

Muttaqin, D., Chanafi, A. R., Nofelia, B. I. A., Khristi, T. C., & Wahyuningsih, S. (2022). Role of parents and friends in adolescents' identity formation in Indonesia. *Indigenous: Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi*, 7(1). 1-14. doi: <http://doi.org/10.23917/indigenous.v7i1.15680>

Role of Parents and Friends in Adolescents' Identity Formation in Indonesia

Darmawan Muttaqin^{1*}, Alfi Rossi Chanafi², Baiq Irma Anggi Nofelia³,
Theodora Carelina Khristi⁴, Sri Wahyuningsih⁵

Faculty of Psychology, Universitas Surabaya^{1,2,3,4,5}

Submitted: 4 September 2021

Accepted: 21 December 2021

Published: 31 March 2022

Abstract. *The identity formation of adolescents in a collective society is dependent on their significant relationship with other people. Therefore, this study aims to examine the role of parents and friends in adolescents' identity formation in Indonesia. This research was conducted using a quantitative survey method involving 489 adolescents with 142, 178, and 169 in their early, middle, and late adolescent phases ranging from 12 to 21 years. Data collection was carried out on adolescents who are currently studying in Surabaya by using the convenience sampling method. The Indonesian version of the Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale, Shortened Version of Child's Report on Parent Behavior Inventory, Friendship Quality Scale, and Caregiving Questionnaire were used to measure the dimensions of identity, parenting, friendship quality, and support-giving. The hierarchical regression analysis was used to determine the role of the dimensions of parenting, friendship quality, and support giving gradually to identity formation. The results showed that parenting, friendship quality, and support contribute to commitment ($R^2 = 0.291$), in-depth exploration ($R^2 = 0.241$), and reconsideration of commitment ($R^2 = 0.110$). It also indicates that the adolescent's identity formation in Indonesia embraces a collective culture inseparable from authority figures and peer groups. The implication of this research is that differences in the quality and form of relationships with parents and friends can lead to differences in adolescent identity formation.*

Keywords: *adolescents; friendship; identity formation; Indonesia; parenting.*

INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is defined as the transformation period or gap phase from childhood to early independent adulthood. During adolescence, identity formation is the main task in psychosocial development (Erikson, 1950). Attainment of identity formation during adolescence can impact subsequent developmental tasks (Santrock, 2018). Previous research has shown that success in identity formation during adolescence can make it easier for individuals to establish intimacy with others in adulthood (Kerpelman et al., 2012; Mansoobifar et al., 2012). However, failure in identity formation can also interfere with other psychosocial functions such as anxiety (Crocetti, Scrignaro, et al., 2012; Ritchie et al., 2013) and aggressive behavior (Morsünbül et al., 2016; Schwartz et al., 2011). On the contrary, adolescents who can carry out the identity formation process optimally

*Corresponding author: darmawan.muttaqin@staff.ubaya.ac.id

tend to have positive self-esteem (Crocetti et al., 2020; Sznitman et al., 2019) and emotional stability (Sandhu & Singh, 2012).

Understanding the process of identity formation cannot ignore the contributions of Erik Erikson (1950) and James Marcia (1966), who have developed the concept of identity formation. Marcia (1966) tried to operationalize Erikson's (1950) theory by proposing two dimensions of identity, exploration and commitment. Crocetti et al. (2008) expanded Marcia's (1966) concept into three dimensions, namely commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment. Commitment is when individuals confidently make decisions regarding the identity domain (Crocetti, 2018; Crocetti, Jahromi, et al., 2012). In-depth exploration is the individual process of seeking additional information through discussions and reflecting on their commitments (Crocetti, 2018; Crocetti, Schwartz, et al., 2012). Reconsideration of commitment is the individual repairing or changing commitment when they find satisfying choices related to the identity domain (Crocetti, Klimstra, et al., 2013; Crocetti, Sica, et al., 2013).

Previous research has emphasized that identity formation cannot be separated from the context faced by adolescents (Muttaqin & Ekowarni, 2016; Schwartz et al., 2012). It causes identity formation between adolescents in individualist and collective societies to be different (Berman et al., 2014). For example, adolescents in an individualist society tend to form identity through an independent exploration process while those in a collective depend and prioritize their relationship with others (Berman et al., 2011; Eryigit & Kerpelman, 2011). In Indonesia, as part of a collective society, it is evident that identity formation still needs a significant other (Muttaqin, 2020).

