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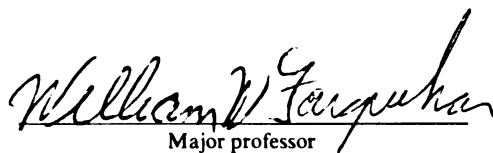
The Shift in Identity Status from Diffusion
to Moratorium in Adolescent Females: A
Pilot Study

presented by

Barbara Gortych

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Counseling Psychology


Major professor

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THE SHIFT IN IDENTITY STATUS
FROM DIFFUSION TO MORATORIUM
IN ADOLESCENT FEMALES:
A PILOT STUDY

By
Barbara Gortych

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The Shift in Identity Status from Diffusion to Moratorium in Adolescent Females: A Pilot Study

By

Barbara Gortych

The purpose of the research was a) to explore in a natural setting the level of ego identity status achieved by female members of a high school population and b) to examine the relationship of an individual's ego strength to the achieved identity status. Specifically, the identity status and ego strength of female students in the ninth and twelfth grade were measured and analyzed.

The research was based on the developmental theories of Erik Erikson. The sample of the research was comprised of twenty-seven ninth grade and twenty-five twelfth grade female high school students. All subjects were volunteers. Each subject was asked to complete Marcia's Identity Status Interview and the ego strength scale of the MMPI, and each was paid five dollars.

Concerning the shift from diffusion to moratorium, the analysis of the first and second hypotheses by means of chi square and Fisher Exact Probability provided the following information:

- 1) There was a significantly higher proportion of ninth grade females in moratorium than in diffusion.
- 2) There was a significantly higher proportion of twelfth grade females in moratorium than in diffusion.

Thus, the expected clear-cut shift from diffusion in ninth grade to moratorium in twelfth grade could not be validated.

The analysis of the third and fourth hypotheses through the use of t-tests yielded the following information:

- 1) On the ego strength measure, the twelfth grade females received significantly higher scores than the ninth grade females.
- 2) On the ego strength measure, the ninth grade female moratorium group scored significantly higher than the ninth grade female diffusion group.

Thus, as predicted, there was a higher degree of ego strength manifested among twelfth graders than among ninth graders.

To Michael

who nudged, supported, babysat, read, typed, cooked,
listened, picked up Chinese food, got sick and tired of
the whole thing, never really complained, and still
loved.

and

To my parents

who made sure that doors opened for me which had been
closed to them.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iii
LIST OF APPENDICES	iv
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
The Problem and The Need	1
Purpose	6
Hypotheses	7
Overview	8
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	11
Part I The Historical Context of Erikson's Theory	12
The Freuds and Identification	12
Erikson and Identity	14
The Ego and Identity Formation	16
Part II Research Related to the Operationalization of Erikson's Constructs of Identity Formation	18
Varied Approaches to Operationalization	18
Marcia's Approach to Operationalization	23
Evaluation of Marcia's Identity Status Interview	28
Development of the ES scale of the MMPI	31
Validation of the ES scale at the MMPI	32
Summary and Conclusions	35
III DESIGN OF THE STUDY	37
Sample	37
Measures	39
Procedures	43
Rater Reliability for the Identity Status Interview	44
Design and Analysis	45
Hypotheses	48
Summary	52

IV RESEARCH RESULTS	53
The First and Second Hypotheses	53
The Third, Fourth and Fifth Hypotheses	58
The Exploratory Hypotheses	62
Summary	63
V SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	65
Summary	65
Conclusions and Discussion	71
Implications for Future Research	77
APPENDICES	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY	137

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1.1	Criteria for Differentiation of Marcia's Identity Status	5
4.1	Distribution of Identity Statuses Among Ninth and Twelfth Grade Female Subjects	54
4.2	Chi-square Distribution of Moratorium and Diffusion Among Ninth and Twelfth Grade Female Subjects	57
4.3	Descriptive Statistics of the Ego Strength Measure for Ninth and Twelfth Grade Female Subjects	59
4.4	Results of t-test on the Third, Fourth and Fifth Hypotheses	60

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	PAGE
A. Identity Status Interview Form and Scoring Manual	82
B. Items Comprising the Ego Strength Scale of the MMPI	108
C. Letter to Students With Attached Consent Form .	113
D. Five Identity Status Interview Protocols . .	116

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Identity - what a person perceives himself to be - has been a frequent point of fascination for mankind. The studies of identity appear in various guises: in literature, philosophy, religion, anthropology, and psychology. The boundaries of the problem range from the practical daily necessities of self-orientation to the larger existential concerns of man's relationship to the cosmos. Whether a man be a primitive food gatherer, a migrating herder of animals, a cultivator of domesticated crops, or a so-called "civilized" master of cities, his first question on meeting another is WHO ARE YOU? It would seem impossible that a man, in any place in the world, could escape asking the same question of himself. It is the process by which a person formulates the answer to the question WHO AM I? which is the focus of this study.

The Problem and the Need

With the publication of Identity, Youth and Crisis in 1968 Erik Erikson set forth an innovative theory of identity formation. He proposed that adolescence was a stage of development in which the formation of identity was the focal issue. He argued that identity formation began with a diffuse intrapsychic state in which the individual seemed largely disinterested in self-reflection and future

direction. As adolescence progressed, however, Erikson proposed that individuals became reflective and concerned with self issues. This new focus then precipitated the development of an internal crisis characterized by confusion and turmoil. Finally, he suggested that the crisis was resolved as the individual made commitments to an internal cohesive system of values, morals, and life goals. Erikson also argued that the major organizing agent in the development of identity was the ego. He reasoned that it was the ego which supplied the strength to delay gratification and to tolerate ambiguity and confusion as the developmental process progressed.

The two major problems for study in this research were derived from Erikson's theory of identity formation as stated above. The first problem was to verify the developmental shifts described by Erikson in the process of identity formation in early adolescents. The second aim of the research was to begin to explore the role of ego in the process of identity formation.

Erikson's formulation concerning identity, although based on Freudian underpinnings, was innovative and provocative. It stimulated a sizeable amount of empirical study. Researchers sought to operationalize the theory along different axes with varying success. Nonetheless, with few exceptions, researchers chose to verify the theory among male college-age populations, that is, among individuals in late adolescence. This choice of populations clearly was

influenced by the easy accessibility of college populations to research endeavors and the difficulty in securing permission and cooperation for research among high school students. However, the choice of only late adolescent populations created a serious problem in verifying the thrust and extent of Erikson's theory. Certainly late adolescents were found to be developing identities, experiencing crises and making commitments. Nevertheless, the character of the process in early adolescence was left, for the most part, undescribed.

Consequently, the focus of this research was the validation of Erikson's theory of identity formation in early adolescence. The research population was comprised of ninth and twelfth grade high school students. Specifically these students were females, chosen again because of the paucity of research on their sex.

The problem of validating Erikson's view of identity formation among early adolescence was approached from two perspectives:

- 1) Can it be established that early adolescent females are engaged in the stages of identity formation predicted by Erikson's theory?
- 2) Will a measure of gross ego strength shed any light on the role of the ego in the process of identity formation?

Different measures were employed to pursue each of these perspectives on identity formation.

In order to establish the stage of development in which each subject could be categorized, a measure had to be employed which operationalized the chief concepts in Erikson's theory. James Marcia's Ego Identity Status Interview was such an instrument. Developed in 1964, it defined the stage along two axes: crisis and commitment. The instrument had been used frequently in research and had been adequately validated. It consisted of a semi-structured interview and a detailed scoring manual for subjective judges. Upon scoring, each subject could be identified as one of four identity status: diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure and achievement. Those individuals designated as diffuse were characterized by the absence of both crisis and commitment. In contrast, those classified as moratorium were experiencing an acute or chronic crisis and were struggling to make decisions about commitments. Individuals in the foreclosure status had experienced no crisis and yet appeared to be very committed. Closer scrutiny, however, revealed them to be committed often to the values and goals of significant others (frequently parents) but with little internalization of a cohesive system of values and goals of their choosing. Finally those in the achievement status were characterized by both the experience of crisis and its resolution through commitment. Each of these statuses was mutually exclusive.

TABLE 1.1

Criteria for Differentiation of
Marcia's Identity Statuses

Identity Status	Crisis	Commitment
Diffusion	Individual has experienced either no crisis or has passed through a crisis.	Individual has made no commitments.
Moratorium	Individual is experiencing crisis in acute or chronic form.	Individual is struggling to make decisions about commitments.
Foreclosure	Individual has not experienced crisis or even serious period of questioning.	Individual appears committed. However, choices frequently coincide with those of parents.
Achievement	Individual has experienced crisis	Individual has made commitments.

Linking then these stages to Erikson's theory, normal development would proceed from diffusion in early adolescence to moratorium and then to identity achievement in later adolescence. However, alternate paths of less than optimal development seem to exist. For example, some individuals appear to remain in a diffuse state for a lifetime. Others seem to move from diffusion to foreclosure and stop there. Finally, still others seem to move from diffusion to moratorium and then back to diffusion.

The second perspective concerning ego strength was pursued through the use of the ego strength scale of the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory). Similar to Marcia's instrument, this scale is a valid scale, and one well-accepted for use in the research. However, unlike Marcia's interview, the Ego Strength Scale is a paper and pencil test in which the individual is required to answer true or false to a variety of statements. The scale is objectively scored and yields a numerical score which can then be interpreted as high or low ego strength. Clearly it is a gross measure of ego strength. It allows only a determination of relative strength. It does not detail the composition of the ego and its individual characteristics.

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to validate Erikson's theory of identity formation in an early adolescent population. This was achieved by the examination of two major

problem areas. The first involved the identification of the ego identity statuses predicted by Erikson for early adolescents in a female high school population. Specifically, the goal was to verify cross-sectionally the shift from diffusion in ninth grade females to moratorium in twelfth grade females. The second problem area involved the exploration of the role of ego strength in the process of identity formation among the same early adolescent female population. Specifically the goal here was to verify that the diffusion status among ninth grade females would be a normal stage of development and thus not correlated to ego strength. In contrast, among twelfth grade females, it was expected that diffusion would be correlated with low ego strength and moratorium with high ego strength.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses for the study were derived from the theoretical constructs put forth by Erikson and the empirical findings of James Marcia. They address in specific terms the details of the two main problem areas outlined above: (1) identification of the shift in identity status in early adolescence and (2) exploration of the role of ego strength. Together the hypotheses sought to meet the purpose of the study: validation of Erikson's theory of identity formation among early adolescents. The hypotheses may be stated as follows:

- 1) There will be a high proportion of ninth grade subjects in the diffusion status than in the moratorium status.
- 2) There will be a higher proportion of twelfth grade subjects in the moratorium status than diffusion status.
- 3) Higher ego strength will not be correlated with the diffusion or the moratorium status of ninth grade subjects.
- 4) High ego strength will be significantly correlated with the moratorium status of twelfth grade subjects.
- 5) The proportion of subjects in ninth and twelfth grade in achievement status will range from 0 - 5%.
- 6) The proportion of subjects in the foreclosure status will remain constant when comparing ninth to twelfth grade.

Overview

In the chapters which follow, the theoretical, empirical and historical context of the study will be examined. Further, the measures and procedures will be set forth. Lastly, the results will be presented along with conclusions derived from the analysis of the data.

Specifically, Chapter II will contain a historical and empirical review of the literature relevant to identity

formation. In it, the historical evolution of the term "identity" will be traced. This discussion will serve to distinguish the difference between Freud's use of the term identification and Erikson's use of the term identity. Further, the contributions of ego psychology to the theories of identity formation will also be considered. From the empirical perspective, the various approaches to the task of operationalizing Erikson's theory will be discussed. Special attention will be paid to the development of the two instruments chosen for use in the current study: the Identity Status Interview and the ego strength scale of the MMPI.

In Chapter III, the main design of the study will be presented. Specifically, there will be a description of the sample population and of the instruments administered. In addition, the procedures followed in acquiring the volunteer population, in administering the measures, and in scoring and analyzing the data will be set forth.

In Chapter IV the findings of the study will be presented. The hypotheses will be restated and the results of the statistical analysis of the data in regard to the hypotheses will be reported.

Finally, in Chapter V, a synthesis of the study will be set forth. The discussion will proceed from a consideration of the relationship of the historical, theoretical and empirical perspectives to the procedures used in testing the hypotheses. The results of the study will then be viewed

within this context. In this way, the possible reasons for successful or unsuccessful predictions among hypotheses will be considered. Finally, conclusions relating to the theoretical constructs and future direction of research will be drawn.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature concerning identity formation is considerable in size and diversity. However, it may be effectively organized under two perspectives: (1) the historical and theoretical contexts of the theory and (2) empirical attempts to operationalize the theory. The review which follows uses these two perspectives as major organizing principles.

Specifically, in the first section, the historical context of Erikson's theory of identity formation will be discussed. The Freudian precursors to Erikson's thinking will be presented and distinguished from the terms employed in this research. Further, the specifics of Erikson's theory will be set forth. Finally, the most recent contributions by ego psychology to current thinking about identity formation will be discussed.

In the second section, the empirical procedures and data which were generated by the historical and theoretical perspectives will be reviewed. Of major importance will be two main areas of research: (1) attempts to operationalize Erikson's constructs of identity formation and (2) attempts to operationalize the role of ego strength in the process of identity formation. In both cases, a review of empirical data will be presented. The purpose of the review then is to present first the scientific thought and then the

empirical action which followed. In the process of reviewing this area, the theoretical underpinnings of the hypotheses should be clarified and the rationale for selection of research measures established.

Part I. The Historical Context of Erikson's Theory

Erikson's theory developed within a historical context. The roots of his ideas concerning identity formation are psychoanalytic. Erikson expanded basic Freudian concepts as he began to articulate his view of adolescent development. He also focused on the role of the ego. This focus has been much enriched by writing and research in ego psychology.

