Differentiation of self in adult adoptees in Spain: the role of family functioning, adoption communication and age at adoption

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses differentiation of self in adult adoptees and its relationship with family functioning and adoption communication in the adoptive family, and with some sociodemographic and adoption variables. Fifty domestic and intercountry adult adoptees completed a self-report including the Differentiation of Self Scale, the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scale-20Esp, the Adoption Communication Scale-Spanish, and a sociodemographic questionnaire. Results revealed significant relationships between differentiation of self and family functioning, adoption communication, and adoption variables. Family functioning predicted 27% of differentiation and mother adoption communication explained 9%. Differentiation of self appears to be an interesting concept in studying adult adoptees' adjustment.

Keywords: adult adoptee, differentiation of self, family functioning, adoption communication, age at adoption

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During their adult lives, adoptees must face a series of normative challenges common to all adults (adopted or not), such as consolidating their identity, building intimate relationships and leaving a legacy for future generations and society (Erikson, 1985). They must also face some non-normative tasks, which are specific for adoptees, such as-coping with gaps in their identity and doubts about the commitment of others or re-experiencing the adoption-related grief after becoming parents (Brodzinsky et al., 2011).

How adults cope with these challenges and the level of psychological adjustment they achieve may be a good indicator of adoption success in transforming a threatened developmental trajectory under threat into a normalized one during childhood and adolescence (Berástegui, 2005).

There is a growing interest in understanding adoption's impact on adult psychological adjustment (e.g., Corral et al., 2021; Grotevant et al., 2005; Martín & Corral, 2021; Melero & Sánchez-Sandoval, 2017; Sánchez-Sandoval & Melero, 2018; Storsbergen et al., 2010). In a recent meta-analysis, Corral et al. (2021) found that adult adoptees showed higher rates of psychological maladjustment than their nonadopted peers, including hostility and anger, anxiety, depression, somatization, problem behaviour, substance abuse and psychiatric care. Neither gender nor age at the study's time or educational status significantly affected adjustment. In contrast, they found better outcomes in domestic vs. intercountry adoptees. Age at adoption, whether the child was under or over the age of 12 months, did not play a significant role in adult adoption adjustment, consistent with other meta-analyses about child and adolescent adjustment (Askeland et al., 2017; Juffer & van Ijzerdoorn, 2005). All these studies suggest that preadoption adversity factors, such as time in an institution, may play a more decisive role in adoption adjustment than the age at adoption.

Considering the above, it could be interesting to understand adoption adjustment from a salutogenic perspective (Antonovsky, 1979, 1996; Suárez et al., 2021), highlighting that "adoption is not pathology" (Palacios, 2017). A variable that may be relevant in assessing the degree of psychological adjustment of adult adoptees is the differentiation of self.

Furthermore, beyond the adopted-nonadopted comparisons, it is essential to understand how family variables promote adoptees' resiliency (Brodzinsky & Palacios, 2010) as they emerge as mediating factors of the effects of adoptive status on adults' adjustment (Melero & Sanchez Sandoval, 2018). It is thus of great interest to study how

normative and non-normative adoptive family processes are implicated, such as family functioning and adoption communication (Ranieri et al., 2022; Wahlberg et al., 2019). In Spain, at least two generations of adult adoptees coexist (Hoksbergen & Laak, 2005). The traditional closed generation, adopted during the second half of the 20th century, is now in its middle and late adulthood. This generation of adoptions, that emerged later than in other European countries (Hoksbergen & Laak, 2005) has been associated with high rates of family satisfaction, low disruption rates, great social acceptance of the adoptive family as paradigm of the modern family, and, in general, a positive and optimistic societal perspective on adoption (Berástegui, 2010; Berástegui & Gómez, 2015).

Differentiation of self

This construct, developed within the systemic approach, corresponds to psychological maturity and is linked to emotional self-regulation, identity development, and the ability to bond with others while remaining autonomous (Bowen, 1989, 1998; Kerr & Bowen, 1988). Differentiation of self is defined as the *intrapsychic* ability to distinguish emotional processes from cognitive processes, and the *interpersonal* ability to maintain meaningful connections with others while functioning autonomously (Bowen, 1989, 1998; Kerr & Bowen, 1988).

According to Skowron and Friedlander (1998), differentiation of self has four dimensions: *I position* and *emotional reactivity* as intrapsychic dimensions, and *fusion with others* and *emotional cutoff* as interpersonal dimensions. *I position* refers to a clearly defined sense of self and the ability to rationally stick to one's own convictions, even when under pressure from others to think or act differently. At the same time, *emotional reactivity* is the tendency to respond to environmental stimuli with automatic emotional responses, flooding, or emotional lability. At the interpersonal level, *fusion with others* is defined as the propensity to think, feel and act like others, a constant need for approval, and the minimizing of one's convictions to avoid conflicts and disagreements. *Emotional cutoff* describes a tendency to avoid intimacy and maintain physical or emotional distance from others.

