Emotion in Adoption Narratives: Links to Close Relationships in Emerging Adulthood

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EMOTION IN ADOPTION NARRATIVES: LINKS TO CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

A Dissertation Presented

by

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To my husband, Brent Marsney, for his infinite support.
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ABSTRACT

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An adopted person develops a narrative or story to help make sense of his or her adoption. This narrative provides a window into how the adoptee understands the role of adoption in his or her life and articulates feelings and thoughts about it. Adolescent and emerging adult adoptees’ data from the Minnesota-Texas Adoption Research Project (MTARP) were examined. MTARP longitudinally followed 190 adoptive kinship networks, with varying levels of openness in the adoption, from childhood to emerging adulthood. The current study sought to understand how emotion (affective valence and specific emotions), as identified in the adoption narratives during adolescence and emerging adulthood, related to qualities of their closest emerging adult relationships. It was expected that reflections of early relationships would impact the current evaluation of relationships. The emotions described in these narratives were used to predict relationship qualities (attachment related anxiety and avoidance, relationship satisfaction, and intimacy maturity). It was expected that more positive affect and less negative affect would predict higher levels of attachment security, intimacy, and relationship satisfaction. The change in affect over time (from adolescence to emerging adulthood) and average affect over time were also examined. Specific emotions of positive and negative affect were explored in this study and evaluated for their contribution to emerging adulthood relationship qualities. Results indicated associations of both negative and positive affect with attachment style in emerging adulthood. Specific emotions were modestly correlated to attachment style and relationship satisfaction. The findings of this study will help to assist research and practitioners understand the application of the adoption narrative in their work, and the translation of adoptive identity into relationship concepts.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

“Curious I think. I think I wanted to know why, what were the circumstances, what happened.”
-Participant

There are approximately 1.5 million adopted children in the United States, roughly 2% of all U. S. children (Fields, 2001). Adoptive parents are encouraged to meet the developmental needs of their child by helping them understand their adoption through the creation of an adoption story (see Riley & Meeks, 2006). These stories are often used in clinical practice to help better understand the meaning of adoption in the life of the adoptee. However, while stories can be helpful to better understand the meaning of adoption in both research and practice, less is understood about how these early descriptions of one’s adoption and adoption narrative affect other relationships later in life. Examining emotion or affect within the adoption narratives will provide a better understanding of the adoptee’s view of his/her experiences, and determine whether the feelings the adoptee has about his/her adoption are associated with relationships outside the family.

Due to the inherent transition of primary caregivers and loss of the earliest caregiver (e.g., birth parent(s), foster parent(s)), research on adoption has focused on attachment in the adoptive family (Palacios & Brodzinsky, 2010; van den Dries, Juffer, van IJzendoorn, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2009). The experience and significance of an adoption varies from one person to another, yet the awareness of this shift in family relationships remains for all adopted
persons. Findings suggest that while adoptees can fare as well as nonadopted peers in many cases, they are also at risk for insecure attachments or cognitive and emotional deficits (Palacios & Brodzinsky, 2010; van den Dries et al., 2009). Attachment research has demonstrated a link between early attachment experiences and later relationships outside the family (Conger, Cui, Bryant, & Elder, 2000; Grant-Marsney, Grotevant, & Sayer, 2014; Simpson, Collins, Tran, & Haydon, 2007). This research shows that early relationships matter, though the extent to which adoptees make meaning from early attachment to birth parents is less understood. The attachment research on adoption suggests that the early relationships in the adoptive family are impacted by the adoption both as an event and continued identity process. More research is needed to determine how adoptees’ feelings and meaning of their own story of adoption affect later relationships. This study will examine emotions, using affective descriptions of the narrative.

Erikson (1968) has described the process of forming intimate relationships with others as a primary task of emerging adulthood, and that this mature intimacy can be achieved only after one has developed a sense of oneself. Thus, identity and intimacy are interrelated, because a sense of identity promotes the ability to achieve intimacy. This has further been demonstrated in research, showing that as adolescents mature, their identity contributed to the prediction of intimacy in emerging adulthood (e.g., Montgomery, 2005).

This study will provide greater insight into the practical application of adoption narratives. The feelings expressed in the adoption story could affect feelings about close relationships. Bowlby (1969; 1982) first described the idea of an internal working model for relationships, gained from the relationship of a child to his or her primary caregiver, and used as
a template for later relationships. The current study pushes this theory further and considers the adoption narrative as including the adoptee’s reflections on a complex constellation of early relationships, with primary caregivers (adoptive parents) and the awareness of other early caregivers (birth parents), and how this contributes to relational development in emerging adulthood. The relationship with one’s early attachment figures can provide security, but another key aspect of relationships involves affect. The primary caregiver establishes how a child learns to regulate emotion and navigate early emotional experiences. Adoption can be a significant early emotional experience. The affective component of adoption is the focus of this study, to determine the consistency in affect from adolescence to emerging adulthood, and the connections between affect about adoption and affect in subsequent relationships.

Emotions have been described as a self-organizing tool that facilitates continuity in one’s sense of self (Fogel, 2001). We interpret our experiences through our views and emotional reactions. The impact of adolescents’ adoption narratives, particularly their emotions (positive and negative) will be examined to determine whether this can predict relational outcomes in emerging adulthood. In other words, the results of the study will reveal whether adoption narratives from adolescence and emerging adulthood are, in fact, related to secure attachment development and positive relationship qualities in emerging adulthood. The literature review that follows will include a brief background on adoption research, highlighting the mixed findings on adjustment and well-being for adoptees and the need for more research to better understand what leads to positive outcomes for adult adoptees. Adoption narratives, the basis for this study, will be described in greater detail. Emotion research will also be described as it has pertained to the adoption research and conceptualization of this study.
Emotion is a multifaceted construct with different meanings including any range of feelings, reactions, and expressions of the self. “What does seem essential to all emotions, including those that are most “basic,” is some sense of what is going on in the world, some “cognition,” whether or not one is or even can be (reflectively) aware of it” (Solomon, 2008, p.11). For the purposes of this study, the term affective style is also appropriate. Affective style, as described by Davidson (1994), refers to the whole sphere of individual differences, which can modulate a person’s reactivity to emotional events. Davidson considers these individual differences as trait-like constructs that remain relatively stable over time. This affective style is of interest for the current study, as it is related to attachment development, as will be shown in this literature review.

Emotions have been studied in various ways. For adoption narratives, it is useful to consider previous studies that have evaluated the use of emotional words in other narratives. Pennebaker and Seagal (1999) describe the formation of a personal story as a normative process that allows individuals to gain a sense of structure and meaning from difficult emotional events. Increased use of positive relative to negative emotion words in narratives was associated with better physical health (Pennebaker, Mayne, & Francis, 1997). Importantly, negative emotions and positive emotions were both evaluated; as one affective valence (e.g., positive or negative emotion) did not explain the entire story and both need to be evaluated. This study will investigate the connection of affect with development of attachment and relationships. Although
earlier research has described developing stories in response to bereavement or other traumatic
events, this study will evaluate one’s adoption as an early emotional event. However, adoption is
not an isolated event, and adoption continues to be a marker of a transition into the adoptive
family and a component of one’s identity that may be revisited and reevaluated as the child
matures.

Adoption can involve loss of a birth family, identity, and/or information; however, it also
can include positive memories of one’s first interactions with his/her adoptive family, a creation
of a new type of family (possibly though birth and adoption), and so on. Thus, the positive and
negative emotions in the narratives about adoption will be examined in this study to determine
the extent to which this informs how emerging adults develop their “story” of relationships. It is
predicted that the affect of adolescent and emerging adult narratives will inform a person’s view
of relationships.

This literature review will first briefly describe the adoption, child adoption and
attachment. Openness in adoption is further described as it pertains to the sample of this study.
Next, the aspects of young adult relationships will be discussed. Narrative research will be
discussed as a way to examine emotion and relationships, and better understand identity in
adoption. The current study will be described following the review of the literature. A conceptual
map (Figure 1) demonstrates the connections of relationship development and adoption identity
development, and proposes how the early and continued emotional experience of adoption may
be associated with relationship qualities in emerging adulthood.
Adoption

Child adoption refers to the legal, permanent transfer of parental rights and responsibilities from a child’s biological parent(s) to the adoptive parent(s) who will raise the child (Grotevant, Grant-Marsney, French, Musante, & Dolan, 2012). Adoption marks a transition in a child’s life, and the joining of this child into an adoptive family. This family has links to the child's birth family, whether known or unknown. In some cases, there is an explicit connection between the birth parent and child (e.g., open adoptions with meetings); in others, it is only the psychological awareness of the child’s other family by birth (Fravel, McRoy, & Grotevant, 2000). Adoptions can vary widely; some children are adopted as infants, some as older children. Adoptions can be made through the foster care system or private agencies, and sometimes through private parties. While many adoptions occur in the United States, some adoptions are international, which brings in different cultures and policies of adoption from the country of origin. Children who are adopted can be of a similar or different race than their adoptive parents, and depending on pre-adoptive care and individual characteristics, vary greatly in special needs. For further information about the diversity in adoption experiences, see Grotevant et al. (2012); Palacios and Brodzinsky (2010).

Emerging Adulthood for Adoptees

Emerging adulthood encompasses the period from the late teens to late twenties (Arnett, 2000). Characteristic of this phase is that it is transitory in nature and focused on identity exploration. Emerging adults are leaving the period of dependency from childhood and adolescence, and not yet committed to the expectations of adulthood. Beyond the typical tasks of
developing a sense of identity, adopted emerging adults have an additional task of composing a sense of self related to their adoption (Farr, Grant-Marsney, Musante, Grotevant, & Wrobel, 2014; Von Korff & Grotevant, 2011). Developing a sense of self related to adoption often involves making meaning of their adoption and early life before adoption, which depending on the accessibility of information or level of contact with the birth family, could be uncertain or not well known. In meaning-making, the individual seeks to answer questions about oneself and develop an adoption story.

An adoption story, here referred to as narrative, refers to the basic information about the child’s adoption, both what is known and uncertain. Questions can include: Who am I? Where did I come from? Why was I placed for adoption? What were my birth parents like, and do they still think about me? What does being adopted mean for my life? This narrative about one’s adoption helps the individual to make sense of oneself in the present and be able to use this sense of self as he/she approaches the future (Grotevant, 1993), which facilitates the understanding of the largest question: Who am I as an adopted person? (Grotevant, 1997; Grotevant, Dunbar, Kohler, & Esau, 2000; Grotevant & Von Korff, 2011).

As the Family Adoption Communication model describes, adoptive parents initially determine what their child learns about their adoption, and, with time, the child can choose to seek more information/contact as he/she sees fit (Wrobel, Kohler, Grotevant, & McRoy, 2003). Thus, the story is formed from what is learned initially through his/her adoptive parents, but can be modified as a function of the adoptee’s choices and experiences. While this story can provide insight for moving forward, the question remains how this meaning of adoption in childhood and early relationships affects future relationships. Qualitative research on adopted children, most of
whom had contact with birth relatives, has indicated developing ideas of children (often facilitated by adoptive parents) about why they were adopted, the views of others on their adoption and the motivation of adoption from multiple perspectives (Neil, 2012). Although the adoptive parent(s) may set the stage for this process, the adopted person will continue to develop these ideas as he or she matures.

Attachment and Adoption

Attachment studies have focused on adopted children’s abilities to develop secure attachments with their adoptive parents. Bowlby (1969; 1982) describes attachment as developing from early caregiving experiences, such that the child’s experiences with his or her primary caregiver provides an internal working model of attachment that establishes the basis for later relationships. Since adoption describes a change of early primary caregivers, adoption studies of attachment have focused on trying to understand whether this change in caregiving provides a risk for healthy attachment development (Palacios & Brodzinsky, 2010). The primary caregivers, adoptive parents, have the additional task of helping the child navigate his/her experience of the adoption. In creating an internal working model of attachment, the child learns to regulate emotion and manage early emotional experiences. Adoption is a significant early emotional experience that the adoptive parents can help their child to navigate through the creation of the adoption narrative.

Yet, a legal change in primary caregiver does not end the process that is adoption. Adoption is not an isolated event. While the legal adoption process can be completed, the adoptive identity process may continue to be revisited by the child as he/she develops and
becomes more curious and develops his/her own sense of meaning of adoption. Previous research has demonstrated links of curiosity (motivation) and information-seeking (behavior), which can be influenced by external facilitators (e.g., offers of assistance from adoptive parents) or barriers (e.g., agency policies) (Wrobel, Grotevant, Samek, & Von Korff, 2013). Internal barriers, such as perceptions of searching or contact hurting adoptive parents may increase curiosity, but decrease information-seeking. In some cases, external factors could contribute to reevaluation of adoption, such as when information of the adoption becomes available to the child or if there is ongoing contact made with the birth family. Thus, as much as adoption is a transition in a primary attachment figure, adoption also is a meaningful event that can influence the child’s understanding of relationships as he/she begins to establish close relationships outside the family. As the internal working model of attachment sets the “stage” for future relationship experiences, adoption as an emotional and relational experience can set expectations for relationships as well.

Studies comparing attachment of adoptees and nonadoptees have yielded mixed results. A meta-analysis of attachment in adopted children revealed that children adopted before 12 months of age were as securely attached as nonadopted peers, as determined by observational assessments. Children adopted after 12 months were less likely to demonstrate secure attachments (van den Dries et al., 2009). However, the findings of this meta-analysis did not reveal significant differences between adoptees and their nonadopted peers when assessed by self-report measures, suggesting concerns with the manner of assessing attachment. When studies that used self-report measures of questionnaires and interviews were included in the meta-analysis, the differences between the adopted and nonadopted youth were no longer
significant. The authors suggested that self-report measures (literature included no restriction on age, in order to examine across life-span) may not be as sensitive as observational measures in detecting this age-related effect. Thus, the mixed findings of adoptees suggest that there may be differences in self-report; perhaps the adoptees’ perceptions of their adoption distinguish these results.

Research with adults suggests that insecure attachments may be more common in adoptees compared to nonadoptees (Feeney, Passmore, & Peterson, 2007). In a study of adult adoptees and nonadopted peers, Feeney and colleagues examined the impact of adoptive status and relational experiences to determine attachment predictors of relationship outcomes. Parental bonding, assessing aspects of care and over-protection in parenting in retrospect, was predictive of attachment security in both groups, and the adopted adults did not differ from their peers. Feeney and colleagues (2007) further demonstrated that adoptees’ working models of attachment might be more sensitive to relationship stressors than nonadoptees’; only in the adopted group did recent close relationship decline predict later avoidance and anxiety in relationships. Attachment dimensions mediated the effects of adoptive status in predicting relationship qualities. Taken together, research on adoption continues to demonstrate some possible risks for insecure attachment in adoption, though it is still not fully understood in what circumstances adoption leads to secure or insecure attachment. The research demonstrates mixed findings on attachment and relationship impairment for adoptees, which suggests that there are other factors at play, including significant variability in early attachment-relevant experiences. In this study, the role of affective style in the adoption narratives will be explored for its connection to
attachment and relationship qualities and determine whether it accounts for additional variance in the outcome.

Openness in Adoption

Adoptions can vary in the level of openness, or disclosure, between the adoptive parents and/or adopted child and the birth parents. Fully disclosed adoptions allow both sets of parents and the child to communicate directly with each other. Mediated adoptions generally involve a caseworker or attorney to broker the contact between the sets of parents. Closed adoptions do not provide information regarding the birth parents to the adoptive parents. Research has shown some benefits of fully disclosed adoptions (Ge et al., 2008; Grotevant, McRoy, Wrobel, & Ayers-Lopez, 2013), and in recent years, open adoptions have become more popular in the United States. Open adoptions can have benefits including increased satisfaction on the parts of birth mothers and adoptive parents (Ge et al., 2008; Grotevant et al., 2008), leading to greater knowledge and relationships between an adopted person with his/her birth family. However, like any relationship, these too can have complications and sometimes lead to diminished openness. Further research in this area, as proposed by this study, is important to continue to develop the understanding of the possible influences of these different levels of openness in adoption. A better understanding of adopted persons’ experiences and views of their adoptions can help provide more informed support for those in the adoption triad, meaning the relationship among the adoptee, birth parents, and adoptive parents.