The importance of the presence of significant others in helping adolescents' identity formation has been proven by previous research. For example, adolescents can achieve optimal formation if they have a good relationship with their parents and siblings (Ávila et al., 2012; Crocetti et al., 2016; Meca et al., 2016). During adolescence, significant other people come from the family and can also come from outside the family, such as friends and boy/girlfriends. Adolescents with good friendship qualities will achieve optimal identity formation (Doumen et al., 2012; van Doeselaar et al., 2016). If the adolescent has been in a romantic relationship, the presence of a boy/girlfriend can also help the identity formation (Ávila et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2012; Kerpelman et al., 2012). Parents and friends provide more essential roles for adolescent development among the significant others for adolescents. This is because parents tend to provide emotional and practical support for adolescents when they are going through a transition period (Crocetti, Rabaglietti, et al., 2012). The existence of an emotional bond between adolescents and their parents will help adolescents maintain their well-being (Crocetti & Meeus, 2014). The role of parents in identity formation can be through parenting which is the behavior of parents shown to adolescents in response to their behavior and feeling. The dimensions of parenting discussed in this study are responsiveness, regulatory, and autonomy support. Responsive parenting provides emotional warmth and support for adolescents' thoughts, feelings, and behavior (Filus et al., 2019). Meanwhile, Barber et al. (2012) defined regulatory parenting as the behavior that provides rules and limits on adolescent behavior. Finally, autonomy support reflects parent encouragement in taking initiatives, developing ideas, and making decisions independently (Soenens et al., 2015).

Different parenting styles can provide further opportunities for adolescents to regulate their behavior, have the initiative to explore various identity options, and motivate commitment. (Skhirtladze et al., 2018; Sznitman et al., 2019). Parents with responsive parenting tend to create a healthy relationship with adolescents, encouraging them to determine the identity that fits their expectations. On the contrary, parents who apply regulation parenting tend to give certain limitations for adolescents when looking for various information related to identity choices. Lastly,

parents with autonomy support tend to support the desires of adolescents to encourage adolescents not to procrastinate in identity formation (Soenens et al., 2011). Although each parental dimension plays a different role in identity formation, inconsistent parenting will negatively impact identity formation.

Indonesia is a country that adheres to a collective society that characterizes hierarchical relationships between individuals. In the family context, parents have a higher position than their children (Sarwono, 2013; Suardiman, 2011). Therefore, it is not surprising that they tend to be dominant by providing rules that control their children's behavior. For parents, children who obey their parent's wishes and expectations can be a source of satisfaction and pride (Suardiman, 2011). On the other hand, obeying parents' orders is considered a form of respect for children towards parents (Moffatt, 2012; Suardiman, 2011). Although Indonesian adolescents sometimes feel they are not treated as adults, they still depend on the family (Nilan et al., 2011). For example, although parents tend to ignore opinions from adolescents, especially in education or work contexts, adolescents still consider themselves part of the family, so they try to follow their parents' expectations. This is because Indonesians tend to uphold the value of harmony between individuals. Therefore, society controls individuals to put aside their interests for the common good by adjusting their aspirations and compromising rather than conflicting with others (Koentjaraningrat, 2004).

Besides parents, friends are relevant sources of support for adolescents (Cheung & Sim, 2017). Man Chow and Buhrmester (2011) and Morgan and Korobov (2012) stated that friends could provide responsive and effective feedback when adolescents express their needs and emotions. Therefore, the role of friends in identity formation is inseparable from friendship quality, which is defined as a relationship between one individual and another characterized by intimacy, companionship, and social support (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2013). When adolescents have good friendships they feel comfortable discussing various identity choices, expressing their desires and feelings, and getting feedback and encouragement (Devi & Jyotsana, 2016; Morgan & Korobov, 2012). The friendship quality possessed by adolescents tends to help them explore various identity choices and determine identity commitments optimally (Doumen et al., 2012).