The fifth dimension of differentiation, identified by Oliver and Berástegui (2019; Oliver et al., 2022) in Bowen's Family Systems Theory, is *dominance over others*. This dimension refers to the tendency to adopt dogmatic positions, to tolerate differences of opinion poorly, and to put emotional pressure on others to adapt to their own interests.

Bowen stated that differentiation of self does not associate to gender, age or educational level which is confirmed by recent research (Borondo & Oliver, 2021; Dolzdel-Castellar & Oliver, 2021; Duch-Ceballos et al., 2020; Mozas-Alonso et al., 2022; Oliver & Berástegui, 2019). On the other hand, he postulated that the degree of differentiation achieved by a person is strongly related to family functioning, among other family-related variables.

Bowen also understood differentiation as an indicator of psychological adjustment and postulated that people with higher differentiation of self have lower trait anxiety, fewer physical and mental health problems, more secure attachment, and better family and marital functioning (Bowen, 1989, 1998; Kerr & Bowen, 1988).

Numerous studies have found that individuals with greater differentiation of self have a healthier perception of family functioning, better partner adjustment and parenting styles, and a higher level of psychological adjustment (e.g., Castro-Dávila & Oliver, 2022; Dolz-del-Castellar & Oliver, 2021; Duch-Ceballos et al., 2020; Kim et al., 2015; Mozas-Alonso et al., 2022; Oliver et al., 2022). Furthermore, it has been observed that differentiation is negatively linked to anxiety and avoidance of adult attachment. Emotional reactivity is the dimension most strongly related to anxiety, while emotional cutoff is the dimension most associated with avoidance (e.g., Borondo & Oliver, 2021; Hainlen et al., 2016; Rodrigues, 2016; Ross et al, 2016).

In the area of adoption, several studies have found that those adopted at older ages had greater emotional distance from others, a pattern similar to that of emotional cutting off (e.g., Dekker et al., 2016; Hawk & McCall, 2010). Moreover, Moore (2017) found that more differentiated transracial adult adoptees had a lower negative affect.

Despite the well-established link between differentiation and various positive psychological traits and family variables, only one study on differentiation of self in adoptees has been found (Moore, 2017).

Family functioning

The adoptive family plays a fundamental role in correcting the disadvantaged trajectory of their adopted children (Brodzinsky & Pinderhughes, 2002; Palacios & Brodzinsky, 2010). However, studies that have analysed the relationship between family dynamics and the adjustment of adoptees beyond the sociodemographic and family composition variables are still scarce (e.g., Balenzano et al., 2018; Ranieri et al., 2022; Sánchez-Sandoval et al., 2012).

Family functioning is a family variable related to the psychological adjustment of adult adoptees is (Ranieri et al., 2022). According to the Circumplex Model (Olson et al., 1983), this comprises three dimensions: cohesion, adaptability, and communication.

Cohesion refers to the emotional bonding that family members have toward one another. This dimension comprises the following variables: *emotional bonding, boundaries, coalitions, time, space, friends, decision-making, interests, and recreation.*

Adaptability, meanwhile, refers to the ability of a family system to change its power structure, role relationships, and relationship rules in response to situational and developmental stress. This dimension includes the following variables: *leadership* (control and discipline), negotiation styles, role relationships, and relationship rules.

Although the original Circumplex Model maintained that cohesion and adaptability were related in a curvilinear manner with family functioning, with balanced levels of cohesion and adaptability indicating better family functioning, numerous studies applying the second and third versions of the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scale (FACES II, Olson et al., 1982; FACES III, Olson et al., 1985) have revealed that these instruments linearly evaluate cohesion and adaptability, that is, the higher the score in these dimensions, the better the family functioning (e.g., Green et al., 1991; Olson, 1991).

Some studies have found that cohesion and adaptability in adoptive families are positively related to family communication and the psychological adjustment of adopted children and adolescents (e.g., Kohler et al., 2002; Ranieri et al., 2022; Sánchez-Sandoval et al., 2012). The longitudinal study by Levy-Shiff (2001) also observed that family climate as assessed by adoptees at the end of their adolescence predicted other adjustment measures such as adult self-concept and psychopathology.

Finally, communication involves the positive communication skills used in the family or couple system. This dimension includes *listening skills, speaking skills, self-disclosure, continuity tracking, respect and regard.* According to the Circumplex Model, communication is a facilitating dimension for change in cohesion and family adaptability levels. In the case of adoptive families, family communication relates to a critical non-normative task: adoption communication.

