

PSYCHOSOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, CONTEXT AND
ADOLESCENT EGO IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to examine Erikson's psychosocial theory of ego identity development, which states that the social contexts within which the individual develops plays a significant role in personality development. The overall goal of the present study was to examine the effect of context on the differential outcome of the development of ego identity and psychosocial adjustment. The first objective was to demonstrate that positive ego identity (statuses) would have a different frequency of occurrence in a college context than a work context. A second purpose was to compare the psychosocial adjustment of individuals in the two contexts with the hypothesis that those in the college context would display different psychosocial adjustment than the work context. The final purpose was to demonstrate that positive ego identity (achievement and moratorium) would have a substantially better psychosocial adjustment than would a less positive ego identity (foreclosed and diffusion).

Seventy college and sixty-three working males between the ages of 19 and 23 volunteered to participate in the study. Marcia's Ego Identity Status Interview was used to rate individuals' ego identity status. Three elements of psychosocial adjustment were defined by performance on the Rotter Interpersonal Trust Scale; the Bell Adjustment

Inventory; and the self-acceptance scale of Gough's Adjective Check List. No significant differences were found between the two contexts for either ego identity or psychosocial adjustment. Significant differences were found for the ego identity statuses on both the Adjustment Inventory and self-acceptance scale. These findings were discussed in light of Erikson's theory and previous research on ego identity status with implications for future research.

Chapter I

PSYCHOSOCIAL ADJUSTMENT, CONTEXT AND ADOLESCENT EGO IDENTITY

The role of ego identity in dynamic psychology theory has been an essential factor in the theoretical formulation of personality development. Psychoanalytic theory originally pointed the way in its principles of ego development. Within recent years, increased attention has been given to ego identity and its formulation within the healthy personality according to various concepts of self. There has also been a growing recognition that important changes in the formation of a total personality occur in late adolescence. Within this period there comes a search for a sense of self and an integration of prior childhood identification.

This chapter will trace the origins and the development of the theory of ego formation as it moves to the concept of ego identity. The first section will introduce the psychoanalytic foundation of ego development. Erikson's theoretical formulation of psychosocial development and ego identity will be reviewed. The experimental model of ego identity, developed by James Marcia, will then be presented. The subsequent sections will explore the research generated by Marcia's model of ego identity.

Ego Development

Ego development as a formal focus of inquiry is a relatively recent concept. It has as its origins the merging of the interest in individual differences and the formation of personality in childhood. Freud's integrative view of these two phenomena as manifestations of a single developmental continuum initiated ego development as a formal theory. He did not, though, originate the term. Ego development is seen as a developmental sequence with a dimension of individual differences for any age and has taken its meaning in modern psychology as the course of personality development within the individual.

Today there are a number of major meanings given to the concept of ego development in psychoanalytic thought. Freud (1950) in his original usage of the concept of ego described it as an organization and postulated its development within the framework of psychosexual development. The ego was seen as arising primarily in response to frustrations of id impulses, and dependent upon the id for its content and energies. The ego acts both as an intermediary between the id and the environment, and as control and governor on the superego. Through the mechanism of identification and introjection, energy from the id is diverted into cognitive processes marking the initial step in the development of the ego. By means of identification and intro-

jection objects in the external world become cathected subjective representations vested with instinctual energy. This redistribution of energy from id to ego is the major dynamic event in the development of personality. The development of personality then takes place as a result of maturation, physiological growth, and the synthesis and integration of the three systems, id, ego, superego, by the ego and the formation of cathexes and anti-cathexes by the ego.

Freud concluded that instinctual drives are the impetus for all behaviour and, thus, for all ego development, in that the independent function of the ego arises out of the necessary conflicts among drives within the organism and between these drives and reality. The emerging ego, which orders the relations among drives, between drives, and the real world, is thought to be drive originated.

Another major psychoanalytic usage of ego development refers to all development within the "conflict free ego sphere" (Hartmann, 1939). This falls within the concepts of psychoanalytic ego psychology usually associated with the writings of Hartmann, Kris, Loewenstein, and Rapaport. Where psychoanalytic theory was originally concerned with conflicts, ego psychology broadened into a general psychology with a "conflict free ego sphere". Instead of seeing the ego as solely differentiated out of conflict between the id and reality,

Hartmann proposed that ego and id were differentiated out of a common primal psychic matrix. The ego is seen as developing, in part, out of its own unique process and having its own source of energies. Both ego and id have their origins in inherited predisposition and each has its own independent course of development.

Some of the ego's functions are carried forth with energy not derived from the id. The ego is seen as having some functions that are not in service of instinct gratification and avoidance of pain. That part of the ego that does not deal with conflict has its own inborn sources of energy to carry out its functions. The conflict free portions are used to accomplish intellectual and social objectives that are not psychosexual in nature. The individual is born with the potentiality to adapt to his environment. Innate functions, such as perception, cognition and motor skills, have their own course of learning and maturation. They are the "apparatuses" (ego functions) of "primary autonomy", because they do not depend on drives nor are "they developed through conflict (Hartmann, 1958). Thus, the initial functioning of the ego apparatuses is comprised of both independent and "conflict free" energy resources. When an ego function previously used as a defense against drives subsequently binds instinctual energies and becomes a goal in its own right, it is then said to have "secondary autonomy". Consequently,

those patterns of behaviour which typically develop out of the conflicts among instinctual drives, as was emphasized by Freud, are referred to by Hartmann as having "secondary autonomy". This concept is different from Freud's overwhelming emphasis on the ego as derived from the id and as functioning to strike the conflict-induced compromise of reality principle functioning.

Ego psychology is often seen as a broadening of Freud's circumscribed view of life, while still retaining his basic insights. In actuality it is not an expansion of Freud's ideas, but instead, it makes basic alterations in traditional psychoanalytic theory and therefore a radical break. It is viewed as a dramatic change in psychoanalytic theory to conclude that rather than all, only a few behaviours are defensive or involve instinct gratification. The ego psychologists hold a strikingly more optimistic view of man than does Freud. Hartmann and Kris (1945) point out that Freud's thinking concerning the development of personality was conditioned primarily by evolutionary doctrine. Ego psychology alters psychoanalytic theory so that psychosexual stages are no longer sufficient for describing development. Though ego psychology's position concerning the characteristics of personality is similar to that of Freud, it departs from Freud by seeing life as a series of developmental stages that continue into adulthood and throughout life. This position is clearly exemplified in the ego psychology of Erikson. Ego psychologists

also believe that personality development can be explained more effectively in terms of the individual's life history; this they feel is more amenable to empirical testing. Hartmann broadened psychoanalysis from a psychology concerned with conflicts to one including concepts of general psychology, asserting that adaptation to reality and, therefore perception, learning, intelligence, etc., are to be found within the scope of psychoanalysis.

There are, as stated, other major usages of the concept of ego development among psychoanalysts. Among the first to call attention to the social character of ego development has been Erikson. His theory of ego development incorporates the closely related process of socialization into a combined formula of psychosocial development. Freud tended to emphasize the instinctual drives of the individual, as expressed in, and suppressed by, social institutions. Erikson has theorized beyond the sphere of instinctual development, which he accepts, to include the cultural socialization process. If strivings of the ego are influenced by the social environment and this relationship is seen as important, then the individual's mode of entry into the social group must take on an importance in its own right. It is, therefore, not more important to view psychological factors in contrast to social factors, but to see the relationship of the individual's psychic development to the

social conditions under which it grows. Erikson sets forth structured stages in psychosocial growth with potential crisis points to describe types of individuals at all ages.