The existence of friendships quality allows adolescents to get emotional support. Support from friends can be interpreted as a response given by friends such as; helping friends by considering the safety and comfort of friends being helped (responsive), being too involved in friends' problems (overinvolved), or not being interested in helping friends (getting away) when friends are having problems or need help (Man Chow & Buhrmester, 2011). Different forms of support given by friends result in different feelings of comfort and security for adolescents through identity formation. Responsive support-giving indicates an understanding of the form of support consistent with the condition of friends (Man Chow & Buhrmester, 2011). Appropriate support from friends has been proven to help adolescents explore various identity choices and determine commitment (Meca et al., 2016). However, overinvolved support-giving tends to provide a strict limit, thereby making them less free to explore and determine identity commitment (Man Chow & Buhrmester, 2011). Finally, disengaged support-giving shows an absence of desire to help individuals form their identities and recognizes the lack of connectedness with friends, which is an essential foundation for adolescents (van Doeselaar et al., 2016). Eventually, a friend's disengage support-giving confuses individuals in forming their identity commitments.

Based on the literature above, it is known that parents and friends play a role in adolescent identity formation. However, previous research tended to examine the roles of parents and friends separately in identity formation. As a result, it cannot be known with certainty about the significance of the role of parents and friends on identity formation. Therefore, this study aims

to understand the role of parents and friends in adolescent identity formation in Indonesia. The specific objectives of this study are to examine the following roles in terms of identity dimension: (1) parents; (2) friendship quality; and (3) the support-giving by friends. Therefore, the hypotheses tested in this study are: (1) responsiveness, regulation, and autonomy support parenting predict commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment; (2) responsiveness, regulation, autonomy support parenting, and friendship quality predict commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment; and (3) responsiveness, regulation, autonomy support parenting, friendship quality, and support-giving in terms of responsiveness, overinvolved, and disengage predict commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment.

METHOD

This study uses a quantitative survey method involving 489 adolescents comprising 174 male and 315 female students within 12 to 21 years ($M = 16.645$, $SD = 2.176$) and learning at Surabaya. They consisted of 142 (29.00%), 178 (36.40%), and 169 (34.60%) in the early, middle and late adolescents, respectively. Furthermore, 83.60% were living with their biological parents. The participants had an average of 8.930 friends ($SD = 12.483$) with an average friendship length of 63.617 months ($SD = 51.839$). Data were collected using the convenience sampling method by meeting participants after the learning process. Participants who voluntarily participated in the study were asked to complete an online informed consent and research questionnaire.

This study uses four scales to measure three dimensions of identity, three dimensions of parenting, friendship quality, and three dimensions of perception of friend's support-giving. The Indonesian version of Utrecht-Management of Identity Commitments Scale (U-MICS; Crocetti, Rubini, & Meeus, 2008; Muttaqin, 2017) consisting of 26 items were used to measure the three dimensions of identity in the education domain and relationship with a friend, namely commitment which comprises of 10 items, for example, "My education gives me self-confidence." This was followed by in-depth exploration, consisting of 10 items, for example, "I try to analyze my best friend." And six items in the reconsideration of commitment, for example, "I often think it is better to determine a different education." U-MICS uses five response options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In this study, U-MICS has a reliability coefficient of 0.814 for commitment, 0.641 for in-depth exploration, and 0.731 for reconsideration of commitment.

The shortened version of Child's Report on Parent Behavior Inventory (CRPBI-30; Schluderman & Schluderman, 1988) consisting of 30 items were used to measure three parenting dimensions. There are 10 responsiveness items for example, "My father/mother makes me feel better after talking over my worries with them". It also consists of 10 items in the regulation, for example, "My parents are always advising me on the best behavior to put up". The autonomy support comprises 10 items: "My parents allow me to participate in any commitment". It also used five response options, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In this study, the CRPBI has a reliability coefficient of 0.851 for parental responsive, 0.854 for maternal responsive, 0.652 for parental regulation, 0.563 for maternal regulation, 0.748 for parental autonomy support, and 0.625 for maternal autonomy support

Friendship Quality Scale (FQS) consists of 23 items were used to measure five dimensions of friendship quality (Bukowski et al., 1994). These are four items of companion, for example, "My friend and I spend our free time together". It comprises of 4 conflict items for example, "I can get into fights with my friend," as well as five help items, for example, "My friend helps me when I am having troubles". The security comprises 5 items, for example, "I seek my friend's opinion whenever

I have problems at home or school". Finally, five items are found in the closeness, for example, "I feel happy when I am with my friend". Similarly, FQS used five response options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). In this study, FQS has a reliability coefficient of 0.815.