More interactions with and knowledge about the birth parent(s) might influence the adopted child’s experience and adoption narrative. The impact of this (positive or negative)
could differentially impact a sense of security and/or feeling about close relationships outside the family in adulthood. Research has shown that contact with birth relatives is associated with increased adoption-related communication in one’s adoptive family, which then promotes development of adoptive identity (Von Korff & Grotevant, 2011). The proposed study includes an examination of varying degrees of openness, while assessing the relationship of affect in the adoption narratives to relationships in emerging adulthood. It is also hypothesized that openness could differentiate groups due to the different levels of ongoing exchange of information between birth and adoptive families to influence the adoption narrative.

Young Adult Relationships

Three aspects of relationships, each addressing different features of relationship quality, are explored as outcomes in this study: attachment style, intimacy maturity, and relationship satisfaction. Attachment style (Bowlby, 1969) is considered a relatively stable way of relating to close others, and measures one’s ability to have secure relationships. Intimacy maturity (White, Speisman, Costos, Kelly, & Bartis, 1984) assesses how well someone can balance his or her own role with the needs of the relationship partner. Relationship satisfaction evaluates the degree to which one’s expectations are met in the relationship. Each of these relationship qualities addresses a distinctive aspect of relational functioning.

First, attachment style, or how one generally approaches close relationships, is examined. Attachment style is based on Bowlby’s theory of attachment (1969; 1982), which describes how the early caregiver relationship serves as the basis for an internal working model of attachment for close relationships. A secure base is developed when early caregiver(s) provide the child with
emotionally responsive care that allows the child to develop resiliency toward environmental stressors. Inconsistent, unavailable, or rejecting care leads to increased vulnerability and the development of an insecure attachment style. In the present study, attachment style was assessed by the Experiences in Close Relationships measure (ECR: Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998), which assesses two dimensions of insecurity in attachment: anxiety and avoidance. A secure attachment style is considered to be one in which levels of anxiety and avoidance are low. Avoidance represents a discomfort with closeness and/or dependence on others and anxiety represents a fear of rejection and abandonment (Brennan et al., 1998). A securely attached person is able to achieve closeness with others, without fearful dependency on the relationship.

The constructs of concern and commitment provide a complementary picture of the intimacy in the relationship through the combined level of caring and devotion to one’s partner. One’s self-identified closest relationship is assessed for intimacy within the relationship in the dimensions of commitment and concern. Commitment has been identified by some researchers as a key relationship variable (Rusbult & Agnew, 2010). This variable captures past and present interdependence in the relationship and intent for future dedication to the relationship; all of these factors influence the future relationship. Research suggests that commitment is an important factor in determining the tenacity of relationships, through behavioral and cognitive maintenance processes (Rusbult & Agnew, 2010). Concern as described by White and colleagues (1984) describes the individual’s expression of caring in the relationship. This scale describes the ways that individuals demonstrate affection for their partners. The commitment scale demonstrates to what extent the individual is endurably devoted to his/her partner and the
relationship. Beyond commitment, concern for one’s partner demonstrates the ability for an individual to have feelings and share feelings of intimacy with another.

Whereas the ECR depicts secure attachment through the absence of anxiousness and avoidance as a general mode of approaching close relationships, the intimacy interview targets an identified closest relationship. The intimacy interview supplements what is learned from the assessment of attachment style by asking how a person in a particular close relationship can commit and care for another person. Together, these measures provide a better understanding of the general attachment style in close relationships, and the ability for an individual to develop an intimate relationship that balances the needs of oneself and one’s partner.

The concept of intimacy maturity (White et al., 1984; White, Speisman, Jackson, Bartis, & Costos, 1986) is based on Erikson’s (e.g., 1968; 1974) work on identity development and the intimacy crisis. Erikson proposed that a person develops intimacy with another person that is reciprocal and based on a commitment of loyalty to this person. The intimacy interview developed by White and colleagues was used to evaluate intimacy in young adult married couples (White et al., 1986). White et al. (1986) identified three stages: self-focused (lowest level, perspective of one’s own needs), role-focused (middle level, concern is with roles and norms), and the highest level, individuated-connected (connection made with others in intimate, reciprocal, mutual bonds). White’s study found much of the sample were in the role-focused phase, but acknowledged a continuum from self-focused to individuated-connected present in the study. The researchers suggested that the presence of many young adults in the middle phase was consistent with Erikson’s belief that intimacy is actively developing in young adulthood.
Third, relationship satisfaction indicates a person’s feelings about the extent to which his or her expectations of a relationship are being met. The satisfaction subscale of the Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI: Furman & Buhrmester, 1985) assesses how content an individual is in his or her current relationship. This variable of satisfaction in one’s closest relationship provides the view of the individual’s experience in the relationship, while the previous variables (attachment style and intimacy maturity) assess the ability of an individual to engage in relationships, general and specific. Relationship satisfaction measures the individual’s felt experience of their needs being met in the relationship, the quality of the relationship.

Links between relationship satisfaction and attachment style were recently demonstrated in a study of young dating couples in the U.S. and Hong Kong (Ho et al., 2012). Findings supported the association of attachment style with relationship satisfaction, such that attachment-related anxiety and avoidance were both inversely related to relationship satisfaction for both Americans and Hong Kong Chinese young adults. The authors emphasized the different mechanisms relating attachment avoidance and anxiety to relationship satisfaction. For instance, avoidantly attached individuals less frequently enter into relationships, and hold aversions to relationships, which could increase relationship dissatisfaction. Anxiously attached individuals require more assurance from partners and could be more sensitive to negative interactions in the relationship, leading to lower satisfaction.

Beyond the research previously discussed, which connects adoption and attachment style, attachment is also associated with forms of emotional communication (Guerrero, Farinelli, & McEwan, 2009). Guerrero and colleagues found that emotional communication provides a partial explanation of the link between attachment and relationship satisfaction. Prosocial positive
communication mediated the positive association of attachment security and relationship satisfaction. Likewise, detached emotional communication and anger explained the association of dismissive attachment and preoccupied attachment, respectively, with lower relationship satisfaction.

In sum, the three areas of attachment style, intimacy maturity, and relationship satisfaction are each important and offer complementary information about how an individual relates to close others. Whereas attachment style is general to all close relationships, intimacy maturity and relationship satisfaction are specific to an identified relationship. Attachment style links current relationship functioning to prior experiences with one’s family of origin and thus more broadly assesses how a person relates to all close others. Intimacy maturity describes how people think about themselves (and their close other) in the relationship; satisfaction is about how they evaluate the relationship. Each of the three areas of relationship qualities were assessed for associations with affect in adolescent and emerging adult adoption narratives.

Emotions

Emotions and Relationships

Emotions have been linked to attachment in three ways: a) working models, established in an attachment relationship, provide the groundwork for expectations in emotional experiences, b) working models establish strategies for how to express/regulate emotion, and c) working models hold memories of early emotional experiences in relationships (Simpson & Rholes, 1994 in Guerrero et al., 2009). Simpson and colleagues also suggest that the attachment system is most
likely to engage when the individual experiences negative affect in a relationship. Affective style, in the form of emotions expressed in the narratives, can be a useful way to examine the connection of adoptees’ emotionality in the adoption narrative to later relational outcomes. In research examining relationship experiences for individuals at four critical points (infancy, early elementary, adolescence, and young adulthood) Simpson and colleagues found that both the experience and expression of emotions in young adult romantic relationships were associated with attachment-relevant experiences earlier in development (Simpson et al., 2007). Early attachment security (12 months) predicted peer competency and security in adolescence, which then predicted emotion experienced in romantic relationships and observed emotional expression. While these results do not mean that early attachment difficulties are necessarily linked to later relationship or emotional challenges, this research suggests meaningful associations between emotion and attachment. The association of secure attachment style with positive emotional experiences and expressions is likely a result of positive working models that facilitate understanding, regulation, and confidence in close relationships. For adoption, the affect within adoption narratives provides a link to a significant emotional experience and can be examined for associations with future relationships.

Emotion Findings Related to Adoption

In a previous analysis of the narratives used in the current study, Lyle (2011) examined the use of positive and negative emotion words in the narratives of the adolescent adoptees in relation to behavior and attachment to adoptive parents. Positive expressions did not demonstrate a significant relationship to the outcome variables. However, negative expressions were
positively correlated with problem behaviors in adolescence and negatively correlated with attachment to mother and father. Attachment to mother and father also partially mediated the relationship between negative emotions and problem behaviors. This finding linking negative emotions and attachment problems will be explored more fully in the current study.

Emotions and Identity

Emotions have been described as orienting instruments that bring coherence to our lives and help us to negotiate our future (Kunnen, Bosma, Van Halen, & Van der Meulen, 2001). In essence, the emotions we experience, whether we are conscious of the experience or not, affect our way of being in the world. Fogel (2001) describes emotions as playing a central role in organizing a sense of self that is relatively stable in a dynamic and ever-changing world. Fogel argues that a sense of self is based in relationships, and emotions, which are inherent to these relationships, provide an important role in the continuity of one’s sense of self. Self-organization is multi-layered and develops from the initial feelings and perceptions into temporary emotional interpretations, and eventually, develops emotional interpretations, which give rise to a sense of self (Kunnen et al., 2001). Based on this model of identity and emotions, the current study seeks to better understand the role of emotions in the development of relationships, both ability to relate and quality of relating to others in emerging adulthood.

As an adolescent or emerging adult considers his/her adoption story, she/he might express strong feelings (positive, negative, or both) towards this aspect of identity and toward birth and adoptive parents. Previous research has explored the role of attachment to [adoptive] parents in predicting attachment style during emerging adulthood (Grant-Marsney et al., 2014).
The child’s relationships with adoptive parents create an internal working model of relationships that can be carried forward into other relationships (attachment style), but the emerging adult’s adoption narrative would add more to this prediction. Specifically, the emotion in the adoption narrative may better capture aspects of the adoptee’s relationship not only to their adoptive parents, but their sense of birth parents, and their adoptive identity. This study will explore this narrative to determine how positive and negative affective style relate to emerging adulthood relationship qualities, by differentiating negative emotions. Further, the change in emotion over time (from adolescence to emerging adulthood) will be explored for the adoptees.

Distinctions in Affect

   Global negative affect, here assessed by the affect throughout the adoption narrative, can encompass a wide range of specific emotions. Simply distinguishing between positive and negative affect can miss the impact of different types of positive or negative emotion. Researchers have found results differ within negative emotions, suggesting that generalizing across negative emotions can miss important information. For instance, Lerner and Keltner (2001) conducted a series of studies, which demonstrated a pattern of different judgments/choices made by individuals who were angry or fearful. Judgments of angry individuals were different than those of fearful individuals, demonstrating a benefit to specific emotion research. Their findings demonstrate difference in these emotions (state or momentary experience and trait or disposition) and suggest that affective valence (positive or negative) alone does not describe the impact of emotions. In conditions of ambiguous certainty and control, anger was associated with greater optimism, and fearfulness associated with greater pessimism.
An important component of the present study is the further examination of specific positive and negative emotions, and the impact of these emotional states on perceptions of close relationships. The present study pulls from the findings of the importance of specific emotions, as it is notable that not all emotions are the same. Thus, this study will explore affective valence as well as the discrete or specific emotions to determine their respective influence in attachment and relationship qualities.

There has been considerable controversy regarding the independence versus bipolarity of positive and negative affect. The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Crawford & Henry, 2004) has drawn criticisms because of the relative independence of the positive and negative affect subscales, in contrast to previously expected moderate negative correlations amongst these dimensions. The results of the PANAS suggested relative independence of positive and negative affect, but reject complete independence. In contrast, other research supports the bipolarity of positive and negative affect as the most parsimonious fit for models of including these subscales (Russell & Carroll, 1999). In the current study, it is expected that there may be modest relationships found between positive and negative affect.

Adolescence and Gender Differences

As development progresses from childhood, individuals become more skilled in forming autobiographical memory narratives (Pasupathi & Wainryb, 2010). As children become more practiced at narrating the self in adolescence, research suggests the role of mothers in scaffolding and helping form narratives earlier in adolescence may diminish (McLean & Mansfield, 2012). While this research, similar to others, found no mean level gender differences in meaning-
making, differences were found in mothers’ scaffolding behavior and meaning-making for boys and girls. Girls demonstrated greater comfort than boys with their narrative identities, girls may have an earlier foundation to explore their narratives because of gendered socialization. While McLean and Breen (2009) also did not find differences in meaning-making in adolescent boys and girls, they did discover that girls were more likely to endorse telling their memories for relational purposes, suggesting different pathways motivating the narrative identity construction. As the child matures it is more likely that he/she will engage in meaning-making.

The Current Study

This study will use data from the Minnesota-Texas Adoption Research Project (MTARP) (Grotevant et al., 2013), a longitudinal study of 190 adoptive kinship networks with varying levels of contact between the adopted child’s families of birth and adoption. Adoptive kinship networks include members of the child’s extended adoptive and birth families. Adoptions can vary in the level of openness, or disclosure, between the adoptive parents and/or adopted child and the birth parents. U.S. adoptions include a wide range of post-adoption openness arrangements (e.g., direct personal contact with birth relatives to no contact), and the current sample represented this range.

Adoption narratives provide an understanding of the adopted person’s experience of his or her adoption. While these are used in clinical practice to help adopted persons develop a sense of meaning in their adoption, a better understanding of the impact of the internal and ongoing narratives on attachment development is needed. In particular, how does the emotional content of the adoption narrative relate to emotion about other relationships and relationship qualities? The
feelings of adopted persons about their adoption and meaning in their life are expected to relate to how adoptees interpret early relationships and thus, lead to an internal working model of relationships that is present in emerging adulthood. The goals of the present study are a) to examine the affective style by valence (positive or negative) and discrete emotions (e.g., fear, sadness, anger, etc.) shown in individuals’ adoption narratives generated in adolescence and emerging adulthood, and b) to relate these affective qualities to three aspects of close relationships in emerging adulthood: adult attachment style in close relationships (avoidance and anxiety in close relationships, where attachment security is defined by low avoidance and anxiety), intimacy maturity in one’s identified closest relationship (concern and commitment), and satisfaction with that relationship.

Four research questions (RQs) will be addressed. Prior to addressing each research question, preliminary analyses will be completed. These analyses will examine whether moderating variables merit further examination and controlling for in the main analyses. Variables included in the preliminary analyses as potential controls will be gender, age at Wave 3, adoption contact frequency, adoption contact satisfaction, and closest relationship type. Data will be examined for outliers, normality and other potential violations of assumptions by assessing the distribution of data and the determining the type of missingness in data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).
Research Question 1

How are global positive and negative affect expressed in the participants’ narratives of their adoption in adolescence and emerging adulthood (EA)? How are these correlated with relationship qualities in EA? The following analyses will be conducted:

A) Within adolescence, examine the association between global positive and negative affect.
B) Within emerging adulthood (EA), examine the association between global positive and negative.
C) Examine the associations between both positive and negative affect over time, from adolescence to EA.
D) Correlate global positive and negative affect in adolescence and EA with relationship qualities in EA.
E) Determine associations between affect measures and potential control variables: gender, age, adoption contact frequency and satisfaction, and closest relationship type.

Research Question 2

Is global positive affect in the adoption narrative positively associated with relationship qualities (attachment style, intimacy maturity, relationship satisfaction), while global negative affect is associated negatively with the same outcomes? It is hypothesized that EA adoptees who have, currently and during adolescence, expressed more positive affect in their adoption interviews will have more positive relationship qualities in emerging adulthood.
Research Question 3

Beyond the correlation of global affect over time, how is the degree and direction of change in global affect related to relationship qualities? Using a multilevel modeling strategy to account for inherent dependency of longitudinal data, average and difference scores for positive and negative affect will be produced. It is anticipated that a larger positive difference score will predict better relationship qualities as emerging adults (e.g., less anxiety, more caring), whereas more negative difference will predict worse relationship qualities (e.g., more avoidance, less satisfaction). The new variables will be input into regression analyses, regressing relationship qualities on average and change of affect over time, controlling for similar variables as RQ2.