In summary, modern psychology interprets ego development as the course of personality development within the individual. Freud's original concept describes ego development as emerging from the conflict of innate drives and reality. The ego psychologists have added another major meaning to the concept by expanding upon Freud's views to include the ego developing out of its own unique process. This view includes a "conflict free" ego which develops independently from the conflict between the id and reality, and does not depend on this conflict for its energies. The ego function serves to organize and adapt important features of the personality.

Erikson has been a pioneer among psychoanalysts in calling attention to and elucidating the special characteristics of ego development. Erikson supplemented both Freud and the ego psychologists' views by including the process of socialization in the development of the ego. He points to the influence and relationship of the culture on the strivings of the ego. Erikson also sees the ego as developing in part independently of the conflicts of innate drives placing him firmly with the ego psychologists. Psychosocial development is seen emerging for the purpose of mutual adaptation of the individual and society.

Erikson's Theory of Psychosocial Development

The work of Erikson (1963) has added another dimension to ego development. He extended classical psychoanalytic theory to include both sociological and cultural factors in the development of personality without losing Freud's particular approach to psychic life. In doing so, he has formulated the development of personality into a theory of psychosocial development, one encompassing the whole life cycle. Though there are major differences in Erikson's theory as compared to Freud's he has constructed his tenets firmly upon psychoanalytic theory.

Erikson's theory diverges from Freud's in three major areas. The first way is that he sees the ego, rather than the id, as the life force for development and therefore takes a different position from Freud in seeing a portion of life as free of conflict rather than all behaviour being motivated by conflict. Erikson's emphasis upon the continuity of interpersonal experience involves functions of the ego beyond Freud's psychosexual developmental progression. In reformulating Freud's developmental phases he loses many of Freud's biosexual implications but attempts to retain Freud's emphasis on intrapsychic life and his descriptive terminology. Though unconscious motivation and levels of awareness are accepted facts for Erikson, as is Freud's position that the organism is filled

with inherent psychosexual energy, Erikson's main concern is the ego's relationship to society.

The most outstanding difference is Erikson's emphasis upon the socialization process. Erikson gives equal weight to a shared and interconnected participation of the biological, psychological and social development of the individual. A developmental time table is introduced based upon a new matrix of psychosocial rather than psychosexual development: one that occurs in eight successive stages, beginning from infancy and extending into adulthood, encompassing the whole life cycle. These stages are based upon biological growth and psychosocial development. Erikson, therefore, reduces the overwhelming emphasis Freud placed on the early years of life. While Freud considered personality well set by puberty, Erikson sees personality expanding throughout life.

Erikson's complex social configuration departs from the Freudian matrix of the child, mother, father triad. He questions the Oedipal struggle formulation and sees, rather, a power struggle within the sociocultural reality of the family. The family as a product of society and culture gives shape and content to the developing ego.

The third way Erikson's theory differs from Freud's is that Erikson focuses on the opportunities and developmental progression afforded each individual, whereas, Freud's purpose

was to prove the existence and operation of the unconscious. Erikson, like the ego psychologists, sees human growth from an optimistic perspective. Freud views man's innate strivings leading to social doom whereas Erikson sees each personal and social crisis as a component conducive to growth. Thus when Erikson speaks of crises or conflict he views them to be between ego choice alternatives rather than the psychoanalytic sense of conflict as between biological impulses and reality. Viewed in perspective, Erikson's theory can be perceived as a theoretical bridge between psychoanalysis and ego psychology. Although Erikson tries to remain loyal to Freud's developmental stages he actually poses existential crises. The individual's abilities to develop and utilize his ego processes decide the direction of his behaviour. This is very different from Freud's notion of the ego being the product of id and superego pressures and therefore places Erikson with the ego psychology theorists.

Erikson theorizes each stage of an individual's life cycle as marked by a phase-specific crisis of ego growth which must be resolved in order for the individual to deal successfully with subsequent stages. This pattern of ego development is a step by step expansion of the individual's capacities and social radius, with each step marked by increasing differentiation of ego function. Thus, he attempts to represent the psychosocial phase-specific crisis, the appropriate time of occurrence, and

the corresponding psychosexual stage. He has divided his attention equally among drives, ego and environment. Erikson has thus attempted to provide a bridge between those who seek to assimilate the process of ego development solely to the stages of psychosexual development, and those who see the Freudian emphasis on infantile sexuality and psychosexual development as overly exaggerated. The importance in child development of the relationship between ego and psychosexual development can also be seen in the writings of Hartmann and his colleagues, who point to numerous interconnections.

Erikson defines each stage of psychosocial or ego development in terms of a series of tasks, arising within a particular age period. Each age-specific modal crisis involves a decisive encounter with the environment on an important socially posed problem that must be resolved for continued development. A crisis arises when incipient growth and accompanying awareness of a new function coincide with a shift in instinctual energy, thus causing a specific vulnerability in the ego (Erikson, 1968, p.95). The successive step of each sequential stage is a potential crisis because of a radical change in perspective each new encounter causes. As the individual enters a stage and begins to cope with its conflict and challenges, the new demands made upon him place his ego in a more vulnerable position. Erikson uses the term crisis in a developmental sense, as a

turning point or crucial period that connotes increased vulnerability and heightened potential. Each stage is systematically related to all others, they all depend upon the proper prior development, and each finds its solution toward the end of its period (Erikson, 1968, p. 96). A stage progresses to a peak, meets its crisis, and is then resolved. At the conclusion of each period a certain balance or ratio of the positive to the negative poles of the task is attained. This ratio can be changed by later experiences; a particularly crucial period for such "redressing of imbalances" is in adolescence. Erikson does not consider all development to be a series of crises and states, "we claim only that psychosocial development proceeds by critical steps - 'critical' being a characteristic of turning points, of moments of decision between progress and regression, integration and retardation" (Erikson, 1963, p. 270). Unlike Freud's concept of biological development as a homeostatic steplike progression, Erikson proposes development as a constant state of imbalance of irreconcilable opposites that follows a course from stage to stage and within each stage. These opposing forces are ever present and create a polarity which energizes behaviour through all developmental stages of life. One must choose between opposites but also one must incorporate such opposites in order to create a new and unique life situation. The confronting of this contrast state

is the resulting crisis to which the individual must find a resolution. The balance that is found in each stage is also dependent on the balances of the previous stages for its resolution. Likewise all previous stages are affected by the new balance and must make adjustments to it. The resolution of the crisis of each stage helps to generate the struggle for the next developmental stage. Each successive stage also provides the possibility for a new solution of a previous struggle. An earlier struggle can also remain dominant in a person's development as well as relived anew in a later stage (Erikson, 1972 p.131).

Erikson implies in his description of polar alternatives, groups of traits such as basic trust-mistrust. He does not, though, detail them in any clear or specific fashion. Because of this, it is very difficult to know clearly just what one should look for in order to determine whether trust or distrust is part of a person's character. This lack of detailing is characteristic of the crisis alternatives of all eight stages. It is very difficult, therefore, to be able to proceed from Erikson's statements to concrete, specific behavior of individuals. He does, however, provide vivid descriptions of the overall emphasis of his position.

The progression from stage to stage is seen by Erikson as universal with the particular context of each crisis

culturally defined. The stages serve the developing ego as a timetable and process for discriminating the structure of the relevant social institutions. It is the culture's role then, to socialize the individual by setting up these developmental stages in sequence with the maturing individual's developmental readiness. The individual then develops and moves into each subsequent stage as soon as he is biologically, psychologically, and socially ready; this also being matched by society's readiness to accept his growth. As Erikson states it: "A human being thus is at all times an organism, an ego and a member of society and is involved in all three processes of organization" (Erikson, 1963, p. 32).