The Freuds and Identification

As with many things psychological, it was with Sigmund Freud that the evolution of the term identity commenced. His use began with the term identification, a term distinct from "identity" but intimately related to it. Sigmund Freud's use of the term identification, often called primary identification, referred to the process whereby a person made his/her first emotional ties to another human being via an imitative process that seemed much less an imitation and much more an oral incorporation. He stated

Identification is known to psycho-analysis as the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person. . . . We can only see that identification endeavors to mould a person's own ego

after the fashion of the one that has been taken as a model. (Freud, S., 1955, pp. 105-106)

Fenichel (1945) further elucidated the distinction made between primary and secondary identification:

The primitive reactions of imitating what is perceived and the oral introjection of what is perceived belong close together. "Identification" in normal psychology and in psychotherapy give the impression, as Freud always emphasized, of being a regression, a "secondary" identification, repeating an archaic "primary one." The concept of primary identification denotes that actually "putting into the mouth" and "imitation for perception's sake" are one in the same and represent the very first relation to objects. (p. 37)

Thus the basis for later identifications was thought to be the primary one by the infant. This primary identification molded the ego and in doing so provided the individual with a processual model for the later "taking in" of or "identification with" parts of another which could eventually become intrinsic parts of the self.

Next, in the evolution came Anna Freud's description of the defense mechanisms, in particular her view of identification with the aggressor. This mechanism was important in the evolution of identity because it employed the term identification in a new way. She described an incorporative modeling process. However, it was distinctly defined one which should not be confused with the later view of adolescent identity crises conceptualized by Erikson. Anna Freud (1966) stated

In 'identification with the aggressor' we recognized a by no means uncommon stage in the normal development of the superego. . . . When a child constantly repeats this process of internalization

and introjection the qualities of those responsible for his up bringing. . . he is all the time providing material from which the superego may take shape. But at the point children are not quite whole-hearted in acknowledging that institution. The internalized criticism is not yet immediately transformed into self-criticism. . . . it is dissociated from the child's own reprehensible activity and turned back on the outside world. (p. 116)

Thus, "identification with the aggressor" was defined as a defense mechanism which developed at a crucial stage of superego development. As such, it incorporated both identification and projection to deal with perceived external threats.

More closely related to Erikson's theory of identity formation was the focus in psychoanalytic theory upon the task of sexual identification as part of the resolution of the Oedipus complex. Here, it was reasoned, the tasks diverged dramatically for the sexes. The male child completed his separation from his female mother and moved towards identification with his male father. The female child, in a more complicated process, needed to separate from her female mother via a strong pull toward the male father and then returned to mother as the model for her female identification.

Erikson and Identity

How do these identifications lead to the turmoil of adolescence and its resolution in the form of a firm identity and sense of adult commitment? Do all of these identifications of childhood simply "add up" to adult

identity? It was in answering this question and in synthesizing and reformulating psychoanalytic thought that Erikson gained ascendancy. No, he stated -- "none of the identifications of childhood. . . .could, if merely added up, result in a functioning personality" (Erikson, 1959, p. 158). Instead, he postulated a second "latency" during the adolescence termed a "psychosocial moratorium" (Erikson, 1959, p. 56).

The comparison between latency and adolescence was significant. Latency offered the child a period of time in which to consolidate his developmental gains following the resolution of the Oedipal conflict. Further, it offered him an opportunity to experience a "period of delay" (Erikson, 1959, p. 156) in which to learn the culture. In this period a child could learn the roles, hierarchies, and rules which would become the backdrop for adult life. In comparison, Erikson's psychosocial moratorium referred to the period of prolonged adolescence wherein the ostensibly sexually mature individual was "more or less retarded in his psychosexual capacity for intimacy and in the psychosocial readiness for parenthood." (Erikson, 1959, p. 156) During this period, the individual experienced confusion and used the period for experimentation in an attempt to find a role and place in society which was suited to him/her.

Thus, Erikson argued that it was not simply the arithmetical sum of previous identifications which yielded an adult identity. He stated that identity formation was

the result of a period in which these identifications, and the knowledge gained in latency, were experimented with and reformulated to produce a working sense of self and commitment to personal ideals and life goals.

The Ego and Identity Formation

In Erikson's theory, the aspect of psychological life which was most intensely involved in the psychosocial moratorium and its reorganizing processes was the ego. The concept of ego long ago left its place of equality in the tripartite structural model of Freud's ego-id-superego. Through the further development of psychoanalytic theory in the form of ego psychology and object relations theory, the concept of ego took on an ascendancy as the central organizer of the personality. It was viewed as multifunctional. It assisted the individual in distinguishing reality from fantasy, establishing and maintaining psychological and physical borders, employing and organizing defenses, and integrating inner psychological experience and outer physical reality. Foremost, the ego worked to maintain the organism's functional integrity.

The role of ego in the process of identity formation was central. In the turmoil of the self-reorganization of identity formation, the question of the role of the ego arose. Theoretically a strong ego should have been the gyroscope which worked independently of the identity formation crisis to coordinate the strengths and coping

mechanisms of the individual toward an equilibration, in the Piagetian sense, that is, a new, stable and sufficient organization.

Erikson himself pointed to a three stage process by which the ego was even more able to make increasingly sophisticated use of the models available. Paralleling Freud's primary identification, Erikson identified introjection as the first step. In this process, the positive mutuality between mother and infant was incorporated in the child to provide a safe base from which the child could move out toward other human beings. As the child moved outward from the symbiotic unit, childhood identifications came to the forefront of development. These early identifications paralleled Freud's secondary identifications and further enlarged the base established earlier for trusting and satisfactory interactions with other individuals. Thus, the individual could begin to take into his intrapsychic system the hierarchy and diversity of roles available to him in the culture. However, Erikson (1959) argued that "identity formation. . . .begins when the usefulness of identification ends" (p. 159). Thus, at adolescence, he postulated that a society afforded the child a particular recognition as a young individual who was an entity in his/her own right, no longer to simply be molded or taught but a person to be reckoned with. The child then assumed the position of adolescent with all the culturally circumscribed tolerance of his experimentation during this moratorium. The

tolerance was based on the firm hope that the period would yield a stable identity formation and a contributing and generative adult to carry on the goals of the culture.

Part II. Research Related to the Operationalization of Erikson's Constructs of Identity Formation

Erikson's scheme of development was tantalizing. It generated high expectations that it might untangle some of the complexities of human growth. His approach set many researchers off in search of measures by which to operationalize his ideas. Erikson (1959) had formulated ego identity in the following terms:

Ego identity then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the style of one's individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community. (p. 50)

Further, identity was achieved through crisis. For Erikson (1959) crisis did not connote "impending catastrophe. . . ." but indicated a "necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when development must move one way or another, marshalling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation" (p. 16). The task, then, of empirical researchers was to reformulate these theoretical positions into research constructs and then to establish their validity.

Varied Approaches to Operationalization

An article by Bronson in 1959 was the first attempt to operationalize Erikson's theory of identity formation. He focused on the measurement of identity diffusion, defining the concept as comprised of four characteristics: (1) self-image less rooted in earlier identifications, (2) feelings about self more variable over short periods of time, (3) self less firmly conceived of in terms of dominant traits, and (4) increased anxiety. Using male and female college students he successfully predicted that through the use of four measures, two based on rated interviews and two based on semantic differential techniques, these four characteristics would be significantly correlated with each other.

Gruen (1960), in a study published the next year, focused on another aspect of Erikson's concept of identity. He reasoned that subjects with sound ego identity would demonstrate little discrepancy between real and ideal self. To test this notion, he used a real-ideal Q-sort discrepancy correlation score developed by Butler and Haigh (1954). A week after completing the Q-sort, college students were asked to fill out a questionnaire which was to measure ego identity and to read a fake personality sketch based on the previous week's test. The subjects were then required to rate the accuracy of the original Q-sort as a measure of their personality. The results were disappointing. Although a significantly higher number of subjects with low

ego identity accepted the fake personality sketches than those subjects with high ego identity, the questionnaire, itself, did not discriminate between the two.

Block (1961) focused on low role variability as a definition of ego identity. He operationalized the definition by having subjects rank twenty adjectives eight times, each in relation to behavior with eight significant others. The resultant scores were then correlated with the California Personality Inventory measure of susceptibility to anxiety. Block concluded that extreme variability (Block's definition of a low ego identity) correlated with poor adjustment and susceptibility to anxiety.

Dignan (1963) was the first researcher to study women exclusively. Her purpose was to measure the correlation of anxiety to ego identity. In the study an adjective check list and ego identity scale were used. These measures successfully correlated low ego identity with high anxiety.²

In 1974 Start and Traxler produced a study in which the "empirical validation of Erikson's theory of identity crisis in late adolescence" (p. 25) was sought. They used Dignan's instrument on a sample of over five hundred male and female college students. Two hypotheses were supported: (1) 17 - 20 year old subjects reported more diffusion than 21 - 24 year olds and (2) females reported significantly less diffusion than males in each group. The data further indicated that the identity formation process crystallizes in late adolescence as theorized by Erikson. An inverse

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correlation between ego identity and anxiety provided data for additional construct validity for the instrument.

Howard and Kubis (1964) also focused on women as subjects, again college students. Their purpose was to relate ego identity to three aspects of personal adjustment: manifest anxiety, manifest hostility, and mother-daughter problems. They hypothesized a negative correlation to all three. Five instruments were used: an Ego Identity Scale, a Manifest Anxiety Scale, a Manifest Hostility scale, a Mother-Daughter Problem Checklist and a Rating Scale for Identity Traits. The hypotheses were supported by the research in that the inverse relationship was established. However, significant results were inconsistent for freshmen and sophomores and for the two measures of ego identity.

In his 1964 study, Heilbrun used Block's (1961) ranking procedure. Using male and female college students, he sought to establish a relationship between ego identity, defined as low role variability, and conformity to cultural stereotypes of masculinity or femininity. The hypothesis regarding males was confirmed. However, the results concerning females provide a different picture. It was found that girls with either high or low femininity scores had higher role consistency than girls ranked moderately feminine. Bauer (1972), also noted that further research by Heilbrun indicated a significant correlation between the role consistency scale and test taking defensiveness.

In 1964, Rasmussen published a study in which he examined the construct validity of ego identity and the relationship of ego identity to psychosocial effectiveness. The data from his questionnaire provided evidence for construct validity in terms of the highly significant differences in scores. The instrument was innovative in that it was comprised of items designed to tap the subject's experience of the previous five stages of Erikson's theory.

Bach and Verduf (1975) used Rasmussen's measure, the Ego Identity Scale (EIS), and Constantinople's Inventory of Psychosocial Development (IPD) to study male and female high school adolescents. Their purpose was to examine the relationship between the two measures and to explore identity formation in the rarely sampled population (1975, p. 270). They concluded that there existed significant positive relationships between the instruments, but further noted that because Rasmussen's measure yielded a single identity score it seemed vulnerable to misclassification of subjects.

In 1972 Bauer and Snyder also employed Rasmussen's Ego Identity Scale in a study of motivation and ego identity. The results supported Erikson's theory of development in that individuals with high motivation, in affiliation and achievement, show "more satisfactory ego identity" (p. 951) than subjects with lower scores. Specifically, the Bauer and Snyder data lent support to Erikson's formulation that successful resolution of the previous stage, in this case,

identity vs. diffusion, leads to better management of the current one.

Marcia's Approach to Operationalization

In 1964 Marcia sought to investigate Erikson's concept of identity by focusing on two variables: crisis and commitment. He developed a semi-structural interview to evaluate four styles of negotiating this stage of development: identity achievement, foreclosure, moratorium, and diffusion. He also developed the Ego Identity Incomplete Sentence Blank as an overall measure of diffusion. These two measures were significantly correlated, although in later research Marcia discarded the incomplete sentence blank as less effective than the interview. The findings also indicated that high identity subjects performed better on a "stressful concept attainment task" than low identity subjects. Further, he found a positive relationship between high identity status and increased years in college. The scales did not, however, differentiate levels of self-esteem under stress. There was also some indication that the stress treatment itself was contaminated.

Marcia's 1963 study was followed by one in 1966 in which he used both the semi-structured interview and the incomplete sentence blank. The purpose was the establishment of the validity of the instrument by investigation of (1) performance on stressful concept-attainment tasks, (2) patterns of goal setting, (3) authoritarianism and (4)

vulnerability to self-esteem change. The study resulted in experimentally defined profiles of each of the four ego identity statuses.

The four identity statuses which were developed were: (1) identity achievement, (2) moratorium, (3) foreclosure, and (4) diffusion. Marcia (1967) defined the statuses in the following way:

The identity achievement status has experienced a crisis period and is committed to an occupation and ideology. The moratorium status refers to those individuals currently engaged in decision making with commitments vague. Individuals in the foreclosure status are similar to the illustration given above; they seem to have experienced no crisis, yet have firm, often parentally determined commitments. The identity diffusion status has no apparent commitments. Moratoriums, in contrast to identity diffusion, are characterized by the presence of struggle and attempts to make commitments. Foreclosures are distinguished from identity achievement individuals by the lack of any crisis period in the former (p. 119).

In 1967, Marcia sought further validity for the four identity statuses. The study had as its purpose the refutation of a previous criticism: that although each of the identity statuses had been conceptualized as having specifically unique characteristics, they might, in reality, represent a "continuum of maladjustment or psychopathology" (Marcia, 1967, p. 122). In the study the Welsh Anxiety Scale (WAS), an authoritarian measure, and exposure to self-esteem manipulation were used as means of comparing the statuses. With these measures, further validation evidence was obtained. Subjects who were low in ego identity seemed more vulnerable to self-esteem manipulation

than those who were high in ego identity. Further, the WAS did not indicate a continuum of pathology. On the contrary, as hypothesized by Erikson and Marcia, the "in-crisis" status (moratorium) received the highest WAS scores and the status characterized by compliance to parental ideology (foreclosure) received the lowest.

These original studies by Marcia (1964, 1966, 1967) inspired a number of further investigations which used the semi-structured interview as a measure. In 1970, continuing Marcia's procedure of using college students as subjects, Waterman and Waterman conducted two studies of the relationship between ego identity status and satisfaction with college itself. Data for the first study was gathered through two semi-structured interviews: one concerning ego identity status evaluation and the other college satisfaction. Data for the second study was obtained from analysis of the scores of college seniors on the previously administered College Student Questionnaires. The results indicated that the experience of a crisis over occupational choice was an important factor in dissatisfaction with college.