Research Question 4

Are specific emotions described in the adoption narrative of adolescents predictive of relationship qualities in EA? How are these differentiated by whom they are directed towards (e.g., self, birth parent, adoptive parent, other)? It is expected that specific emotions (e.g., fear-avoidance, sadness-anxiety) that are connected to attachment-related figures (e.g., birth or adoptive parents), would be predictive of relationship qualities in emerging adulthood. Exploratory analyses to determine prevalent discrete emotions will be conducted, and identified discrete emotions will be used to predict relationship qualities in EA.
CHAPTER 3
METHODS

Participants

For initial recruitment, the target child was adopted through a domestic private agency before his or her first birthday. Families were recruited from 35 agencies in 23 states, across all regions of the United States. The study began with 190 adoptive families and 169 birth mothers. The first wave of data collection with the adoptive families occurred when the target child was between ages 4 and 12 (1986 to 1992; adopted child $M$ age = 7.81 years, $SD$ = 2.14). All adoptive parents were married to each other by the time of placement. The mean age of the child at the time placement was 4.0 weeks, and the median age was 2.0 weeks (range was from birth to 44 weeks). None of the adoptions were transracial, international, or “special needs” adoptions.

At Wave 1, the adoptive mothers and fathers were between 31 to 50 years old ($M$ = 39.14 years, $SD$ = 3.65) and 32 to 53 years old ($M$ = 40.73 years, $SD$ = 3.86), respectively. Most parents were Caucasian (97%), middle to upper-middle class, and possessed at least a college degree (mothers, 74%, fathers, 88%). The primary reason for adopting a child was infertility. Please see Figure 2 for a flowchart of participants at each Wave.

MTARP had two additional waves of study, in adolescence (Wave 2) and emerging adulthood (Wave 3). The Wave 2 interviews took place from 1996 to 2001 (adopted child $M$ age = 15.73 years, $SD$ = 2.08, range = 11 to 20 years) and the Wave 3 interviews were conducted between 2005 and 2008 (adopted child $M$ age = 24.95, $SD$ = 1.88, range = 21 to 30 years). In Wave 3, 169 adopted emerging adults (EAs) participated. Most EA participants were Caucasian
(n = 162), although a small number of participants were Black/African American (n = 1) and Hispanic/Mexican American (n = 6). At Wave 3, approximately 20% of the adopted children were married and 20% had at least one child. Most EAs were living independently of their parents (75%) and paying the majority of their housing costs (65%). Almost half of the EAs (48%) had at least some post-high school education. The present study includes data from 156 adopted adolescents in Wave 2 (age 11.10 to 20.84) and 169 adopted emerging adults in Wave 3 (age 20.77 to 30.34).

Procedure

At Wave 2 (child’s age: 11 to 20 years), adoptive families were seen in their homes during a single session that typically lasted 3 to 5 hours. The session included individual interviews with each parent and the target adopted child, administration of several questionnaires, including interviews with the adolescents about their adoption (see measures for more information). Some family members were interviewed by telephone when it was impossible to gather everyone together for the home visit, for instance if they were living outside the United States. The semi-structured interviews were audiotaped and transcribed verbatim; names and other identifying information were changed to protect participant confidentiality. For Wave 3 (child’s age: 21 to 30 years), the EAs completed a set of questionnaires and interviews online (see interview Appendix A-C), which included predictor (adoption interview) and outcome measures (attachment style, intimacy maturity, and relationship satisfaction; see measures section for more details). The questionnaires were administered via secure socket layer web technology, which were created as active server pages, and the data were stored in secure
server databases until finalized by the participant, then exported to Access for input into statistical analysis software. Participants were then given a follow-up interview administered in an online chat format (a few EAs were interviewed by telephone). These interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed verbatim. Each participant was also asked to report on his or her closest relationship. Since the type of commitment to the partner varied for EAs, it could be that this will differentiate findings (e.g., friend, sibling, romantic partner), and thus will be examined in the current study as a possible moderator.

The interview (in Wave 2 and Wave 3) covered four identity domains: occupation, friendship, religion, and adoption (see Appendix A-C for interview questions). The adoption section assessed the individual’s feelings, beliefs, and knowledge about their adoption. In Wave 2, interviews were approximately 1-2 hours in length, and were subsequently transcribed and coded by applying codebooks developed within this study. Wave 3 interviews were similar to Wave 2, but were conducted in an online chat with revised questions suited for developmental changes from adolescence to emerging adulthood.

Participants were treated in accordance with the “Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct” (American Psychological Association, 1992). All procedures were reviewed and approved by Institutional Review Boards of the University of Minnesota and the University of Massachusetts Amherst. The target adoptees received $150 for their participation in Wave 3.
Measures

Positive and Negative Affect in Adoption Narrative

For the purpose of this study, the Positive Affect and Negative Affect scales will be used to assess how the participant feels about being adopted and/or about having an identity as an adopted person. These scales were originally developed as part of the Family Story Collaborative Project (FSCP) (Fiese et al., 1999; Grotevant, Fravel, Gorall, & Piper, 1999) and incorporated (and modified) into narrative codebooks for MTARP. FSCP brought together a group of family researchers under the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Network on Early Childhood Transition, recognizing the links of families influence across generations. Positive and negative affect were coded globally, which means that the emotions described throughout the adoption section of the interview were included in the determination of the code (interrater reliability mean = 86 - 87%). Positive affect includes descriptions of interest, enthusiasm, pride, love, joy and excitement about being adopted, while negative affect describes hostility, anger, shame, fear, nervousness, sorrow, sadness, confusion and anxiety about being adopted. Since positive and negative affect were globally evaluated across all aspects relating to adoption, the target person associated with the affect was not coded. This coding does assess the overall affective valence, both positive and negative (1=no affect; 2 = intermediate between 1 and 3; 3=moderate affect; 4 = intermediate between 3 and 5; 5=strong affect). Coding for global affect was conducted and verified at the University of Minnesota.
Attachment Security Outcome

The Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR) questionnaire (Brennan et al., 1998) examines attachment style in close relationships by assessing the constructs of anxiety and avoidance (Appendix D). This self-report questionnaire was administered to the target EAs at Wave 3. The secure base, as described by Bowlby (1969), is conceptualized in this questionnaire by the absence (or low level) of anxiety and avoidance. The ECR examines the constructs of anxiety and avoidance in close relationships in general, rather than in a specific or current relationship. The questionnaire includes 36 items (18 questions assess each dimension) each on a 7 Likert-type scale evaluating strength of agreement with each item, from 1 = “disagree strongly” to 7 = “agree strongly.” The ECR includes ten items that were reverse coded for scoring. Higher scores indicate greater levels of anxiety and avoidance. The two dimensions of anxiety and avoidance were found to be high in internal consistency reliability (Cronbach’s alpha: avoidance=.94; anxiety=.91 in Brennan et al., 1998; α=.95 for avoidance and anxiety scales in the current study). Thus, security in close relationships is conceptualized as the absence of anxiety and avoidance. Although anxiety and avoidance are both aspects of attachment security (correlation to each other in the present study, \( r=.47 \)), they are analyzed separately here because they are distinct aspects of how a person views a relationship. While anxiety refers to the way a person feels about him or herself in a relationship and how they feel they will be accepted/rejected by another, avoidance refers to their ability to approach/avoid a relationship with another person.
Intimacy Maturity Outcome

The Personal Interaction Interview used for Wave 3, also known as the Intimacy Interview (White et al., 1984), is a semi-structured interview that assesses the level of intimacy maturity in emerging adult relationships (Appendix B). The interview contains twenty-two questions (with additional probes permitted) about the shared and separate activities of the participant and his/her self-identified partner (current relationship that he/she views as closest) (Appendix E). Questions examine the topics discussed in the relationship, how differences are managed, expressions of caring, and perceptions of involvement and commitment. Five dimensions of intimacy are scored: 1) orientation to the other and the relationship, 2) caring/concern, 3) commitment, 4) self-disclosure 5) responding. Scoring reflects levels of intimacy maturity on 9-point scales: self-focused (scores range from 1-3), role-focused (4-6), and individuated-connected (7-9). Higher scores within each level describe greater degrees of relationship maturity. This measure provides the outcome measure of intimacy maturity. Coders were trained with a manual and criterion-scored interviews. To achieve reliability, two coders rated the same transcript and were compared. Once coding was within one stage of the initial coder’s rating, reliability was considered acceptable and the coding could continue independently. Coders consensed one of every four transcripts for the remaining transcripts (intraclass correlations as follows: orientation=.60, concern=.55, commitment=.59, self-disclosure=.84, responding=.62). The concern and commitment scales will be used in the present study. While each subscale offers an important perspective on intimacy in one’s closest relationship, commitment and concern most closely complement attachment-related avoidance
and anxiety in close relationships. Coding for the intimacy interview was conducted and verified by Dr. Grotevant’s research team at the University of Minnesota.

Relationship Satisfaction Outcome

The Network of Relationship Inventory (NRI) consists of 45 questions and 15 subscales that measure characteristics of close relationships (Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). Though the NRI was developed to examine relationship characteristics of different types of close relationships (e.g., platonic, romantic, and familial relationship), MTARP utilized the NRI to evaluate perceptions of the relationship between the target adopted emerging adult and the person that he/she identified as the closest relationship partner. The subscales include companionship, conflict, instrumental aid, antagonism, intimacy, nurturance, affection, admiration, relative power, reliable alliance, support, criticism, dominance, satisfaction, and punishment. For this study, the satisfaction subscale will be used to assess the relationship satisfaction of the adoptees as emerging adults (Satisfaction items: 40, 41, & 42). The following three questions were asked: *How satisfied are you with your relationship with this person? How good is your relationship with this person? and How happy are you with the way things are between you and this person?* Each question was measured on a five point Likert scale ranging from “little or none” to “the most”. Internal consistency for positive qualities ranged from .94 to .95 and from .83 to .84 for negative qualities for a multi-ethnic sample of adolescents between the ages of 14 and 19, calculated separately for best friends and romantic partners (La Greca & Harrison, 2005). Similar reports on internal consistency coefficients have been found for parent
and friendship relationships (respectively, .81 and .83 for intimacy; .84 and .85 for reliable alliance) (Seiffge-Krenke, Shulman & Klessinger, 2001. Other research has found reliabilities ranged from .89 to .94, separating factor scores for parent and close friend (Lopes, Salovey & Straus, 2002). In the present study, relationship satisfaction reliability was Cronbach’s $\alpha = .93$.

Specific Emotions

In addition to the positive and negative affect codes described above, this study analyzed the discrete positive and negative emotions in the adoption narrative. A total of 21 discrete emotions were assessed for a sub-sample of 86 participants (see Appendix F). The specific emotion variables included: love/caring, respect/admiration, content/happiness, hope, shock/surprise, confusion, longing, insecurity, fear, sadness/hurt, anger/frustration, remorse, loneliness, jealousy, hate, refuting the negative, disappointment, uncertainty, privilege, no feeling, and mixed feeling. The final list of discrete emotions was based on a review of the literature using discrete emotions, with an eye to defining them as clearly as possible for this study, so they could be reliably coded and distinguished from one another (e.g., Crawford & Henry, 2004; Plutchik, 2001). While most of the specific emotions are easily understood, refuting the negative is a novel idea. Refuting the negative occurs when an event or situation is (assumed) already negative without explicitly being negative, and one presents a positive statement by dismissing the negative perceived by others. For example, when asked about adoption (neutral) and the person responds: “it’s not that bad.” See Appendix F for detailed information about each coded emotion.
The sub-sample represented participants who had no change in contact with their birth mother from Wave 1 to Wave 2. The sample included participants with either continuous confidential or continuous frequent direct contact with their birth families. The decision to use this sub-sample of participants was based on the continuity or lack of change in contact from Wave 1 to Wave 2.

Similar to the coding for global affect, coding was completed for each interview by two coders, and discrepancies were discussed and consensus achieved for every disagreement (see Appendix F for coding instructions and definitions). The coders further identified the targeted person/group (if any) associated the emotion (e.g., self, birth parent(s), adoptive parent(s), other (peer, agency, legal system, etc.)). Coding for specific emotions was undertaken at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst during the 2012 – 2013 academic year. Four undergraduate research assistants were trained in coding the transcripts. Coders were provided with background reading about adoption and emotion. Through review of readings and sampling of the transcripts, the group identified a total of 21 specific emotions. Each coder individually coded transcripts, and then met with a coding partner to discuss results. Coders also met once weekly as a group with the principal investigator to discuss resolve any discrepancies in the transcript coding and refined definitions, as needed. Final codes were chosen after consensus was reached by the two coders and were checked by the coding supervisor.

Control Variables

Variables included in the preliminary analyses as potential controls were gender, age at Wave 3, adoption contact frequency, adoption contact satisfaction, and closest relationship type.
The demographic information was initially reported by adoptive parents in Wave 1 and Wave 2, but by the young adult in Wave 3. Gender and age were used as control variables from the demographic information. Relationship type was determined from the participant’s own report in his or her intimacy interview and compared to the report from the identified partner. For the purposes of the current study, relationship type categories were organized into friendship, romantic relationship (unmarried), and married. For regression analyses, the variable was dummy coded into friendship and romantic relationship (unmarried), with married as the reference category.

Adoption contact frequency and satisfaction were assessed through the adoption interview. The participants were asked about their frequency and degree of satisfaction with their openness arrangements at Waves 2 and 3, regardless of how much previous contact with birth family had occurred. Responses were coded for frequency of contact on a 0 to 5 scale, with 0 indicating *never* or *stopped contact* 1, *once*; 2, *rarely*; 3, *occasionally*; 4, *often*; and 5, *frequently*. Responses were coded for satisfaction on a 0 to 4 scale, with 0 indicating *very dissatisfied*; 1, *dissatisfied*; 2, *neutral*; 3, *satisfied*; and 4, *very satisfied*. The interview transcripts were coded by principal investigators, graduate or advanced undergraduate students. Coders were required to attain .80 agreement, the established acceptable reliability, on two or more transcripts before coding independently. Final reliability estimates were established with weighted kappas. For interviews that were double-coded (40% at Wave 3), coders periodically discussed their ratings to resolve any disagreements. Final ratings were chosen after consensus was reached by the two coders and were checked by the coding supervisor. Inter-rater reliability
was monitored throughout the coding process. Coding for contact variables was conducted and verified by Dr. Grotevant’s research team at the University of Minnesota.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

This study sought to examine the association between affect and specific emotions expressed in the adoption narrative and relationship qualities in emerging adulthood. The current feelings of young adult adopted persons about their adoption were expected to mirror how they interpret early relationships and thus, lead to an internal working model of relationship qualities that is present in emerging adulthood. Taken together, emotions were expected to reflect participants’ affective style and expected to predict emerging adulthood relationship qualities. See Figure 3 for an overview of the research questions and analyses. Due to the number of analyses conducted for the study, a more conservative $p$-value of .01 was selected. $P$-values between .05 and .01 will be described as nonsignificant trends.

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, and correlations of key variables are presented in Tables 1-3. A range of 1 to 7 was possible for avoidance ($M = 2.57, SD = 1.18$) and anxiety ($M = 3.18, SD = 1.35$). A range of 1 to 9 was possible for concern ($M = 5.47, SD = 1.41$) and commitment ($M = 5.04, SD = 1.45$). Relationship satisfaction ranged from 1 to 5, ($M = 4.18, SD = .92$). Affect ranged from 1 to 5. For adolescence, positive affect ($M = 2.81, SD = 1.06$) and negative affect ($M = 1.91, SD = 1.09$) were not very different from emerging adulthood, positive affect ($M = 2.53, SD = 1.30$) and negative affect ($M = 1.97, SD = 1.20$).
Relationship Qualities

Three outcome variables indicative of relationship quality (attachment style, intimacy maturity, and relationship satisfaction) provide a complementary view of emerging adult relationships outside the family. The variables within each domain were related; avoidant attachment style was associated with anxious attachment style ($r = .47, p < .001$); for intimacy maturity, concern was positively associated with commitment ($r = .55, p < .001$). Relationship satisfaction was inversely related to avoidance ($r = -.36, p < .001$) and anxiety ($r = -.34, p < .001$), and positively related to concern ($r = .38, p < .001$) and commitment ($r = .38, p < .001$) (see Table 1).