Erikson, therefore, presents human growth from the point of view of conflicts, both inner and outer, with which the 'vital personality' must deal. These conflicts place demands upon the developing individual's needs and abilities. The individual ought, then, to re-emerge from each crisis with an increased sense of inner and outer unity and a greater capacity to meet life. This is to be accomplished according to his own potentials and standards in the context of those individuals and social institutions which are significant to him (Erikson, 1968, p. 92). White (1960) in his writings criticizes Erikson for what he sees as the failure to recognize that developmental styles and character types are better

understood from a competence paradigm rather than a conflict one.

In delineating the eight stages Erikson has been cited for not clearly allowing for comparisons between stages. There is no systematic way to express the relation between what happens at one stage and what happens at the next. Each developmental crisis is described with reference to age appropriate problems such as school, marriage etc. What of the person who is at one age with a pattern appropriate for another age? Also, what are the aspects shared by persons of different ages but the same stage? Erikson does not clarify whether his descriptions apply to what development usually is, should be, or what it usually approximates. Because of his normative approach, it is not clear whether he is describing average growth trends or ideal ones.

The concept of mutual regulation is central to Erikson's theoretical position. He sees the interaction of the individual with his social matrix as a unity that is mutually regulating. This view gives emphasis to a reciprocal participation between the individual and important elements of his environment. This interaction helps to adapt the developing ego function to society's needs while allowing the ego synthesis an individual mode of mastering experience. Within the mutuality of this experience the individual's behaviour responds to not only biological development but elicits

help from his social environment. This help is received through its adult members directed by cultural institutions and tradition. Social institutions are pre-conditions for development. Each stage offers institutions and people, in a series of mutualities, to unite us with each other as well as generation with generation. The unity and mutual regulation of the individual and his social matrix is the context within which all behaviour is determined.

Although Erikson's theory is comprehensive, innovative, and widely acclaimed, his writings are often figurative and ambiguous, often encouraging confusion and oversimplification by some of his readers. This, of course, must be gauged against the enormity of the task. Three specific areas of confusion often arise. The first of which is that each crisis occurs only within its maturational phase. Instead, all of them exist in some form before their decisive and critical time normally arrives. The crises are specific, but the prefiguring and subsequent developmental issues exist at every period in the life cycle. While a specific crisis dominates each phase and finds its resolution toward the end of that time, it had its predecessors in earlier types and may recur at later stages. The second misconception is that the psychosocial stages are independent of each other. On the contrary, all the stages are interrelated and are dependent on previous resolutions, which exert their

influence on all subsequent stages for their outcome. The solution of a crisis also generates the crisis for the next developmental stage. The third is that a final resolution of either a positive or negative solution is achieved; e.g., one either trusts or mistrusts. Rather, this resolution is seen as a ratio between positive and negative elements of each stage. The negative potential, rather than being overcome and eliminated, remains a dynamic counterpart throughout life. Ideally, the emphasis would be on the positive, but it is just as important for living to be able to mistrust as it is to trust, to have doubts, as well as autonomy and to feel guilt, as well as initiative. Erikson also does not mention that the crises have to be solved. Successive stages provide the possibility of new solutions for previous struggles or a temporary regression. The crises are not resolved for better or worse, once and for all. However the more successful one is in dealing with each crisis, the greater the degree of psychosocial adjustment (Erikson, 1968, p. 325).

In summary, Erikson in his theory describes a developmental progression of combined biological, psychological and social forces advancing from one stage to another throughout the human life span. This progression of the eight stages is both universal and always in the same sequence with culture defining their context. Each step or stage, linked to

physiological growth, confronts the individual with a different crisis of a psychosocial nature. The ego develops and expands as it becomes increasingly differentiated within each step of continued interpersonal experience. The psychosocial content of all the stages exist in some form from the beginning and each has components of all others. Within each stage there is a particular crisis or dilemma that must be encountered for development and progress. The outcome of each crisis is the balance of two opposing forces: positive and negative. The resolution of an earlier stage affects all subsequent stages. Each stage experiences a pull both back and forward from past and future stages.

There is a dynamic interplay between the developing individual and people and institutions the society and culture afford. Sets of mutualities within the social matrix are posed for each development stage. Psychosocial development is, therefore, the product of interactional experience between the individual and his world.

A great deal of attention is given by Erikson to the first stage of development, basic trust-mistrust, and the fifth, identity-identity diffusion. There is therefore a particularly rich description of the ego identity formation process in his theory.

Ego identity. Though Erikson's developmental continuum covers the entire human life span, with eight psychosocial stages, he places a great deal of importance upon the fifth stage: identity-identity diffusion. This is the psychosocial task of adolescence. It is the essential one for integration in the process toward ego identity formation. It is also a period of major maturational changes with rapid body growth and important physiological development. The strivings from these new physio-psychological forces must now find a balance within a different social matrix than that of childhood. In this phase of development youth must re-evaluate their own potentialities, evaluate their prospective place within society and integrate all previous identifications. This gradual synthesis, resynthesis, and final full integration, comprise an ego identity. Erikson (1956) explains his formulation when he writes:

From a genetic point of view, then, the process of identity formation emerges as an evolving configuration - a configuration which is gradually established by successive ego synthesis and resynthesis throughout childhood; it is a configuration gradually integrating constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favoured capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimation and consistent roles. (p. 71)

The ego in this period becomes more differentiated and, dynamically, secures increasing control over the instinctual

The ego in this period becomes more differentiated and, dynamically, secures increasing control over the instinctual sources of energy. This is the point of departure for the mechanism of identification. Identification in combination with the mechanisms of introjection and identity formation are seen as the steps by which the ego develops. They are not stages, but rather modalities of ego formation and transformation. Erikson (1968) suggests the mechanism of introjection depends for its integration on a satisfactory mutuality between mother and child. Identification relies on the child's satisfactory interactions with others in the family structure. Identity formation results when the childhood identification with these important others and their expectation, is ended.

The process of ego identity formation is derived from the psychosocial crises of childhood during adolescence. The individual establishes a reciprocal relationship with his society and maintains a feeling of continuity and sameness within himself that can also be felt when he interacts with others. The ego identity, though, is more than this self perception of one's existence in time and space and in others' recognition, it is the ego quality of this existence. Erikson (1968) describes ego identity when he states:

Ego identity then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a selfsameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing method, 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)

Erikson's concept is an evolving configuration, sometimes referring to the person's conscious sense of individual identity, sometimes to his unconscious strivings for continuity of personal character, elsewhere to the silent workings of ego synthesis, and other times to inner solidarity with a group. The formation of identity, therefore, combines both continuity of self and an identification with something beyond self. The individual must live up to his own expectations, as well as those of the society of his generation. There is a constant striving to maintain a sameness of meaning for himself and to assure himself that this consistency is accepted by others. In this process, the ego evolves toward self-continuity, as well as stability and sameness of meaning for the individual and significant others. This sense of continuity and sameness, which encompasses all the early identifications, is what Erikson calls ego identity.