Recognizing a lack of data on women, Marcia and Freedman (1970) undertook a study of college females in relation to ego identity formation. The aim of the study was to apply ego-identity constructs to women, by adding a new criteria: attitudes toward premarital intercourse. Five measures were used: (1) difficulty of college major, (2) performance on the Luchens Einstellung problems, (3)

self-esteem, (4) authoritarianism, and (5) Welsh Anxiety Scale scores. The results included several conclusions: (1) no differences in intelligence among the statuses, (2) identity achievement subjects had more difficult majors than diffusion subjects, (3) foreclosure individuals had the highest self-esteem and authoritarian scores and lowest WAS scores, (4) moratorium subjects were lowest in authoritarianism, and (5) diffusions obtained the highest WAS scores. Finally, the Luchen's measure was deemed inappropriate for use with the ego identity construct.

In a further effort to empirically define the status, Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser (1972) investigated the relationship of ego identity status to Erikson's next stage, intimacy versus isolation. Returning to the all male population pool of earlier studies, they examined the relationship of each subject's ego identity status to measures of intimacy, isolation, autonomy, social desirability, affiliation and heterosexuality. The results again included several components: (1) identity achievements seemed to possess the greatest capacity for intimacy, (2) foreclosure and diffusion subjects appeared to have interpersonal relationships characterized as stereotyped and superficial, (3) diffusion subjects were least intimate and most isolated, (4) foreclosures had lowest autonomy and highest social desirability scores, and (5) moratorium subjects were variable. A new status was also added, alienated achievement status. These individuals were

described as having, along with the achievement status, the greatest capacity for intimacy. They also were described as least isolated with highest scores of all the statuses for autonomy and affiliation. All of the data seemed to support "intimacy" as a valid research construct and the hypothesis that successful resolution of the intimacy-isolation crisis related to positive resolution of the identity crisis.

In 1972, Schinkel and Marcia further explored the area of women, ego-identity status and attitudes toward pre-marital sex, that had been initially investigated by Marcia and Freedman (1970). The purpose of the study was to test the effectiveness of the additional sex questions "to the initial ego identity status interview areas of occupation, religion and politics. Dependent variables replicating previous studies, were authoritarianism, anxiety, and self-esteem. The results of the study showed that the religion and sex areas of the interview demonstrated the highest predictive power. Findings of previous studies on authoritarianism and anxiety were replicated.

Marvin Podd (1972) studied the relationship between ego identity status and morality. He compared the scores of male college students on Marcia's Identity Status Interview and Kohlberg's Moral Judgement Interview. He found that identity achievement subjects seemed to have the highest level of moral judgement and that diffusion individuals seemed to have either the least mature or a transitional stage of moral judgement. Crisis subjects were seen as

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unstable and inconsistent in their moral judgements. The results seemed to be in agreement with the conceptual bases for Erikson's theory and Marcia's instrument.

In 1974 Waterman, Geary and Waterman published the results of a longitudinal study of changes in male college students from freshman to senior year. The study provided some interesting data. As predicted, there were significant increases in the number of students in the achievement status, especially in the occupational and ideological areas. The achievement status was also found to be the most stable from the end of freshman year to senior year. Finally, although the developmental trend was positive and evident, many subjects completed college in the diffusion status.

In 1970, Simmins sought to modify Marcia's instrument in an attempt to streamline the procedures and reduce the subjectiveness of the scoring. He developed a twenty-four item, objectively scorable scale. However, the scale yielded a score for the individual and not a specific status as Marcia's interview does.

Evaluation of Marcia's Identity Status Interview

Although Marcia's original study and the supporting research were followed by several other attempts (Henry and Hess (1965), Hummel and Sprinthal (1965), Jones (1967), Cribin (1966), Lepsig (1967)) to design an instrument to measure ego identity, none of the instruments were as

successful or as widely used as Marcia's. In comparison with all of the studies prior to its appearance, Marcia's research seems to be more broadly defined and most clearly focused on the concept of identity rather than the concept of "self". Self psychology, as elucidated by Kohut, has a significant contribution to make to psychological theory. Nonetheless the identity is part of the self, not equivalent to it. Kohut (1977) states that the constructs of self psychology are not particularly useful to states where the ego is severely impaired as in infancy and psychosis and to states where the ego is functioning fairly well as in neurosis. It is especially useful in the area of character disorders, or as he calls them, disorders of the self. Thus in looking at normal development, the healthy self becomes the backdrop for developmental or situational crisis:

Whenever we are observing a person who strives for pleasure or pursues vengeful or destructive purposes (or who is in conflict concerning these aims or opposes them) it is possible to discern a self which, while it includes drives (and/or defenses) in its organization, has become a supraordinated configuration whose significance transcends that of the sum of its parts. Still, if the self is healthy, firmly coherent, and of normal strength, then it will not spontaneously become the focus of our empathic (or introspective attention; our attention will not be claimed by the encompassing supraordinated configuration that is in balance, but by those of its subordinated contents (narcissistic aims, drive aims, defenses, conflicts) that are not. (Kohut, 1977, p. 97.)

Defining identity by equating it with the self would be to miss the specifics of the concept. Bronson (1959), Gruen (1960), Block (1961), Heilbrun (1964), Howard and Kubis (1967) and Lipig (1967) all focused on self concept and role

stability, a rather narrow view of the identity. The strength of Marcia's instrument lies in its Eriksonian definition of identity along crisis/commitment lines and its discrimination of individuals' style of dealing with crisis along intrapsychic as well as psychosocial dimensions.

A criticism (Bauer, 1972, p. 5) leveled against Marcia's measure was that "no attempts were made to evaluate behavior associated with earlier psychosocial phases of development." Although this accusation is true, it is inappropriate. Marcia sought first to verify the existence of identity and its usefulness as an operational construct. Bauer's criticism asks further questions -- what is the etiology of identity? and is Erikson correct in postulating success in one stage will aid successful resolution of later stages? In fact, as noted earlier, Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser (1972) studied the relationship of ego identity to the next stage, intimacy versus isolation. Bauer, himself, in 1972 researched the relationship of ego identity (using Rasmussen's scale) to the previous stage, industry versus inferiority. Both studies successfully established the relationship predicted by Erikson.

Thus the strengths of Marcia's instrument lie in several areas. The identity status interview successfully defines ego identity theoretically and empirically. Theoretically, the measure closely follows Erikson's concepts. Empirically, it has operationalized these concepts and established their validity. Further, the

instrument has inspired a large number of studies seeking to expand its usefulness and validity. For these reasons, Marcia's measure of Erikson's concepts has been selected for use in the current study.

Part III. Research Related to Operationalization
of the Role of Ego Strength in
Identity Formation

Missing from the studies mentioned previously is a measure of the role of ego strength in the process of identity formation. Little has been done empirically to establish the intrapsychic relationship of ego strength to the identity status of an individual. Thus, the coupling of Marcia's instrument with an ego strength measure would seem to be important in an investigation of identity formation. The MMPI provides an excellent scale for measuring this psychological component through one of the "new" scales, ES or ego strength.

Development of the ES Scale of the MMPI

The ego strength scale was originally developed to "identify differences in degree of psychological readiness to profit from psychotherapy." (Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom, 1975, p. 31). Sixty-eight items from the MMPI were selected by Barron (1953) which significantly correlated with rated improvement in thirty-three neurotic patients who were in treatment for six months in a

psychiatric clinic. Although the sample size was small, the inter-rater reliability was high (.91). Barron (1980) stated his rationale for the small sample in this way:

It was reasoned that a small number of well studied cases who were classified with high reliability, and. . . with high accuracy as well, would serve better than the practical alternative, which was to get a large sample in which the therapist's rating of outcome was accepted uncritically. (p. 268)

The result of Barron's research was a scale which measured a general factor of "capacity for personality integration, or ego strength." There were definite characteristics which were measured as part of ego strength: physiological stability and good health, a strong sense of reality, feelings of personal adequacy and vitality, permissive morality, lack of ethnic prejudice, emotional outgoingness and spontaneity, and intelligence (Barron, 1980, p. 284). It was not particularly useful in identifying specific psychiatric disorders, but it was clearly able to separate the well-adapted individual from one experiencing serious difficulty coping.

Validation of the ES Scale of the MMPI

Further research on three clinical samples supported the original work by Barron. Cross-validation was done by R.D. Wirt (1955), Welkowitz (1959) and Sinnet (1962) with VA hospital patients. Their findings supported the scale as a sound predictor of success in therapy. Distler, May and Tuma (1964) also found ES scores relating positively to

outcome among schizophrenic patients. Some studies did, however, produce negative but explainable findings. Sullivan, Miller and Smelser (1958) conducted a study of a VA mental health clinic in which therapists were the raters of their patients' improvement. The results pointed to no relationship between ego strength and improvement. The rating procedure in the original sample for the development of the scale, however, used 2 separate judges, with in depth knowledge of the small sample. Barron felt that to use therapists' ratings was to significantly reduce the reliability of the ratings. Three other studies, Gettern and Sundland (1962), Fowler, Teel and Coyle (1967) and Kidd (1968) also reported a lack of relationship between the scale and prognosis. However, these studies also used therapists ratings and did not gather or report data on the amount of contact each patient had with the clinic.

Finally, there exists an interesting and somewhat paradoxical relationship between ES scores and psychotherapy outcome. As Dahlstrom and Dahlstrom (1980, p. 169) state:

. . . patients who are most in need of help (very low scores on ES) are said to benefit from it least; those in need of it least (very high scores) benefit most.

Further, those individuals in a clinic setting with normal MMPI profiles, with extreme elevation only in the ES score may be massively denying their emotional turmoil and as such have a poor prognosis in therapy.

In conclusion, the ES scale of the MMPI was developed as a prognostic criterion for success in therapy. As such,

it was designed to assess an individual's ego strengths --- his ability to be resilient and adaptable under the stresses of life. Its validity as a personality measure has been established. Finally, it shares a common weakness with the identity status interview in that it is not normed off of an early adolescent population.

Summary and Conclusions

Identity formation was the focus of the current study. The term "identity" has had a long history: from its initial use by Sigmund Freud as "primary identification," through Anna Freud's "identification with the aggressor," to the identity-diffusion stage of development which Erikson described. Erikson viewed adolescence as a time of experimentation in which an individual reorganized previous experience into a new and stable sense of self. Key to Erikson's conceptualization was the role of the ego in negotiating the stage's two main characteristics: the experience of crisis and the resolution through commitment.

Many attempts were made to operationalize Erikson's constructs and to verify them empirically. Among a host of empirical research, the identity status interview, designed and validated by James Marcia gained prominence as a successful and widely used measure. Through the use of a structured interview, Marcia was able to place individuals in one of four identity statuses: (1) identity achievement, (2) moratorium, (3) foreclosure, and (4) diffusion. Following Marcia's original research, a number of studies were conducted which were able to add further reliability to the instrument.

However, none of the studies of identity formation sought to investigate the relationship between the individual's ego strength and his identity status. A research

instrument which effectively measured ego strength in a form amenable to statistical analysis was the ego strength (ES) scale of the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory). This scale was designed by Barron (1953) to measure an individual's adaptability and general psychological health. With Marcia's instrument, it was included in this study in order to explore a new dimension of identity formation.

It is also evident from the previous review of the studies concerning identity that the population most frequently researched has been that of male college students. Several studies have dealt with college females, but the focus has been very limited. With a few exceptions, the early adolescent population, i.e., high school students, has been neglected. The rare use of the high school population provided the rationale for its inclusion in this research. It logically also prescribed the nature of the research questions; they were exploratory in nature. The aim was to explore the style with which early adolescents negotiated the identity-diffusion stage of development. Hypotheses were based on the data from the previously described studies of college students and expanded to include the ego strength dimension.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The theoretical and empirical perspectives discussed in Chapter II became the foundation for the current study. Procedures were developed to carefully integrate the information garnered from previous thinking and research on identity formation. The purpose of Chapter III then is to present the general design of the study through a discussion of the sample, the measures, the statistical design, the testable hypotheses and the data analysis.

Sample

The sample for the study was derived from the high school population of a town suburban to the Boston metropolitan area. Volunteers were solicited from a pool composed of the 192 female ninth and 178 twelfth grade students in the school in the spring of 1982. In an attempt to control the sample for normality, all volunteers who had been in therapy were removed from the sample. Of the seventy (70) ninth grade girls who responded to the call for volunteers, twenty-seven (27) actually participated in the research. None had been in therapy. In contrast, fifty-six (56) twelfth grade females responded to the researcher's solicitation. Of that number twenty-eight (28) girls actually participated on the research. However, three (3) of the twenty-eight (28) twelfth grade girls were

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removed from the sample because they had been seeing a therapist. Thus the sample secured was highly self-selected.

The twenty-seven (27) ninth grade subjects ranged in age from 14 years 8 months to 16 years 6 months with a mean of 15 years 2 months. The twenty-five (25) twelfth grade students ranged in age from 17 years 6 months to 19 years 4 months with a mean of 18 years 2 months.

The town in which the high school is located can be described by a number of demographic features (Massachusetts Department of Commerce and Development, 1976). It was first settled in the early 1600's and incorporated in the mid 1800's. Once largely pastoral, it is currently a residential community with some manufacturing (13 firms). Trade pursuits appear to employ the largest number of people, followed by the service industry and construction. In 1975, the total population was 28, 285 with 98.9% describing itself as white, .2% as black, 43.4% as foreign stock and 13.6% as foreign born. The median number of school years completed by persons twenty-five years and older is 12.8 with 27% reporting completion of college. The median income for families in 1970 was \$13,559 breaking down as follows:

Income under \$3,000	3.6%
From \$3,000 - 5,999	8.2%
From \$6,000 - 9,999	18.1%
\$10,000 - 14,000	27.5%
\$15,000 and over	42.6%

Further, the town is composed of a variety of occupational groups.

Professional, technical and kindred	28.9%
Management	13.2%
Clerical	23.9%
Sales	8.6%
Craftsman	7.6%
Foreman, etc.	6.2%
Service workers	8.0%
Laborers	2.4%

Thus, although the town seems to be largely middle class, it contains a broad range of class membership, extending from blue collar workers through professional ranks.

Measures

Two measures were employed in the study. The first, the Identity Status Interview devised by James Marcia (1966) may be found with the scoring manual in Appendix A. The second, the ES or ego strength scale of the MMPI, is located in Appendix B.