The Caregiving Questionnaire (CQ) consisting of 23 items were used to measure the perception of friend's support-giving (Man Chow & Buhrmester, 2011). CQ consists of 3 dimensions with eight responsive items, for example, "My friend has the ability to determine when I need some comforting". It also consists of 8 items measuring overinvolved, for example, "My friend tends to get overinvolved in my problems and difficulties," and seven items measuring disengage, such as "My friends detest it when I am in need and clings to them". CQ used six response options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). In this study, CQ has a reliability coefficient of 0.892 for responsive, 0.828 for overinvolved, and 0.879 for disengage.

This research used IBM SPSS 21 program to perform data analysis. Furthermore, correlation analysis was used to determine the correlation between parenting, friendship quality, and attention with the identity dimension. Hierarchical regression analysis was used to answer the research objective on parenting responsiveness, regulation, and autonomy support at stage 1. The hierarchical regression analysis was also used along with friendship quality at stage 2. Finally, dimensions of parenting, friendship quality, and support-giving in terms of responsiveness, overinvolved, and disengage were simultaneously included in stage 3 to predict the identity dimension commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 shows that the correlation analysis of parenting, friendship quality, and support-giving are related to the identity dimension. Specifically, responsive parenting from both father and mother positively correlates with commitment and in-depth exploration. Regulation parenting from parents is related to in-depth exploration. Moreover, autonomy support from both father and mother is positively related to commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment.

Table 1.
Correlation between independent variable and dimension of identity

Dimension	Commitment	In-depth exploration	Reconsideration of commitment
Parental responsive	0.236***	0.154**	-0.033
Parental regulation	0.021	0.089*	0.014
Parental autonomy support	0.117**	0.145**	0.090*
Maternal responsive	0.256***	0.158***	0.029
Maternal regulation	0.001	0.105*	0.003
Maternal autonomy support	0.163***	0.192***	0.100*
Friendship quality	0.506***	0.347***	-0.089*
Friend responsive	0.550***	0.419***	-0.027
Friend overinvolved	0.225***	0.252**	0.257***
Friend disengage	-0.004	0.107*	0.286***

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$

Friendship quality has a positive correlation with commitment and in-depth exploration,

while the reconsideration of commitment is negative. A friend's responsive support-giving also positively correlates with commitment and in-depth exploration. In contrast, their overinvolved support-giving has a positive correlation with commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment. Finally, their disengage support-giving has a positive correlation with in-depth exploration and reconsideration of commitment.

The regression analysis results in Table 2 showed that the dimensions of parenting, friendship, and support-giving can predict identity. Responsive parenting and autonomy support from the mother can predict commitment ($R^2 = 0.090$) at stage 1. However, when friendship quality was added as a predictor in stage 2, it was found that only responsive parenting from father, autonomy support from mother, and friendship quality predicted commitment ($R^2 = 0.291$). Finally, when the friend's support-giving is added at stage 3, only autonomy support from the mother, friendship quality, and responsiveness and disengagement predicted commitment ($R^2 = 0.369$). For in-depth exploration, the regression analysis showed that only autonomy support from the mother at stage 1 predicted in-depth exploration ($R^2 = 0.063$). Moreover, only autonomy support from the mother and friendship quality at stage 2 could predict in-depth exploration ($R^2 = 0.158$). Lastly, only friendship quality, their responsive and disengaged support-giving at stage 3 predicted in-depth exploration ($R^2 = 0.241$). In contrast to the commitment and in-depth exploration, only the friendship quality at stage 2 could make predictions ($R^2 = 0.025$). In addition, only friend's overinvolved and disengage support-giving at stage 3 can predict the reconsideration of commitment ($R^2 = 0.110$).