The concept of ego identity, Erikson (1956) states, is in its vaguest sense, much of what other theorists mean by various concepts of self. His concept not only incorporates aspects of the psychoanalytic concept of ego and previously existing concepts of self, but also adds several new features, not present in other conceptualizations. Though his concept corresponds to the structural, dynamic, genetic and adaptive models, he exceeds the limitations of the ego psychoanalytic

framework and takes into account the individual's relationship to his society. The fact that ego identity can be viewed as a relationship sets it apart from most other concepts of self. This reciprocal relationship with one's immediate community is the most distinguishing difference. It is not only self definition but social definition. The most frequent usage of ego identity is what Erikson refers to as the subjective experience of the individual who from an adaptive standpoint has achieved ego identity. He implies from this an inner felt cohesiveness, as well as a continuity of past and present.

A lasting ego identity cannot begin to exist without the trust of the first stage and cannot be completed without a promise of fulfillment in adolescence. The resolutions of the earliest stages leave a residue which can be seen especially in the individual's "sense of identity". Erikson recognizes the embeddedness of the individual in the human life cycle and sees this as an indispensable factor of identity.

The earliest most undifferentiated sense of identity begins with the mutual trustworthiness and recognition between mother and child. It is here, in infancy, that the self-object differentiation takes place. Its absence or impairment can dangerously limit the capacity to feel "identical" when adolescent growth makes its demand on the individual to abandon his childhood, trust adulthood, and search for "self-chosen loves

and incentives". It is in this primary relationship that the individual acquires either a basic orientation of trust or an abnormal pattern of psychosocial development. The nurturing experience defines the mode and degree of trust and mistrust. Within this first stage are developed the roots for identification. The alternatives of basic trust and mistrust become an attitude that carries over into the later stages of development and determines the direction that the ego takes toward others. Emotional development is anchored in the early experience of this first stage. "A favourable ratio of basic trust over basic mistrust is the first step in psychosocial adaptation" (Erikson, 1963, p. 271).

The adolescent, in his search for a personal identity, clearly looks most fervently for people, peers and elders, and an ideology in which to have faith, and to which to dedicate himself. He looks to his culture's heritage, ideology and religion as a confirmed source of trust. This provides a perspective and helps balance the drive for an autonomous identity. Youth constantly search for something and someone to be true. But they represent a "bewildering combination of shifting devotion and sudden perversity, sometimes more devotedly perverse, sometimes more perversely devoted" (Erikson, 1962, p. 6).

For identity to include a sense of competence, the

individual must fend off a sense of inferiority within the industry stage. This is achieved by the mastery of skills and tasks. The child depends now on his initiative to gain recognition from his production. He must strive to deal with the sense of inadequacy and inferiority which would bring discouragement when trying to identify with productive work. This prior stage to identity offers a shift in focus from a dependence upon parents as the child's major influence, to a reliance upon social institutions (school, church, organizations). This change of focus allows the child to improve his capacity to deal effectively with people and things. There is also the need to work with peers, to provide a measure of success or failure and to gain self-esteem. Later work attitudes and habits can be traced to the degree of success with the industry-inferiority crisis. This stage lays the groundwork not only for making a vocational commitment during identity formation, but also provides the confidence in one's ability to work successfully.

In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness, some adolescents have to come to grips again with crises of earlier years, before they can establish a final identity. The residues of the early stages give: first, an important need for trust, not only in oneself, but in others; the desire to give freely of oneself in duty and service; a broader scope to aspiration (if at times only illusionary);

and finally the desire to choose an occupation offering satisfaction. The search for people and ideology in which to have faith becomes an essential drive toward a new synthesis of past and future.

The residue in adolescence of the negative poles can also be seen: in the fears of a foolish, all too trusting commitment, expressed in cynical mistrust; a fear of being forced into activities, leading to a shameless acting out in the adult's eyes; his objections, often extremely loud to all limitations on his self-image; and finally his refusal to work is prompted by his fear of not succeeding or gaining satisfaction (Erikson, 1968, p. 128-129). Erikson (1956) explains:

Identity consciousness then is a new edition of the original doubt, which concerned the trustworthiness of the training adult and the trustworthiness of the child himself. In adolescence, such self-conscious doubt concerns the reliability and reconciliability of the whole span of childhood which is now to be left behind. (p. 99)

At adolescence youth searches for a sense of self. In doing so various roles and self-images of the past are brought together to try to form a coherent sense of self. This search implies a commitment to specific roles selected from many alternatives, because identification with the parent figure, the ego ideal, no longer serves its full usefulness. Individuals require time to integrate their emerging self into a consistently acting, thinking, and feeling person. Society grants this time.

A moratorium or waiting period is offered that provides a delay or grace period before adult demands have to be met. "The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the moratorium, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood, and between the morality learned by the child and the ethics to be developed by the adult" (Erikson, 1963, p. 262-263). The period of adolescence extends childhood and delays the final acceptance into adult status. Erikson (1956) describes the concept of moratorium when he writes:

A moratorium is a period of delay. Here I mean delay of adult commitments, and yet not only a delay. I mean a period that is characterized by a selective permissiveness on the part of society and of provocative playfulness on the part of youth; and yet also a period of deep (if often transitory) commitment on the part of youth and ceremonial acceptance of commitment on the part of society. Such moratoria show highly individual variations, which are especially pronounced in the very gifted (gifted for better or worse); and there are, of course, institutional variations linked with the ways of life and cultures and subcultures. (p. 5).

Youth experiment with different patterns of identity before coming to a decision. They have the opportunity to utilize the additional time during the moratorium period to explore alternatives of both ideological and vocational choices and to find their potentials, so that they may make a realistic commitment. Our society provides institutions, like education and apprenticeships, that help slow down the movement into adulthood. The

moratorium is instrumental for giving the opportunity for a delay and, therefore, aiding identity formation to reach quality decisions and commitments that will serve the adult.

A moratorium is sometimes never entered. This is when an individual has defined himself too early and committed himself to the adult society before he explores and is ready. There are those who also don't enter a moratorium because of the strong feelings of inadequacy from dealing with the uncertainty of this developmental period.

The end of the adolescent process is usually marked by the attainment of a firm sense of inner identity. The identity struggle supports either the formation of an ego identity or contributes to estrangement and confusion. The adolescent stage cannot be passed through without identity molding later life. A successful development of ego identity is necessary for psychological adjustment and a more stable personality organization.

In summary, the process of identity formation does not begin in adolescence nor is it an exclusive product of adolescence. It spans the whole developmental life cycle and develops gradually though a synthesis and resynthesis process. The adolescent period is more concerned with identity because of the need at this time to cope with the maturational changes, the integration of all one is and has

been, and the subsequent acceptance into the adult world. The resulting ego identity is the combination of several distinct features. It is a developmental outcome, an adaptive achievement, an experience, a psychosocial reciprocity and an experience of oneself in the world. The psychosocial reciprocity, the subjective experience and an existential commitment are the additional perspectives that distinguish ego identity from the traditional psychoanalytic ego.

The adolescent period offers a period of moratorium to confront the difficult array of choices before a commitment to the adult world is made. This is a time where youth define and redefine themselves.