Marcia's interview is semi-structured and designed to yield an individual's identity status. Through it four mutually exclusive positions can be identified: identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and identity diffusion. Marcia (1967) described them in the following way:

The identity achievement status has experienced a crisis period and is committed to an occupation and ideology. The moratorium status refers to those individuals currently engaged in decision making with commitments vague. Individuals in the foreclosure status are similar to the illustration given above; they seem to have experienced no crises, yet have firm, often parentally determined commitments. The identity diffusion status has no apparent commitments. Moratoriums, in contrast to identity diffusion, are characterized by the presence of struggle and attempts to make commitments. Foreclosures are distinguished from identity achievement individuals by the lack of any crisis period in the former (p. 119).

The validity of the measure has been established by Marcia in several studies (1964, 1966, 1967). In the 1964 study, Marcia used two rating judges and established 70% agreement on identity statuses. In the 1966 work, Marcia utilized two measures: an incomplete sentence blank and a structured interview. He sought to establish validity of the instruments along dependent variables of patterns of goal setting, authoritarianism and vulnerability to self-esteem change. The interview proved to be more successful than the incomplete-sentences tests which "treated ego identity as a simple linear quality" (1966, p. 558). The result was thus partial validation of the statuses and the establishment of interjudge reliability.

The third study (1967), had as its purpose the refutation of the notion that although each identity status had been conceptualized as having specifically unique characteristics, they might, in reality, represent a "continuum of maladjustment or psychopathology" (1967, p. 122). Thus the aim of the study was to compare the statuses on the Welsh Anxiety Scale, an authoritarian measure and exposure to self-esteem manipulation. Further validation evidence was obtained. Subjects who were low in ego identity seemed more vulnerable to self-esteem manipulation and the WAS scores did not indicate a continuum of pathology. On the contrary, as hypothesized by Erikson and Marcia, the "in-crisis" status received the highest WAS scores and the status

characterized by compliance to parental ideology scored the lowest.

All of the above studies used male college students as subjects. No attempt in these initial studies was made to broaden the population.

The ego strength scale of the MMPI was also developed through the use of a narrowly defined population. In 1953 Barron constructed a scale from the large item pool of the MMPI by attempting to evaluate the improvement in psychotherapy of 33 neurotic patients. The resultant scale

seemed to reflect the constructive forces in personality which enable a person to cope with an emotional crisis, profit from psychological support and insights, and avoid some chronologically maladaptive pattern of emotional reaction. (Dahlstrom, Welsh & Dahlstrom, 1980, p. 168)

Further research on three more clinical samples supported the original work by Barron. Cross-validation was done by R.D. Wirt (1955), Welkowitz (1959) and Sinnet (1962) with VA hospital patients. Their findings supported the scale as a sound predictor of success in therapy. Distler, May and Tuma (1964) also found ES scores relating positively to outcome among schizophrenic patients. Some studies did, however, produce negative but explainable findings. Sullivan, Miller and Smelser (1958) conducted a study of a VA mental health clinic in which therapists were the raters of their patients' improvement. The rating procedure in the original sample for the development of the scale, however, used 2 separate judges, with in depth knowledge of the small sample. Barron felt that to use therapists' ratings was to

significantly reduce the reliability of the ratings. Three other studies, Getter and Sundland (1962), Fowler, Teel and Coyle (1967) and Kidd (1968) also reported a lack of relationship between the scale and prognosis. However, these studies also used therapists' ratings and did not gather or report data on the amount of contact each patient had with the clinic.

Finally, there exists an interesting and somewhat paradoxical relationship between ES scores and psychotherapy outcome. As Dahlstrom, Welsh and Dahlstrom (1980, p. 169) state:

patients who are most in need of help (very low scores on ES) are said to benefit from it least; those in need of it least (very high scores) benefit most.

Further, those individuals in a clinic setting with normal MMPI profiles, with extreme elevation only in the ES score may be massively denying their emotional turmoil and as such have a poor prognosis in therapy.

Thus, the ES scale of the MMPI was developed as a prognostic criterion for success in therapy. As such, it assesses an individual's ego strengths - his ability to be resilient and adaptable under the stresses of life. Its validity as a personality measure is well established. It shares a common weakness with the identity status interview in that it is not normed off of an early adolescent population.

Procedures

Procedures were devised for various aspects of the research. They were organized along chronical lines, that is, pre-data gathering procedures, data gathering procedures, and post data gathering procedures. All forms used during these phases of the research may be found in the appendices.

During the first phase, permission was obtained from the town's school board through the high school principal to conduct the research with ninth and twelfth grade students. Notice of a voluntary study was distributed by the researcher in English classes in the high school. At that time students returned forms containing their name, address and phone number and an indication of interest in participating in the study. The researcher then contacted each student by phone to further explain the study and to make an appointment for an interview.

Next each subject was required to present a signed consent form upon her appearance for an interview. At that time she was given a code number and all further responses by the subject were identified only by number, not name. The researcher was the only person with access to the master list of codes and names. The subject was then asked to fill out the ego strength measure individually. Lastly, she was escorted to a room for an interview with one of two female interviewers who had been previously trained by the

researcher. Upon completion of both tasks each subject was paid five dollars.

Lastly, once the data was gathered, scoring procedures were developed. Three women were trained to use the scoring manual for the Identity Status Interview. All three had experience in working with adolescents in a mental health setting. All three were able to reach a high level of agreement during the training sessions. In contrast, the ego strength scale of the MMPI required objective rather than subjective scoring. Thus, all of the MMPI results were handscored by the researcher.

Rater Reliability for the Identity Status Interview

As noted above, the Identity Status Interview required subjective scoring by a team of raters. Each rater scored all fifty-two interviews blindly. All notations concerning the age or grade of the subject were removed. Once the scoring was completed the reliability or degree of agreement between the three raters was computed.

The reliability was computed in two different ways. First, simple agreement was computed. The results were that two or more of the three raters agreed 96% of the time. Broken down by grade, agreement was 92.5% on the ninth grader interviews and 100% on the twelfth grade. In contrast, in regards to the ninth graders, two or more raters agreed on 25 out of 27 subjects. On the two subjects

where there was no agreement, a fourth rater was trained and asked to rate the two interviews.

The reliability was also checked by an Index of Concordance (Jensen, 1959). This procedure took into consideration the degree of agreement between raters on the four choices each had to make in scoring each interview. Specifically, each rater had to accept one status and reject three others. Using this method, the overall percentage of agreement was 91%. That figure can be broken down to yield a percentage of agreement on freshmen interviews of 89% and percentage of agreement on senior interviews of 93%. All of the estimates were within the acceptable range for a research measure.

Design and Analysis

The study was exploratory in a natural setting. Within the research an attempt was made to measure the differences in ego strength and identity status (specifically moratorium and diffusion) between females in ninth grade and twelfth grade. The dependent variables were James Marcia's Identity Status Interview and the ego strength scale of the MMPI. The independent variable was grade level.

Analysis of the data was completed by use of two different statistical procedures. A chi-square procedure with the Fisher Exact Probability Test was used to test hypotheses regarding the shift from diffusion to moratorium. The t-test for independent means was used to test hypotheses

concerning the role of ego strength. Each statistical procedure is separately discussed below.

First, as noted above, the chi-square procedure was chosen for use with the data gathered from the Identity Status Interview. This data was used in investigating the shift from diffusion to moratorium. To review, the data came in the form of a label of one of four mutually exclusive identity statuses: diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure, or achievement. Because the data was in this category form, and not derived from a measure with equal intervals, one of the assumptions of parametric procedures could not be met. Thus, a non-parametric procedure was required.

Specifically, the chi-square (χ^2) test was chosen for two reasons. First, it is suited to instances where the data is in the form of frequency counts. In the current research, the number of subjects falling into each category in each grade were counted, yielding frequency counts for each of the four categories in each grade. However, in actual calculation only the counts for the categories diffusion and moratorium were used. The remaining two categories, achievement and foreclosure, were not used because of a low expected sample size. Expectations, regarding them, however, were put forth as exploratory hypotheses for observation and report. Second, the chi-square test was chosen because it was necessary to test for differences between means in a sample where the n in each group was less than 29.

The chi-square test is a distribution-free statistic with an underlying assumption of independence. This assumption was met in the present research.

Finally, the Fischer Exact Probability Test was performed on the identity status data after the original chi-square. Like the chi-square, the Fischer Test is a nonparametric statistic which can be used with two-by-two frequency tables. However, unlike the chi-square the Fischer test is based on exact probabilities and is appropriate for use with small samples. In the case of the identity status data, the reliability of the chi-square was questionable because of two expected cell frequencies which were less than five. Thus the Fischer Exact was computed to establish the reliability of the analysis.

Second, the t-test for independent means was chosen for use in investigating the relationship of ego strength to identity status. Specifically, the data involved were the numerical scores from the ego strength scale of the MMPI.

The t-test had three underlying assumptions about the scores used. The first assumption was that the scores were in interval form. This assumption was met with the data from the MMPI. The second assumption required that the studied population be normally distributed. It was not clear whether this assumption was met in the volunteer sample. However, the t-test is robust for the violation of this assumption. Finally, the third assumption stated that the score variances for the sample population were equal.

In reference to this last assumption and the previous one, Borg and Gall (1979, 455). state:

Generally we do not know the population distribution of scores or the population variance; instead our information about the population is based on inferences from sample statistics. It has been found empirically that even if the assumption underlying the t-test are violated, the t-test will still provide in most instances an accurate estimate of the significance level for differences between sample means.

The p value for all tests was set at .05. It was assumed that this would be an adequate level given the exploratory nature of the research.

Hypotheses

In order to further elucidate the bases of the hypotheses, the characteristics which distinguish early and late adolescence are summarized below. The GAP manual (1968, 79-94) on normal adolescence is helpful in this regard, and its findings are summarized below:

Major Characteristics of Early Adolescence (puberty to mid-teens)

1. Rebellion and withdrawal from adults and their values
2. Intense narcissism
3. Peer group seen as vitally important
4. Intense sexual urges and feelings experienced and expressed
5. Significant increase in aggressive urges
6. Significant increase in emotional and intellectual abilities
7. Attitudes and behavior seem unpredictable and subject to experimentation

Major Characteristics of Late Adolescence
(mid-teens to resolution)

1. More independent of family but more involved with society at large
2. Begin interest in employment, politics, social welfare
3. Continuation of sense of play
4. Acknowledgement of the realities of conforming to society
5. Move toward shared sexual experience
6. Identity-seeking clearly evident
7. Serious interest in ethics and religion
8. Consideration of ideals and commitment to them
9. First attainment of adult prerogatives

In this research, ninth graders were considered early adolescents and twelfth graders were considered late adolescents. Each subject was classified, on the basis of her interview as one of four identity statuses: achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffusion. The main hypotheses, however, focused upon the expected shift from diffusion in early adolescence to moratorium in the beginning of late adolescence. Previous research suggested that the achievement status would not be attained by twelfth graders and thus was not studied. Similarly, foreclosure was not a focus for two reasons. First, it was assumed that only a small number of subjects would be classified in high school as foreclosure. Second, it was also assumed that such a status in a high school subject might be extremely transitory. Thus, the assumption that the foreclosure status was

a stable category might be premature in the population sampled.

The following are the null and alternative hypotheses:

HO₁ There are no differences in the proportion of moratorium (M) and diffusion (D) among ninth grade (9) female students.

HS₁ There are a higher proportion of diffusion (D) than moratorium (M) among ninth grade (9) female students.

$$HO_1 \quad D_9 = M_9$$

$$HA_1 \quad D_9 > M_9 \quad p < .05$$

HO₂ There are no differences in the proportion of moratorium (M) and diffusion (D) among twelfth grade (12) female students.

HA₂ There are a higher proportion of moratorium (M) than diffusion (D) among twelfth grade (12) female students.

$$HO_2 \quad M_{12} = D_{12}$$

$$HA_2 \quad M_{12} > D_{12} \quad p < .05$$

HO₃ There are no differences between ninth (9) and twelfth (12) grade females on the ego strength scale (ES) of the MMPI.

HA₃ The scores of the 9th grade (9) female students on the ego strength scale (ES) of the MMPI are lower than those of the twelfth grade (12) female students.

$$HO_3 \quad ES_9 = ES_{12}$$

$$HA_3 \quad ES_9 < ES_{12} \quad p < .05$$

HO₄ There are no differences between the ego strength scores (ES) of the ninth grade (9) female students in diffusion (D) and the ninth grade (9) female students in moratorium (M)

HA₄ The ego strength scores (ES) of the ninth grade (9) female students in the diffusion (D) are less than the scores of the ninth grade (9) female students in moratorium (M).

$$HO_4 \quad ES_{9D} = ES_{9M}$$

$$HA_4 \quad ES_{9D} < ES_{9M} \quad p < .05$$

HO₅ There are no differences between the ego strength scores (ES) of the twelfth grade (12) female students in diffusion (D) and the twelfth grade (12) female students in Moratorium (M).

HA₅ The ego strength scores (ES) of the twelfth grade (12) female students in the diffusion (D) will be lower than the ego strength scores of twelfth grade (12) female students in moratorium (M).

$$HO_5 \quad ES_{12D} = ES_{12M}$$

$$HA_5 \quad ES_{12D} < ES_{12M} \quad p < .05$$

The following hypotheses represent exploratory hypotheses which were not tested with a statistical model but were observed and reported in numerical values only.

H₅ The proportion of subjects in 9th and 12th grade in achievement status ranges from 0 - 5%.

H₆ The proportion of subjects in the foreclosure status remains constant when comparing 9th and 12th graders.

Summary

The purpose of Chapter III was to present a description of the procedures used to conduct the study. The sample for the research was comprised of twenty-seven ninth grade and twenty-five twelfth grade female high school students. All subjects were volunteers who had been informed of the study through their English classes. After presenting consent forms, completing Marcia's Identity Status Interview and the ego strength scale of the MMPI, the subjects were each paid five dollars.

Once the data was gathered several procedures took place. The Identity Status Interview was subjectively scored by three researcher-trained raters who reached a satisfactory degree of agreement. The MMPI was objectively scored by the researcher. Finally, the chi-square test and t-tests were used to analyze the data in regard to five research hypotheses and two exploratory hypotheses.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH RESULTS

The results of the study are described in Chapter Four. Each hypothesis is presented accompanied by the results of the statistical analysis. This presentation is followed by a discussion of the outcomes of the research.

The First and Second Hypotheses

The first and second hypotheses concerned the relationship of identity status to grade level. The descriptive statistics concerning the hypotheses are contained in Table 4.1. The hypotheses were analyzed through the same Chi-square procedure and thus are here presented together. The null and alternative hypotheses for each of these follow.