Research Question 1

How are global positive and negative affect expressed in the participants’ narratives of their adoption in adolescence and emerging adulthood (EA)? How are these correlated with relationship qualities in EA? The following analyses were conducted:

A) Contrary to prediction, global positive and negative affect were not significantly correlated during adolescence ($r = .07, p = .39$) (see Table 2 for A-C).

B) Contrary to prediction, global positive and negative affect were not significantly correlated during emerging adulthood ($r = .01, p = .89$).
C) Consistent with prediction, a statistically significant yet modest relationship was found between Wave 2 and Wave 3 affect, for both positive ($r = .30, p = .001$) and negative ($r = .25, p = .004$) affect.

D) Avoidance had a positive but nonsignificant correlation with Wave 3 negative affect ($r = .18, p = .03$). (See prior note that $p$-values between .05 and .01 will be described as nonsignificant trends.) However, anxiety trended toward correlation with Wave 2 negative affect ($r = .20, p = .03$) and correlated significantly with Wave 3 negative affect ($r = .37, p < .001$). Concern trended toward correlation with Wave 3 positive affect ($r = .16, p = .04$). Relationship satisfaction was the only relationship quality variable trending toward correlation with both positive ($r = .19, p = .02$) and negative affect at Wave 3 ($r = -.17, p = .03$) (see Table 3).

E) As anticipated, there were associations between affect measures and potential control variables: gender, age, adoption contact frequency (W3), adoption contact satisfaction (W3), and closest relationship type (W3). Statistically significant relationships are described.

An independent samples $t$-test for gender was performed for global positive and negative affect in Wave 2 and Wave 3. Females were more likely than males to have negative affect about their adoption at Wave 3. Specifically, there was a significant difference in the scores for males ($M = 1.71, SD = 1.02$) and females ($M = 2.25, SD = 1.15$) for global negative affect in Wave 3 only; $t(163) = -3.21, p = .002$ (Table 4). An
independent samples $t$-test for gender was also performed on satisfaction with contact with birth mother and birth father in Wave 3. Females were generally less satisfied with contact with birth mothers and birth fathers than males. Specifically, there was a significant difference in the scores for males ($M = 2.80, SD = 1.15; M = 2.74, SD = 1.06$) and females ($M = 2.31, SD = 1.33; M = 2.27, SD = 1.26$) for satisfaction with birth mother and birth father, respectively; $t(164) = 2.55, p = .01; t(153) = 2.61, p = .01$.

The adopted emerging adult’s frequency of contact with both birth mother and birth father were related to positive affect about one’s adoption in Wave 2 (for birth mothers, $r = .36, p < .001$; birth fathers, $r = .27, p = .003$) and Wave 3 (for birth mothers, $r = .39, p < .001$; for birth fathers, $r = .28, p < .001$). Frequencies of contact were related for birth mothers and birth fathers ($r = .43, p < .001$).

The satisfaction with the openness arrangement with one’s birth mother within emerging adulthood was modestly associated with both positive ($r = .23, p = .003$) and negative ($r = -.22, p = .01$) affect about adoption in Wave 3. Satisfaction with birth mother contact was associated with frequency of contact for birth mother ($r = .24, p = .002$) and birth father ($r = .21, p = .01$). The satisfaction with the openness arrangement with one’s birth father within emerging adulthood trended toward a significant association with both positive ($r = .18, p = .02$) and negative ($r = -.19, p = .02$) affect about adoption in Wave 3 (Table 5). Satisfaction with openness arrangement with birth mother and birth father during emerging adulthood were modestly correlated as well ($r = .52, p < .001$) (Table 6).
An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for affect difference among relationship types. For positive and negative affect in Wave 3, there were no significant differences for relationship type, respectively, $F(2, 94) = 1.05, p = .35$; $F(2, 94) = 0.53, p = .59$ (Table 7).

Gender and satisfaction with contact with birth parents (mother and father) were initially included in the analyses, but due to lack of contribution to the model, these were trimmed from the final models. Age, adoption contact frequency with birth mother and birth father and closest relationship type remained as control variables.

Research Question 2

Is global positive affect in the adoption narrative positively associated with relationship qualities (attachment style, intimacy maturity, relationship satisfaction), while global negative affect is associated negatively with the same outcomes? It was predicted that EA adoptees who expressed more positive affect in their adoption interviews should have more positive relationship qualities in emerging adulthood. A series of multiple regression analyses were conducted for regressing each of the five relationship qualities (dependent variables) on positive and negative affect, separately analyzed in adolescence and emerging adulthood, controlling for variables of gender, age, adoption contact frequency, adoption contact satisfaction, and closest relationship type. Preliminary analyses were conducted to determine whether control variables contributed to the predictions of the outcome variables. Control variables that did not contribute were trimmed from the model.
Attachment Style

Regression analyses were used to predict attachment style in emerging adulthood from global negative affect in a) adolescence and b) emerging adulthood.

For the reports of affect in adolescence, positive affect did not account for variance in the model. However, the model of negative affect in adolescence, while controlling for age, frequency of contact with birth parents, and relationship type, was statistically significant for avoidance and anxiety. As indicated in the methods section, relationship type was dummy coded into two variables: friendship and romantic relationship (unmarried), with married as a reference category. Negative affect in adolescence ($\beta = .22, p = .01$) and the dummy variable for friend as closest relationship ($\beta = .29, p = .004$) were statistically significant predictors of anxious attachment style in emerging adulthood (Table 8). For avoidant attachment style, negative affect in adolescence ($\beta = .17, p = .045$), frequency of contact with birth father ($\beta = -.21, p = .03$), and friend as closest relationship ($\beta = .39, p < .001$) trended toward being statistically significant predictors.

For the reports of affect in emerging adulthood, the preliminary models (without controls) demonstrated that negative affect about their adoption predicted anxiety and avoidant attachment style in emerging adulthood. Final models of negative affect in emerging adulthood, included controls for age, frequency of contact with birth parents, and relationship type; both models for avoidance and anxiety were statistically significant. Negative affect trended toward being a statistically significant predictor for the model of avoidant attachment ($\beta = .18, p = .02$), and friend as closest relationship was a significant predictor ($\beta = .37, p < .001$). Negative affect
(β = .39, p < .001) and friend as closest relationship (β = .24, p = .004) were also significant predictors for anxious attachment style (Table 9).

Intimacy Maturity

Regression analyses were used to predict concern and commitment (the indicators of intimacy maturity) in emerging adulthood from global positive and negative affect, separate analyses were conducted for affect in adolescence and emerging adulthood. Models for concern and commitment were not statistically significant for either positive or negative affect in adolescence or emerging adulthood (Tables 8 and 9).

Relationship Satisfaction

Separate regression analyses were conducted for predicting relationship satisfaction from a) global positive and negative affect in adolescence, and b) global positive and negative affect in emerging adulthood. The models were not statistically significant for affect measured in adolescence. In the regression of relationship satisfaction, both positive and negative affect about adoption in emerging adulthood were significant predictors. Positive and negative affect appeared to relate differently in the model of relationship satisfaction, and were included together in the final model, which also controlled for age, frequency of contact with birth parents, and relationship type. Positive affect (β = .23, p = .01) was a significant predictor, and negative affect (β = -.16, p = .048) trended toward being a significant predictor of relationship satisfaction in emerging adulthood (Tables 8 and 9).
Research Question 3

Beyond the correlation of global affect over time, how is the degree and direction of change in global affect related to relationship qualities? Using a multilevel modeling strategy to account for inherent dependency of longitudinal data, average and difference scores for positive affect and negative affect were produced. It was anticipated that a larger positive difference score will predict better relationship qualities (e.g., less anxiety, more caring), whereas more negative difference will predict worse relationship qualities (e.g., more avoidance, less satisfaction).

Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM: Raudenbush, Bryk, & Congdon, 2011) was used to account for the inherent dependency of longitudinal data in individuals’ measures over time, and create variables that would reflect average and change scores for positive affect and for negative affect from Wave 2 to Wave 3. In the HLM model, affect was modeled from Wave 2 to Wave 3. For each model of affect (global positive and negative), HLM residual files contained two new variables, which referred to the average affect score of the participant from Wave 2 to Wave 3, and the difference or change score from Wave 2 to Wave 3. Within the restructured data files used for the HLM models, the age of participants in Wave 2 and Wave 3 was controlled for by calculating the mean age for each individual (between Wave 2 and Wave 3). This was because participants were sometimes re-interviewed after the different durations of time had passed (e.g., 8 to 10 years post-Wave 2). By this calculation of time for each individual, weighted appropriately, the slope represented the average for each participant (Johnson & Raudenbush, 2004). It was anticipated that a larger positive difference score will predict better relationship qualities, whereas more negative difference will predict worse relationship qualities. The following results discuss regression analyses controlling for similar variables as RQ2.
Control variables were assessed in the first level, and those that did not contribute to prediction of the relationship qualities were trimmed from the analyses to better understand the contribution of the change and average affect from adolescence to emerging adulthood. Positive and negative affect were separated as in previous analyses, this also provided a clearer understanding of positive and negative affect for average and change over time. The average and change over time for affect were assessed in preliminary analyses. Based on reviewing the relative contribution of average and change over time, it was determined that these variables did not equally contribute to relationship qualities. The following paragraphs describe the final models.

Attachment Style

Models for attachment style with positive affect included age, relationship type, and change in positive affect from adolescence to emerging adulthood. For avoidance, friend as closest relationship ($\beta = .33, p < .001$) and change in positive affect ($\beta = -.17, p = .03$) were significant and trending predictors, respectively. The model for anxiety was trending toward significance for only friend as closest relationship ($\beta = .22, p = .02$) (Table 10). Models for attachment style with negative affect included age, frequency of contact with birth parents, relationship type, and average and change in negative affect. Average negative affect ($\beta = .22, p = .01$) and friend as closest relationship ($\beta = .37, p < .001$) were significant predictors of avoidance. Average negative affect ($\beta = .38, p < .001$) and friend as closest relationship ($\beta = .24, p = .01$) were also significant predictors of anxious attachment style (Table 11).
Intimacy Maturity

The models for concern and commitment were assessed. Concern and commitment were both individually regressed on average positive affect, controlling for frequency of contact with birth parents and relationship type. Concern and commitment were also both individually regressed on average negative affect, controlling for frequency of contact with birth parents and relationship type. However, neither model for concern nor commitment reached statistical significance, for positive or negative affect (Tables 10 and 11).

Relationship Satisfaction

The final model for relationship satisfaction controlled for age and relationship type, and included average positive affect. The model was not statistically significant. Relationship type was also regressed on negative affect, controlling for age and relationship type, this model was not significant (Tables 10 and 11).

Research Question 4

Are specific emotions described in the adoption narratives of adolescents predictive of relationship qualities in EA? How are these differentiated by whom they are directed towards (e.g., self, birth parent, adoptive parent, other)? It is expected that specific emotions (e.g., fear-avoidance, sadness-anxiety) that are connected to attachment-related figures (e.g., birth or adoptive parents), would be predictive of relationship qualities in emerging adulthood. Exploratory analyses to determine prevalent discrete emotions are reported first; identified discrete emotions are then used to predict relationship qualities in EA.
A sub-sample of 86 adopted adolescents was used for this analysis. These adolescents were selected for this set of analyses because they experienced no change in contact with birth relatives from Wave 1 to Wave 2, experiencing continuous confidential or continuous frequent direct contact with their birth families. Other participants, not included in this sub-sample, had highly variable contact with birth parent(s), which could impact the emotional intensity and skew the experience of emotion in unpredictable ways. For each of the 21 specific emotions coded, there were four possible targets for the emotion: self, birth parent(s), adoptive parent(s), or other. The presence of these emotions in the adoption narrative was highly variable. The highly skewed distributions of frequencies amongst specific variables led to the decision to recode each variable as “present” or “absent”. Frequencies for recoded variables by target of variable are presented in Figures 4-7.

Variables which were present in less than 10% of the participants are omitted from further discussion. It is possible that the coding of emotion into mutually exclusive groups, with four possible targets for each emotion, narrowed the likelihood of high frequencies for specific emotions. It is important to note that data were collected from semi-structured rather than open-ended interviews about adoption, and that the topics being discussed might have elicited limited language about emotion. Furthermore, this was assessed only in adolescence, which may also have limited details regarding feelings.

For birth parent directed emotions, those most frequently expressed were happiness \((n = 26, 31\%)\) and longing \((n = 41, 48\%)\). The most frequently expressed adoptive parent directed emotion was caring (could be either caring for or from the adoptive parent) \((n = 12, 14\%)\). The most frequently expressed other-directed emotions were happiness \((n = 56, 66\%)\), refuting the
negative ($n = 31, 36\%$) and a lack of feeling ($n = 11, 13\%$) (see Figures 4-7). Self-targeted emotions were infrequent. Small frequencies were present for the remaining specific emotions, but occurred in less than 10\% of the sample.

A set of correlational analyses examined associations between the most frequent emotions mentioned in the preceding paragraph and the 5 relationship qualities. Limited support for the predictions was found. Only two correlations were statistically significant ($p < .01$), and two were nonsignificant trends ($.01 < p < .05$): birth parent longing and anxiety ($r = .24, p = .045$), adoptive parent caring and anxiety ($r = .27, p = .03$), other directed happiness and avoidance ($r = .31, p = .01$) and other directed lack of feeling and relationship satisfaction ($r = -.29, p = .01$) (Table 12). There were no significant correlations with the intimacy maturity variables of caring and commitment. Attachment style and relationship satisfaction appeared related to specific emotions, both in expected and in unexpected directions.
The purpose of this research was to provide insight into a) the connections of adoption-related emotion to close relationship development, b) a growing understanding of adopted individuals’ feelings in adoption narratives, and c) the importance of differentiating emotions beyond positive and negative affective valence. In this study, positive and negative affect were expected to be associated with relationship qualities in different ways. The role of emotions in stories, and in particular, about relationships, matters. This study provides a link between how adoptees describe emotions about their adoptive relationship and qualities of their close relationships during emerging adulthood. As proposed in the conceptual model (Figure 1) the experience of being adopted prompts an affective response and involves early relationship experiences. A range of positive and negative affect was found within the adoption narratives of adopted adolescents and emerging adults. Researchers and practitioners need to better understand the meaning of emotions in narratives, especially in the case of adoption narratives.

As expected, positive and negative affect in adolescence were related to positive and negative affect in emerging adulthood. However, positive and negative affect were not related to each other during adolescence or emerging adulthood. Positive and negative affect also made different contributions to models of relationship qualities. The results of the study showed mixed support for the expectations of associations between affect and relationship qualities. Relationship qualities of attachment style (avoidant and anxious) and relationship satisfaction were associated with affect, while intimacy maturity (commitment and concern) was not.
Specific emotions were generally positive, and had modest relationships to attachment style and relationship satisfaction as well. However, once again, they were not related to measures of intimacy maturity.

**The Affect About One’s Adoption**

When an infant is adopted, the “story” of his/her adoption first may come from the adoptive parent(s). With time, the child can develop his/her own story, or narrative, of their adoption. These narratives can contain both positive and negative emotions. This study found expressions of both positive and negative emotions in the adoption interviews during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Positive affect and negative affect do not appear to be linked, so that an individual can experience both valences of emotion.