Identity crisis. Erikson has set down in each stage of his theory both a criteria for psychosocial development and psychosocial health. He describes late adolescence as the period to resolve the identity crisis and achieve an ego identity. This task involves finding and making choices compatible with oneself and the opportunities granted by society. The polarity of this task's crisis is represented by achieving a sense of identity and overcoming a sense of identity diffusion. The crisis is the confusion brought on by the many choices, conflicting self-images and questioned potentials during this stage. This causes both a longing for the image of adulthood and a fear of obtaining it. Youth's struggle for an ego identity is primarily concerned with

their attempt to consolidate their social roles and deal with society's pressures to make a life time vocational commitment. "The sense of ego identity, then is the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a career" (Erikson, 1963, p.261). The adolescent must fashion for himself a sense of who he is, who he will be, and in what context he can be. He must develop a consistency between how he sees himself and how others see him. A continuity must also be developed so that he perceives himself as basically the same person that he has been. Attitudes, values, and behaviour must congeal in a way that will remain constant across situations and people. It is this unique combination of the stability of previous identifications and trust, together with an understanding of oneself in relationship to and as part of society, which sets the pace for the ultimate level of participation in the adult world. "In youth, then, the (individual's) life history interacts with history; here individuals are confirmed in their identities, societies regenerate in their life style" (Erikson, 1962,p.23).

The strivings for an integration of inner and outer direction are opposed by an instability from confusing inner and outer demands. This struggle must be solved within the span of adolescence, if an ego identity is to be achieved and adulthood is not to endure complications from a continuation of old

struggles. The identity-identity diffusion crisis is a highly crucial period in psychosocial development. The outcome is seen by Erikson as critical to future psychosocial health or ill health. He assumes that when a positive ego identity is achieved there is a more stable personality organization which is observable in behaviour.

During the identity crisis the vast number of conflicting possibilities and choices that confront the adolescent precipitate a sense of diffusion. The necessary self-definition becomes too difficult and identity confusion results. Whether the resulting tension leads to a personal paralysis depends on the regressive trends left over from past resolutions.

Erikson (1968) uses the term identity diffusion as the opposite pole to identity, but he refers to it often in his writing as identity confusion, and at one point confronts his use of both terms. In his use of the term identity diffusion he means "a split of images, a loss of center, as a dispersion," (p.212). He suggests that identity confusion would be the better term, but emphasises that an individual can be in a state of mild identity diffusion without feeling thoroughly confused. Youth confronted with this confusion may become bewildered by the role expected of them and "run away in one way or another." Many adolescents adapt a negative identity, choosing a role opposite

to the one society suggests. They not only challenge society's standards, but use this negative identity as an alienation from the diffusion of the self. A negative identity in its group form, enhances social change, but can also accentuate alienation.

Erikson sees a psychosocial moratorium built into the schedule of human development and states that all societies offer some time for experimentation and search for one's place in it. He does comment that though a moratorium helps in making quality commitments, one that is prolonged, as in our western society, creates a considerable gulf between biological and psychosocial maturation. Its impact on development is as great as all the years of childhood. "It is human to have a long childhood, it is civilized to have an even longer childhood. Long childhood makes a technical and mental virtuoso out of man, but it also leaves a lifelong residue of emotional immaturity in him" (Erikson, 1963, p.12). Erikson sees adolescence today, as becoming almost a life style, a period between childhood and adulthood. Toward the end of adolescence youth must act. A relevant social position is sought with the implication that it will become an essential component of adulthood. The resolution of the identity crisis must now reveal itself in the two primary areas of which Erikson speaks: occupational identity and personal ideology. Within these two areas the individual's own style that has now

come together is manifested by his choices and commitments. Anyone with a sense of ego identity would display their commitment in these two areas and it would be unusual for a person to not do so.

The acceptance of the adolescent into the adult community has historically been accomplished through the work world, making the occupational decision an important one. The inability to settle on an occupation, Erikson feels, is what disturbs adolescents most (Erikson, 1968, p. 132). The formation of a positive identity involves the adolescent's ability to connect the earlier cultivated skills, roles, self images with an occupational choice. The future that appears within reach must become part of a conscious life plan. An inability to integrate one's work capabilities and forge a work readiness leaves adolescents with a sense of inadequacy in their own abilities. Another important factor contributing to how and when the occupational choice is made is the prolonged time spent in school and the final access to work.

The commitment to an ideology is not only to a personal set of values and ideals, but the acceptance of a system of rules and ideals that society presents. Erikson describes ideology as the guardian of identity (Erikson, 1968, p. 133). It is the forming of one's own identity within another larger identity. The initial formation of an ideology and identification,

therefore, are basically the same process. Personal ideology according to Erikson is not only part of the self identity, but also a way to secure social recognition and give structure to a cultural image. The existing range of alternatives for identity formation allows the adolescent choices (to invest or not to invest) in ideological alternatives. Erikson defines ideology, generally, as a coherent body of shared images, ideas and ideals, which can be based on a formulated dogma, highly structured images of the world, a political or scientific doctrine, or a way of life. As such it provides an overall orientation in time and space, in means and ends (p.189).

A psychosocially healthy individual, Erikson states, adopts the accepted social roles and searches for a group identity to further the processes of his ego identity and to keep the social process alive (p. 134). In the absence of ideological commitment, no matter how implicit, the adolescent suffers from a confusion of values.

The resolution of the adolescent task of identity achievement-identity diffusion is a final balance of the crisis revealed in the youth's acceptance of himself within his new identity and his acceptance into the work world. The choice of and a commitment to an occupation and an ideology are the observable features accompanying identity achievement.

In summary, the resolution in late adolescence of the

identity crisis allows youth to move into adulthood. To do so, he must sift through all the views of and attitudes toward himself and his world gathered from earlier crisis resolutions and attempt to consolidate his current social and vocational roles. Through this process, he may formulate a sense of who he is and who he will become into a unique configuration that will remain constant across situations and his interactions with others. To do this he must deal with and overcome the sense of confusion this stage encounters. The identity crisis ends with the choice and commitment to both a career and a personal set of values and ideals. A failure to make a successful resolution affects the stability of the personality organization and the quality of psychosocial maturity. The identity crisis, with its struggle for one's identity, is an inescapable turning point for youth. Its end indicates an ability to act.

Research in Ego Identity

There have been a limited number of research attempts made at verifying Erikson's theoretical formulation, especially his construct of ego identity. Bronson (1959), using a semistructured interview, based upon judged continuity with the past and degree of tension or anxiety, and a semantic differential, used to measure dominant personal characteristics and fluctuating feelings of self-concept, made one of the first attempts at verifying the identity diffusion dimension of the

identity crisis. The study was carried out with third and fourth year college students. His results suggest that those with an adequate ego identity experience a more stable sense of self concept, originating in previous identification, maintained over time, and were relatively free from anxiety.

Gruen (1960) used discrepancy between self and ideal self on a Q sort score, as related to the acceptance of false personality information, as a measure of low or high ego identity. He concluded that a discrepancy between the self-ideal self and willingness to accept an external definition of self were two facets of a poorly developed sense of identity. His results imply that those with high ego identity and a stable role concept are less willing to accept threats to their self image than those with high ego diffusion.

In a study of ego identity and adjustment Block (1961) used the level of role variability, a ratio of self evaluation to how one thinks important others see him, as a dimension and operational definition of ego identity. He saw role variability as an indication of the perceived sameness and continuity toward oneself and perceived others. He posed that excessive role variability and insufficient role variability reflected problems of ego identity and would both be related to maladjustment. Excessive role variability, seen as identity diffusion, was found to be significantly related to maladjustment as measured by the

Pn scale of the California Psychological Inventory.

Rasmussen (1964), studying the relationship of ego identity to psychosocial effectiveness, found that an adequate ego identity is necessary for an individual to cope effectively with his social environment. He constructed a scale of positive and negative statements, based on Erikson's criteria of health and ill health for each psychosocial stage. The scale consisted of 72 items reflecting satisfactory or unsatisfactory resolution of Erikson's first six crisis stages. The number of stages resolved was used as an operational measure of ego identity. Psychosocial adjustment was measured by a peer nomination form. Ego identity scores on his Ego Identity Scale were found to differentiate the best adjusted group from the poorly adjusted group. The degree of self-concept as measured by the self-acceptance scale of the Adjective Check List, was also found to be related to ego identity and diffusion.