HO₁ There are no differences in the proportion of moratorium (M) and diffusion (D) among ninth grade (9) female students.

HA₁ There are a higher proportion of diffusion (D) than moratorium (M) among ninth grade (9) female students.

HO₁ $D_9 = M_9$

HA₁ $D_9 > M_9$ $p < .05$

Table 4.1
Distribution of Identity Statuses Among Ninth and
Twelfth Grade Female Subjects

Grade	n	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion
9th grade	27	0 (0%)	17 (63%)	2 (7%)	8 (30%)
12th grade	25	0 (0%)	22 (88%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)

HO₂ There are no difference in the proportion of moratorium (m) and diffusion (d) among the twelfth grade (12) female students.

HA₂ There are a higher proportion of moratorium (M) than diffusion (d) among twelfth grade (12) female students.

$$HO_1 \quad M_{12} = D_{12}$$

$$HA_2 \quad M_{12} > D_{12} \quad p < .05$$

A two by two chi-square contingency table was established to test the first and second hypotheses. This data is contained in Table 4.2. The $\chi^2 = 6.017$ with $p < .05$ and $df = 1$. However, it must be noted that because two cells had an expected frequency of less than 5, the reliability of the chi-square test was questionable. Therefore, in order to establish the reliability of the chi-square procedure, the Fisher Exact Probability was calculated. The Fisher Exact Probability was .016 with $p < .02$. This test confirmed the reliability of the significant results on the chi-square.

Concerning the first hypothesis, the null was rejected the alternate hypothesis could not be accepted. There was a significant difference between the two groups (ninth grade moratorium and ninth grade diffusion) but not in the direction predicted. Thus, a larger proportion of the ninth grade girls were in moratorium, rather than diffusion.

Concerning the second hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate hypothesis was accepted. There was a significant difference between the two groups in the

direction predicted. Thus, a larger proportion of twelfth graders were in moratorium than were in diffusion.

Table 4.2

**Chi-square Distribution of Moratorium and Diffusion
Among Ninth and Twelfth Grade Female Subjects**

Grade	Moratorium		Diffusion	
	Observed	(Expected)	Observed	(Expected)
9 th grade	17	(0)	8	(25)
12 th grade	22	(23)	1	(0)

Note: Total 9th grade n = 27

Total 12th grade n = 25

The Third, Fourth and Fifth Hypotheses

The third, fourth and fifth hypotheses were concerned with the relationship of ego strength to identity status and grade level. Statistical analysis of these three hypotheses yielded mixed results. The descriptive statistics for these hypotheses are contained in Table 4.3. The t-test results are contained in Table 4.4. The null and alternative hypotheses along with the research results for each of these hypotheses follow.

HO₃ There are no differences between ninth (9) and twelfth (12) grade females on the ego strength scale (ES) of the MMPI.

HA₃ The scores of the ninth grade (9) female students on the ego strength scale (ES) of the MMPI are lower than those of the twelfth grade (12) female students.

HO₃ ES₉ = ES₁₂

HA₃ ES₉ < ES₁₂ p < .05

A t-test for independent means was performed for this hypothesis. In that procedure, $F = 3.44$ with $df = 50$ and $p < .005$. The null was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted. There was a statistically significant difference between the ninth and twelfth graders on the ego strength measure in the direction predicted. Thus, on the whole, the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls were significantly lower than the scores of the twelfth grade girls.

Table 4.3

Descriptive Statistics of
the Ego Strength Measure for Ninth
and Twelfth Grade Female Subjects
(Raw Scores)

Group	n	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	Maximum Score	Minimum Score	Range
Grade 9	27	41.481	5.026	0.967	54.0	33.0	21.0
Grade 12	25	46.080	4.573	0.915	54.0	38.0	16.0
Moratorium	39	42.588	5.112	1.240	54.0	36.0	18.0
Diffusion	9	39.625	5.041	1.732	46.0	33.0	13.0

Table 4.4

Results of t-test on the
Third, Fourth and Fifth Hypotheses

Null and Alternative Hypotheses		<u>F</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
HO ₃	ES ₉ = ES ₁₂	3.44	50	<.005
HA ₃	ES ₉ < ES ₁₂			
HO ₄	ES _{9D} = ES _{9M}	6.796	23	<.001
HA ₄	ES _{9D} < ES ₉			
HO ₅	ES _{12D} = ES _{12M}	(not testable)	--	--
HA ₅	ES _{12D} < ES _{12M}			

HO₄ There are no differences between the ego strength scores (ES) of the ninth grade (9) female students in diffusion (d) and the ninth grade (9) female students in moratorium (M).

HA₄ The ego strength scores (ES) of the ninth grade (9) female students in the diffusion (D) are less than the scores of the ninth grade (9) female students in moratorium (M).

$$H_{O_4} \quad ES_{9D} = ES_{9M}$$

$$H_{A_4} \quad ES_{9D} < ES_{9M} \quad p < .05$$

A t-test for independent means was performed for this hypothesis. In that procedure, $F = 6.796$ with $df = 23$ and $p < .001$. The null was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted. There was a statistically significant difference between the ninth grade moratorium group and the ninth grade diffusion group on the ego strength measure in the direction predicted. Thus, the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls who were classified in the diffusion status were significantly lower than the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls who were classified in the moratorium status.

HO₅ There are no differences between the ego strength scores (ES) of the twelfth grade (12) female students in diffusion (D) and the twelfth grade (12) female students in moratorium (M).

HA₅ The ego strength scores (ES) of the twelfth grade (12) female students in diffusion (D) are lower than the ego strength scores of the twelfth grade (12) female students in moratorium (M).

$$H_{O_5} \quad ES_{12D} = ES_{12M}$$

$$HA_5 \quad ES_{12D} < ES_{12M} \quad p < .05$$

This hypothesis was not testable because the number of twelfth grade subjects in the diffusion group equalled one. Thus the n was too small to allow valid statistical analysis. This small n was also the factor which precluded the use of an ANOVA to assess the interaction effect.

The Exploratory Hypotheses

Two exploratory hypotheses were set forth in Chapter III. These hypotheses were not to be tested statistically because of allow expected n. However, the data concerning them was to be observed and reported. The data related to these hypotheses is presented in Table 4.4. The hypothesis and conclusions concerning the data follow.

- H₅ The proportion of female subjects in ninth and twelfth grade in the achievement status will range from 0 - 5%.

By observation, there were no subjects in ninth or twelfth grade in the achievement status. Thus, the first general exploratory hypothesis was supported.

- H₆ The proportion of subjects in the foreclosure status will remain constant when comparing ninth and twelfth graders.

By observation, there were equal numbers of subjects (two each) in the foreclosure status in each grade. Thus, this second exploratory hypothesis was also supported by the data gathered.

Summary

Five hypotheses were put forth in this research. The first two hypotheses concerned the proportions of ninth and twelfth grade females in one of two identity statuses: diffusion or moratorium. A chi-square test with a Fisher Exact Probability was used to test the hypotheses. On the first hypotheses, the null was rejected but the alternate could not be accepted. Thus, although the prediction was made that there would be a higher proportion of ninth grade females in diffusion than moratorium, this was not the case. Instead, there was a higher proportion of ninth grade girls in moratorium. Of the combined moratorium and diffusion group, 68% of the ninth grade girls were classified as moratorium and only 32% as diffusion. Concerning the second hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate was accepted. Therefore, the prediction that there would be a higher proportion of twelfth grade girls in moratorium than in diffusion was confirmed. Specifically, 95% of the twelfth grade girls were classified as moratorium. Only one of the 22 twelfth grade subjects or 5% were classified as diffusion.

The third, fourth, and fifth hypotheses were concerned with the relationship of ego strength to grade level and type of identity status. T-tests for independent means were used to test the third and fourth hypotheses. The fifth hypothesis could not be tested because a small n in one of the categories precluded statistical analysis. This small n

also precluded the use of an ANOVA to test for interaction effects.

In regard to the third hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate was accepted. Thus, as predicted, the ego strength scores of ninth grade girls were significantly lower than those of twelfth grade girls. Similarly, on the fourth hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate was accepted. Therefore, the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls who were classified in the diffusion status were significantly lower than the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls who were classified in the moratorium status. As noted previously, the fifth hypothesis could not be tested.

Two exploratory hypotheses were also set forth for observation and report. Statistical analysis was ruled out because of a low expected n. The first of these two exploratory hypotheses stated that the proportion of female subjects in ninth and twelfth grade in the achievement status would range from 0% to 5%. The data supported the prediction in that there were no subjects in either grade in the achievement status. The second exploratory hypothesis predicted that the proportion of subjects the foreclosure status would remain constant when comparing ninth and twelfth grade female subjects. The data here also supported the hypothesis. There were equal numbers of subjects (two each) in the foreclosure status in each grade.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Chapter V the research will be reviewed as a whole. The review will have three parts: 1) a summary of the study, 2) a discussion of the conclusions and 3) a presentation of the implications for future research. Specifically, in the first part, the theoretical and empirical bases for the research problems will be presented. Here also the procedures used for both data gathering and statistical analysis will be reviewed. Lastly the hypotheses and the results of the statistical analysis will be set forth. In the second part, conclusions drawn from the results of the hypotheses tested will be presented and discussed. Finally in the third part the limitation of the design and scope of the study will be reviewed. Following this, suggestions for the direction of future research will be presented.

Summary

The purpose of the research was a) to explore in a natural setting the level of ego identity status achieved by female members of a high school population and b) to examine the relationship of an individual's ego strength to the achieved identity status. Specifically, the identity status and ego strength of female students in the ninth and twelfth grade were measured and analyzed.

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The research was based on the developmental theories of Erik Erikson. With the publication of Identity Youth and Crisis in 1968 Erikson set forth an innovative theory of identity formation. He proposed that adolescence was a stage of development in which the formation of identity was the focal issue. He argued that identity formation began with a diffuse intrapsychic state in which the individual seemed largely disinterested in self-reflection and future direction. As adolescence progressed, however, Erikson proposed that individuals became more reflective and concerned with self issues. This new focus then precipitated the development of an internal crisis characterized by confusion and turmoil. Finally he suggested that the crisis was resolved as the individual made commitments to an internal cohesive system of values, morals, and life goals. Erikson also argued that the major organizing agent in the development of identity was the ego. He reasoned that it was the ego which supplied the strength to delay gratification and to tolerate ambiguity and confusion as the developmental process progressed.

Erikson's formulation concerning identity, although based on Freudian underpinnings, was innovative and provocative. It stimulated a sizeable amount of empirical study. Researchers sought to operationalize the theory along different axes with varying success. Amidst a host of empirical research, the Identity Status Interview designed and validated by James Marcia (1964) gained prominence as a

successful and widely used measure. Through the use of a structured interview, Marcia was able to place individuals in one of four identity statuses: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, or achievement. Following Marcia's original research, a number of studies were conducted which were able to add further validity and reliability to the instrument.

However, none of the studies of identity status sought to investigate the relationship between the individual's ego strength and identity status. A research instrument which effectively measured ego strength in a form amenable to statistical analysis was the ego strength (ES) scale of the MMPI (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory). This scale was designed by Barron (1980) to measure an individual's adaptability and general psychological health. With Marcia's instrument, the ES scale was included in the research in order to explore a new dimension of identity formation.

The research took shape through a series of procedures. Specifically the sample of the research was comprised of twenty-seven ninth grade and twenty-five twelfth grade female high school students. All subjects were volunteers who had been informed of the study through their English classes. After presenting consent forms, completing Marcia's Identity Status Interview and the ego strength scale of the MMPI, the subjects were each paid five dollars.

Once the data was gathered several other procedures took place. The Identity Status Interview was subjectively

scored by three researcher-trained raters who reached a satisfactory degree of inter-rater reliability. The MMPI was objectively scored by the researcher. Finally, chi-square and t-tests were used to analyze the data in regard to five research hypotheses and two exploratory hypotheses.

Five hypotheses were put forth in this research. The first two hypotheses concerned the proportions of ninth and twelfth grade females in one of two identity statuses: diffusion or moratorium. A chi-square test with a Fisher Exact Probability was used to test the hypotheses. On the first hypotheses, the null was rejected but the alternate could not be accepted. Thus, although the prediction was made that there would be a higher proportion of ninth grade females in diffusion than moratorium, this was not the case. Instead, there was a higher proportion of ninth grade girls in moratorium. Of the combined moratorium and diffusion group, 68% of the ninth grade girls were classified as moratorium and only 32% as diffusion. Concerning the second hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate was accepted. Therefore, the prediction that there would be a higher proportion of twelfth grade girls in moratorium than in diffusion was confirmed. Specifically, 95% of the twelfth grade girls were classified as moratorium. Only one of the 22 twelfth grade subjects or 5% were classified as diffusion.

The third, fourth, and fifth hypotheses were concerned with the relationship of ego strength to grade level and

type of identity status. T-tests for independent means were used to test the third and fourth hypotheses. The fifth hypothesis could not be tested because a small n in one of the categories precluded statistical analysis. This small n also precluded the use of ANOVA to test for interaction effects.

In regard to the third hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate was accepted. Thus, as predicted, the ego strength scores of ninth grade girls were significantly lower than those of twelfth grade girls. Similarly, on the fourth hypothesis, the null was rejected and the alternate was accepted. Therefore, the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls who were classified in the diffusion status were significantly lower than the ego strength scores of the ninth grade girls who were classified in the moratorium status. As noted previously, the fifth hypothesis could not be tested.

Two exploratory hypotheses were also set forth for observation and report. Statistical analysis was ruled out because of a low expected n. The first of these two exploratory hypotheses stated that the proportion of female subjects in ninth and twelfth grade in the achievement status would range from 0% to 5%. The data supported the prediction in that there were no subjects in either grade in the achievement status. The second exploratory hypothesis predicted that the proportion of subjects in the foreclosure status would remain constant when comparing ninth and

twelfth grade female subjects. The data here also supported the hypothesis. There were equal numbers of subjects (two each) in the foreclosure status in each grade.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The statistical analysis of the hypothesis generated a number of conclusions. The conclusions along with pertinent discussion are presented in three sections. First, conclusions concerning the shift from diffusions to moratorium are presented. Next, conclusions pertaining to the relationship of the ego strength measure to identity status are discussed. Finally, conclusions relating to observations of the distribution of achievement and foreclosure status will be set forth.