Adoption communication

According to Brodzinsky (2005), adoption communication refers to the exchange of adoption information... and the sharing and supporting of adoption-related emotions. As this definition indicates, communication about adoption has to do not only with the

content or information that is shared about the adoption but also with the relationship. That is, with the affective climate in which the adoption is discussed, with the degree of openness, warmth and empathy shown by each member when exploring adoption-related issues (Brodzinsky, 2005; Watzlawick et al., 1981; Wrobel et al., 2003).

According to adoption communication theory (Brodzinsky, 2005; Wrobel et al., 2003), communicative openness can be conceived as a continuum. The different members of the adoptive triangle – adopted child, adoptive parents and biological parents – may be located, depending on the degree of exploration of adoption-related issues.

Communication about adoption can occur at three levels: intrapersonal, intrafamily, and interfamily in the case of structurally open adoptions (Brodzinsky, 2005). The degree of communication openness about adoption is determined by the circular relationships or reciprocal influence between the members of the adoptive triad (Brodzinsky, 2005; Watzlawick et al., 1981). In other words, each member influence the level of openness of the communication of the others with their communicative style, and vice versa. While all members influence each other, a developmental perspective assumes that the attitudes and behaviours of the parents create the initial communicative context that will promote or hinder the child's later openness (Brodzinsky, 2005).

Several studies have observed that better communication about adoption is associated with better psychological adjustment of adopted children and adolescents, and with a greater attachment of adult adoptees to their adoptive parents (e.g., Aramburu et al., 2018; Aramburu Alegret et al., 2020; Brodzinsky, 2006; Farr et al., 2014; Hawkins et al., 2007; Levy-Shiff, 2001; Soares et al., 2017).

Furthermore, the relationship between better family functioning and better family communication in adoptive families has been observed (e.g., Kohler et al., 2002; Ranieri et al., 2022; Sánchez-Sandoval et al., 2012).

Study aims

As can be seen from the above, although family functioning and communication about adoption may play a core role in the dynamics of adoptive families and the adjustment of adoptees during their childhood and adolescence (Ranieri et al., 2022), research on these variables during adulthood is still limited (Melero & Sanchez-Sandoval, 2018). Moreover, no study has been found evaluating the psychological adjustment of adopted adults through differentiation of self. Finally, to our knowledge, this is the first

research studying the relationship between adoptive family dynamics and the differentiation of adult adoptees.

For these reasons, the main objective of this study was to analyse the relationship between the adoptive family dynamics and differentiation of self. The specific objectives were as follows:

- 1) To observe how sociodemographic and adoption variables are associated with adult adoptee differentiation of self and its dimensions. A negative relationship between differentiation and years in an institution, and no relationship between differentiation, current age, and age at adoption is expected. Moreover, no gender differences and better differentiation in domestic than in intercountry adoptees is expected.
- 2) To explore the relationship between family functioning, adoption communication, and differentiation of the self. A positive relationship between adoption communication, family functioning, and differentiation of self and its dimensions is expected.
- 3) To ascertain the predictive power of family functioning and adoption communication regarding differentiation of self. Better family functioning and greater adoption communication predict greater differentiation of self.

Method

Sample

Convenience and snowball sampling was used to recruit participants. Inclusion criteria were being adopted, being over 18 years of age, and having Spanish nationality. 98 subjects accessed the online questionnaire and answered some items, but only 50 (51.02%) completed them. It could be due to the length of the questionnaire, the excess number of studies about adoption in which some subjects have participated, or the apprehension to face some topics about adoption.

The sample comprised 50 adult adoptees, 43 women (86%) and 7 men (14%). Ages ranged from 18 to 51, with a mean of 30.61 years (*S.D.* = 10.10). Regarding the adoption, 32 participants were domestic adoptees (64%) and 18 were intercountry adoptees (36%). Of the latter, 7 subjects are from China (14%), 3 from Colombia (6%), 2 from Romania (4%) and 1 from Peru (2%), Guatemala (2%), Venezuela (2%), Costa Rica (2%), Russia (2%) and India (2%). The participants were adopted with ages between

0 and 7 years, and the mean age at adoption was 1.60 years (S.D. = 2.35). All their sociodemographic characteristics are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics for the sociodemographic variables of adult adoptees and adoptive families, and adoptive process variables by type of adoption