Table 2.
 Hierarchical regression of independent variable toward the dimension of identity

Dimension	Commitment			In-depth exploration			Reconsideration of commitment		
	β_1	β_2	β_3	β_1	β_2	β_3	β_1	β_2	β_3
Responsive (P)	0.141**	0.107*	0.058	0.089	0.066	0.022	-0.080	-0.073	-0.080
Regulation (P)	0.020	-0.025	-0.008	0.023	-0.008	0.018	-0.008	-0.002	0.049
Autonomy (P)	-0.028	-0.040	-0.106	0.021	0.013	-0.065	0.067	0.069	-0.018
Responsive (M)	0.159**	0.039	0.053	0.069	-0.013	0.005	0.035	0.060	0.086
Regulation (M)	-0.032	-0.026	-0.024	0.069	0.073	0.072	-0.004	-0.006	-0.016
Autonomy (M)	0.117*	0.137	0.093	0.135*	0.149**	0.093	0.070	0.065	-0.009
Quality (F)		0.472**	0.273**		0.325**	0.162**		-0.099*	-0.061
Responsive (F)			0.346**			0.303**			-0.004
Overinvolved (F)			0.046			0.077			0.175**
Disengage (F)			0.121*			0.157**			0.200**
R ²	0.090	0.291	0.369	0.063	0.158	0.241	0.016	0.025	0.110

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < 0.01$. *** $p < 0.001$ P = Parental, M = Maternal, F = Friend

The study examines the role of parenting dimensions, friendship quality, and support-giving in the adolescent's identity formation in Indonesia. The data analysis showed that responsive parenting from both parents, autonomy support from the mother, friendship quality, and responsive support-giving can predict commitment. In addition, the autonomy support from the mother, friendship quality, along responsive and disengage support-giving predict in-depth exploration. The study also found that a friend's overinvolved and disengaged support-giving predicts reconsideration of commitment. In general, the result indicates that differences in the quality and form of relationships with parents and friends create variations in the dimensions of identity achieved by

adolescents. This result is consistent with previous studies stating that adolescent identity formation in Indonesia still needs the role of peer groups and authority figures such as parents. According to Muttaqin (2017a, 2018), parents play different roles in forming adolescents' identities.

The significant role of responsive parenting and the mother's autonomy support toward the identity dimensions strengthens previous studies, showing that a parent-adolescent relationship can promote their optimal identity (Ávila et al., 2012; Crocetti et al., 2016; Meca et al., 2016). Parents that treat adolescents with responsive parenting show acceptance, warmth, and affection, make them feel comfortable during interaction (Filus et al., 2019). Therefore, adolescents will feel comfortable and confident when determining identity commitment because of the acceptance shown by their parents. But on the other side, responsive parenting makes adolescents psychologically dependent on their parents (Filus et al., 2019). Therefore, adolescents tend to adopt the views and considerations from parents when they commit without in-depth exploration (Soenens et al., 2011).

Contrary to responsive parenting, the mother's autonomy support encourages adolescents to perform in-depth exploration and determine commitment. According to Soenens et al. (2015), parenting with autonomy support indicates the parents' empathy in accordance with the adolescent's opinion and feelings. The autonomy support provided by the mother directs the adolescent to perform an activity consistent with their desires, needs, and goals (Pan et al., 2013). Therefore, adolescents tend to perform in-depth exploration by finding relevant information about various identity choices (Skhirtladze et al., 2018; Sznitman et al., 2019). Fousiani et al. (2014) stated that parenting with autonomy support is also related to adolescents' opportunities to independently make decisions that fit their needs and future goals. The role of autonomy support, which only comes from mothers, is not surprising due to the separation of roles between parents in Indonesian families. Generally, fathers act as the head of the family, responsible for making decisions (Sarwono, 2013). On the contrary, mothers are responsible for maintaining family harmony by providing attention and emotional support to the children (Handayani & Abdillah, 2019). Mothers tend to provide more opportunities for children to express their opinions and thoughts, making them more independent (Smetana, 2011).

The absence of the role of regulation parenting on the dimensions of identity is beyond expectation. Initially, researchers suspected that regulation parenting would make it easier for adolescents to carry out in-depth explorations and determine commitments. There are certain limitations that parents have given to adolescents in seeking various information related to identity choices. Especially in the Indonesian context, parents tend to limit adolescents' choices (Sarwono, 2013; Suardiman, 2011). This indicates that the regulation from parents can be responded to differently by adolescents. On one side, the definite boundaries from parents facilitate adolescents to determine various information related to identity choices (Soenens et al., 2011). On the other side, the rules given by parents threaten adolescents' independence in making decisions (Xiang & Liu, 2018). Previous studies found that the differences in adolescent responses to regulation parenting were caused by personality and self-determination (Mabbe et al., 2019; Van Petegem et al., 2019).