Concerning the shift from diffusion to moratorium, the analysis of the first and second hypotheses provided the following information:

- 1) There was a significantly higher proportion of ninth grade females in moratorium than in diffusion.
- 2) There was a significantly higher proportion of twelfth grade females in moratorium than in diffusion.

Thus, the expected clear-cut shift from diffusion in ninth grade to moratorium in twelfth grade could not be validated. However, the picture provided by the data was a fairly complicated one. More female seniors were experiencing moratorium than female freshmen and more female freshmen were experiencing diffusion than female seniors. However, among both ninth and twelfth grade females, the majority were categorized as moratorium. Among the ninth graders,

30% (n=8) were diffuse and 63% (n=17) were moratorium, while among the twelfth graders only 4% (n=1) were diffuse and 88% (n=22) were moratorium. Thus a moderate shift from diffusion to moratorium was manifested but in a significantly reduced magnitude than predicted. The predicted shift was not present as the main trend in the comparison of the two groups. The theoretically surprising main result was how many ninth graders had already begun to entertain moratorium issues.

There are several possible explanations for the early appearance of moratorium. First, it is possible that the sample was skewed in one of several ways. The sample itself was voluntary, and thus subject to the biases of volunteer populations. The sample also must be regarded as further self-selective because of the small percentage of students from the original volunteer group who actually participated. The high refusal and no-show rate may have influenced the composition of the sample.

It may also be that students in the sample developed differently than the population at large. The main factor affecting this would be the close proximity of the Harvard and MIT communities. Both universities offer programs which aim to enhance academic and social development in high school students. Further, by the de facto presence both schools seem to generate a high-powered competitiveness in the school systems of many of the surrounding communities. Thus, students in the sample may have been asked to confront

identity issues at an earlier age because of environmental and social pressure.

A third possible sampling distortion may have arisen from the procedure of removing from the sample all subjects who answered positively the interview question, "Have you ever seen a psychologist, psychiatrist or social worker for therapy?" The the population may have been skewed in the direction of "health". However, only three (5%) of the original fifty-five interviews were removed from the sample for reasons of therapy. There is little likelihood that such a small number would have significantly altered the results of the study.

A third possible explanation for the high incidence of moratorium among ninth grade females is that the criteria in the scoring manual may not be sensitive to the differences between early and later adolescence. One of the interview raters noted on a number of her rating sheets that she felt there might be an early moratorium category. She characterized the category as one in which the student showed some interest and thought in the areas queried, exhibited no evidence of a struggle or crisis, and yet seemed somewhat, but not exactly, diffuse. She further suggested that these students seemed to live in homes where ideas needed neither to be fixed nor challenged because they were viewed as part of the domain of adults. Thus, the individuals did not seem to be actively identifying with adult roles and choices. This formulation suggests the existence of a commencement

stage in identity formation which is separate and distinct from both diffusion and moratorium.

A fourth possible explanation for the unexpected early appearance of moratorium may have to deal with the research assumption that ninth graders were early adolescents. That assumption may have been incorrect. It may well be, due to early onset of menarche and earlier maturation among females, that ninth graders were representative of adolescents who had begun the process of identity formation two years previous. Thus, the cross-sectional study might have been better conducted using a comparison of seventh and twelfth grade populations.

A fifth possible explanation for the unexpected identity status results is related to the unexpected data on ego strength among ninth graders. The analysis of the third and fourth hypotheses provided the following information:

- 1) On the ego strength measure, the twelfth grade females received significantly higher scores than the ninth grade females.
- 2) On the ego strength measure, the ninth grade female moratorium group scored significantly higher than the ninth grade female diffusion group.

Thus, as predicted, there was a higher degree of ego strength manifested among twelfth graders than among ninth graders. The ninth grade mean was 41.5 (raw score). The twelfth grade mean was 46.1 (raw score). This comparison suggests that the process of identity formation exercises and builds ego strengths and promotes growth. Further, the data seems to support the Eriksonian notion that the number

of previous stages which were well-resolved promotes successful future development.

However, it had also been predicted that there would be no correlation of ego strength to either of the two statuses (diffusion and moratorium) in ninth grade girls. The hypothesis was based on the assumption that at this starting point in the process of identity formation, firm patterns would not be established. Thus ego strength would appear to be randomly distributed. This clearly was not the case. Surprisingly, the ninth graders manifested a statistically significant difference in the ego strength of each status. The mean ego strength for ninth graders in the moratorium status was 42.5 and 39.6 for ninth graders in the diffusion status.

The data picture here, as with the previously discussed findings on ninth grade identity status, is complicated. The means for both statuses of ninth graders, as well as their overall mean (41), fell into the low ego strength range as defined by Duckworth and Duckworth (1975). Specifically, Duckworth and Duckworth (1975) consider 55 or above on the ES scale in high score and 45 or below a low score. They describe individuals scoring from 30 to 45 in the following mannner.

This person tends to have a poor self-concept, is unable to face challenges at this time, and is usually devastated by even minor setbacks. The person needs ego building before he or she is able to deal with problems. (Duckworth and Duckworth, 1975, p. 165)

In contrast, the overall ego strength mean for seniors was 46. Although just over the border from a "low" score, Duckworth and Duckworth (1975) describe a different type of person in the 45-60 range:

These people usually have enough ego strength to deal with life's stress and minor setbacks. For a collage student an ES score in the lower part of this range (45-50) may indicate that he or she is in a transient state (going either up or down) in ego strength. (p. 165).

Thus, although there were statistical differences in the ego strength scores for the ninth grade moratorium and diffusion groups, these differences were not particularly significant when interpreted with clinical criteria. In contrast, if the clinical criteria are applied, the difference in ego strength scores between the freshmen and seniors seem very important.

One possible way in which to explain the unpredicted ego strength and identity status findings is to recast some of the theoretical ideas pertaining to how the process of identity formation starts. The assumption that the process begins with diffusion may be mistaken. If a child has a well developed self and firm ego development resulting in operational ego strengths, the gradual integration of moratorium-like questions in earlier years from teachers, parents, and peers, may prepare him/her to deal with moratorium issues in early adolescence in ahead-on manner. In contrast, those children who have a poorly developed self and poorly developed ego strengths may begin early adolescence in a state of diffusion. It may also be

hypothesized that the most severely impaired of these children would remain diffused throughout this period of development and the rest of their lives. Further, these individuals on the whole would manifest a significantly higher frequency of psychopathology in the forms of character disorder and psychosis in adulthood. In contrast, however, the least impaired of the diffuse group might use the period for growth. Thus, the diffuse status for these individuals might be only a beginning point in the process of working through their identity.

Implications For Future Research

The nature of the research described here was exploratory. Thus, one of the implicit purposes was to give direction to future studies by examination of research successes and failures, limitations and advantages. The major successes of the study lie in 1) the choice to focus on the relatively unstudied early adolescent female population and 2) the decision to frame identity formation questions along Eriksonian theoretical criteria. Both of these factors helped to yield some interesting tentative conclusions about early adolescent development. The major limitation of the research lie in the small sample, the cross-sectional nature of the study and the inefficient nature of the interview technique for research purposes. If the sample for future research is to be expanded in number

and retested over time a fresh approach to the measurement of identity status is indicated.

Thus there are three major implications for future research. These involve 1) the need for a new approach to the measurement of identity status which could facilitate assessment of larger numbers of subjects, 2) the need to add measures in future research which would evaluate the development of self and certain personality features which form the substrate for adolescent growth and 3) the need in further studies to conduct longitudinal rather than cross-sectional research in order to plot the course of development with increased precision.

Concerning the first implication, reports of both interviewers and raters involved in this study indicate that Marcia's instrument is limited in its ability to assess the areas of an early adolescent's life which are particularly significant to identity formation. The Identity Status Interview presently measures three main areas: career, religion, and politics. In the 1960's when the instrument was developed, issues concerning ideology and politics were very much in the forefront of the nation's consciousness. Young people were active, vocal and well-informed on ideological and political issues. In contrast, the 1980's seem to be characterized by quiet and conservative youths who are not seeking a national forum for social issues. Certainly, youth still wrestle with identity. However, adolescents would be better examined through exploration of

their thinking about the social and interpersonal aspects of their lives. Specifically, vignettes and questions about social situations and interpersonal dilemmas might illuminate their style of setting priorities and managing object relations.

In addition to the need for a fresh focus for measurement, there is also a need for a new format. If further research is to yield conclusions which are generalizable to the adolescent population at large a more efficient instrument must be developed. A paper and pencil self-report test measuring identity status would meet this need.

The final implications concerns the need for additional personality and cognitive measures in future studies. With high school students, the use the full MMPI, Loewinger's Ego Strength Scale and a measure of intelligence would yield a fuller picture of the factors effecting the style of identity formation noted in a subject.

Finally the third implication regards the design of future studies. Although a cross-sectional pilot study such as this has yielded some valuable information, a more clear delineation of the vicissitudes of the developmental process would be obtained through a long-range study of junior and senior high school students. Examination of the stability of the statuses over time would determine 1) whether some statuses were transitory and natural progressive steps and 2) whether certain types of individuals "get stuck" in particular statuses for long periods of time.

In conclusion, the research presented here was exploratory in nature. It may be that early adolescent populations may not conform strictly to Erikson's theory of identity formation. However, further research is indicated to test this possibility. In regards to future research, the results of the study also yielded some implications. Further study of identity formation in early adolescence would be best undertaken with a more efficient instrument for the measurement of identity status and personality factors with a larger sample available for longitudinal retesting.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FORM FOR
IDENTITY STATUS INTERVIEW

Introduction

Now let me see if I have the correct information.

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____ ID# _____

Date of Birth _____

Grade _____

Have you ever seen a psychologist, psychiatrist or social worker for therapy?

Who is in your family?

	Name	Age
Mother	_____	_____
Father	_____	_____
Brothers	_____	_____
	_____	_____
Sisters	_____	_____
	_____	_____

What is the approximate family income? _____

How long have your parents been married? _____

(If divorced, how old were you when they were divorced?____)

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Introduction (continued)

I.D.# _____

Did you go to elementary and middle school in Belmont?
(Circle one)

Yes

Which elementary school did
you attend?

And you went to Chenery
Middle School?

Was it hard to move up to
high school?

Why? _____

No

Where did you go to elemen-
tary school?

(School and town)

And which middle school did
you attend?

(School and town)

Was it hard to move up to
school?

Why? _____

Are you planning to go to college?

Why? _____

Did your father go to college?

What does he do now?

Introduction (continued)

I.D.# _____

Did your mother go to college?

What does she do now?

Occupation

I.D.# _____

What would you like to do as a job when you finish school?

When did you decide on _____?

Did you consider anything else?

What seems most attractive about _____?

Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to go into or do -- did or do yours have any plans like that for you?

Occupation (continued)

I.D.# _____

How do your folks feel about your plans now?

How willing do you think you'd be to change this is something better came along? (If S responds "What do you mean by better?") Well, what might be better in your terms?

Religion

I.D.# _____

Do you have a particular religious affiliation or preference?

How about your folks?

Have you ever been very active in Church?

How about now?

Do you get into many religious discussions?

Religion (continued)

I.D.# _____

How do your parents feel about your beliefs now?

Are yours any different from theirs?

Was there any time when you came to doubt any of your religious beliefs?

When?

How did it happen?

Religion (continued)

I.D.# _____

How did you resolve your questions?

How are things for you now?

Politics

I.D.# _____

Do you have any particular political preference?

How about your parents?

Ever take any kind of political action -- join groups, write letters, participate in demonstrations -- anything at all like that?

Tell me about it.

Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?

Politics (continued)

I.D.# _____

Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?

What did you think of the past Presidential election?

That is my last question. Thank you for your cooperation.

MANUAL
IDENTITY STATUS TAPES

The main objective of rating each interview is to locate the individual in one of four "identity statuses," each status being a mode of coping with the identity crisis -- a particular life crisis faced by older adolescents in our culture. Elements in this crisis include deciding upon and committing oneself to what one is "to be" in terms of an occupation, as well as formulating and taking action on what one "believes" in terms of an ideology. In a more formal sense, the achievement of ego identity involves the synthesis of childhood identifications in the individual's own terms, so that he establishes a reciprocal relationship with his society and maintains a feeling of continuity between himself and his past. Elaborating further, childhood can be viewed as a period when society provides the materially and emotionally nutritive milieu for survival of the almost wholly dependent child. Adulthood involved a shift in responsibility, so that the individual is expected to contribute to the previously nurturant environment in a more mutual relationship. Adolescence, in particular, late adolescence, is the period during which this shift takes place. The achievement of an ego identity at this time represents the reformulation of all that the individual was into the core of what he is to be.

The four identity statuses are: Identity Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, and Identity Diffusion.

The two referents for determining Identity Status are "crisis" and "commitment" in the areas of occupation and

ideology (religion and politics). The terms, crisis, was chosen less for its sense of immediacy than for its connotation of struggle, or more accurately, of a period of decision. Commitment refers to a certain unwaveringness of choice, a reluctance to abandon a path set out upon. Although these two referents are separately assessed, some overlap occurs. For example, when a subject says that he decided to go into industrial management in his junior year as a result of scanning the college catalogue, one does not get a sense of either an active selection among personally meaningful alternatives (crisis) or an unswerving investment in a course of action (commitment).

Instructions for rating

The following is a description of the way in which these two criteria are combined to yield an identity status and a short sketch of how each type might appear.

1. Identity Achievement

Criteria: The individual has passed through a decision period or crisis and appears committed to his occupation and/or ideology.

Sketch:

Occupation - He has seriously considered several occupational choices or deviated from what his parents had planned for him. He is reluctant to switch fields and seems to think of himself as a teacher, engineer, etc. (Being a

something meaning the difference between "taking courses in education" and seeing oneself as "a teacher".) Although his ultimate choice may be a variation of the parental wishes, he seems to have experienced a crisis period and made a resolution on his own terms.

1. Has tried business -- focused on general medical profession -- tried dentistry, tried pharmacy -- now in optometry. Likes it because it's in the area of helping people medically and has variety. (willing to change?) "I really like what I'm doing. I have too much investment in it now to do anything else."

2. Came from farm background and likes farming, but being a farmer not too interesting of feasible. Decided to go into agricultural economics which is sort of an over-all business manager for farmers. Somewhat defensive about farming as a viable career.