	Total sample		National adoptees		International adoptees	
Adult adoptees	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Current age	30.61	10.10	35.81	1.54	21.67	1.17
Ü	\overline{n}	%	n	%	n	%
Sex						
Female	43	86%	29	90.6%	14	77.8%
Male	7	14%	3	9.4%	4	22.2%
Level of education						
Secondary	7	14%	3	9.4%	4	22.2%
Vocational training	7	14%	4	12.5%	3	16.7%
Higher secondary	11	22%	6	18.8%	5	27.8%
University	25	50%	19	59.3%	6	33.3%
Residential independence						
Living with parents	16	32%	5	31.2%	11	79.4%
Independent	34	68%	27	68.8%	7	20.6%
Financially independent						
No	24	48%	8	25.0%	16	88.9%
Yes	26	52%	24	75.0%	2	11.1%
Current partner						
No	20	40%	12	37.5%	8	44.4%
Yes	30	60%	20	62.5%	10	55.6%
Own family						
No	23	54%	11	34.4%	16	88.9%
Yes	27	46%	21	65.6%	2	11.1%
Adoptive families	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Mother's current age	65.34	10.63	66.55	1.87	58.50	20.08
Father's current age	65.55	9.43	69.80	1.87	58.92	2.13
Mother's age at adoption	37.67	5.99	35.13	1.33	39.75	1.46
Father's age at adoption	39.05	5.83	38.39	1.39	40.17	1.67
•	n	%	n	%	n	%
Current adop. family sit.						
Two-parent	42	84%	31	96.9%	1	66.7%
Single-parent	1	2%	12	3.1%	5	27.8%
Reconstituted	7	14%	0	0%	1	5.5%
Number of siblings						
No siblings	28	56.0%	19	59.4%	9	50.0%
1 sibling	19	38.0%	13	49.6%	6	33.3%
2 siblings	1	2.0%	0	0.0%	1	5.6%
3 siblings	2	4.0%	0	0.0%	2	11.1%
Sibling position	-		·			
Eldest	8	36.4%	6	46.2%	2	22.2%

Middle	1	4.5%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%
Younger	13	59.1%	7	53.8%	6	66.7%
Adoptive process	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Age at adoption	1.60	2.35	0.89	0.34	2.86	0.60
Year in institution	0.88	1.64	0.47	0.22	1.61	0.47

Note. Current age = Age of the adoptee at the time of the study. Current partner = With or without partner at the time of the study. Own family = With or without own family at the time of the study. Current mother/father age = Age of mother or father at the time of the study. Current adop. family sit. = Type of adoptive family at the time of the study. Years in institution = Years lived in an institution.

Instruments

Sociodemographic and adoption process questionnaire

The questionnaire included questions about the sex, age and educational level of the participants, their residential and financial independence, and their partner and family status at the time of the study. It also incorporated questions about the adoptee's country of origin, age at adoption, and the length of time they spent in an institution. Finally, questions about the type of adoptive family at the time of adoption and at the time of answering the questionnaire were included, covering the sex and age of the parents, their educational level, the number of biological and adopted siblings and the position of the adult adoptee in the sibling hierarchy.

Differentiation of Self Scale (DSS)

Designed by Oliver and Berástegui (2019) and based on the Skowron and Friedlander (1998) scale, this scale assesses the differentiation of self in adults. It consists of 74 items, with six response options (from 1, *strongly disagree*, to 6, *strongly agree*), and five subscales: I Position (IP, 13 items), Emotional Reactivity (ER, 12 items), Fusion with Others (FO, 14 items), Dominance over Others (DO, 14 items) and Emotional Cutoff (EC, 21 items). The higher the I Position, the greater the degree of differentiation. Conversely, the higher the score in Emotional Reactivity, Fusion with Others, Dominance over Others and Emotional Cutoff, the lower the degree of differentiation.

Each subscale is computed by summing item scores and dividing the result by the number of items in the subscale. Scores on each subscale thus range from 1 to 6, with higher scores reflecting a greater level in that dimension. To compute the DSS-full scale score, the IP score and the reversed ER, FO, DO, and EC scores must be summed, and the result must be divided by 5. Scores on DSS-full scale score thus range from 1 to 6, with higher scores reflecting a greater level of differentiation.

^{*}*p*<0.05; ***p*<0.01

The internal consistency indices (Cronbach's alpha) of the scale and subscales were high (Oliver & Berástegui, 2019): DSS =.93, ER=.89, IP=.86, FO=.90, DO=.89, and EC=.90. Exploratory factor analysis of the scale showed a five-factor structure, which explained 45% of the variance. The present study obtained the following internal consistency indices: DSS=.90, ER=.86, IP=.83, FO=.90, DO=.86, and EC=.87.

Family Adaptability Cohesion Evaluation Scale-20Esp (FACES-20Esp)

This abbreviated scale, culturally adapted to Spain by Martínez-Pampliega et al. (2006), is based on the Family Adaptability and Cohesion Scale II (FACES II, Olson et al., 1982) and assesses two dimensions of family functioning: *cohesion* and *adaptability*. The scale comprises 20 items (10 on cohesion and 10 on adaptability), and five response options (from 1, *never or almost never*, to 5, *always or almost always*). Each subscale is computed by summing item scores and dividing the result by the number of items in the subscale. In our study, adult adoptees were asked to assess the functioning of their adoptive family at the time of the study, and if they had become independent, when they lived in it.