An ego identity scale was also constructed by Dignan (1965) in her study of the relationship between female ego identity and maternal identification. The scale consisted of 161 statements adapted from self report inventories and representative of sense of self, uniqueness, self-acceptance, role expectations, stability, goal directedness and interpersonal relationships, each being seen as components of ego identity. The scale was constructed so that a high score indicated ego

identity and a low score diffusion. She found that high identification between mother and daughter helped form a strong sense of ego identity, as measured.

Bourne (1978) in a review of the research on ego identity raises several questions regarding the studies cited. He attacks the use of narrow criteria, such as role consistency, to measure the broad construct of identity. Secondly, he asks if it can be assumed that inconsistency among several sortings of a Q sort invariably implies conflict or confusion of one's interpersonal roles. He suggests it might perhaps reflect a degree of flexibility in role situation. With regard to self-report questionnaires, none of the studies using one investigated the possible correlation with a social desirability scale nor with distinct dimensions related to ego identity, such as self-esteem, self reported adjustment, or social competence. He concludes that it is difficult to know if any of the instruments are assessing anything pertinent to Erikson's construct.

As may be seen, the previous studies have not approached ego identity with precise psychosocial criteria for determining the degree of ego identity, but rather have tried to measure some component of identity achievement or diffusion.

Development of the Ego Identity Status Interview

James Marcia, (1966) has developed a significant

research program dealing with Erikson's construct, ego identity. His work focuses upon the styles of resolution of the ego identity crisis, for which he has developed a method for measuring the nature and quality of the identity crisis. The criteria he uses consist of two variables outlined in Erikson's work: crises and commitment. These two major components in the formation of an ego identity show themselves, according to Erikson (1959, 1968), in the search for a stable sense of self and the attempt to consolidate social roles and in the self images derived from choices of an occupational goal and an investment in a personal ideology.

In attempting to operationally define Erikson's concept of ego identity, Marcia (1964, 1966) addresses himself to the psychosocial criteria for determining the degree of ego identity. The first part of these criteria is the experience of a crisis period, one that includes experimenting with alternative roles and ideals. The outcome of this phase-specific crisis is the second criterion, which seen in behavioural terms is commitment to an occupation and to a personal belief system (Marcia, 1976). Toward the end of the identity crisis, then, self definition stabilizes, giving a firmer sense and confidence in who one is, who one will become and what place one will have in the community. This leads to both a stable vocational commitment and personalized attitudes and values. Thus, Marcia delineates the

salient features of ego identity following the resolution of the identity crisis. "If one has achieved a sense of ego identity at late adolescence, then he may be expected to express commitment in the above areas both verbally and behaviourally" (Marcia 1976, p. 10).

Marcia (1966) has developed a method for classifying the essential elements of ego identity along these theoretical lines. The technique used is a semi-structured interview with a scoring manual (see Appendix A) based upon the criteria of crisis and commitment applied to occupation, and religious and political ideology. Crisis is used to refer to a time in adolescence when value alternatives are evaluated. Commitment refers to the amount of personal investment which the adolescent displays. Marcia conceptualizes four distinct "identity statuses", or ways of coping with the identity crisis: Erikson's polar alternatives of identity achievement, identity diffusion and two additional intermediate statuses of moratorium and foreclosure. The statuses describe four alternative modes of response to the complex intrapsychic and social demands surrounding identity formation. The identity achieved are those who have first experienced a crisis, considered different occupational choices and reevaluated past values, ideas and ideals. They have then made a commitment to an occupational choice, as well as to beliefs that allow for reciprocal functioning with their

society. A feeling of overall well-being and a pursuit of realistic goals have been established.

Individuals in moratorium are those actually engaged in the crisis. Commitments have not been formed and are as yet still vague, but an active struggle is going on to make them. Erikson speaks of the psychosocial moratorium as a delay of adult commitments expressed in both rebellion and attempts to meet society's demands. Moratorium's commitments are therefore not firm, too general, and often changed.

Those who are foreclosed have not experienced a crisis, but are committed to both an occupation and an ideology. They are most often extensions of their parents and, therefore, have not achieved commitments themselves. They experience few doubts and make few choices on their own. The most important feature of the foreclosed is the absence of a period of decision making (i.e., crisis). They are viewed as rigid and do not operate adequately in situations outside their parental values. Erikson (1956) in his writings has explained how overidentification with a parent blocks an individual with an emerging identity from encountering his environment and consequently restricts ego identity development.

The identity diffused may or may not have experienced a crisis. They have little concern about choosing an occupation and are neither interested nor involved in positive ideological commitment. Their lack of concern for making a commitment is

their most striking feature (Marcia 1965, 1966). They have no specific future plans, nor very strong allegiances.

With Marcia's technique of a loosely structured interview, individuals in each of the four statuses can be differentiated. The interview is divided into three parts: occupation, religion and political ideology. It requires individuals to answer prescribed questions in these areas. The person is given the opportunity to respond in each of the three areas dealing with his decision-making (crisis) and personal investment in his choices (commitment). In this way Marcia measures the extent of commitment to an occupation and a personal ideology and the presence or absence of a crises. In Marcia's (1980) words:

There are two clear advantages of the identity statuses as an approach to research on ego identity. The first is that they provide for a greater variety of styles in dealing with the identity issue than does Erikson's simple dichotomy of identity vs. identity confusion. Secondly, there are both healthy and pathological aspects of each of the styles save, perhaps, identity achievement. (p. 5-6)

Factors affecting validity. Waterman and Waterman (1971) studied changes in status from the beginning of freshman year in college to the end of the first year. They found a 75% change in status during this period. All statuses were found to be equally unstable during the first year of college. A four year follow-up study of the same students found that from the end

of the first year to fourth year there was only a 50% change of status. Moratorium had the highest change: 85% as compared to 30% for the other statuses. Identity achievement and the stability of the identity statuses were found to increase with college year. The statuses were found to be most stable in third and fourth year (Waterman, Geary, and Waterman, 1974).

Meilman (1977), investigating five age groups of males, found the greatest change in identity status occurred between 18 and 21 years of age. A longitudinal study of college males by Offer, Marcia, and Offer (1970) reported that 19-20 year olds had not as yet achieved an identity, but were in the process of a final resolution. Two studies using alternative measures of ego identity, Dignan (1965) and Constantinople (1969), also found greater ego identity achievement as one moved beyond freshman year. Stark and Traxler (1974), using Dignan's measure, found a group of 21-24 year old college students to have significantly higher ego identity scores than a 17-20 year old group. After reviewing the research regarding age of identity attainment, Marcia (1977) states that the safest generalization is that identity increases from early adolescence until late adolescence with the highest proportion of individuals achieving identity by age 21. This generalization is limited to primarily white males (p. 17).

A number of studies have included in their investi-

gations the possibility that intelligence is a variable underlying the identity statuses (Marcia, 1966; Bob, 1968, Marcia and Freidman, 1970; Cross and Allen, 1970; Jordan, 1971; Schenkel, 1975). All found differences in status to be unrelated to intelligence.