Secure attachments were defined in this study by the absence of anxiety and avoidance in close relationships. The two attachment dimensions (anxiety and avoidance in close relationships) were assessed, and expected to be similarly predicted by affect in the adoption narratives. Negative affect in adolescence demonstrated a trend toward association with anxious attachment style in emerging adulthood, such that higher negative affect related to increased anxious attachment. Friend as closest relationship was related to anxious attachment style. Avoidant attachment style was trending toward a significant association with negative affect in adolescence, friend as closest relationship, and frequency of contact with birth father. Similar to anxious attachment, friend as closest relationship, and higher negative affect related to increased anxious attachment, and greater contact trended toward an association with less avoidant attachment. Within emerging adulthood, higher negative affect and friend as closest relationship
were significantly related to anxious attachment. For avoidant attachment, friend as closest relationship was a significant predictor and negative affect was a nonsignificant trend. This study did not find support for positive affect (in adolescence or emerging adulthood) as a predictor of attachment style in emerging adulthood. Links of psychosocial outcomes with positive emotions have been, historically, more difficult to capture because they are more diffuse and generally less urgent; negative emotions, in contrast, generally command more attention and evoke a stronger response than positive emotions (Fredrickson & Cohn, 2008). Similarly, using data also from MTARP, Lyle (2011) found associations between negative expressions of affect and behavior and attachment to adoptive parents; no such associations were found for positive expressions of affect. This is consistent with the idea that the attachment system is most likely to engage when the individual experiences negative affect in a relationship (Simpson & Rholes, 1994 in Guerrero et al., 2009).

Negative and positive affect, in adolescence or emerging adulthood, were not predictive of the concern or the commitment scales of intimacy maturity. These outcomes were measured by examining the shared and separate activities of the participant and his/her self-identified partner (current relationship that he/she views as closest). It is possible that specificity of relationship supersedes the general feelings one might have towards relationships, as measured by attachment style.

Relationship satisfaction was not predicted by affect in the adoption narrative in adolescence, but this was different when assessing affect in emerging adulthood. Positive and negative affect in emerging adulthood, included together, shared a trend toward predicting relationship satisfaction in emerging adulthood. Increased positive affect was related to higher
relationship satisfaction. Negative affect was inversely related to relationship satisfaction. Attachment has been associated with forms of emotional communication (Guerrero et al., 2009), demonstrating that emotional communication may provide a partial explanation of the link between attachment and relationship satisfaction. In Guerrero’s study, prosocial positive communication mediated the positive association of attachment security and relationship satisfaction, which might suggest that positive affect reported in the adoption narrative might be an important factor for relationship satisfaction in the present study.

Change Over Time

Multilevel modeling was used to construct change and average affect scores. For both positive and negative affect, the data from adolescence and emerging adulthood were modeled, such that scores were obtained that reflected the average and change in a) positive affect and b) negative affect, from Wave 2 and Wave 3. For positive affect and avoidance, friend as closest relationship and change in positive affect were significant and trending predictors, respectively. The results revealed that for avoidant attachment, greater change in positive affect from Wave 2 to Wave 3 was associated (as a nonsignificant trend) with less avoidant attachment. Friend as closest relationship was positively related to avoidance. In the model of positive affect and anxiety, friend as closest relationship was also trending toward a positive relation to anxiety. Although positive affect in one wave (adolescence or emerging adulthood) did not support hypotheses of associations to relationship qualities, perhaps the change in positive affect allows for a larger effect to be demonstrated.
Average negative affect and friend as closest relationship were trending or significant in models of avoidance and anxiety. Higher average negative affect was associated with higher anxiety in close relationships, and trended toward an association with higher avoidance in close relationships. Friend as closest relationship was again positively related to avoidance and trending toward a positive association with anxiety in close relationships.

Specific Emotions

Specific emotions directed toward self, birth parents, adoptive parents, and generally were examined. The most common feelings towards birth parents were longing and happiness, while the most common feeling toward adoptive parents was caring (either receiving caring from or expressing caring to). Other feelings (not linked to a specific target person) included happiness, refuting the negative, or an identified lack of feeling. In regard to the birth and adoptive parent emotions, it is not surprising that happiness and caring, respectively, are described. While generally positive, longing for birth parents is consistent with a curiosity or interest in birth parents, particularly when contact with birth parents is lacking. Interestingly, there was no significant difference in longing expressed by the adopted emerging adults with continuous confidential or continuous contact with birth family. Only modest correlations existed among longing for birth parents and anxious attachment style, caring for adoptive parents and anxious attachment style, and lack of feeling and relationship satisfaction. The only statistically significant correlation was between other happiness and avoidance. There were modest positive correlations between adoptive parent caring and anxiety, and other directed happiness and
avoidance, which was surprising. It is unclear why caring for/from adoptive parents and happiness would be associated with increased attachment insecurity.

Interestingly, some adoption narratives included discussions of refuting the negative, or dismissing a negative, that is presumed, but not explicit. An example of refuting the negative is when asked neutrally about adoption and the participant responds “it’s not that bad.” As a possible defense, one responds to negate the presence of a negative emotion. Researchers have begun to expand the concepts of racial microaggression to microaggressions within adoption (Baden, Pinderhughes, Harrington, & Waddell, 2013; Garber, 2013). Racial microaggressions are defined as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271). Marginalization of adoptive families is experienced in many ways, and may contribute to the anticipatory defense found with refuting the negative. Adoptees and adoptive parents often face intrusive questions about their family, misrepresentations of adoptive families in the media, and biologically-biased views on family (Baden et al., 2013). The generally positive findings of specific emotions in the adoption narrative could be influence by the need to reduce stigma, or refute the negative perceptions of the participants as adoptees and/or their adoptive families.

General Relationships and Closest Relationships

Predictions of attachment style were generally supported, while predictions of intimacy maturity were not supported in any of the analyses. Although some of this might be due to measurement variance (attachment style: ECR/questionnaire versus intimacy maturity: coding
Relationship satisfaction was also assessed through a questionnaire (NRI), and evaluated perceptions of the relationship between the adopted emerging adult and the person that he/she identifies as the closest relationship partner. The differences in these outcomes may be explained by the different focus on close relationships: general close relationship in comparison to one’s closest identified relationship. It is possible that the emerging adult’s closest identified relationship is influenced more strongly by the individual aspects of that relationship that are missed by examining affect alone. Although attachment style has been well studied, less is understood about intimacy maturity, which limits the results and interpretation. Future studies should continue to address the differences between close relationships, generally, and an individual’s closest identified relationships. Differences were also found when comparing closest relationships of friendships to married relationships, which may suggest another limitation to examining intimacy maturity in friendship pairs versus romantic relationship pairs.

**Strengths and Limitations**

While many studies have focused on adopted individuals as children, less is understood about adopted individuals as they become adults. Palacios and Brodzinsky (2010) identify a need for *new directions* in research of adopted individuals, particularly as they take on new roles. The present study has focused on emerging adulthood, which is an important phase of development that sets the stage for the next role for adopted individuals (e.g., relationship commitment, parenthood, career choice). This study also included the benefit of a longitudinal design, with measurement during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Multilevel modeling allowed for the
creation of change over time and average over time scores of affect, which provided an enhanced picture of these two phases of the study. Furthermore, the participants of this study represented a diversity of openness levels or contact with birth family. A survey of 100 adoption agencies with infant adoption programs revealed that closed infant adoptions represent only about 5% of placements, with the vast majority of adoptions being either mediated or fully disclosed (Siegel & Smith, 2012). Thus, the participants of this study are part of a growing norm in increasingly open adoptions.

Limitations

Though this study has several strengths, the limitations must also be considered before applying these findings to research or practice. The study includes a unique sampling of participants with varying degrees of openness arrangements for domestic private infant adoptions. However, the sample is relatively homogenous in race (mostly White/Caucasian), and includes no transracial or special needs adoptions. The adoption community is diverse, and it is beyond the scope of this study to evaluate all the types of adoption (e.g., special needs, international, foster care). Future studies should similarly evaluate adoption narratives for other adoption populations. For instance, in the case of transracial adoption, narratives likely include racial identity development that is not the focus of the narrative among same-race adoptions. Still, the benefits of this study are not to be overlooked.

This study broke new ground by evaluating emotion in adoption narratives; however, the process was also limited by its novelty. There are risks when developing a new coding scheme, some of which may have affected the results. While the specific emotions included in the study
intentionally covered a wide range of possible emotions, some of these emotions occurred with very low frequencies. Furthermore, the sub-sample for this analysis was chosen because of relatively consistent openness arrangements from Wave 1 to Wave 2. Perhaps this limited the range of affect that might have been expressed in the narratives of participants who had experienced major changes in contact arrangements. Still, the results of this study contribute to the evaluation of specific emotions and affect, which can be further addressed in future research. The lack of strong negative emotions, and presence of refuting the negative, is noteworthy. It would be worthwhile to expand the specific emotion assessment to more diverse adoption experiences. Of course, the study is limited by the assessment of emotions in adoption narratives at two specific points in time. If it were possible to have more frequent assessments of affect during adolescence and emerging adulthood, it would provide a greater understanding of one person’s general affect about his/her adoption. Finally, given the number of analyses conducted in this study, a more conservative significance level of .01 was chosen to avoid Type I errors. A Bonferroni adjustment might have required even a smaller $p$-value, which could limit the interpretation of the results.

Next Steps

The results of the study evoke further questions that will be explored in future analyses. For Research Questions 2 and 3, it is possible that differences found in the results for attachment style vs. closest relationship measures (intimacy maturity and relationship satisfaction) may be better understood by examining whether the links between global affect and the relationship qualities were moderated by other variables. Four variables will be considered as potential
moderators: closest relationship type (romantic relationship versus friendship), gender, birth relative contact, and the experience of parental disruption (e.g., parent separation, divorce, or death).

The relationship type chosen as the closest relationship might moderate the associations between affect and relationship qualities. Although participants may be involved in a romantic relationship, it was their choice whether to specify a romantic relationship as their “closest relationship” or a friendship and thus this distinction might moderate differences found in expressed relationship qualities. Perhaps those that maintain friendships versus romantic partners as closest relationships have different expectations of relationships and experience different relationship qualities. Gender differences have been found in other research in narrative development, finding that females might be socialized to explore these narratives more than male peers (McLean & Mansfield, 2012). Contact with birth relatives has been associated with increased adoption-related communication in one’s adoptive family (Von Korff & Grotevant, 2011), which could moderate differences within the sample of increased emotional discussion and relationship quality. As adoptive parents are considered in this study the primary attachment figures, the rate of parental disruption (through separation, divorce, death) will be further explored to determine if these disruptions provide a shift in early relationship experiences that would influence the results. These four variables will be further assessed to better understand the differences found amongst the relationship quality outcomes.

Implications
This study provides greater insight into the practical application of adoption narratives, beyond the simple meaning for the adoptee. Adoption can be considered an emotional process, involving potentially strong emotions about joining one’s family, the sense of loss of birth family/history, and the meaning in one’s life. Therefore, identifying the emotions one experiences about his/her adoption is a helpful process for someone who has been adopted. Some research suggests an increased use of positive relative to negative emotion words in narratives are associated with better physical health (Pennebaker et al., 1997).

Previous research has demonstrated meaningful associations between emotion and attachment, connecting current experience and expression of emotions in young adult romantic relationships with attachment-relevant experiences earlier in development (Simpson et al., 2007). The current study examined further whether emotional experiences and expressions of emotions in adolescence and emerging adulthood contributed to relationship qualities in emerging adulthood. Further support was found to demonstrate the connections between affect and attachment.

The results serve as another reminder of adoption as a lifelong process and experience. Adoption not only involves the adopted person, but the adoption triad (adopted person, birth and adoptive families), who can all influence the adoption narrative through positive and negative family processes. Previous research suggests the importance of support from adoptive parents that can facilitate communication with the adoptee and help to understand the complexities of navigating contact with birth relatives, which can assist adoptees as they gain increasing autonomy during emerging adulthood (Farr et al., 2014).
Clinicians, practitioners, and researchers, all recognize the importance of promoting supportive parent-child relationships in adoptive families. Promoting conversations about the narratives may enhance the security of attachments of adopted persons not only early in life, but throughout as the children develop into adults. Practitioners may already reflect on the adoption of narrative with the adopted person, but should also consider the value of facilitating the development of the narratives in adoptive families. The findings of the study demonstrate the benefits of examining both positive and negative affect about adoption. Furthermore, practitioners should be assessing any shifts in affect over time, distinctions in feelings, and the possible inclination of adoptees to present only positive affect and experiences. While generally, there can be connections of affect to close relationships, particular relationships are likely influenced by many factors beyond affect.

Conclusions

The participants in this sample provided a range of positive and negative affect, some of which had significant associations with emerging adulthood relationship qualities. Attachment style, which refers to relationships in general, appeared to be associated with affective style. An association of affective style with more specific relationship qualities, such as intimacy maturity and relationship satisfaction, was not supported. Research has often overlooked adoption processes beyond childhood, but the results of this study indicate the benefit to continued studies of adoption during adolescence and emerging adulthood. Adolescents’ and emerging adults’ affect about adoption can relate to views of general close relationships.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>-.14</td>
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<td>-.13</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.04</td>
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<td>5. Relationship</td>
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<td>-.34**</td>
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<td>.38**</td>
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*Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”*
Table 2
Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Global Affect

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<td>-</td>
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*Note.* *p < .05, **p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
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<th>Commit - Intimacy</th>
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<td>-.13</td>
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*Note. *p < .05, ** p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”*
Table 4

Independent Samples t-test for Gender

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<td>(1.10)</td>
<td>(1.01)</td>
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<td>(1.12)</td>
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<td>Negative Affect (W3)</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>-3.21**</td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.02)</td>
<td>(1.15)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction in Contact with BM</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2.55*</td>
<td>164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.15)</td>
<td>(1.33)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction in Contact with BF</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>2.61*</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1.06)</td>
<td>(1.26)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. Standard deviations appear in parentheses below means. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 5

Correlations of Affect with Control Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Age (W3)</th>
<th>Frequency of Contact with BM</th>
<th>Frequency of Contact with BF</th>
<th>Satisfaction in Contact with BM</th>
<th>Satisfaction in Contact with BF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Affect (W2)</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.36**</td>
<td>.27**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Affect (W2)</td>
<td>- .14</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Affect (W3)</td>
<td>- .11</td>
<td>.39**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Affect (W3)</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>- .22**</td>
<td>-.19*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. *p < .05, **p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”*
Table 6

Intercorrelations, Means, and Standard Deviations of Control Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Age (W3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24.95</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Frequency of Contact with BM</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Frequency of Contact with BF</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.43**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Satisfaction in Contact with BM</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.21*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Satisfaction in Contact with BF</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.52**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. * p < .05, ** p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 7
One-way Analysis of Variance for Relationship Type on Affect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive Affect (W3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Group</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>144.59</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Affect (W3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Group</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>118.50</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. * p < .05, ** p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 8

Regression on Negative Affect in Adolescence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Avoidant Attachment</th>
<th>Anxious Attachment</th>
<th>Concern – Intimacy</th>
<th>Commit – Intimacy</th>
<th>Relationship Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Δ $R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>Δ $R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>Δ $R^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1 Age (W3)</td>
<td>.22**</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.12*</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BM</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>- .01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BF</td>
<td>-.21*</td>
<td>-.10</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>.39**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>- .04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2 Negative Affect (W2)</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>.17*</td>
<td>.05*</td>
<td>.22*</td>
<td>-.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total $R^2$</td>
<td>.25**</td>
<td>.17**</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. $\beta$ reported for all outcomes. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. Friend, Romantic, and Married statuses were dummy coded. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 9

Regression on Negative Affect in Emerging Adulthood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Avoidant Attachment</th>
<th>Anxious Attachment</th>
<th>Concern – Intimacy</th>
<th>Commit – Intimacy</th>
<th>Relationship Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.09*</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (W3)</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.07</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BM</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BF</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>-.12</td>
<td>-.02</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.15**</td>
<td>.39**</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Affect (W3)</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.11*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total $R^2$</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.11*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. $\beta$ reported for all outcomes. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. Friend, Romantic, and Married statuses were dummy coded. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 10

Regression on Positive Affect from Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Avoidant Attachment Δ R²</th>
<th>Avoidant Attachment β</th>
<th>Anxious Attachment Δ R²</th>
<th>Anxious Attachment β</th>
<th>Concern – Intimacy Δ R²</th>
<th>Concern – Intimacy β</th>
<th>Commit – Intimacy Δ R²</th>
<th>Commit – Intimacy β</th>
<th>Relationship Satisfaction Δ R²</th>
<th>Relationship Satisfaction β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (W3)</td>
<td>.17**</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.06*</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BM</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BF</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>.22*</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Romantic</td>
<td>- .14</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Over Time</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.03*</td>
<td>.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Over Time</td>
<td>- .17*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.08*</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. β reported for all outcomes. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. Friend, Romantic, and Married statuses were dummy coded. * p < .05, ** p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 11