The internal consistency indices (Cronbach's alpha) for the two dimensions were high (Martínez-Pampliega et al., 2006): Cohesion = .89 and Adaptability = .87. Martínez-Pampliega et al. (2011) conducted a confirmatory factor analysis supporting a model with two first-order factors and a second-order factor with adequate indices (CFI = 0.97; GFI = 0.95; RMSEA = 0.07).

In the present study, the following internal consistency indices were obtained: Cohesion = .94 and Adaptability = .96. The internal consistency index of the whole FACES-20Esp scale was equal to .97 and the correlation between both subscales was very high (r = .93, p < .001). However, this last result, similar to those obtained by Martínez-Pampliega et al. (2006, 2011), seems to indicate that FACES-20Esp is somewhat one-dimensional. Cohesion and adaptability scores were thus calculated separately in our study to preserve the richness of the Circumplex Model (Olson et al., 1983). However, to satisfy the parsimony principle and the assumption of non-multicollinearity of the multivariate tests, the total Family Functioning score was also calculated, equal to the mean of cohesion and adaptability.

Adoption Communication Scale-Spanish (ACS-S)

This scale is a Spanish adaptation of the Adoption Communication Scale (ACS; Grotevant et al., 2009), developed by Aramburu et al. (2015), and assesses the perception of adoptees regarding family communication about adoption. The scale consists of 28

items (14 each on communication with the mother and the father), with five response options (from 1, *strongly disagree*, to 5, *strongly agree*). Aramburu et al. (2015) stated that the total Adoption Communication score and the adoption communication with the mother and the father scores were calculated.

Although the instrument was validated with a sample of adolescent adoptees, various studies have used it with adult adoptee samples. Participants in the present study were asked to assess communication about adoption in their adoptive family at the time of the study, and if they were independent, at the time they lived in it.

The internal consistency indices of the ACS-S scale applied to a sample of Spanish adolescent adoptees were high (Aramburu et al., 2015): ACS-S = .93; mother scale = .83; father scale = .89. Factor analysis of the ACS-S scale showed the existence of two factors, explaining 45.1% of the variance. In the present study, the internal consistency indices of the mother and father subscales were equal to .97.

Procedure

This study was cross-sectional and correlational, and the subjects were recruited by convenience and snowball sampling. Numerous Spanish organizations related to the fields of adoption and family were initially contacted. The research was outlined, and an email was sent to interested entities with a letter of presentation of the study and a link to an e-survey so that they could disseminate the online questionnaire among their users, who were also offered the possibility of sending the questionnaire in printed form.

The cover letter limited participation to adoptees over 18 years at the time of the survey, gave instructions on how to complete the questionnaire and guaranteed the personal data privacy (Spanish law on the protection of personal data law and guarantee of digital rights, 3/2018). The letter also expressed gratitude for participating in the study and requested its dissemination.

On completion of the survey, data were entered into the SPSS 19.0 statistical package.

Data analysis

First, descriptive analyses were carried out. Scale reliability was then examined using the Cronbach alpha coefficient. After checking the pertinent assumptions, the Mann-Whitney U test, Student t-test, and ANOVA were carried out to explore the association between the sociodemographic variables and the level of differentiation of self and its dimensions in adult adoptees (Objective 1). Also, Pearson correlations were conducted to analyse the relationships between family functioning and its dimensions,

adoption communication and differentiation of self and its dimensions (Objective 2). Finally, simple and stepwise multiple linear regressions were carried out to observe the predictive power of family functioning, adoption communication and other variables regarding differentiation of self (Objective 3).

Results

Objective 1. Association between sociodemographic and adoption variables and differentiation of self

First, the associations of the sociodemographic and adoption variables with the differentiation of self of the adult adoptees were analysed.

Significant differences were not observed in *differentiation of self* between men and women (U = 129.00, z = -0.60, p = .548, r = .09), participants with different educational levels (F(3,46) = 0.70, p = .560, partial $Eta^2 = .04$), or domestic and intercountry adoptees (t(48) = -0.47, p = .640, d = 0.02).

Furthermore, as Table 2 shows, it was not observed that *current age of adult adoptees* was related to *differentiation of self* of the adult adoptees. However, *age of adoption* and *years lived in an institution* were positively and rather strongly related to *emotional cutoff* subscale.

Table 2

Correlation matrix between sociodemographic variables and differentiation of self of adult adoptees

	DSS	ER	IP	FO	DO	EC
Adoptee's current age	.20	17	.27	10	01	15
Age at placement	18	.09	.07	.07	.08	.47**
Years in institution	12	.02	.07	.11	.01	.37**

Note. DS = Differentiation of Self; ER = Emotional reactivity; IP = I Position; FO = Fusion with others; DO = Dominance over others; EC = Emotional cutoff. High scores on DSS and IP indicate a higher degree of differentiation; High scores in ER, FO, DO, and EC represent a lower degree of differentiation.

