adoptees with respect to attachment to fathers. This finding may be due to the likelihood that attachment to fathers tends to occur during the toddler years, in response to fathers' interactive play behavior (Grossmann, Grossmann, Fremmer-Bombik, Kindler, Scheuerer-Englisch, Zimmerman, 2002). For this reason, attachment to fathers may not differ substantially among adoptees and non-adoptees.

The results of the first part of the study suggest that attachment problems often manifest themselves in negative perceptions of self-worth and responsiveness from others that persist into and beyond the teen years and young adulthood. Researchers, it is important to note, do not agree about the causes of attachment problems. Following Bowlby and psychoanalytic theorists, some researchers argue that separating infants from birth mothers results in lasting feelings of abandonment and rejection (Verrier, 1993).

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And there is evidence that some adoptees feel abandoned by birth parents (Jones, 1997). Others suggest that attachment problems related to adoption, to some extent, are socially constructed and connected to the positive value attributed to kinship and maternal instinct. At times, adoptees tend to attribute their own relationship problems to their own adoptive status (Leon, 2002).

The results of the second part of the study confirm that anxious and avoidant attachments to romantic partners are more prevalent among adoptees than non-adoptees. Responses to the Relationship Structures Questionnaire showed adoptees with higher scores on avoidant attachment, anxious attachment, and general or global attachment.

For both attachment to primary caregivers and romantic partners the study found no statistically significant correlation between age at adoption and attachment security. See tables 3 and 4 in the Results section. This finding, however, does not prove that age at placement is not a significant factor in attachment. Such a conclusion awaits measurement of age at placement acting in relationship to other variables, including parental motives for adoption; pre-adoption bonds – or lack of bonds - with a caregiver; and the presence of other children in the family.

Practical Implications

Four main findings emerged from the ECR-RS portion of the survey. 1. Differences between the adopted and non-adopted participants show that adopted children were significantly more likely to report anxious attachment to their mother than non-adoptees. 2. Scores between the adopted and non-adopted participants show that

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adoptees were more likely to have an avoidant attachment to their romantic partners compared to their non-adopted counterparts. 3. Scores between the adopted and non-adopted participants revealed that adoptees were more likely to have an anxious attachment to their romantic partners compared to their non-adopted counterparts. 4. Scores between the adopted and non-adopted participants show that adoptees were more likely to have anxious attachments to their romantic partners on the general or global scale compared to their non-adopted counterparts.

In addition, one difference emerged on the PAQ portion of the survey. Adopted children reported lower scores on the PAQ facilitation of independence subscale (PFI), than did non-adopted children and marginally lower overall scores on the (PAQ_AQR) than did non-adopted children.

These findings may have practical implications for adoptees and their parents and romantic partners. Awareness of the somewhat greater risks adoptees face when forming attachments could be the basis of productive conversations with them. While further study is needed to establish an optimum age at which parents should begin to discuss attachment with their adopted children, exchanges about feelings of rejection and cultural beliefs about adoption might help reduce the impact of anxious and avoidant perceptions and behaviors. Similarly, the findings about romantic partners may provide a point of entry for discussions about relationships. Therapists may also benefit from the present study, especially the less well-known finding about adoptee attachment to romantic partners.

Limitations of the Present Study

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While Amazon's Mechanical Turk instrument provides researchers with the ability to reach large sample sets, the reliability of self-reported information, including, in fact, whether or not the individual was indeed adopted, cannot be verified.

The small sample size of adoptees also precluded an investigation of the role of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and income in attachment to parents and romantic partners.

The Parental Attachment Questionnaire and the Relationship Structures Questionnaire provide a snap shot of the perceptions of each respondent. Unlike longitudinal studies, they cannot capture change over time and the possibility of evolving and fluid attachment attitudes and behaviors.

Suggestions for Further Research

Although a recent study found no statistically significant association between gender and relationship outcomes (Feeney, 2007), researchers might continue to investigate whether female and male adoptees exhibit the same levels of global attachment anxieties. And whether females exhibit the same avoidant and anxious attachment patterns to their adoptive mothers, fathers, and romantic partners as males.

Finally, despite the statistical significance of the correlation between adoption and anxious and avoidant attachment, other factors, including bonding with and positive emotion exhibited by adoptive parents, interactions with peers, and the resilience of the adoptee, can influence feelings of attachment security. Designing a study to gauge the relative weight of these factors poses a difficult challenge to researchers, but it might be well worth the effort.