Regression on Negative Affect from Adolescence to Emerging Adulthood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Avoidant Attachment</th>
<th>Anxious Attachment</th>
<th>Concern – Intimacy</th>
<th>Commit – Intimacy</th>
<th>Relationship Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
<td>$\beta$</td>
<td>$\Delta R^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (W3)</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>- .05</td>
<td>.08*</td>
<td>- .06</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BM</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>- .11</td>
<td>- .07</td>
<td>- .18</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Contact with BF</td>
<td>- .15</td>
<td>- .09</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>.24**</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>- .01</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic</td>
<td>- .13</td>
<td>- .02</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>- .03</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Over Time</td>
<td>.05*</td>
<td>.22**</td>
<td>.17**</td>
<td>.38**</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change Over Time</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total $R^2$</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.05</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note. $\beta$ reported for all outcomes. Contact during emerging adulthood; BM = birth mother, BF = birth father. Friend, Romantic, and Married statuses were dummy coded. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Table 12

Correlations of Specific Variables and Relationship Qualities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Happiness (Birth Parent)</th>
<th>Longing (Birth Parent)</th>
<th>Caring (Adoptive Parent)</th>
<th>Happiness (Other)</th>
<th>Refuting the Negative (Other)</th>
<th>Lacking of Feeling (Other)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Avoidant Attachment</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.31**</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>- .07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Anxious Attachment</td>
<td>- .13</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>.27*</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Concern – Intimacy</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>- .06</td>
<td>- .11</td>
<td>- .17</td>
<td>- .07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Commit – Intimacy</td>
<td>- .07</td>
<td>- .03</td>
<td>- .09</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>- .09</td>
<td>- .13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Relationship Satisfaction</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>- .14</td>
<td>- .15</td>
<td>- .29*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. *p < .05, **p < .01. Due to the large number of hypothesis tests, significance levels between .05 and .01 are considered “nonsignificant trends.”
Figure 1. Conceptualization map of adoption identity and relationship development with emotion.
Figure 2. Flowchart indicating participation across time and measures used at each time point.
Figure 3. Flowchart of four research questions and variables involved in predictions and outcomes.
Figure 4. Total sum of specific emotions directed at birth parent(s).
Figure 5. Total sum of specific emotions directed at adoptive parent(s).
Figure 6. Total sum of specific emotions directed at other.
Figure 7. Total sum of specific emotions directed at self, very low occurrence.
APPENDIX A

ADOPTION INTERVIEW

Interviewer Instructions: Use probes when appropriate and necessary, they are bolded. Alternate ways of phrasing the questions are provided in italics below the original question. Use these questions if the original question is confusing to the YA or if it seems inappropriate given the type of relationship they are responding about. Interviewer comments or instructions to the YA are indicated by a bold “Interviewer.”

Interviewer: In this interview we are going to talk about your adoption story. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; we want to hear about your experiences.
When communicating in chat sometimes it is difficult to tell when someone has completed a thought.
I will use an asterisk (*) when I have completed a question or series of questions. When you have completed your response to a question please also use an asterisk to let me know you are done.
Don’t worry about grammar, spelling, or punctuation.
I have a couple questions before we get into the actual interview.

➔ How often do you use chat rooms or instant messaging? A) Daily, B) Several Times a Week, C) Once a Week, D) Once a Month, E) Less Than Once a Month, F) Other, specify
➔ Do you have any concerns about using chat rooms? If they have concerns, this is the time to address them
➔ Where are you doing this online interview? A) Home, B) Work, C) Library, D) Café, E) Other, specify
➔ Is anyone with you right now? A) Partner (spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend, etc.), B) Parent, C) Sibling, E) Roommate F) Other, specify

ADOPTION STORY (ALL RESPONDENTS):

Interviewer Instructions: The goal of this first set of questions is to elicit the respondent’s own narrative about his or her adoption. As in all the following sections, probes will be used as necessary to elicit a complete response. Probes are not optional. If these questions were not answered spontaneously by the respondent, you should ask each of them.

1.
Please start by telling me your adoption story.
   I’m particularly interested in why you were placed for adoption, why your parents chose adoption as a way to build a family, how you were told about being adopted, and briefly
about any contact you have had with your birth family (we will go into more detail about that later.)

→ **Probe:** Why were you placed for adoption?
→ **Probe:** Why did your parents choose adoption?
→ **Probe:** How were you told about your adoption?
→ (IF there is a search story be sure to keep this information in mind as you ask questions in the search section)

**TALKING ABOUT ADOPTION (ALL RESPONDENTS):**

**Interviewer:** In this section of the interview, we’ll be talking about conversations you have had with others about adoption. Now I would like to ask about how you have discussed adoption with your parents.

2.
Please describe your most recent adoption related conversation with your parents.

   **Probe:** What prompted this conversation?
   **Probe:** When did this conversation take place?

3.
How comfortable are these conversations?

**Interviewer Instructions:** If the subject of searching arises in the answer to questions 2 and 3 please move to the SEARCHING section beginning at Q69 followed by the COLLABORATION section beginning at Q60. After completing these sections out of order return to Q4 and ask remaining questions.

4.
Do you think your adoptive parents currently know something about your adoption that they have not shared with you?

→ **Probe:** If yes: Why do you think this?

5.
Was there a time when your adoptive parents knew something about your adoption that they did not share with you?

→ **Probe:** If yes: What was the information?
→ **Probe:** If yes: When and how did they share it with you?
→ **Probe:** If yes: What was your reaction after learning the information?
→ **Probe:** If yes: How did you feel after learning the information?
→ **Probe:** If yes: Why do you think your adoptive parents waited to share this information?
6. Do you currently know something about your adoption or birth family that you have not shared with your adoptive parents?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* What is that information?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* If or when will you share this information with your parents?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* What entered into your decision not to share this information?

7. With whom can you talk about your adoption most openly and honestly?

8. What are the things you talk about?

9. How comfortable are these conversations?

10. Please tell me about any groups, either formal or informal (like internet listservs, chat rooms, support groups, advocacy groups, groups of friends) in which you talk about being adopted?
    → **Probe:** How did your involvement begin?
    → **Probe:** What was the extent of your involvement?
    → **Probe:** What were your reasons for involvement?
    → **Probe:** *If formal groups:* What are the names of these organizations?

**BIRTHMOTHER KNOWLEDGE AND CONTACT (ALL RESPONDENTS Q. 11):**

11. Please tell me about your birthmother.
    → **Probe:** What do you know about her? Do you know her name?
    → **Probe:** How did you learn that information?
    → **Probe:** Please describe your relationship with her.
    → **Probe:** How has your relationship evolved over time?

**Interviewer Instructions:** If there has been NO birthmother contact and is no birthmother relationship, skip to “birthfather knowledge and contact” section.

12. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is not at all close, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely close, please provide your perspective (rating) on your relationship with your birthmother.

13. Is contact direct or through an agency?
14. Which of the following types of contact do you have: gifts, letters, pictures, e-mail, phone calls or visits?

**If direct contact:**

15. Do you contact your BIRTHMOTHER directly or do your parents make the arrangements for phone calls, visits or letters?

  → **Probe:** *If parents arrange:* Has this recently changed or do you expect this to change?

16. Have you visited your BIRTHMOTHER alone?

17. How often do you have contact with your BIRTHMOTHER?

  → **Probe:** What pattern of contact do you have with your BIRTHMOTHER in the last year?

18. Now that you are of legal age, what role do you play in the coordination of contact?

**If indirect contact:**

19. Do you contact the agency directly or do your parents make the arrangements for the exchange of information?

  → **Probe:** *If parents arrange:* has this recently changed or do you expect this to change?

20. How often do you have contact with your BIRTHMOTHER?

  → *(How often do you have contact with your mother in a year?)*

21. Now that you are of legal age, what role do you play in the coordination of contact?

**Questions for all direct and indirect:**

22. Across time have there been attempts at contact that have not been acknowledged by your BIRTHMOTHER?

  → **Probe:** *If yes:* What types of contact were these attempts?

  → **Probe:** *If yes:* What were the circumstances and how did you feel?
→ **Probe:** *If yes:* Approximately how old were you when your attempt wasn’t acknowledged?

23. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely dissatisfied, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely satisfied, please provide your perspective (rating) on your satisfaction with your current contact arrangements with your BIRTHMOTHER.

24. Would you like a change in contact with your BIRTHMOTHER to take place?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Could you describe the change and what steps you might take to implement the change?

25. Now think back to when you were a sophomore in high school.
   Using the same scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely dissatisfied, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely satisfied, please provide your perspective (rating) on your satisfaction with your contact arrangements with your BIRTHMOTHER when you were a sophomore in high school.

26. Was there any change in the amount or type of contact you have had with your birth mother between your sophomore year in high school and now?
   **Interviewer Instructions:** If no, go to questions about birthfather knowledge and contact.
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Describe what happened.
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* What prompted the change?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Did the change involve direct contact, or was it arranged through the agency or your parents?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* How did you feel about the change?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Please tell me what brought about the change.

**BIRTHFATHER KNOWLEDGE AND CONTACT (ALL RESPONDENTS FOR Q. 27):**

27. Please tell me about your birthfather.
   → **Probe:** What do you know about him? Do you know his name?
   → **Probe:** How did you learn that information?
   → **Probe:** Please describe your relationship with him.
   → **Probe:** How has your relationship evolved over time?

**Interviewer Instructions:** If there has been NO birthfather contact and is no birthfather relationship, skip to “Third birthfamily member knowledge and contact” section.

28.
On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is not at all close, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely close, please provide your perspective (rating) on your relationship with your birthfather.

29. Is contact direct or through an agency?

30. Which of the following types of contact do you have: gifts, letters, pictures, e-mail, phone calls or visits?

If direct contact:

31. Do you contact your BIRTHFATHER directly or do your parents make the arrangements for phone calls, visits or letters?
   → Probe: If parents arrange: Has this recently changed or do you expect this to change?

32. Have you visited your BIRTHFATHER alone?

33. How often do you have contact with your BIRTHFATHER?
   → Probe: What pattern of contact have you had with your BIRTHFATHER in the past year?

34. Now that you are of legal age, what role do you play in the coordination of contact?

If indirect contact:

35. Do you contact the agency directly or do your parents make the arrangements for the exchange of information?
   → Probe: If parents arrange: Has this recently changed or do you expect this to change?

36. How often do you have contact with your BIRTHFATHER?
   → Probe: How often in a year do you have contact with your birthfather?

37. Now that you are of legal age, what role do you play in the coordination of contact?
Questions for all direct and indirect:

38. Across time have there been attempts at contact that have not been acknowledged by your BIRTHFATHER?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* When was the contact?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* What type of contact was it?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* What were the circumstances and how did you feel?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Approximately how old were you when your attempt wasn’t acknowledged?

39. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely dissatisfied, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely satisfied, please provide your perspective (rating) on your satisfaction with your current contact arrangements with your BIRTHFATHER.

40. Would you like a change in contact with your BIRTHFATHER to take place?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* could you describe the change and what steps you might take to implement the change?

41. Now think back to when you were a sophomore in high school.
   Using the same scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely dissatisfied, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely satisfied, please provide your perspective (rating) on your satisfaction with your contact arrangements with your BIRTHFATHER when you were a sophomore in high school.

42. Was there any change in the amount or type of contact you have had with your birth father between your sophomore year in high school and now?
   **Interviewer Instructions:** If no, go to questions about third birthfamily member knowledge and contact.
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Please describe what happened.
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* What prompted the change?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Did the change involve direct contact, or was it arranged through the agency or your parents?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* How did you feel about the change?
   → **Probe:** *If yes:* Please tell me what brought about the change.

THIRD BIRTHFAMILY MEMBER KNOWLEDGE AND CONTACT (ALL RESPONDENTS Q. 43):
43.
Is there one other member of your birth family (such as a birth grandparent or birth sibling) with whom you have a relationship? If so, who?

Interviewer Instructions: If there has been NO contact with birthmother, birthfather, or third birth family member, skip to Q60 for all.

44.
Please tell me about this birth family member. Who is this person? What is their relationship to you?
  → Probe: How has your relationship evolved over time?
  → Probe: What do you know about him / her? Do you know the name of the <family member noted>?
  → Probe: How did you learn that information?
  → Probe: Please describe your relationship with him/her.
  → Probe: How has your relationship evolved over time?

45.
On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is not at all close, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely close, please provide your perspective (rating) on your relationship with (identified person).

46.
Is contact direct or through an agency?

47.
Which of the following types of contact do you have: gifts, letters, pictures, e-mail, phone calls or visits?

  If direct contact:

48.
Do you contact your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED directly or do your parents make the arrangements for phone calls, visits or letters?
  → Probe: If parents arrange: Has this recently changed or do you expect this to change?

49.
Have you visited your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED alone?

50.
How often do you have contact with your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED?
→ **Probe:** What pattern of contact have you had with FAMILY MEMBER NOTED in the past year?

51.
Now that you are of legal age, what role do you play in the coordination of contact?

**If indirect contact.**

52.
Do you contact the agency directly or do your parents make the arrangements for the exchange of information?

→ **Probe:** *If parents arrange:* Has this recently changed or do you expect this to change?

53.
How often do you have contact with your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED?

→ **Probe:** How often do you have contact with FAMILY MEMBER NOTED in a year?

54.
Now that you are of legal age, what role do you play in the coordination of contact?

**Questions for all direct and indirect:**

55.
Across time have there been attempts at contact that have not been acknowledged by your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED?

→ **Probe:** *If yes:* When was the contact?

→ **Probe:** *If yes:* What type of contact?

→ **Probe:** *If yes:* What were the circumstances and how did you feel?

→ **Probe:** *If yes:* Approximately how old were you when your attempt wasn’t acknowledged?

56.
On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely dissatisfied, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely satisfied, please provide your perspective (rating) on your satisfaction with your current contact arrangements with your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED.

57.
Would you like a change in contact with your FAMILY MEMBER NOTED to take place?

→ **Probe:** *If yes:* Could you describe the change and what steps you might take to implement the change?

58.
Now think back to when you were a sophomore in high school.
Using the same scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely dissatisfied, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely satisfied, please provide your perspective (rating) on your satisfaction with your contact arrangements with your BIRTH FAMILY MEMBER NOTED when you were a sophomore in high school.

59.
Was there any change in the amount or type of contact you have had with your BIRTH FAMILY MEMBER NOTED between your sophomore year in high school and now?

**Interviewer Instructions:** If no, go to questions about birthfather knowledge and contact.

- **Probe:** If yes: Please describe what happened.
- **Probe:** If yes: What prompted the change?
- **Probe:** If yes: Did the change involve direct contact, or was it arranged through the agency or your parents?
- **Probe:** If yes: How did you feel about the change?
- **Probe:** If yes: Please tell me what brought about the change.

**CONTACT WITH BIRTHFAMILY AND ADOPTED SIBLINGS (ALL RESPONDENTS):**

60.
What more would you like to know about your birth family?

- **Probe:** If other birth family mentioned: What more would you like to know about ___?

61.
Please tell me about any things that bother you about your birthparents or any things that you worry about relating to your adoption.

- **Probe:** If other birth family mentioned: Does anything bother you about ____?

62.
How many adopted siblings do you have?

**Interviewer Instructions:** For the following questions probe for up to two adopted siblings. If more than two, probe for the two siblings closest in age to the respondent.

63.
Is your sibling’s adoption different than yours in terms of contact with birth family or the type of information you have about your birth family?

- **Probe:** If differences: Have the differences influenced contact with your birthmother or your desire for more information about your birth mother or birth family?

64.
What kind of interaction was there between your siblings and each other’s birth family members? (include visits, gifts etc.)
65. Do these differences present problems for you or your sibling?