3. When first went to college felt no sense of purpose. Left and joined the Army. Came back with renewed interest. Finds present choice interesting and would be willing to change only routine functions, not the general area.

4. Father was a farmer and wanted him to be one; mother and townspeople wanted him to be a minister; he decided to be a veterinarian. "I would rather have my DVM than a Ph.D. in anything."

Religion - He appears to have gone through a Period of doubt -- either of past belief or unbelief -- with a resulting re-evaluation of faith and commitment to some action (church-going, religious discussions, etc.). Whether he ends up as religious or not religious (in the conventional sense) is not important -- only that he seems to have rethought childhood concepts and achieved a resolution that leaves him free to act.

1. Gotten further away from religion. At one time, 10-11 years old, wanted to be a rabbi. Goes to Hillel sometimes now. Disputes religious questions with Christian friends -- tried to convert a Roman Catholic nurse.

2. Went through a period of rejecting father's religion. Period of atheism followed disillusionment with a God that would permit an evil world. Resolved by deciding that amount of good balanced evil. Is active in church and plans to raise his children in it.

3. Parents were fundamentalists; they think a man shouldn't explore space. He's more liberal, thinks they're old-fashioned -- doesn't like denominational splits. Active in church.

Politics - The presence of his crisis period is probably more difficult to ascertain her than in the other two areas. He shows some difference from his parents' political opinions; for example, he may see himself as more liberal than they are. Evidence of commitment is usually seen in the affective nature of his pronouncements, his tendency to dispute political questions with others, and any political action-taking whatsoever.

1. No affiliation with any one party. Argues with parents about particular candidates and issues.

2. Period in Army angered him at being given things and being reacted to according to group membership rather than as an individual. Attracted to the individualism of conservatism and is anti-social welfare. Applies principles learned in college classes about human nature to his political beliefs.

General Comment - He seems generally able to "make it." Particularly, he does not appear as if he would be overwhelmed by sudden shifts in environment or by unexpected

burdens of responsibility. He also seems to be forming some solid interpersonal commitments -- e.g., marriage, engagement, etc.

2. Moratorium

Criteria: The individual is presently in a crisis period -- trying to make up his mind. Commitments are likely to be vague and general. An important quality here is a sense of active struggle among alternatives.

Sketch:

Occupation - He is dealing with issues often described as "adolescent." He is concerned less with preparing for a specific career than with choosing that career. His parents' plans are still important to him, and he must somehow achieve a compromise among them, society's demands, and his own capabilities. It is not that he feels totally bewildered and all at sea, but that he is vitally concerned and somewhat preoccupied with resolving what at times seem to be unresolvable questions.

1. "Other people think I'm jolly and free-lancing. Inside, I'm a big know. I'd just like some peace and quiet." "The future seems better than the past, though." "I'm not so concerned about what people think, and I can control my temper better." Majoring in Speech, wants to work for degree in Psychology and Sociology while in Army. In general, wants to do something to help people.

2. Has considered rabbinate, law, and teaching. Present major is philosophy and religion. Thinks now that he wants to teach --

struggling with parents' demands that he choose a career more financially rewarding.

3. Chemistry -- physics -- biology major. Considers teaching high school and then going into industry. Also in back of his mind is the ministry -- still considering it. Seems to be an idealist vs. economic conflict. "I can go into teaching, industrial chemistry, the ministry. I can see myself in any of those three fields."

Religion - He seems to be dealing with fundamental religious questions, not just mere "shopping around" among denominations.

1. Doubts existence of God and wonders whether there is a Supreme Being. Scares him when he thinks about it, but he still does. Has tentatively decided there is a God.

2. Articulates pseudo-solution to science-religion conflict by deciding that "what I believe and what I study are two different things -- just keep them separate."

Politics - Although he is in doubt about political and religious commitment, he seems dissatisfied with the doubt and is trying to effect a resolution.

1. Leans towards Democrats -- still votes for the best man. Maybe later he'll turn toward Republicans.

2. "I just want to define myself in terms of reactions against things." "Sometimes the whole political realm seems sort of futile.

3. Confused about politics. Is a Democrat, but has heard about Conservatism and is questioning it. But then Rhodes disenchants him. Doesn't really know.

General Comments - Some subjects may show two or three different identity statuses for one of the main areas. That is, occupational choice may have elements of Identity

Achievement, Moratorium, and Foreclosure. Although these cases are rare, when one status does not predominate, a scoring of Moratorium is given. At his worst, a Moratorium is paralyzed, unable to act decisively in one way or another -- not because of a lack of commitment, but because of equal and opposite commitment.

3. Foreclosure

Criteria: The individual does not seem to have passed through any real decision period, but, nevertheless, appears committed to occupation and/or ideology. In this case, his choices very likely coincide with those of parents or parent surrogates whom he does not seriously question.

Sketch:

Occupation - It is difficult to distinguish where his parents' goals for him leave off and when his begin. He seems to have experienced either no choice period, or only brief and inconsequential ones. He is becoming what others have influenced him or intended him to become as a child. In addition, all of this seems ego-syntonic. Childhood identification figures ("like my father," "like my mother," etc.) keep cropping up in the interview.

1. "I'm not in any mood to leave home. I'm not tied to my mother's apronstrings, but all my friends are there." Wants to go into a large corporation where "they'll run me through training and tell me how they want things done." Is also considering being a fireman like father was. Went home every weekend through college and maintained

membership in social groups there (e.g., Kiwanis, Ashville Fire Dept.).

2. Father was a farmer, he'll be a farmer. "I plan to go back and help dad farm." Took agriculture at college because "that's all I knew." Although he gave some consideration to other fields, "farming was always at the top of the list." "I was brought up like my family was -- I was with them so long I just stayed that way."

Religion - His faith (or lack of it) is virtually "the faith of his fathers (or mothers, as the case may be) living still." College experiences serve only as confirmation of childhood belief. Dissonance seems absent, and he participates in religious or anti-religious activities.

1. Although in science, sees no conflict with religion. "Just helps strengthen the belief I grew up with." Goes to church several times a week.

2. Parents were Lutheran and so is he. No doubting of religion during college. Got a girl pregnant and prayed -- everything turned out all right. "Hand of God was there; I'm not smart enough to figure it all out, but I believe."

3. "Same as my parents." (any doubts?) "My beliefs are the same as they were -- only stronger since I've been out in the world."

4. Religion is the same as parents. "Maybe it's a habit with me, I don't know." "I've thought a lot and you meet all kinds of people here. But I really haven't changed any basic beliefs. Just have more understanding than I did before." "I plan to bring my children up in the church -- just the way my dad did with me."

Politics - Again, he is what his parents are with little or no personal stamp of his own.

1. His parents were Republican and so is he. "There was a lot of influence from my parents."

2. He and parents are Republican. "I guess it stems from the family. Both Mom and Pop are Republicans."

3. "I'm a Democrat and so are they (parents) -- so that's why, I guess."

4. Referring to him and parents both being Republican: "You still pull that way, Republican, if your parents are that way. You feel like it's where you should be."

General Comment - Because of his commitment and apparent self-assuredness, he appears similar to the Identity Achievement, although he may be characterized by a certain rigidity. One feels that if he were placed in a situation where parental values were non-functional he would soon be greatly at a loss. In many instances, only a situation of severe ego stress would differentiate him from Identity Achievement. However, his hallmark is the notable absence of decision period. His plans may include returning to his hometown and continuing life there.

4. Identity Diffusion

Criteria: The individual has either experienced no crisis or has passed through a crisis -- in either case, there is little, if any, commitment.

Sketch: There appear to be two types of Diffusion. One is a pre-crisis lack of commitment. The individual might have been a Foreclosure if strong enough parental values have been established. However, it is likely that the parental attitude was one of "it's up to you; we don't care what you

do." Under the guise of democratic child-rearing, the parents have really provided no consistent structure which could be a guide for the growing individual and later on, an image against which to compare himself. Because he never really was anything, it is almost impossible for him to conceive of himself as being anything. The problems that are so immediate and self-consuming for the Moratorium never really occur to this "pre-crisis Diffuse" person.

The second type of Diffuse is the "post-crisis Diffuse" who seems committed to a lack of commitment. This individual actively seeks to avoid entangling alliances; his motto: "Play the field." No area of potential gratification is really relinquished; all things are possible, and must be kept that way. The main element that both pre- and post-crisis Diffuse persons have in common is a lack of commitment.

Occupation - No one occupational choice is really decided up, nor is there much real concern about it (as contrasted with the Moratorium). There is sometimes little conception of what a person in the stated preferred occupation does in a day-to-day routine. The occupation would be readily disposed of should opportunities arise elsewhere. There is sometimes an "external" orientation that what happens to the individual is seen as a result of luck or fate.

1. Has considered priesthood, law, and teaching math. Sees himself as "bouncing around"

from one thing to another. Language is strange and answers oblique. Takes roles of others and speaks to himself during interview in admonishing tones as they would speak to him. Although there is some closure on choice of teaching, the whole interview is pretty bizarre. E.g., regarding leaving seminary: "It was shown to me not to be my vocation. Some people have desire, some don't. I didn't."

2. Going into optometry -- likes it because there's not too much work, make money at it, and doesn't take too long to study for it. If something better comes along, he'd change "quite easily."

3. Claims greater maturity after having flunked out of school and gone to service. Major in marketing, interested in business, also in being a golf pro. Main focus of interest in life is playing golf. Emphasis not on what his father wants him to "be" but on what his father gives him. "Very apt" to give up occupational choice for something better.

4. Major is engineering. In response to "willingness to change?": "Oh, I can change. I want to travel, want to try a lot of things, don't want to get stuck behind a drawing board. Want a degree mainly as an 'in' to production or something else. Don't want to get tied down."

Religion - He is either uninterested in religious matters or takes a smorgasbord approach, in which one religion faith is as good as any other and he is not averse to sampling from all. The subject will sometimes state his denomination as being the same as his parents, yet shows little commitment to it. In this case, the identity status has elements of both Foreclosure and Diffusion.

1. "Don't believe in any one particular religion. All of them have something to offer, I guess. I like to look around a little and see what each has to offer."

2. "Haven't pickled one religion. Not interested in any. Guess it's all right for some people. Just don't care a whole lot about it."

Politics - Both political and social interest are low. Little idea or concern where he stands vis a vis society, as if the world went its way and he went with his little intercourse between the two.

1. "Politics just doesn't interest me." Doesn't vote. Doesn't discuss politics at home. Would probably vote for Kennedy.

2. No interest. Never discusses it with parents. "Not much concerned with politics." Unable, in the interview to verbalize a choice between Rockefeller and Kennedy.

General Comments - At his worst, a Diffuse exhibits the disorganized thought processes, disturbed object relations, and loosened ego boundaries associated with schizophrenia.

Summary

This, then, is the plan for rating the interviews. There are three main areas covered: occupation, religion, and politics. The latter two are combined to yield ideology. Each area is assessed according to two criteria; the presence or absence of a crisis period, and the degree of commitment. According to the subject's standing on these two criteria, he is to be assigned to one of the four categories of identity status for each of the three main areas.

A sample of a complete interview rating is on the last page of the manual.

There are no rigid criteria for combining the three areas to yield an overall identity status. Many times the rater will get a general impression from the interview that would not strictly coincide with an arithmetic sum of the three areas; these "hunches" are valuable and should not necessarily be abandoned for the sake of false rigor. Of course, in most cases, the final identity status will directly reflect the sum of the ratings of the area. It should be clear that clinical judgment is to be exercised, not suspended.

Subject # _____

IDENTITY STATUS - INTERVIEW RATING SHEETOccupation: ForeclosureReligion: Foreclosure-DiffusionIdeology: ForeclosurePolitics: Identity Achieve. - ForeclosureIDENTITY STATUS: Foreclosure

Comments:

Use this space for not-taking and demurrers.

APPENDIX B

1. I have a good appetite.
2. I have diarrhea once a month or more.
3. At times I have fits of laughing and crying that I cannot control.
4. I find it very hard to keep my mind on a task or job.
5. I have had very peculiar and strange experiences.
6. I have a cough most of the time.
7. I seldom worry about my health.
8. My sleep is fitful and disturbed.
9. When I am with people I am bothered by hearing very queer things.
10. I am in just as good physical health as most of my friends.
11. Everything is turning out just like the prophets of the Bible said it would.
12. Parts of my body often have feelings like burning, tingling, crawling, or like "going to sleep."
13. I am easily downed in an argument.
14. I do many things which I regret afterwards (I regret things more or more often than others seem to).
15. I go to church almost every week.
16. I have met problems so full of possibilities that I have been unable to make up my mind about them.
17. Some people are so bossy that I feel like doing the opposite of what they request, even though I know they are right.
18. I like collecting flowers or growing house plants.
19. I like to cook.
20. During the past few years I have been well most of the time.
21. I have never had a fainting spell.
22. When I get bored I like to stir up some excitement.

23. My hands have not become clumsy or awkward.
24. I feel weak all over much of the time.
25. I have had not difficulty in keeping my balance in walking.
26. I like to flirt.
27. I believe my sins are unpardonable.
28. I frequently find myself worrying about something.
29. I like science.
30. I like to talk about sex.
31. I get mad easily and then get over it soon.
32. I brood a great deal.
33. I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.
34. My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others.
35. I have had blank spells in which my activities were interrupted and I did not know what was going on around me.
36. I can be friendly with people who do things which I consider wrong.
37. If I were an artist I would like to draw flowers.
38. When I leave home I do not worry about whether the door is locked and the windows closed.
39. At times I hear so well it bothers me.
40. Often I cross the street in order not to meet someone I see.
41. I have strange and peculiar thoughts.
42. Sometimes I enjoy hurting persons I love.
43. Sometimes some unimportant thought will run through my mind and bother me for days.
44. I am not afraid of fire.
45. I do not like to see women smoke.