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Appendix A

**Scoring Instructions (3/94) for the Parental Attachment Questionnaire
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Recode the following questions [(1=5), (2=4), (4=2), (5=1)] where the first number is the respondent's answer, and the second number is the value to which it should be recoded. Questions to be recoded:

3	20	29	41
6	22	31	43
10	23	33	47
11	25	34	52
14	26	35	53
16	18	27	38
55			

Scale 1: Affective Quality of Relationships

1	26	35	52
2	28	36	53
4	29	37	55
14	30	38	
16	31	40	
20	32	41	
21	33	42	
22	34	43	

Scale 2: Parents as Facilitators of Independence

5	15
6	17

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8	18
9	23
10	24
11	25
13	27

Scale 3: Parents as Source of Support

3	44	50
7	46	51
12	47	54
19	48	
39	49	

Appendix A1

ECR-RS Coding

Relationship-specific attachment

Two scores, one for attachment-related avoidance and the other for attachment-related anxiety, should be computed for each interpersonal target (i.e., mother, father, partner, friend). The avoidance score can be computed by averaging items 1 - 6, while reverse keying items 1, 2, 3, and 4. The anxiety score can be computed by averaging items 7 - 9. These two scores should be computed *separately* for each relationship target.

General or global attachment

To create relationship-general or global attachment scores, simply average the scores computed above across domains. The global avoidance score would be the mean of avoidance with mother, avoidance with father, avoidance with partner, and avoidance with friend. Similarly, the global anxiety score would be the mean of anxiety with mother, anxiety with father, anxiety with partner and anxiety with friend. This particular method, however, weights each relationship domain equally. This may or may not be advisable, depending on your interests. An alternative is to administer the 9 RS items separately with the instruction for people to rate them with respect to "important people in their lives," leaving the target purposely vague.

Please answer the following questions about your mother or a mother-like figure

1. It helps to turn to this person in times of need.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
2. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
3. I talk things over with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
4. I find it easy to depend on this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
5. I don't feel comfortable opening up to this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
6. I prefer not to show this person how I feel deep down.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
7. I often worry that this person doesn't really care for me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree
8. I'm afraid that this person may abandon me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

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9. I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

Please answer the following questions about your father or a father-like figure

1. It helps to turn to this person in times of need.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

2. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

3. I talk things over with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

4. I find it easy to depend on this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

5. I don't feel comfortable opening up to this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

6. I prefer not to show this person how I feel deep down.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

7. I often worry that this person doesn't really care for me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

8. I'm afraid that this person may abandon me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

9. I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

Please answer the following questions about your dating or marital partner.

Note: If you are not currently in a dating or marital relationship with someone, answer these questions with respect to a former partner or a relationship that you would like to have with someone.

1. It helps to turn to this person in times of need.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

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2. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

3. I talk things over with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

4. I find it easy to depend on this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

5. I don't feel comfortable opening up to this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

6. I prefer not to show this person how I feel deep down.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

7. I often worry that this person doesn't really care for me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

8. I'm afraid that this person may abandon me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

9. I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

Please answer the following questions about your best friend

1. It helps to turn to this person in times of need.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

2. I usually discuss my problems and concerns with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

3. I talk things over with this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

4. I find it easy to depend on this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

5. I don't feel comfortable opening up to this person.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

6. I prefer not to show this person how I feel deep down.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

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7. I often worry that this person doesn't really care for me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

8. I'm afraid that this person may abandon me.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

9. I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her.
strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 strongly agree

Appendix B

Questionnaire Sent to Biological Participants

Biological Survey

Consent

You are invited to participate in an online questionnaire session that will last approximately 30 minutes. It is important that you read this form and email the experimenter with any questions before you begin the questionnaire. What this study is about: The purpose of this survey is to find out more about how close you are to your parents. You will be asked a series of questions to gain a better understanding of how similar and different you are with your parents, and how connected or disconnected you are with them. What we will ask you to do: If you decide to participate in this session, you will be asked to answer a series of questions. Please note that some questions are of a sensitive nature, but this information will allow us to more fully understand the dynamics of child-parent relationships. Participation in all experiments is completely voluntary; participating in this session does not commit you to any further participation. Risks and benefits: I do not anticipate that participating in this session will pose any risks to you, other than those encountered in everyday life. There may be no direct benefit to you as a result of your participation in this study, other than compensation; however, your participation will contribute to our knowledge about the formation of child -parent attachment, and you will have an opportunity to learn about the research process. Compensation: You have the option of receiving \$1.00 in completion for the questionnaire. Your answers will be confidential: The records of this study will be kept private and confidential. I am not asking any questions which could identify who you are. Statement of Consent: I have read and understood the above information, and I have received answers to any questions I asked. I understand that I am consenting to participate in this session; selecting yes below the survey will constitute my electronic signature.