Other than parenting, the friendship quality possessed by adolescents also encourages them to perform in-depth exploration and determine their commitment. Good quality friendship shows interaction with friends that provide entertainment, and stimulation, which fulfill their curiosity, and desires (Saldarriaga et al., 2015). Young et al. (2017) stated that interaction with friends through conversation could bring up various alternatives about the future. Therefore, they are encouraged to explore various identity choices relevant to their future goals. Friends can provide reinforcement and feedback related to the identity to be chosen, thereby enabling adolescents to confidently choose an

identity commitment that fits their future goals (Morgan & Korobov, 2012). Therefore, adolescents do not compare the identity commitments that have been chosen with other alternatives.

The role of friends' responsiveness, overinvolved, and disengagement on in-depth exploration and reconsideration of commitment show that social support optimally contributes to identity formation. The assistance provided by a friend's responsive support-giving is based on empathy for both emotional and instrumental needs (Collins & Feeney, 2000). Adolescents who obtain a friend's responsive support-giving feel encouraged and supported when exploring various identity choices (Feeney, 2004). Unlike responsive support-giving, overinvolved friends provide strict rules that tend to help adolescents explore various identity options with a clear guidance. However, on the other hand, excessive control through the rules given by friends can result in adolescents being unable to make decisions (Xiang & Liu, 2018) and causes a feeling of frustration (van der Kaap-Deeder et al., 2017; Xiang & Liu, 2018). It also leads to uncertainty and a feeling of dissatisfaction with their decisions (Man Chow & Buhrmester, 2011). Therefore, adolescents with overinvolved support-giving find it easier to review their commitments due to their previous dissatisfaction state.

The role of a friend's disengage support-giving to the identity dimension is beyond expectation due to its ability to predict the commitment, in-depth exploration, and reconsideration of commitment. Initially, researchers assumed that a friend's disengage support-giving only contributed to the reconsideration of commitment and did not contribute to the commitment and in-depth exploration. The results indicate that disengage support-giving is considered a double-edged sword. Rose, Swenson, and Robert (2009) stated that a friend who does not perform a support-giving does not mean they show indifference. However, they may not need to add to the burden related to their problem identification. Chow, Buhrmester, and Tan (2014) reported that the inability of friends to provide support when they know their assistance is needed tends to enable adolescents to overcome identity problems independently. However, the absence of support from friends indicates that adolescents do not have closeness with friends, so they do not discuss and get feedback about identity choices (Man Chow & Buhrmester, 2011; Morgan & Korobov, 2012; van Doeselaar et al., 2016). As a result, adolescents become easily doubtful of pre-selected identity commitments and tend to change identity commitments with more satisfying identity choices.

Overall, the study indicates that friends are more dominant than parents in adolescents' identity formation. Irrespective of this fact, parents still play a role during early adolescence due to the differences in autonomy support. This result is consistent with the previous study, which shows that parents play a more dominant role when adolescence form their identity (Crocetti & Meeus, 2014). However, in late adolescence, friends' responsive support-giving is higher compared to the early and middle phases. Previous studies found that friends' support plays a higher role than parents' in late adolescence's psychological well-being (Guan & Fuligni, 2016). The current study helped confirm a dynamic pattern of parent and friend relationships in individual identity formation throughout their adolescent period.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the adolescent's identity formation in Indonesia is inseparable from the significant role of parents and friends. Furthermore, the country's collective culture encourages adolescents to connect with others in identity formation, which requires authority figures and peer-group. Parents and friends play complementary roles in identity formation during adolescence. Parents contribute by helping them determine their identity commitment through responsive parenting and autonomy support. Meanwhile, friends contribute through the provision of quality-

friendship and responsive support-giving.

The research implies that differences in the quality and form of relationships with parents and friends can lead to differences in adolescent identity formation. Although friends have a more dominant role than parents, parents can still play a role in helping the formation of adolescent identity by understanding the needs of adolescents and providing opportunities for adolescents. In addition, adolescents need to establish positive friendship relationships to get the support necessary support in identity formation.

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