**COLLABORATION (RESPONDENT WITH CONTACT):**

*Interviewer Instructions:* If no contact of any sort has occurred, omit this section. If contact has occurred, the following questions should be asked to determine, from the young adult's perspective, how collaborative the relationship between the adoptive parents and birth family members has been.

66. We are interested in finding out how you, your adoptive parents and birth family members have managed the contact you have had with each other over the years. Please give an example of the type of contact you typically have had.
   -> **Probe:** Who initiated the contact?
   -> **Probe:** How did you make your plans for contact?
   -> **Probe:** Who was involved in setting things up and making sure they happened?
   -> **Probe:** What happened when things don’t go as planned (for example, someone has to reschedule)?
   -> **Probe:** How did people get along?

67. Do you ever feel that your loyalties or time are divided between your birthparents and adoptive parents?
   -> **Probe:** How does this work, and how do you feel about it?

68. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is extremely uncomfortable, 5 is neutral, and 10 is extremely comfortable, please provide your perspective (rating) on the following relationships. (Ask for birthmother, or for primary birth family contact, if that is not the birthmother.)
   -> ____ adoptive mother’s relationship (comfort level) toward birthmother (or primary birth family contact)
   -> ____ adoptive father’s relationship (comfort level) toward birthmother
   -> ____ birthmother’s relationship (comfort level) toward adoptive mother
   -> ____ birthmother’s relationship (comfort level) toward adoptive father

**SEARCHING (ALL RESPONDENTS):**

69. Some adopted persons consider whether they want to have more contact or information about their birth families. This can also be true for those who already have some information. Some choose to seek out more information or contact, and others do not. How about you?
→ **Probe:** Are you currently seeking more information?
→ **Probe:** Have you sought more information in the past?
→ **Probe:** Did any of these activities involve use of the internet? If so, how?

**If not currently seeking out more information or contact:**

70.
How did you come to this decision?

71.
What factors did you consider?

72.
What factors might cause you to reconsider and possibly change your position in the future?

73.
Have you sought additional information in the past?
   → **Probe:** What info did you look for?
   → **Probe:** How have you come to this decision?
   → **Probe:** What factors did you consider?
   → **Probe:** What role did your parents play in helping find such information?
   → **Probe:** Did you seek the assistance of any agency or professional? What role did they play?

**If current currently seeking out more information or contact:**

74.
What information would you like?

75.
When in the future would you seek this information out?

76.
How likely are you to seek this info out?

77.
How have you come to this decision?

78.
What factors did you consider?

79.
What factors might cause you to reconsider and possibly change your position in the future?

80.
Have you sought additional information in the past?
   → **Probe:** What role did your parents play in helping find such information?
   → **Probe:** Did you seek the assistance of any agency or professional? What role did they play?

**If no contact with birthfamily:**

81.
*If they have no contact:* Do you think you might ever want to search for your birthparents?

82.
Do you think your birth parents will ever want to search for you? Why or why not?

83.
What advice would you give to those considering whether or not to seek our further information or contact with their birthparents?

**FAMILY REPRESENTATIONS (ALL RESPONDENTS):**

84.
Now we'd like you to think about the family you grew up in. How do you think about who you are as a family? Please tell me an important or meaningful story that illustrates something about your family.
   → **Take a moment to think of a meaningful event that gives me an idea of what your family is like.**

85.
Please describe your family as you envision it 10 years from now – not the family you grew up in, but your own family.
   → **Probe:** Who will be in it?
   → **Probe:** How will it be similar to or different from the family you grew up in?

86.
How do you envision your relationships with your adoptive family (your parents and siblings) as you establish your own family in the future?

87.
As you look to the future, what aspects from your adoptive family would you like to continue into your own family?
88. What aspects of your adoptive family would you like to leave behind and not carry forward into your own family?

89. When you think about the future, what are the ways in which being an adopted person influences your plans or decisions about dating, marriage, having, or adopting children?

90. Would you consider adopting a child?
   → **Probe:** Under what circumstances?
   → **Probe:** Why or why not?

**ADVICE QUESTIONS (ALL RESPONDENTS):**

91. If you were giving advice to a person who was considering adopting a child, what would you tell them?

92. If you were giving advice to a person placing a child for adoption, what would you tell them?

93. If you were giving advice about adoption practice to people running adoption agencies, what would you tell them?

94. What insights about families has being an adopted person given you?

**Interviewer:** We’ve just finished the first part of the interview. There are two more parts yet to complete. I am going to walk you through saving this interview on your online menu page. Do you still have that page open? Ok, click on the “Interview 1” button, go to the bottom of the screen and click “Save and Complete.” Before we end our interviewing session I would like to ask you for your parent’s contact information. We will be interviewing them at a later date and I would like to confirm their address, phone, and email with you. Could you give me that information now?
Interviewer Instructions: If they don’t know right now, ask again at the end of the next interview. If they do know, fill out a Parent Info Form. Get as much information as you can. If the participant cannot remember the address at this time, get the information you can now, and ask for the address again at the end of the next interview.

Interviewer Instructions: If they completed Interview 1 and 2, direct them to do the same for Interview 2.

Interviewer: Our next interview is scheduled for <interview date and time>. You will come to the same menu page using your ID and password and click on the Interview <2 or 3> button. Follow the link and I will be waiting in the chat room.

END OF ADOPTION INTERVIEW
APPENDIX B

PERSONAL INTERACTION INTERVIEW

Interviewer Instructions: Use probes when appropriate and necessary, they are bolded. Alternate ways of phrasing the questions are provided in italics below the original question. Use these questions if the original question is confusing to the YA or if it seems inappropriate given the type of relationship they are responding about. Interviewer comments or instructions to the YA are indicated by a bold “Interviewer.”

Interviewer Instructions: Only ask the following two questions if you are starting a new interview session with your participant.

Interviewer: ➔ Where are you doing this online interview? A) Home, B) Work, C) Library, D) Café, E) Other, specify

➔ Is anyone with you right now? A) Partner (spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend, etc.), B) Parent, C) Sibling, E) Roommate F) Other, specify

Interviewer: In this section of the interview we are going to talk about a close relationship or friendship.
There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; we want to hear about your experiences.
When communicating in chat sometimes it is difficult to tell when someone has completed a thought.
Just to remind you, I will use an asterisk (*) when I have completed a question or series of questions.
When you have completed your response to a question please also use an asterisk to let me know you are done.
Any questions?

PERSONAL INTERACTION INTERVIEW:

Interviewer Instructions: When completing this interview portion with the YA, remember to use the name of the YAP when possible. Always make sure to describe the relationship between the YA and the YAP using the words provided by the YA. For example, if the YA is responding about their best friend refer to the friendship. Use probes when appropriate and necessary, they are bolded. Alternate ways of phrasing the questions are provided in italics below the original question. Use these questions if the original question is confusing to the YA or if it seems inappropriate given the type of relationship they are responding about. These lines of questioning maybe especially useful for males responding about other males and for anyone talking about a friendship rather than a romantic relationship.
Interviewer: We're interested in learning about your closest relationships.
Please type in a list of the three people you feel closest to. Please list these three in rank order with the first one being the person you are closest to. By “close,” we mean an emotionally caring relationship.
This list can include spouses, romantic partners, family, friends, coworkers, etc. but not your parents, your children, pets, dead persons, anyone under the age of 18, or spiritual beings such as God.
Just type their first name and last initial only and also include their relationship to you (spouse, romantic partner, friend, co-worker, etc.)

Interviewer: In this part of the interview, you will answer questions about the current/most recent relationship you consider to be closest, regardless of whether this person is male or female or whether this is a romantic relationship or not.
If you currently are in a romantic relationship, that might be the most appropriate one to talk about.
We are going to ask you to briefly describe the relationship. Discuss activities that you do. Talk about challenges and rewards of the relationship. Explain the ways you both show care. And describe topics you discuss within your relationship.

Interviewer Instructions: At this point verify that the YA wants to talk about the person that they listed as number one on their list of three close relationships.

Interviewer: Now we want to talk about your relationship with <YAP name>. Please answer the following questions about <YAP name> and your relationship with her or him.

1. Would you briefly describe this person?
   ➔ (What is s/he like?)

2. How long have you been close?

3. What is his/her view of you?
   ➔ (How do you think he/she would describe you?)

4. What kinds of activities do the two of you do together?
   ➔ (How do you spend your time when you are together?)

5. What kinds of activities do the two of you do separately?
   ➔ (If they live in different cities, ask: What do you do separately when you are in the same city?)
6. How do you feel when <YAP> gets involved in separate activities in which you are not involved?
   → **Probe:** Why?

7. How does s/he feel when you get involved in separate activities in which s/he is not involved?
   → **Probe:** Why?

8. What kinds of things do the two of you usually talk about together?
   → **Probe:** Do you share worries and problems?

9. Do you talk about your relationship with one another?
   → **Probe:** What things concerning your relationship do you talk about?

10. Do you talk about any problems or differences in your relationship?
    → **Probe #1:** If subject says they HAVE problems/differences ask Questions a - d.
    → **Probe #2:** If subject says they DON'T HAVE problems/differences, ask Questions e – h.
    → **Probe #1:** If they have problems / differences:
        a) How are these dealt with?
           → **Probe:** Why this way?
        b) Who usually initiates efforts to deal with such problems?
           → **Probe:** If unequal, why?
        c) How do you react when s/he brings up problems or concerns to you about your relationship?
           → **Probe:** Why?
        d) How does s/he react when you bring up problems or concerns to him/her about your relationship?
           → **Probe:** Why?
    → **Probe #2:** If they don’t have problems / difficulties:
        e) Is there anything about him/her that you dislike?
           → **Probe:** Have you discussed this with him/her? How?
        f) Is there anything about yourself that gets on his/her nerves?
           → **Probe:** Has s/he expressed this to you?
        g) How do you react to his/her comments or feedback?
           → **Probe:** Why? Please give a recent example.
        h) Do you ever have any fights?
           → **Probe:** How do they usually get started?
           → **Probe:** How do the two of you deal with such differences?
11. Are there any ways in which you could be more open with <YAP>?

12. Are there any ways in which <YAP> could be more open with you?

13. In what ways do you show <Yap Name> you care about him/her?
   → (What ways do you show <YAP Name> that he/she matters to you?)

14. Would s/he like you to express your caring differently?
   → (Would s/he like you to express your caring appreciation/concern differently?)

15. In what ways does <YAP Name> show you s/he cares about you?
   → (What ways does <YAP Name> show you that you matter to him/her?)

16. Would you like him/her to express his/her caring differently?
   → (Would you like him/her to express his/her appreciation/concern differently?)
   → (Do you do things for each other without being asked or go out of your way to help?)

17. Would <YAP Name> say you are as concerned about his/her needs as your own?
   → **Probe:** Why?

18. In reference to your relationship overall, does one of you show more involvement than the other?
   → **Probe:** If yes, why?
   → **Probe:** Is this a source of difficulties?

19. How committed are you to this relationship?
   → **Probe:** How committed is s/he?

20. Do you ever feel in conflict about this relationship?
   → *(That is, Do you ever have mixed feelings about being in this relationship?)*

21.
Do you ever think about alternatives to your present relationship?

\( \rightarrow \) (If they are talking about their roommate, but they stated their roommate is their best friend--Q: Do you ever think about alternatives to having your roommate as your best friend?)

\( \rightarrow \) (Do you ever think about changing how much time you spend with <YAP Name>?)

\( \rightarrow \) (Do you ever think about increasing/decreasing the amount of information you share with <YAP Name>?)

22.
Given that every relationship has room to grow, how could you contribute to improving the general quality of your relationship as it currently exists?

**Interviewer:** Today we chatted with you about someone with whom you have a close relationship, <YAP Name>.

We would like to understand adopted young adult’s relationships so we would like to talk to the person you discussed being in a close relationship with.

Giving us this contact information is voluntary for you and it will not impact your role in the study. We will contact <YAP> similar to how we contacted you.

We will have him/her move through a consent form, much like you did.

After reading through the form, he/she can choose whether or not to participate.

You are not committing him/her to be in the study, you are simply allowing us to contact him/her.

If <YAP> agrees to participate, he/she will be compensated $50.

The interview will last between an hour and 2 hours and will consist of 2 brief online surveys a 20 question on-line relationship interview, similar to the one you participated in about <YAP>.

Would you please give me the contact information now?

**If yes:** Just as a reminder, everything in these interviews is confidential. That is to say that <YAP> won’t see anything you shared with us and you won’t see anything he/she shares.

**If no:** I completely understand you may want to talk to him/her first. You can either give me the information the next time we chat or someone from our project will contact you later for this information.

**If need more info:** It is important for us to fully understand relationships and in order to do so, we need multiple perspectives.

**Interviewer Instructions:** If they are not completing religion/work/school schedule a time to meet again.

**Interviewer:** Our next interview is scheduled for <interview date and time>. You will come to the same menu page using your ID and password and click on the Interview <2 or 3> button. Follow the link and I will be waiting in the chat room.

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Interviewer: Ok, now I am going to walk you through saving this interview on your online menu page. Do you still have that page open? Ok, click on the “Interview 2” button, go to the bottom of the screen and click “Save and Complete.”

END OF THE PII INTERVIEW.
APPENDIX C

RELIGION, WORK, SCHOOL

RELIGION / SPIRITUALITY / MORALITY

Interviewer Instructions: Only ask the following two questions if you are starting a new interviewing session with your participant.

Interviewer: ➔ Where are you doing this online interview? A) Home, B) Work, C) Library, D) Café, E) Other, specify

➔ Is anyone with you right now? A) Partner (spouse, boyfriend, girlfriend, etc.), B) Parent, C) Sibling, E) Roommate F) Other, specify

Interviewer: In this section, we are interested in finding out your views about spirituality, religion, and your own set of personal - moral values that make up your belief system. You may have your own personal sense of spirituality or moral values or you may be involved in a traditional religious practice; we would like to find about your views.

1. I'd like to ask about your particular spiritual or religious philosophy or affiliation. Please describe this in your own words.

2. How did you come to have these views?

3. What activities do you participate in that support your belief system?

4. Who encourages you in your spiritual or religious experience?

5. How do your beliefs influence your decisions, choices or actions about how to live your life?

6. What people or experiences have influenced your thinking about your beliefs? ➔ (Once again, these could be many different types of people and both positive and negative experiences.)

7. How similar are your beliefs to those of your parents or close family members?
8. How do your parents feel about your beliefs?

9. Was there ever a time when you came to doubt any of your beliefs?
   → **Probe:** If yes: When? Please tell me about what happened.
   → **Probe:** If yes: How have you resolved these questions?

10. Do you anticipate that your beliefs will stay the same or change over the next few years?
   → **Probe:** If you think they will be changing, how so?

11. Were there any spiritual or religious components in your parents’ decision to adopt you?
    → **Probe:** Have you ever discussed this with your parents?

12. How do your beliefs help you understand your adoption experience?

13. When you think about the future, what are the ways in which adoption enters into your thinking about spirituality or religion?

**SCHOOL AND OCCUPATION:**

1. Are you in school?
   → **Probe:** If no: Have you ever attended college or technical school?

2. What is / was your major field or primary area of study?

3. How did you come to decide on _____ as a major field?
   → **Probe:** When did you first become interested in (major field)?
   → **Probe:** What do you think influenced your choice to go into (major field)?

4. What do you find attractive about this field?

5. What drawbacks do you see about the field?
6. Have you thought about other majors / fields?
   → **Probe:** If yes: Why did you decide not to pursue this other field?

7. **If still in school:** What are you going to do after you finish your current level of schooling?

**Interviewer:** Now we are going to switch gears a bit and talk about the world of work.

8. Are you working now?

9. Please tell me about your job – what specifically do you do?

10. How did you come to decide on (your intended/current field of work)?
    → **Probe:** When did you make this decision?

11. What seems attractive about the (career choice or field mentioned)?

12. What kinds of difficulties or problems do you see associated with your career path?
    → **Probe:** Have you had any difficulties so far in pursuing your work?
    → **Probe:** If yes: What happened, and how did you deal with the difficulties?