Yes (4)

No (5)

Gender Gender

Male (1)

Female (2)

Other (3)

Age How old are you? (in years)

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Race Please choose one or more races that you identify with.

- Black or African American (1)
- American Indian or Alaska Native (2)
- Asian (3)
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (4)
- White (5)
- Other (6)

Income What is your total annual household income

- Less than \$10,000 (1)
- \$10,000 - \$19,999 (2)
- \$20,000 - \$29,999 (3)
- \$30,000 - \$39,999 (4)
- \$40,000 - \$49,999 (5)
- \$50,000 - \$59,999 (6)
- \$60,000 - \$69,999 (7)
- \$70,000 - \$79,999 (8)
- \$80,000 - \$89,999 (9)
- \$90,000 - \$99,999 (10)
- \$100,000 - \$149,999 (11)
- \$150,000 or more (12)

Relatstat What is your current RELATIONSHIP STATUS?

- Not dating, seeing, or hooking up with anyone (1)
- Casually dating, seeing, or hooking up with one or more people (2)
- In a committed romantic relationship lasting less than 6 months (3)
- In a committed romantic relationship lasting 6 months or more (including marriage and marriage-like relationships) (4)
- Other (please specify): (5) _____

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

SexOrient Please choose the ONE that most accurately reflects your current understanding of your SEXUAL ORIENTATION.

- Exclusively Heterosexual/Straight, only sexually attracted to the opposite sex (1)
- Mostly Heterosexual/Straight, mostly sexually attracted to the opposite sex and occasionally attracted to the same sex (2)
- Bisexual Leaning Heterosexual/Straight, primarily sexually attracted to the opposite sex and definitely attracted to the same sex (3)
- Bisexual, more or less equally sexually attracted to the opposite and same sex (4)
- Bisexual Leaning Gay/Lesbian, primarily sexually attracted to the same sex and definitely attracted to the opposite sex (5)
- Mostly Gay/Lesbian, mostly sexually attracted to the same sex and occasionally attracted to the opposite sex (6)
- Exclusively Gay/Lesbian, only sexually attracted to the same sex (7)
- Asexual, no sexual arousal to same or opposite sex (8)

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

<p>that this person may abandon me. (8)</p> <p>I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her. (9)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

<p>that this person may abandon me. (8)</p> <p>I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her. (9)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL1 In general, my parents...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
are persons I can count on to provide emotional support when I feel troubled. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are persons I can count on to provide emotional support when I feel troubled. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
support my goals and interests. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
live in a different world. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
understand my problems and concerns. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
respect my privacy. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
restrict my freedom or independence. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL2 In general, my parents...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
are available to give me advice or guidance when I want it. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
take my opinions seriously. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
encourage me to make my own decisions. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are critical of what I do. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
impose their ideas and values on me. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
have given me as much attention as I have wanted. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL3 In general, my parents...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (65-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
have no idea what I am feeling or thinking. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
have provided me with the freedom to experiment and learn things on my own. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are too busy or otherwise involved to help me. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
have trust and confidence in me. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
try to control my life. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
protect me from danger and difficulty. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ignore what I have to say. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are sensitive to my feelings and needs (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
give me advice whether or not I want it. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
respect my judgment and decisions, even if	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

different from what they would want. (10)					
do things for me, which I could do for myself. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are persons whose expectations I feel obligated to meet. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
treat me like a younger child. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL4 During recent visits or time spent together, my parents were persons. . .

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
with whom I argued. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with whom I felt relaxed and comfortable. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who made me angry. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to be with all the time. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
towards whom I felt cool and distant. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who got on my nerves. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who aroused feelings of guilt and anxiety. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I enjoyed telling about the things I have done and learned. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
for whom I felt a feeling of love. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to ignore. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I confided my most personal thoughts and feelings. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

whose company I enjoyed. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid telling my experiences about. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with warm and positive feelings. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
feeling let down and disappointed by my family. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL5 During recent visits or time spent together, my parents were persons. . .