Objective 2. Relationship between family functioning, adoption communication and differentiation of self

Subsequently, the relationship between family functioning and adoption communication was analysed. As Table 3 shows, *family functioning* and the dimensions of *cohesion* and *adaptability* were positively and strongly related to *adoption communication with the mother* and *the father*. Furthermore, strong positive relationships

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

were observed between *communication with the mother* and *the father*, and the contrast of means did not reveal significant differences between the two variables (t(90) = .76, p = .446, d = 0.16).

The next step was to analyse how family functioning and adoption communication was related to differentiation of self. As shown in Table 4, family functioning and the dimensions of cohesion and adaptability were positively associated with differentiation and negatively related to the subscales of emotional reactivity, emotional cutoff, fusion with others and dominance of others. Finally, positive relationships were found between communication about adoption with the mother and differentiation, while the relationships with the subscale of emotional cutoff were negative. No relationships were found between communication about adoption with the father and differentiation.

Table 3

Correlation matrix between family functioning and adoption communication

	, ,	, 0	*		
	Family funct.	Cohesion	Adaptability	Commu.	Commu.
Family funct.	-				
•	0.0**				
Cohesion	$.98^{**}$	-			
A 1 4 1 114	.98**	.93**			
Adaptability	.98	.93	-		
Commu. mother	.79**	.73**	.82**		
Commu. momen				-	
Commu. father	.68**	.63**	.69**	.76**	
Commu. Tautel	.00	.03	.09	.70	-

Note. Family Funct. = Family functioning; Commu. mother = Adoption communication with mother; Commu. father = Adoption communication with father. *p<.05; **p<.01.

Table 4

Correlation matrix of family functioning and adoption communication with differentiation of self

	DS	ER	IP	FO	DO	EC
Family functioning	.52**	49**	.21	31*	35*	46**
Cohesion	.51**	51**	.18	30*	34*	45**
Adaptability	.51**	46**	23	30*	34*	46**
Commu. mother	.31*	18	.16	27	17	31*
Commu. father	.16	09	05	08	14	28

Note. DS = Differentiation of self; ER = Emotional reactivity; IP = I Position; FO = Fusion with others; DO = Dominance over others; EC = Emotional cutoff; Commu. mother = Adoption communication with mother; Commu. father = Adoption communication with father.

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

Objetive 3. Predictive power of family functioning and adoption communication regarding differentiation of self

Finally, several regression analyses were carried out to identify the variables that best predict adult adoptee differentiation of self.

Before this, it was ascertained that assumptions of normality of errors, homoscedasticity, and independence of the residuals were met (Pardo & San Martín, 2015). Important multicollinearity problems were detected between the dimensions of cohesion and adaptability (r = .93), between communication about adoption with the mother and family functioning (r = .79), cohesion (r = .73) and adaptability (r = .82), and between age of adoption and years lived in an institution (r = .81).

Family functioning, rather than cohesion and adaptability, was used in most of the regressions to resolve these issues. In addition, due to the multicollinearity between family functioning and communication about adoption with the mother, it was decided to perform two simple linear regression analyses to test the extent to which each variable explained differentiation. Likewise, communication about adoption with mother was excluded from the multiple linear regression analyses since its relationship with differentiation was less than that of family functioning. The same was done with years lived in an institution since its correlation coefficients with differentiation were lower than age of adoption.

First, the predictive power of family dynamics on differentiation of self was examined. For this, a simple regression analysis was carried out, which included family functioning as the predictor. It revealed that family functioning explained 27% of differentiation (R^2 = .27, F(1,48) = 17.76, p < .001).

A second simple linear regression analysis was carried out, including communication about adoption with the mother as the predictor. The test showed that communication about adoption with the mother predicted 9% of differentiation (R^2 =.09, F(1,47) = 4.89, p = .032).

Subsequently, the predictive power of the variables previously associated with the subscales of *emotional reactivity* and *emotional cutoff* was studied. For this purpose, a simple linear regression was carried out, which showed that *family functioning* explained 24% of *emotional reactivity* ($R^2 = .24$, F(1,48) = 15.44, p < .001). Likewise, a stepwise multiple linear regression was carried out, with *emotional cutoff* as the criterion and *family functioning* and *age of adoption* as predictors. The predictor variables were seen to explain 42% of *emotional cutoff* ($R^2 = .42$, F(1,47) = 17.09, p < .001); specifically, the

age of adoption explained 22% of emotional cutoff and family functioning increased the percentage of variance by 20%.

The coefficients of all regression analyses performed are shown in Table 5. According to the standardized regression coefficients, family functioning (β = .52) is a better predictor of differentiation of self than adoption communication with mother (β = .30). Furthermore, age at adoption (β = .45) and family functioning (β = -.44) similarly predict emotional cuttof.