13. What kinds of personal qualities are necessary to be successful in this kind of work?

14. Which of these qualities do you have?

15. Which of these qualities do you not have?

16. How does your mix of personal qualities, education, and experience fit with your chosen field of work?
    → **Probe:** Will you need to obtain more education?
    → **Probe:** Change your work style?
    → **Probe:** Look for a different kind of work?
    → **Probe:** What have you done so far (or what did you do) to pursue this kind of work?
17. What other lines of work have you considered?  
   → **Probe:** What line of work do you plan to pursue in the future?

**Interviewer:** Ok, now we are going to talk about your influences and future goals in terms of work and school.

18. What people or experiences have been major influences on your work and school choices?

19. What kinds of feelings did your parents have about your school choices?

20. How do your parents feel now about your career path?

21. What do you think you will be doing one year from now?

22. Five years from now?

23. How did you decide on this five year goal?

24. What are the ways in which being an adopted person enters into your educational or occupational plans or decision-making?

25. **If not currently working or in school:** What are you doing?

**Interviewer:** We have greatly appreciated your participation with this research project. Your input has been critically important. I have a few final questions for you.
   → Did you shorten your answers at any time because you were tired?
   → What did you like about the online chat interview?
   → What did you dislike about the online chat interview?
   → Are there any ways in which participation in this project has affected your thoughts, opinions or ideas about adoption? Can you tell me about that?
Interviewer: We've talked about quite a few things, but I wonder if there might be something that we have skipped which you feel might be important in our understanding you and your family. Is there anything you would like to add to what we have discussed?

Interviewer: Now that you have completed the interviews you can move on and complete the online surveys. Like our last interview, you will need to go back to your menu page and click on “Interview 3” and then “Save and Complete.” This will open up the first survey for you “Part 1.” Part 1 is a demographic survey that is followed by other parts that are shorter questionnaires. All 11 parts take approximately an hour total to complete. As a reminder, if you have not completed a part but need to log out of the system you can press the “Save and Exit” button at the bottom of the screen. This will save the information you entered up to that point and return you to the menu screen. When you are done with a part pressing “Save and Complete” will permanently save that part and move you on to the next. If you have any technical difficulties while completing the parts please contact the MTARP Project Manager, Sarah Friese at scfriese@umn.edu. I will be submitting your interview compensation form and you should get your first check for $75 within two weeks. Your second check will come following completion of the surveys which you are free to start at any time.

Interviewer Instructions: Thank the participant for his or her time and effort.

******************************************************************************
END OF THE INTERVIEW
******************************************************************************
APPENDIX D

THE ECR

Part 7

Instructions: The following statements concern how you feel in romantic relationships. We are interested in how you generally experience relationships, not just in what is happening in a current relationship. Respond to each statement by indicating how much you agree or disagree with it. Check in the appropriate box, using the following rating scale:

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<th>Statement</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down.</td>
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<td>2. I worry about being abandoned.</td>
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<td>3. I am very comfortable being close to romantic partners.</td>
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<td>4. I worry a lot about my relationships.</td>
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<td>5. Just when my partner starts to get close to me I find myself pulling away.</td>
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<td>6. I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them.</td>
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<td>7. I get uncomfortable when a romantic partner wants to be very close.</td>
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<td>8. I worry a fair amount about losing my partner.</td>
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<td>9. I don't feel comfortable opening up to romantic partners.</td>
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<td>10. I often wish that my partner's feelings for me were as strong as my feelings for him/her.</td>
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<td>11. I want to get close to my partner, but I keep pulling back.</td>
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<td>12. I often want to merge completely with romantic partners, and this sometimes scares them away.</td>
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<td>13. I am nervous when partners get too close to me.</td>
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<td>15. I feel comfortable sharing my private thoughts and feelings with my partner.</td>
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<td>16. My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away</td>
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<td>17. I try to avoid getting too close to my partners.</td>
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<td>18. I need a lot of reassurance that I am loved by my partner.</td>
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<td>19. I find it relatively easy to get close to my partner.</td>
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<td>20. Sometimes I feel that I force my partners to show more feeling, more commitment.</td>
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<td>21. I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on romantic partners.</td>
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<td>22. I do not often worry about being abandoned.</td>
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<td>23. I prefer not to be too close to romantic partners.</td>
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<td>24. If I can't get my partner to show interest in me, I get upset or angry.</td>
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<td>25. I tell my partner just about everything.</td>
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<td><strong>26.</strong> I find that my partner(s) don’t want to get as close as I would like.</td>
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<td><strong>27.</strong> I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my partner.</td>
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<td><strong>28.</strong> When I’m not involved in a relationship, I feel somewhat anxious and insecure.</td>
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<td><strong>29.</strong> I feel comfortable depending on romantic partners.</td>
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<td><strong>30.</strong> I get frustrated when my partner is not around as much as I would like.</td>
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<td><strong>31.</strong> I don’t mind asking romantic partners for comfort, advice, or help.</td>
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<td><strong>32.</strong> I get frustrated if romantic partners are not available when I need them.</td>
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<td><strong>33.</strong> It helps to turn to my romantic partner in times of need.</td>
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<td><strong>34.</strong> When romantic partners disapprove of me, I feel really bad about myself.</td>
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<td><strong>35.</strong> I turn to my partner for many things, including comfort and reassurance.</td>
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<td><strong>36.</strong> I resent it when my partner spends time away from me.</td>
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Please add any additional comments or questions:
APPENDIX E

CLOSEST RELATIONSHIP FOR INTIMACY INTERVIEW

Note. Emerging adult (EA) here referred to as Young Adult (YA).

REVISED
ID # ____  ____  ____  ____

We are interested in learning about people’s close relationships, and we want to talk to you about the close relationship you have with the person you discussed in the intimacy interview you completed.

Close person’s First Name: ______________________

How long have you had a relationship with this person? ____ years ____ months (please fill in numbers)

Now we would like you to answer the following questions about the person you have designated above.

1. How much free time do you spend with this person?
   Little or None: 1   Somewhat: 2   Very Much: 3   Extremely Much: 4   The Most: 5

2. How much do you and this person get upset with or mad at each other?
   Little or None: 1   Somewhat: 2   Very Much: 3   Extremely Much: 4   The Most: 5

3. How much does this person teach you how to do things that you don’t know?
   Little or None: 1   Somewhat: 2   Very Much: 3   Extremely Much: 4   The Most: 5

4. How much do you and this person get on each other’s nerves?
   Little or None: 1   Somewhat: 2   Very Much: 3   Extremely Much: 4   The Most: 5

5. How much do you talk about everything with this person?
   Little or None: 1   Somewhat: 2   Very Much: 3   Extremely Much: 4   The Most: 5

6. How much do you help this person with things she/he can’t do by her/himself?
7. How much does this person like or love you?

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8. How much does this person treat you like you’re admired and respected?

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9. Who tells the other person what to do more often, you or this person?

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10. How sure are you that this relationship will last no matter what?

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11. How much do you play around and have fun with this person?

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12. How much do you and this person disagree and quarrel?

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13. How much does this person help you figure out or fix things?

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14. How much do you and this person get annoyed with each other’s behavior?

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15. How much do you share your secrets and private feelings with this person?

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16. How much do you protect and look out for this person?

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17. How much does this person really care about you?

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18. How much does this person treat you like you’re good at many things?

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19. Between you and this person, who tends to be the BOSS in this relationship?

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20. How sure are you that your relationship will last in spite of fights?

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21. How often do you go places and do enjoyable things with this person?

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22. How much do you and this person argue with each other?

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23. How often does this person help you when you need to get something done?

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24. How much do you and this person hassle or nag one another?

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25. How much do you talk to this person about things that you don’t want others to know?

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26. How much do you take care of this person?

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27. How much does this person have a strong feeling of affection (loving or liking) toward you?

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28. How much does this person like or approve of the things you do?

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<th>The Most</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. In your relationship with this person, who tends to take charge and decide what should be done?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. How sure are you that your relationship will continue in the years to come?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. How often do you turn to this person for support with personal problems?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. How often do you depend on this person for help, advice, or sympathy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
33. When you are feeling down or upset, how often do you depend on this person to cheer things up?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. How often does this person point out your faults or put you down?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35. How often does this person criticize you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. How often does this person say mean or harsh things to you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. How often does this person get his/her way when you two do not agree about what to do?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. How often does this person end up being the one who makes the decisions for both of you?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39. How does this person get you to do things his/her way?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. How satisfied are you with your relationship with this person?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. How good is your relationship with this person?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
42. How happy are you with the way things are between you and this person?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Little or None</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very Much</th>
<th>Extremely Much</th>
<th>The Most</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F

DISCRETE EMOTION CODING

Grant-Marsney Dissertation

Part I: Coding Procedures and Guidelines

Coding Procedures:
All coding and consensus must be done in Tobin 112-114. No transcripts should leave these offices.

You will need the following materials: your own codebook (you might want to keep it at the office for safe-keeping between meetings), a transcript to code (via computer), and a code sheet. DO NOT edit the transcript itself as other coders and other coding groups will be using them over a period of years.

Initial coding of each transcript is done independently, even if you have access to other coders transcripts-DO NOT review their coding until the consensus meeting, once your coding is completed. Once you have completed your coding, DO NOT CHANGE YOUR ANSWERS ON THE INITIAL CODE SHEET. This is critically important, as we need to know how well coders agreed prior to meeting. You will then meet with the other person who coded the same transcript and review your codes, one-by-one, to note agreements and disagreements. For each item where there is disagreement, coding partners should discuss the options and arrive at consensus judgment about the best code. You will have a sheet on which to write the final code and a brief justification for the final code. The coding supervisor (Holly) will review consensus decisions. All coding sheets will be handed into Holly Grant-Marsney.

Consensus meetings should be held within 1 week of coding so that you remember the specific case. When you hold a consensus meeting, all disagreements should be checked with regard to the evidence found in the transcript and the specific codes for that question. The idea is not to “split the difference” [e.g., I gave it a “1” and you gave it a “3,” so let’s call it a “2”], but rather to assign the most accurate code for the item.

General Guidelines:
If you are coding an item as “other,” make a brief note on the codesheet concerning what it was about, in order to facilitate refinement of the codebook and achieving reliability.

If there is something special, distinctive, or unusual that the code does not capture, please complete an “insight sheet.” (For example, 0505-04 is a young woman (adopted child) who has placed a child of her own for adoption).
If needed, please use interviewer notes and information from the family file to fill in information that is missing (meeting dates that are unclear, age of adolescent, a response that is non-verbal). Your supervisor can show you where these files are kept.

**Part II: Coding Instructions**

Every coder should work independently and record their answers on separate coding sheets. Each code should be written on the allotted spaces, adhering to the following guidelines:

- Code the material given in response to each particular question, but also read through the entire interview to glean relevant information. Code all specific emotions indicated on response sheet.

- Many of the questions allow coders to code information as “other.” Use the “other” code only when you cannot fit the respondent’s answer into one of the categories provided, but the respondent gave a legitimate response to the question. When you code a response as “other,” write that response next to the code on your answer sheet.

- Many of the questions ask the adopted adolescent about their adoptive parents as a unit, but the codebook allows different codes to be entered for the adoptive mother and the adoptive father. If the adolescent answers the question about their adoptive parents as a unit, enter the same codes for adoptive mother and adoptive father (can be entered into parents together if applicable)

- The adopted adolescents will often begin an answer with “I don’t know,” but will then proceed to answer the question. **Code the content.** The “I don’t know” probably means they haven’t got a ready answer and it gives them a moment to think it through (does not count as codeable data). If, however, the “I don’t know” is a stand alone response, you may code this as uncertainty.

- After both of the coders assigned to an interview have independently coded the interview, they will meet to compare their answers. In this meeting, they must come to consensus on every item where there was disagreement. Coders should not change any of their individual responses directly on their answer sheets. Rather, they should fill out a “consensing” sheet, including the following information for each question on which there was disagreement: (1) the question number; (2) both of the coders’ original answers; (3) the final code upon which they have agreed; and (4) the reason why the coders agreed on that code. After the consensing meeting, coders should save individual answer sheets for Holly, with the consensed sheet in file as well.
Protocol
- Create a new file for excel coding sheet (copy and paste original) and transcript (copy and paste WC) in your folder-add your initials to the title
- Read the transcript
- Read the transcript, highlighting emotion in yellow
- ONLY code EXPLICIT v. implicit emotion
- Laughs may be coded as part of a unit, not stand alone

Units
A unit is defined as a singular emotion from beginning to the end of the emotional thought for a present emotion (e.g., not hypothetical or past). An emotional thought can be a phrase, sentence, or more, as long as it is a continued expression of that emotion (e.g., part of the sentence should still convey that emotion, even if the identified portion is removed). The unit should be coded from the beginning of phrase or onset of the description of the person’s felt experience (e.g., Then I felt…) until the end of that felt experience *evidenced by a break/change in thought, pause, or break. Code any present emotion in the transcript, but if it is redundant and ambiguous (e.g., “same as before”)-this is uncodeable.

**Note that questions for future emotions, are also not considered present emotions.**

Emotions
Code as the best fit, though on occasion more than one emotion might be appropriate in valence. In other words, the categories for emotions are mutually exclusive. Sometimes the question will prompt responses that can be implied to contain emotion, remember to refer back to the coding manual and identify only explicit emotion. When coding enter a new row underneath variables when needed

Targets: Remember the reference point of the target participant’s feelings—place the coded emotion in the column that is associated with the person it describes (e.g., adoptive mother, adoptive father, birth mother).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Name</th>
<th>Coding ending with __</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Love/caring (<strong>receive</strong> + <strong>send</strong>)</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect/admiration</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Content/Happiness</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hope</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shock/surprise</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longing</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadness/hurt</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger/Frustration</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remorse</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jealousy</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hate</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuting the Negative</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disappointment</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privilege</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No feeling</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed feeling</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G
CODING DEFINITIONS

Love (receive) – to show good reception of love being shown to you. To actively and purposely appreciate and enjoy the love others give you (send) – unselfish, loyal, and benevolent concern for the good of another; strong affection for another rising out of kinship or personal ties
  - Synonyms: attachment, devotion, fondness

Respect/Admiration – to consider worthy of high regard; to recognize with gratitude. To grasp the nature, worth, quality, or significance of
  - Synonyms: consider, esteem, regard, admire

Content/Happiness – state of well-being and contentment, to be filled with joy; pleasure
  - Synonyms: blessedness; blissfulness; joy

Hope - to have faith that something will occur; faith in some sort of change

Shock/Surprise- not expecting something to occur; disbelief

Confusion- not knowing what to say, do or what to think; in a state of uncertainty; not clear

Longing/curiosity- wanting something; persistent desire for something or someone

Insecurity – not having a feeling of sense of worth or stability

Fear – being afraid of something/someone

Sadness/Hurt – affected by unhappiness or grief (SADNESS), feeling rejected or emotional pain from something (HURT)

Anger/ Resentment - a strong feeling of displeasure and belligerence aroused by a wrong; feeling displeased from an emotional injury or insult

Remorse – deep and painful regret from the subject's perception of an emotional wrongdoing; a negative emotion due to committing an act against themselves or someone else

Loneliness - experiencing an uncomfortable emotion due to the lack of social interactions

Jealousy - to be envious of something or someone

Hate - to find something extremely unfavorable and to desire its non-existence
Refuting the Negative – the idea that an event/occurrence or situation is (assumption) already negative without actually saying it’s negative. To deny the truth or accuracy. To make a positive statement by dismissing the negative perceived by others. For example, “it’s not that bad.”

Disappointment - becoming dissatisfied due to the failure of either the self or someone else to meet up to your expectations

Uncertainty - unable to make a decision or to doubt the knowledge of

Privilege - an advantage or special right

No feeling - having no charged reaction to an internal or external stimulus

Mixed Feelings - simultaneously expressing 2/+ emotions that can be radically different than each other
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Garber, K. J. (2013). “YOU were adopted?!!” An exploratory analysis of microaggressions experienced by adolescent adopted individuals (Unpublished master’s thesis). University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.