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
with whom I argued. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with whom I felt relaxed and comfortable. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who made me angry. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to be with all the time. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
towards whom I felt cool and distant. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who got on my nerves. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who aroused feelings of guilt and anxiety. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I enjoyed telling about the things I have done and learned. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
for whom I felt a feeling of love. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to ignore. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I confided my most personal thoughts and feelings. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

whose company I enjoyed. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid telling my experiences about. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with warm and positive feelings. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
feeling let down and disappointed by my family. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PRL6 Following time spent together, I leave my parents. . .

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36-65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
with warm and positive feelings. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
feeling let down and disappointed by my family. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL7 When I have a serious problem or an important decision to make...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
I look to my family for support, encouragement, and/or guidance. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I seek help from a professional, such as a therapist, college counselor, or clergy. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think about how my family might respond and what they might say. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I work it out on my own, without help or discussion with others. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I discuss the matter with a friend (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I know that my family will know what to do. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I contact my family if I am not able to resolve the situation after talking it over with my friends. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL8 How similar are you to your father or a father-like figure in terms of..

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Personality? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sense of humor? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Values? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you and your father share enough resemblance that people assume you are biologically related? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PRL9 How similar are you to your mother or a mother-like figure in terms of..

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Personality? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sense of humor? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Values? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you and your mother share enough resemblance that people assume you are biologically related? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL10 How much do you feel like your father or a father-like figure invested in you...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Financially? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amount of time? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PRL11 How much do you feel like your a mother or a mother-like figure invested in you...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Financially? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amount of time? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix B1

Questionnaire Sent to Adopted Participants

Adoption Survey

Consent You are invited to participate in an online questionnaire session that will last approximately 30 minutes. It is important that you read this form and email the experimenter with any questions before you begin the questionnaire. What this study is about: The purpose of this survey is to find out more about how close you are to your parents. You will be asked a series of questions to gain a better understanding of how similar and different you are with your parents, and how connected or disconnected you are with them. What we will ask you to do: If you decide to participate in this session, you will be asked to answer a series of questions. Please note that some questions are of a sensitive nature, but this information will allow us to more fully understand the dynamics of child-parent relationships. Participation in all experiments is completely voluntary; participating in this session does not commit you to any further participation. Risks and benefits: I do not anticipate that participating in this session will pose any risks to you, other than those encountered in everyday life. There may be no direct benefit to you as a result of your participation in this study, other than compensation; however, your participation will contribute to our knowledge about the formation of child -parent attachment, and you will have an opportunity to learn about the research process. Compensation: You have the option of receiving \$1.00 in completion for the questionnaire. Your answers will be confidential: The records of this study will be kept private and confidential. I am not asking any questions which could identify who you are. Statement of Consent: I have read and understood the above information, and I have received answers to any questions I asked. I understand that I am consenting to participate in this session; selecting yes below the survey will constitute my electronic signature.

Yes (4)

No (5)

Adopted Are you adopted?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Gender Gender

Male (1)

Female (2)

Other (3)

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

Age How old are you? (in years)

AgeAdopted At what age were you adopted?

- 0-1 years (1)
- 1-2 years (2)
- 2 or more years (3)

Race Please choose one or more races that you identify with.

- Black or African American (1)
- American Indian or Alaska Native (2)
- Asian (3)
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (4)
- White (5)
- Other (6)

Income What is your total annual household income

- Less than \$10,000 (1)
- \$10,000 - \$19,999 (2)
- \$20,000 - \$29,999 (3)
- \$30,000 - \$39,999 (4)
- \$40,000 - \$49,999 (5)
- \$50,000 - \$59,999 (6)
- \$60,000 - \$69,999 (7)
- \$70,000 - \$79,999 (8)
- \$80,000 - \$89,999 (9)
- \$90,000 - \$99,999 (10)
- \$100,000 - \$149,999 (11)
- \$150,000 or more (12)

Relatstat What is your current RELATIONSHIP STATUS?

- Not dating, seeing, or hooking up with anyone (1)
- Casually dating, seeing, or hooking up with one or more people (2)
- In a committed romantic relationship lasting less than 6 months (3)
- In a committed romantic relationship lasting 6 months or more (including marriage and marriage-like relationships) (4)
- Other (please specify): (5) _____

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

SexOrient Please choose the ONE that most accurately reflects your current understanding of your SEXUAL ORIENTATION.