Table 5

Regression coefficients

			Unstandardized	Standardized		
			coefficients	coefficients		
	Criterion	Predictors	В	β	t	p
1	DS	(Constant)	3.03		12.61	<.001
		Family func.	.29	.52	4.21	<.001
2	DS	(Constant)	3.57		16.85	<.001
		Com. mother	.14	.30	2.21	.032
3	ER	(Constant)	5.33		13.78	<.001
		Family func.	44	.11	-3.93	<.001
4	EC	(Constant)	3.77		12.54	<.001
		Age adop.	.16	.45	4.11	<.001
		Family func.	34	44	-4.04	<.001

Note. DS = Differentiation of Self Scale; ER = Emotional reactivity; EC = Emotional cutoff; Family func. = Family functioning; Com. mother = Communication about adoption with mother; Age adop. = Age at adoption.

Discussion

First, the associations between the sociodemographic and adoption variables and the level of differentiation of self of the adult adoptees were analysed. No associations were observed between *differentiation of self* and the sociodemographic variables, such as gender, age at the time of the study or educational status, according to differentiation of self theory (Kerr & Bowen, 1988) and research (Borondo & Oliver, 2021; Dolz-del-Castellar & Oliver, 2021; Duch-Ceballos et al., 2020; Mozas-Alonso et al., 2022; Oliver & Berástegui, 2019) and adoption literature (Corral et al., 2021).

On the other hand, it was observed that *age of adoption* and *years lived in an institution* were related to *emotional cutoff*. The link between adoption age and adjustment is not conclusive in different meta-analyzes using an under vs. over 12 months approach to age (Askeland et al., 2017; Corral et al., 2021; Juffer & van Ijzerdoorn, 2005).

Nevertheless, numerous studies have similarly observed that people adopted at an older age had greater emotional distance and less attachment to their adoptive parents (e.g., Dekker et al., 2016; Hawk & McCall, 2010; Howe & Feast, 2000). Similarly, the link between time in an institution, as a preadoption adversity factor and maladjustment has also been considered. Finally, we found no differences between domestic and intercountry adoptees, contrasting with the meta-analysis conclusions (Corral et al. 2021).

These results show that late adoptees and those staying longer in institutions are more likely to become more emotionally isolated. Given the above, adoption authorities and professionals should continue to make every effort to reduce the pre-adoption period and time in an institution as far as possible, improve foster care methods, and guarantee early care and support for families with late adoptions. Given this, minors could better recover from the adverse situations they experienced and develop more secure attachments after adoption, both with their parents and peers, and with future partners as adults (Román & Palacios, 2011).

Second, the relationship between family functioning and its dimensions, adoption communication and differentiation of self was studied. On the one hand, t was observed that *family functioning*, *cohesion* and *adaptability* were strongly related to *communication* about adoption with the mother and with the father. Likewise, Sánchez-Sandoval et al. (2012) found that adoptive families who reported greater cohesion and adaptability were more affectionate and communicative.

These results appear to confirm that cohesion, adaptability and adoption communication are closely related (Ranieri et al., 2022) Thus, it seems that more cohesive and flexible adoptive families communicate more about adoption, and that families with more open adoption communication have stronger emotional ties and are better able to change their functioning depending on the needs of the adoptee. Although family communication openness has increased lately, specific barriers and limitations persist (Martín & Corral, 2021). Some adoptive parents are afraid to talk about adoption, believing that doing so can cause their children to distance themselves from them, reject them or have doubts about belonging (Howe & Feast, 2000). These fears seem unfounded, however, given the results obtained. What puts family cohesion and adaptability at risk is instead the absence of dialogue, or inadequate adoption communication (Berástegui & Gómez, 2007).

Furthermore, it was found that *communication about adoption with the mother* and *with the father* were strongly related, without significant differences being found between them. Similarly, Aramburu et al. (2015, 2018) found that adopted adolescents perceived communication about adoption with the mother and father concordantly. These results seem to show that adoptive mothers and fathers communicate similarly with their children about adoption. As consistency between parents is always desirable, families and adoption professionals should aim to ensure that both the mother and the father talk with their adopted children about adoption in an open, warm and empathetic way.

Moreover, family functioning, cohesion, adaptability, and communication about adoption with the mother were related to differentiation of self and many of its dimensions. However, no relationships were observed between communication about adoption with the father and differentiation. Finally, family functioning and communication about adoption with the mother were found to predict differentiation, being family functioning a stronger predictor of differentiation (27%) than mother's adoption communication (9%). This data could indicate that the normative family dynamics may have a more prevalent role in adoptees adjustment throughout life than adoption-related tasks such as adoption communication, although they are both closely related.

Moreover, family functioning explained emotional reactivity, and family functioning and age of adoption explained emotional cutoff. Numerous studies have similarly observed that people adopted at an older age had greater emotional distance and less attachment to their adoptive parents (e.g., Dekker et al., 2016; Hawk & McCall, 2010; Howe & Feast, 2000).