The majority of work carried out in the development of of the ego identity statuses has focussed its attention on males. Marcia's (1964, 1966) initial validating study was carried out with an all male group, as was most of the early identity status research. Marcia and Friedman (1970) found in their research that the issues around which ego identity statuses are formed differ in males and females. Similar evidence was found in other approaches to ego identity formation. Using her own measure, Contantinopole (1967) found sex difference in the development of identity in her college sample. Stark and Traxler (1974) also found sex differences to be an important variable in the formation of ego identity. In their work on the adolescent experience Douvan and Adelson (1966) hold that vocation choice is the central focus for adolescent males, whereas affiliation is the main concern of females.

An alternative form of the Marcia measure was developed to try to focus on those issues that are most indicative of identity statuses in women. They modified the Identity Status Interview to include questions about attitudes

toward pre-marital intercourse. Schenkel and Marcia (1972) demonstrated that a combination of sexual and religious commitment areas of the revised interview provided greater predictive usefulness for women than any other combination of interview areas. Additional studies (Toder and Marcia, 1972; Josselson, 1973; Schenkel, 1975) provided further support that the statuses had different significance for women than for men. When reviewing the research, a different pattern of identity status groupings emerge for women than for men (Marcia, 1980). Marcia (1980) states that the "findings obtained with females have been sufficiently different and problematical to justify a separate discussion." (p. 70) The validity and comparability of the form for females has as yet not been clearly established (Schenkel, 1972; Marcia, 1980). "Direct comparison between male and female studies are confounded by the difference in samples used, differences in interview format and difference in the measurement of some of the dependent variables"(Matteson, 1974, p. 276). A number of researchers (Matteson, 1974, Gallatin, 1975; Marcia, 1980) have found methodological problems with the current identity status research approach to women. Due to these facts it would appear that the standard Marcia measure is best applied to men for the present.

Both Marcia (1976) and Bourne (1978) have indicated another area limiting the validity of the identity statuses.

This has been an almost exclusive use of college students for investigation. The main reason for this is found in both Marcia's (1976, 1977) and Waterman's (1978) view that the college atmosphere gives a continuous opportunity to examine one's choices and oneself before making a permanent commitment. Erikson (1953) has also pointed to the college environment as highly favourable for stabilizing identity formation. A number of recent studies have since extended the scope of the statuses to include high school students, thus broadening the validity and giving important information about an earlier developmental context (LaVoie, 1976; Matteson, 1974; Meilman, 1977).

A study by Munro and Adams (1977) compared the frequency of the different statuses in a working group and a college group. This is the only study to date that has addressed itself to a non-college group. Their data suggest differences in ego identity formation between the two groups. They found that individuals who go to work following high school were more represented in the identity achievement status than were those who had gone to college. The two groups were found to differ in ideological commitment but not in occupational commitment. The significance of these results is not entirely clear. Not only is this the first study to investigate a non-college group but it is also the first study to explore the effect of different contexts. Several methodological shortcomings, though, may have impacted

upon experimental outcome, due to the fact that more than half of the 57 subjects (30 college, 27 working) were women and only the standard Marcia Ego Identity Status Interview was used to measure status for both sexes. They did not take into account previously found differences in the determinants of female status. One would conclude that over 50% of the participants would be invalid subjects for the form of the Marcia measure used. Also, no measure of SES was used. This is important since the soliciting for working individuals was carried out in a business district favouring white collar workers. The generalizability of the findings may be further limited by the likelihood that most of the working subjects were middle class. This study raises several questions as to the application of the Marcia measure to non-college youth and the role of context in the outcome of ego identity formation. Furthermore, stopping people on the street corner in a business district is not likely to produce a random sample. A final consideration is the unusually high acceptance rate, more than 70% of those individuals approached on the street and asked to volunteer. This high rate of acceptance suggests that the subject pool may have had unusual characteristics different from the general population. This was not explained or accounted for by the experimenters.

Critique. Since its introduction in 1966, Marcia's method has held a dominant position in the empirical research of

ego identity. Coupled with this is the fact that the Identity Status Interview has generated only one critical review, which seems unusual given the numbers of studies utilizing the identity status paradigm. Its major strength appears to be the vast amount of research it has stimulated in respect to a wide variety of developmental, cognitive and personality variables. Marcia also avoided some of the difficulties of other procedures by using a semi-structured interview. This does not mean to imply that the Interview can not be methodologically improved.

Bourne (1978) in his critical appraisal of both the state of ego identity research and the identity status paradigm raises several points which he feels weaken the Marcia measure. One such problem needing exploration is the possible influence of the verbal fluency of participants upon their performance in a semi-structured interview. While the research that demonstrated that status is not related to intelligence, (a measure heavily influenced by verbal skill) can be seen as arguing against the importance of verbal skill relative to status, this matter seems to need further evaluation.

A second flaw seems to be in Marcia's theoretically justified, but experimentally undemonstrated, assumption that the commitment areas of ideology and occupation are interdependent. Thirdly, Bourne (1978) observes that the Marcia measure does not address itself directly to all the features of ego identity

which Erikson cited. Role stability, sense of temporal continuity and identity synthesis, specifically, are not addressed in the Marcia interview. It can be speculated that those areas which are investigated in the Marcia measure subsume and incorporate these features, thereby including them indirectly. This speculation, however, remains unverified.

Two final shortcomings which Bourne raises are of particular interest for the present study. The extensive research which the Marcia measure has generated has dealt almost exclusively with college students. This fact severely limits what is known about the generalizability of the body of information about the ego identity measure and the identity formation phenomenon. Finally, little replication work and crossvalidational research have been carried out on many of the variables studied in this area. The absence of these data generally weakens the validity of the information which has been demonstrated.

Even with its shortcomings, Bourne states that "a thirty minute semistructured interview about occupation and ideological commitment is likely to approximate what Erikson meant by identity more closely than self-report questionnaires or role-consistency sorting procedures used in studies that appeared prior to the identity status approach" (1978, p377). He further states that the procedure does not ostensibly deprive the concept

of identity of so much of its original "clinical depth" as do other procedures.

Empirical descriptions of the statuses. The identity achieved individuals were found to score highly on independent measures of ego identity and intimacy (Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser, 1973). They were seen as being less vulnerable to negative manipulation of their self-esteem (Marcia, 1966) and had higher self-esteem scores than the other statuses (Breuer, 1973). They were also found to have significantly more interpersonal skill than non-achievers (Genthner and Neuber, 1975). Identity achievers also tend to see themselves as causal agents and their self concept is more internally based than the other statuses (Waterman, Beubel, and Waterman, 1970). They were judged as accepting more accountability for their life's circumstances in a similar finding by Neuber and Genthner (1977). They are seen as performing well under stress (Marcia, 1966), and when confronted with a decision, their cognitive style tends to be reflective rather than impulsive (Waterman and Waterman, 1974). They have a higher level of moral reasoning than the other statuses (Podd, 1972). The frequency of identity achievement and its stability increase with college years (Waterman, Geary and Waterman, 1974). Those identity achievers who leave college usually have higher grades than those who stayed and do so for self-initiated goals (Waterman and Waterman, 1970). A number of studies indicate that

identity achieved may be more academically motivated than moratorium (Cross and Allen, 1970, Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Orlofsky, 1978). Bourne (1978) suggests that identity achieved are not only more achievement motivated but also most able to achieve, not because of greater ability, but because they have attained higher levels of intrapsychic integration and social adaptation.