- Exclusively Heterosexual/Straight, only sexually attracted to the opposite sex (1)
- Mostly Heterosexual/Straight, mostly sexually attracted to the opposite sex and occasionally attracted to the same sex (2)
- Bisexual Leaning Heterosexual/Straight, primarily sexually attracted to the opposite sex and definitely attracted to the same sex (3)
- Bisexual, more or less equally sexually attracted to the opposite and same sex (4)
- Bisexual Leaning Gay/Lesbian, primarily sexually attracted to the same sex and definitely attracted to the opposite sex (5)
- Mostly Gay/Lesbian, mostly sexually attracted to the same sex and occasionally attracted to the opposite sex (6)
- Exclusively Gay/Lesbian, only sexually attracted to the same sex (7)
- Asexual, no sexual arousal to same or opposite sex (8)

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

<p>that this person may abandon me. (8)</p> <p>I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her. (9)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

<p>that this person may abandon me. (8)</p> <p>I worry that this person won't care about me as much as I care about him or her. (9)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL1 In general, my parents...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
are persons I can count on to provide emotional support when I feel troubled. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are persons I can count on to provide emotional support when I feel troubled. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
support my goals and interests. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
live in a different world. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
understand my problems and concerns. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
respect my privacy. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
restrict my freedom or independence. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL2 In general, my parents...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
are available to give me advice or guidance when I want it. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
take my opinions seriously. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
encourage me to make my own decisions. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are critical of what I do. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
impose their ideas and values on me. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
have given me as much attention as I have wanted. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL3 In general, my parents...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (65-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
have no idea what I am feeling or thinking. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
have provided me with the freedom to experiment and learn things on my own. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are too busy or otherwise involved to help me. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
have trust and confidence in me. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
try to control my life. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
protect me from danger and difficulty. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ignore what I have to say. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are sensitive to my feelings and needs (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
give me advice whether or not I want it. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
respect my judgment and decisions, even if	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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different from what they would want. (10)					
do things for me, which I could do for myself. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are persons whose expectations I feel obligated to meet. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
treat me like a younger child. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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PRL4 During recent visits or time spent together, my parents were persons. . .

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
with whom I argued. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with whom I felt relaxed and comfortable. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who made me angry. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to be with all the time. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
towards whom I felt cool and distant. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who got on my nerves. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who aroused feelings of guilt and anxiety. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I enjoyed telling about the things I have done and learned. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
for whom I felt a feeling of love. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to ignore. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I confided my most personal thoughts and feelings. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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whose company I enjoyed. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid telling my experiences about. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with warm and positive feelings. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
feeling let down and disappointed by my family. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL5 During recent visits or time spent together, my parents were persons. . .

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
with whom I argued. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with whom I felt relaxed and comfortable. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who made me angry. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to be with all the time. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
towards whom I felt cool and distant. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who got on my nerves. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
who aroused feelings of guilt and anxiety. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I enjoyed telling about the things I have done and learned. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
for whom I felt a feeling of love. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I tried to ignore. (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
to whom I confided my most personal thoughts and feelings. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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whose company I enjoyed. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I avoid telling my experiences about. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with warm and positive feelings. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
feeling let down and disappointed by my family. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PRL6 Following time spent together, I leave my parents. . .

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36-65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
with warm and positive feelings. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
feeling let down and disappointed by my family. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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PRL7 When I have a serious problem or an important decision to make...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
I look to my family for support, encouragement, and/or guidance. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I seek help from a professional, such as a therapist, college counselor, or clergy. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think about how my family might respond and what they might say. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I work it out on my own, without help or discussion with others. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I discuss the matter with a friend (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I know that my family will know what to do. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I contact my family if I am not able to resolve the situation after talking it over with my friends. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL8 How similar are you to your father or a father-like figure in terms of..

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Personality? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sense of humor? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Values? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you and your father share enough resemblance that people assume you are biologically related? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PRL9 How similar are you to your mother or a mother-like figure in terms of..

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Personality? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Sense of humor? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Values? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you and your mother share enough resemblance that people assume you are biologically related? (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Adoptees' Attachment to Parents and Romantic Partners

PRL10 How much do you feel like your father or a father-like figure invested in you...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Financially? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amount of time? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

PRL11 How much do you feel like your mother or a mother-like figure invested in you...

	Not At All (0-10%) (1)	Somewhat (11-35%) (2)	A Moderate Amount (36- 65%) (3)	Quite A Bit (66-90%) (4)	Very Much (91-100%) (5)
Financially? (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Amount of time? (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In general? (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>