Several studies have also found relationships between *family dynamics*, *adoption communication* and the *psychological adjustment* of adopted children, adolescents and adults (e.g., Aramburu, 2018; Brodzinsky, 2006; Müller et al., 2002; Ranieri et al., 2022; Robinson et al., 2015; Rushton et al., 2013 Sánchez-Sandoval et al., 2012).

Although these results highlight the predictive value of both variables, it would be interesting to study if adoption communication plays a mediator role between family functioning and differentiation, as Ranieri et al. (2022) results may suggest.

These results appear to indicate that families who are more cohesive and adaptable and have more open communication about adoption favour the adjustment of adoptees, with effects that extend even into adult life.

From the perspective of pre- and post-adoption support services, it is essential that the importance of family cohesion and adaptability in the adjustment of their adopted children is stressed, and that exceptional support is provided to families with children with worse psychological adjustment. Furthermore, communication about adoption is a normative challenge all adoptive parents must meet, even though it may generate some anxiety and uncertainty (Brodzinsky & Pinderhughes, 2002). Considering these results, adoptive parents must be fully aware of the vital role that communication about adoption plays in the psychological adjustment of their children. Pre- and post-adoption support services should thus continue to support greater openness in communication. For example, supporting processes such as grieving over infertility or possible losses, reflecting on why they are adopting, assimilating the similarities and the differences between being an adoptive and non-adoptive family, and accepting that their adopted child has a biological family and a previous history (Brodzinsky, 2005). Similarly, the authorities and professionals working in the field of adoption must continue to offer adoptive parents tools and services that can help them communicate about adoptionrelated issues with their children (Corral et. al., 2016).

The fact that no relationship was observed between *communication about* adoption with the father and children's differentiation of self can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, it is possible that existing relationships were not found due to the limitations of the sample, such as the underrepresentation of adopted males. On the other hand, there may be some moderating variables, such as stronger attachment to mothers or weaker attachment to fathers, which attenuates the relationship between adoption communication with the father and psychological adjustment. The lack of studies analysing the relationship between adoption communication with the father and the psychological adjustment of the adopted children prevents us from drawing any conclusions regarding the findings. Therefore, these results encourage us to explore the role that adoptive fathers play in adoption communication and the suitable tools to enhance it.

The present study has certain limitations. First, it should be noted that the sample size was limited and that convenience and snowball sampling were used, and therefore the sample may not be representative of the adult adoptive population in Spain. Second, adults who do not have or do not use the Internet, and those less motivated to participate could have been excluded from the study because the questionnaire pack was primarily delivered online. Furthermore, although 98 subjects accessed the online questionnaire and

answered some items, only 50 completed them. This elevated sample loss could be due to the length of the questionnaire, the number of studies collecting data about adult adoptees in Spain, or the possible reluctance to face some adoption-related issues, which may be biasing the sample. Thirdly, it should be noted that adults no longer living with their adoptive families were asked to assess their adoptive families' functioning and adoption communication, which may have skewed their scores. Similarly, family dynamics and psychological adjustment were assessed through self-reports and from the perspective of adult adoptees. Fourthly, the regression analyzes on cross-sectional data do not allow for inferring causal relationships. Lastly, except for time in an institution, no relevant questions were included regarding the adoptee's personal history before adoption, despite the role they may play in their development.

Further research on the relationship between family dynamics and differentiation of self is needed with larger and more representative samples, including the perspective of other informants and incorporating questions about pre-adoption history. It would also be of great interest to carry out prospective longitudinal studies that allow causal relationships to be established between family dynamics, age of adoption and the psychological adjustment of adult adoptees.

To conclude, the construct of differentiation of self is recommended for its use both in research and intervention with adult adoptees, to address the psychological adjustment of adult adoptees from a salutogenic approach. According to Bowen, differentiation of self may be understood as the individual's way of resolving the emotional attachment towards their family of origin (Kerr & Bowen, 1988, p. 97). In this sense, differentiation of self is associated with individuals' ability to regulate their emotions, relate meaningfully to others, and function autonomously. Likewise, differentiation plays a fundamental role in developing personality and emotional maturity. Finally, this variable is affected by the quality of family relationships, the attained level of which tends to be transmitted from parents to children.

Including differentiation of self in clinical and research settings has important implications. It is a construct that enjoys extensive theoretical development and great empirical support, and therapeutic models, which could be applied to the field of adoption, have also been developed to modify it (Kerr & Bowen, 1988). Moreover, differentiation is an extremely interesting variable in assessing the psychological adjustment of adult adoptees as it includes dimensions related to emotional self-regulation, identity development, social skills and the ability to form attachments with

others while also functioning autonomously. Therefore, we think that it would be necessary for adoption professionals that their therapeutic objectives include raising levels of differentiation of self in their users.

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