46. When someone says silly or ignorant things about something I know about, I try to set him right.
47. I feel unable to tell anyone all about myself.
48. My plans have frequently seemed so full of difficulties that I have had to give them up.
49. I would certainly enjoy beating a crook at his own game.
50. I have had some very unusual religious experiences.
51. One or more members of my family is very nervous.
52. I am attracted by members of the opposite sex.
53. The man who had most to do with me when I was a child (such as my father, stepfather, etc.) was very strict with me.
54. Christ performed miracles such as changing water into wine.
55. I pray several times every week.
56. I feel sympathetic towards people who tend to hang on to their griefs and troubles.
57. I am afraid of finding myself in a closet or a small closed place.
58. Dirt frightens or disgusts me.
59. I think Lincoln was greater than Washington.
60. In my home we have always had the ordinary necessities (such as enough food, clothing, etc.)
61. I am made nervous by certain animals.
62. My skin seems to be usually sensitive to touch.
63. I feel tired a good deal of the time.
64. I never attend a sexy show if I can avoid it.
65. If I were an artist I would like to draw children.
66. I sometimes feel that I am about to go to pieces.
67. I have often been frightened in the middle of the night.

68. I very much like horseback riding.

APPENDIX C

Consent form

I understand that as a participant in this research, I will be asked to fill out a questionnaire and undergo a half-hour structured interview. The procedure has been explained clearly to me. I understand that there are basically no potential risks in my involvement in this research.

I freely consent to participate in this research. I understand that I am free to discontinue at any time without recrimination. I also understand that all results will be treated with the strictest confidentiality and that the subjects will remain anonymous. On request and within these restrictions, general results will be made available to subjects.

I also recognize that there may be no specific benefit from participation in this research.

subject's signature

date

I have read and understand the above statement. As a parent, I hereby give my written consent to my daughter's participation in this research.

parents' signature

date

Dear Student:

I am doing some psychological research involving high school students. Specifically, I am interested in the process of identity formation -- how a person develops a clear sense of herself. I am particularly interested in studying young women because so little research has focused on them.

I am asking you to be a part of this study. It will take about one hour of your time. In that hour, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire and to answer some questions in an interview. This will take place at the old Code House -- now called CDI (Cognitive-Development Institute) on Concord Avenue (across from the Post Office) outside of school time. For your time, you will be paid \$5.00.

If you are interested, please fill in the form below. Filling this out will not commit you to the study. It will only help me to get in contact with students who might like to be in the study. In order to take part in this study, you and your parent/s will need to sign a permission form. A copy of this is attached.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Barbara Gortych, M.A.

I am interested and would like to think about it/hear more.

 interested and would like to participate.

Name:

Address:

Phone:

Parent's last name (if different than yours):

APPENDIX D

Protocol

Identity Status Interview
classified as
9th grade moratorium

Q: Are you planning to go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: Why?

A: To further my education.

Q: Did your father go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: What does he do now?

A: He's a 766 administrator for public schools.

Q: Did your mother go to college?

A: No.

Q: What does she do now?

A: Housewife

Occupation

Q: What would you like to do as a job when you finish school?

A: I may go into music, but it may turn out that I want to go to law school, but I definitely want a career.

Q: When did you decide on music or law?

A: I change a lot. I keep changing what I want to do, but probably this year.

Q: Did you consider anything else?

A: Doctor.

Q: What seems most attractive about music/law?

A: The idea of being in a symphony orchestra really appealed to me. Law? I don't know.

Q: Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to go into or do -- did or do yours have any plans like that for you?

A: No, basically it's up to me. They've told me to be whatever I want to be.

Q: How do your folks feel about your plans now?

A: Well, they don't think there's much of a future in music -- not because I'm bad but because there's not much money in it. But they think it's fine that I want to do what appeals to me.

Q: How willing do you think you'd be to change this if something better came along? (If S responds "What do you mean by better?") Well, what might be better in your terms?

A: Very willing.

Religion

Q: Do you have a particular religious affiliation or preference?

A: Mormons.

Q: How about your folks?

A: My mother is Mormon, my father is Catholic.

Q: Have you ever been very active in Church?

A: Yes, Youth Group. I usually go every Sunday.

Q: How about now?

A: Same.

Q: Do you get into many religious discussions?

A: No, not really.

Q: How do your parents feel about your beliefs now?

A: It's up to me. It's my choice.

Q: Are yours any different from theirs?

A: I don't think so.

Q: Was there any time when you came to doubt any of your religious beliefs?

A: Yeah.

Q: When?

A: I don't know. I guess last year.

Q: How did it happen?

A: Just sort of out of the blue. I guess.

Q: How did you resolve your questions?

A: I don't know if they really are resolved or anything.

Q: How are things for you now?

A: Fine.

Politics

Q: Do you have any particular political preference?

A: No, I don't want to get involved.

Q: How about your parents?

A: Conservatives.

Q: Ever take any kind of political action -- join groups, write letters, participate in demonstrations -- anything at all like that?

A: No.

Q: Tell me about it.

A: --

Q: Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?

A: No.

Q: Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?

A: N/A

Q: What did you think of the past Presidential election?

A: I'm happy that Reagan won I guess. I think he's doing a pretty good job.

Protocol

Identity Status Interview
classified as
9th grade diffusion

Q: Are you planning to go to college?

A: Not that I know of.

Q: Why?

A: Eventually, not right after I get out of High School. I still don't know what I want to do.

Q: Did your father go to college?

A: Yeah. He's going now for law enforcement.

Q: What does he do now?

A: He's a policeman.

Q: Did your mother go to college?

A: Yeah, I think so.

Q: What does she do now?

A: She works for Kelly service. (Temp. sec)

Occupation

Q: What would you like to do as a job when you finish school?

A: I don't know.

Q: When did you decide on ---?

A: N/A

Q: Did you consider anything else?

A: N/A

Q: What seems most attractive about ---?

A: N/A

Q: Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to go into or do -- did or do yours have any plans like that for you?

A: At one time, Mom wanted me to become some sort of Doctor or Dental hygienist like she was. My grandmother wants me to be a dietitian -- Just suggestions, not "you have to do this."

Q: How do your folks feel about your plans (or lack of) now?

A: Take your time. Do what you want to do. Just to be happy with what I'm doin'.

Q: How willing do you think you'd be to change this is something better came along? (If S responds "What do you mean by better?") Well, what might be better in your terms?

A: N/A

Religion

Q: Do you have a particular religious affiliation or preference?

A: Catholic.

Q: How about your folks?

A: Catholic.

Q: Have you ever been very active in Church?

A: No (laughs) No CYO. Just go to Church every week.

Q: How about now?

A: (As above.)

Q: Do you get into many religious discussions?

A: No.

Q: How do your parents feel about your beliefs now?

A: They'd like to see me go into Confirmation. But I don't think there's anything to that. Just to stay with my religion.

Q: Are yours any different from theirs?

A: No.

Q: Was there any time when you came to doubt any of your religious beliefs?

A: No.

Q: When?

A: N/A

Q: How did it happen?

A: N/A

Q: How did you resolve your questions?

A: N/A

Q: How are things for you now?

A: N/A

Politics

Q: Do you have any particular political preference?

A: What's my mom -- Democratic I think -- whatever she is. What's Reagan?

Q: How about your parents?

A: Dad? Same as mom. I don't know.

Q: Ever take any kind of political action -- join groups, write letters, participate in demonstrations -- anything at all like that?

A: No.

Q: Tell me about it.

A:

Q: Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?

A: No.

Q: Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?

A: N/A

Q: What did you think of the past Presidential election?

A: Yeah? He's the president I liked when he was elected. I don't now.

Protocol

Identity Status Interview
classified as
9th grade foreclosure

Q: Are you planning to go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: Why?

A: So I can become either a nursery school teacher or have my own daycare.

Q: Did your father go to college?

A: No.

Q: What does he do now?

A: Lineman for town of Belmont.

Q: Did your mother go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: What does she do now?

A: At home.

Occupation

Q: What would you like to do as a job when you finish school?

A: Nursery School teacher.

Q: When did you decide on Nursery School teacher?

A: A few years ago.

Q: Did you consider anything else?

A: No.

Q: What seems most attractive about teaching nursery school?

A: I like kids. I like to teach them things I know that they should know.

Q: Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to go into or do -- did or do yours have any plans like that for you?

A: In a way -- my mother thinks I do good with kids, so I should teach elementary school or something.

Q: How do your folks feel about your plans now?

A: Good.

Q: How willing do you think you'd be to change this is something better came along? (If S responds "What do you mean by better?") Well, what might be better in your terms?

A: Not really very willing.

Religion

Q: Do you have a particular religious affiliation or preference?

A: Catholic -- but on Easter we got to the Protestant church sometimes because my father's protestant.

Q: How about your folks?

A: Father - protestant
Mother - Catholic

Q: Have you ever been very active in Church?

A: No.

Q: How about now?

A: No.

Q: Do you get into many religious discussions?

A: No.

Q: How do your parents feel about your beliefs now?

A: My mother thinks she shouldn't force me into religion -- if I really want it, I can seek it.

Q: Are yours any different from theirs?

A: No.

Q: Was there any time when you came to doubt any of your religious beliefs?

A: No.

Q: When?

A: N/A

Q: How did it happen?

A: N/A

Q: How did you resolve your questions?

A: N/A

Q: How are things for you now?

A: Fine.

Politics

Q: Do you have any particular political preference?

A: No.

Q: How about your parents?

A: My father, sort of -- he votes.

Q: Ever take any kind of political action -- join groups, write letters, participate in demonstrations -- anything at all like that?

A: Yeah.

Q: Tell me about it.

A: Helped my father's friend hand out leaflets -- I forget what office he was running for.

Q: Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?

A: No.

Q: Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?

A: N/A

Q: What did you think of the past Presidential election?

A: I like Reagan.

Protocol

Identity Status Interview
classified as 12th grade moratorium

Q: Are you planning to go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: Why?

A: I know that I'd like to have a career but I don't know what it's going to be at this point.

Q: Did your father go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: What does he do now?

A: Professor.

Q: Did your mother go to college?

A: Yes.

Q: What does she do now?

A: Lawyer (volunteer right now).

Occupation

Q: What would you like to do as a job when you finish school?

A: I like science, particularly Chemistry -- and we went to Asia last summer and I really liked the people there, so if I could combine Science and cultural studies.

Q: When did you decide on Science?

A: Sophomore year.

Q: Did you consider anything else?

A: Yes.

Q: What seems most attractive about Science & Cultural Studies?

A: Seems never ending, new things to find out, never being stuck with one thing, bored.

Q: Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to go into or do -- did or do yours have any plans like that for you?

A: Nothing specific. I know they wanted me to go to college.

Q: How do your folks feel about your plans now?

A: They're pretty happy even though I didn't decide to go to their alma mater.

Q: How willing do you think you'd be to change this is something better came along? (If S responds "What do you mean by better?") Well, what might be better in your terms?

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A: I guess it depends on what "better" meant. If it meant more money, that wouldn't make any difference. If it meant more interesting, I'd be willing. I don't have any specific plans now.

Religion

Q: Do you have a particular religious affiliation or preference?

A: No.

Q: How about your folks?

A: Not really. My father was Unitarian as a child.

Q: Have you ever been very active in Church?

A: No.

Q: How about now?

A: No.

Q: Do you get into many religious discussions?

A: Sometimes with my family -- religion in general.

Q: How do your parents feel about your beliefs now?

A: I think my beliefs are more my mothers. I don't think my father's upset because he's not too strongly religious himself.

Q: Are yours any different from theirs?

A: Yes, I think so, but I'm not exactly sure what their beliefs are so I can't really say.

Q: Was there any time when you came to doubt any of your religious beliefs?

A: Sometimes.

Q: When?

A: Like in a baseball game, when you wanted to win or something like that (laughs).

Q: How did it happen?

A: N/A

Q: How did you resolve your questions?

A: N/A

Q: How are things for you now?

A: Fine -- no big conflict.

Politics

Q: Do you have any particular political preference?

A: Tends toward liberal side by not radically so. I like to know all the facts on a subject before I make a decision.

Q: How about your parents?

A: My mother is liberal -- they both are Democrats. My mother's more liberal than my father. He's a little on the conservative side.

Q: Ever take any kind of political action -- join groups, write letters, participate in demonstrations -- anything at all like that?

A: Not really. I've gone to see debates -- gubernatorial but never really fought for a cause.

Q: Tell me about it.

A: N/A

Q: Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?

A: Gun control, birth control, environmental problems, our relations w/Russia. I feel strongly about a lot of things but I'm not really sure about them. What else, cutting down on education.

Q: Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?

A: Not really. We've always discussed it in our family and at school. Not really a specific time but more of a building up.

Q: What did you think of the past Presidential election?

A: I wasn't happy with it. I thought the choices were rather limited, too.

Protocol

Identity Status Interview
classified as
12th grade diffusion

Q: Are you planning to go to college?

A: Yes

Q: Why?

A: Just to further education and get a better job

Q: Did your father go to college?

A: Didn't finish

Q: What does he do now?

A: Supervisor at Western Electric

Q: Did your mother go to college?

A: No

Q: What does she do now?

A: Crossing guard (part time)

Occupation

Q: What would you like to do as a job when you finish school?

A: I don't really know. Something with business

Q: When did you decide on ---?

A: Something with business. I'd say last year maybe

Q: Did you consider anything else?

A: Not yet, no

Q: What seems most attractive about ---?

A: The courses I've taken in school are w/numbers, it just . . .

Q: Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to go into or do -- did or do yours have any plans like that for you?

A: I think they want me to go to school and go from there and see what I like to do

Q: How do your folks feel about your plans now?

A: I think they're glad that I'm going to school

Q: How willing do you think you'd be to change this is something better came along? (If S responds "What do you mean by better?") Well, what might be better in your terms?

A: I don't know what might be better

Religion

Q: Do you have a particular religious affiliation or preference?

A: Catholic

Q: How about your folks?

A: Catholic

Q: Have you ever been very active in Church?

A: No

Q: How about now?

A: Not really, no

Q: Do you get into many religious discussions?

A: No

Q: How do your parents feel about your beliefs now?

A: Well, now that I'm 18 they'd like me to be Christian -- or Catholic. But if I wanted to change religions they'd support me

Q: Are yours any different from theirs?

A: No

Q: Was there any time when you came to doubt any of your religious beliefs?

A: No

Q: When?

A:

Q: How did it happen?

A:

Q: How did you resolve your questions?

A:

Q: How are things for you now?

A: OK

Politics

Q: Do you have any particular political preference?

A: No

Q: How about your parents?

A: I don't think so

Q: Ever take any kind of political action -- join groups, write letters, participate in demonstrations -- anything at all like that?

A: No

Q: Tell me about it.

A:

Q: Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?

A: No

Q: Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?

A: No

Q: What did you think of the past Presidential election?

A: Well, I didn't really want Reagan in there but . . .

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