The moratorium individuals have been characterized as having ambivalent relationships with their parents as well as an ambivalent view of authority in general (Jordan, 1972). This is consistent with that part of their crisis that attempts to separate one's identity from one's parents. Most studies found them to be the most variable of the statuses. Waterman and Waterman (1971) found them to change college plans significantly more frequently than other statuses. Conflicting patterns of rebelliousness and cooperation have been also found (Podd, Marcia, and Rubin, 1970). Bob (1968), Marcia (1970), and Mahler (1969), found moratorium individuals to have a higher degree of anxiety than the other statuses. This result is consistent with the idea that moratoriums are undergoing a period of crisis while in the process of making life choices. Their greater feelings of crisis causes them to be hypersensitive to dissonance, causing them to take issues personally (Waterman, Beubel, and Waterman, 1970). Active involvement in the identity crisis causes them to

have a greater need for guidance. Oshman and Manosevitz (1974) found them to have patterns of conflict on the MMPI. A positive point in that direction is that, like the identity achieved, the moratorium individual has been found to be more reflective than other statuses and have high self-esteem scores (Marcia, 1967; Breuer, 1973).

The foreclosed individual has been described as "being in love" with his parents. He rarely risks challenging his parents (Jordan, 1972). When making decisions for their future, the foreclosed are the most willing of the statuses to have their families involved (Waterman and Goldman, 1977). This status has been found to be more accepting of traditional cultural values than the other statuses. They cling to the external values at the expense of their own internal values (Dufresne and Cross, 1972). They maintain unrealistically high goals, even after repeated failure (Marcia, 1966). The foreclosed individuals have low scores on a measure of self-directedness and autonomy, which are similar to the scores of identity diffused (Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser, 1973). Further research has found them to have highly authoritarian values accompanied by a high need for social approval (Marcia and Friedman, 1970). They scored highest on a measure of social desirability. They are more vulnerable to change, but are reluctant to admit feeling anxious in such situations, than other statuses. Though they score as the least

anxious of the statuses, it appears that this is due to defensiveness (Marcia, 1967 Marcia and Friedman, 1970). Their style of defense is seen as repressive (Mahler, 1969; Donovan, 1975). If they become uncomfortable when working at a complex task, they tend to become cognitively constricted, focusing and trying harder. Few disturbing thoughts are let in. Those that do come through, are not allowed to become personally relevant and are forgotten (Bob, 1968). Nevertheless, they are the most vulnerable of the statuses to self-esteem manipulation (Marcia, 1966). Foreclosures are similar to the diffused status in that they do not see themselves as causal agents nor do they accept personal responsibility for their life circumstances (Waterman, Beubel & Waterman, 1970; Neuber and Genthner, 1977). In an indepth personality study, Donovan (1975) found the foreclosed to be the best behaved of the statuses with a strong need for structure and an inability to deal with strongly expressed feelings. They chose parent-centered values, such as obedience and loyalty to conventional social standards. The identity diffused individuals are more influenced by peers than by an authority figure (Toder and Marcia, 1973). In the face of stress on a cognitive task they tend to become conceptually restricted and withdrawn (Bob, 1968). Further research found them to pull out of situations when faced with pressures to make a commitment (Bob, 1967). When faced with a decision, identity diffused tend to be impulsive (Waterman and

Waterman, 1974). If a diffused individual left school, he usually did so because of negative pressures such as low grades (Waterman and Waterman, 1970). They see control of their life as being external and as a matter of chance (Waterman, Beubel, Waterman, 1970). Of all the statuses, the identity diffused accepts the least responsibility for his life or problems (Neuber and Genthner, 1977). The identity diffused and the foreclosed had the lowest self-esteem scores of the statuses (Breuer, 1973). Again, like the foreclosed, they were more vulnerable to both positive and negative feedback about self-esteem and, therefore, were willing to change their own evaluation of themselves (Marcia, 1967). The identity diffused also emerge as the least adequate; they have not formed meaningful commitments, nor are they striving to do so. Because of the small samples in most studies, more research is needed to specify attributes characteristic of identity diffusion.

In summary, the four statuses have been shown to be significantly different classification entities of the ego identity resolution. Moratorium appears to be more like the identity achieved on most measures with foreclosed being very often similar to the diffused. The research demonstrates, for the most part, that ego identity achieved and moratorium individuals perform more toward the positive end of an "adjustment" continuum and that foreclosed and diffused are more

toward the negative pole. Though Marcia (1967) found no evidence of a maladjustment continuum associated with the identity statuses, he does believe such a continuum exists for overall ego identity. A better understanding of the status array and the psychosocial adjustment Erikson writes about is needed.

Psychosocial Context

A focal point of Erikson's theory is that all stages of ego development occur within specific social contexts provided by the culture. The social environment provides the maturing ego function at each stage with institutions, people, and customs that enable the individual, ideally, to adapt his expanding ego functions to his psychosocial needs. This process of growth is a mutual interaction of the individual's needs and growing abilities, at each of the developmental stages, with the demands the society places on them. Rapaport (1958) notes: "In Erikson's conception, neither does the individual adapt to society nor does society mold him into its pattern; rather, society and the individual form a unity within which a mutual regulation takes place" (p. 104). The individual develops an idiosyncratic response to the way society responds to him. Although Erikson believes that the eight stages are universal, he assumes that each culture unfluences the ways by which its members deal with their developmental crisis.

The society, through its institutions, is the essential setting for the individual's development, insofar as it encourages the form and direction of development. Institutions do more than merely regulate; rather they provide the role and value models which the society wishes to cultivate in its members. The individual on the other hand, through his needs, initiates support from these social institutions. In order to support and guide emergent members of a society, an institution must also tailor and modify the manner in which it carries out its functions to meet these needs. Thus, the developing individual is confronted with more than just a society that either prevents or encourages. He is given the necessary medium in which to grow. The individual needs the guidance of society to attain membership, while society needs the input of the individual to remain relevant and alive.

According to Erikson (1968) cultures can be expected to provide environments which vary as to their support for healthy development. The culture provides various situations within which individuals are expected to achieve a certain stage of growth. Depending on the stage, development requires a variety of sub- environments. These social contexts can vary in their degree of support toward ego development, both from each other, as well as, within a particular institution. This may be for example, the effect of being mothered compared to being in an

orphanage or the difference from school to school on the individual's development.

Erikson maintains that the stage of ego identity shares with the other developmental stages a need for specific institutions to facilitate its crisis resolution. It is during adolescence that a social matrix, different from the ones of childhood, must contain and balance the demands for adulthood with society's mores. These institutions allow one to identify with the adult community and society and offer a way of being admitted to it.

Social psychologist Wahlwill (1970) notes that behavior necessarily occurs in some particular environmental context, which imposes major constraints on the range of behavior permissible in it and serves to determine particular aspects or patterns of an individual's behavior. He further states that behavior is in a variety of ways instigated by and directed at particular attributes and characteristics of the environment. Individual behavior is seen as giving evidence of more or less strongly defined attitudes, values, beliefs and affective responses that are related to their environment.

The ability of the social context to exert an influence upon behavior is well known. A cross cultural study by McClain (1975) provides evidence that different cultures provide differing levels of support for the developmental experience of

adolescence. Studies by Ford and Urban (1965), Herr (1965) and Super (1963) are some of those which have upheld the environmental press concept. Super and Bachrach (1957) using a social system approach, based on the interaction between the individual and society, in their work on career development found that the environment exerts a press upon the individual which interacts with his personality affecting consequent behavior. Super's (1963) developmental self concept theory of vocational behavior, based on Charlotte Buehler's (1933) concept of life stages, notes that the environment plays several roles in maturation that are needed to facilitate vocational maturity. The society not only dictates the developmental sequence in terms of the larger culture, but includes the press of various subcultures that require the individual to make a career decision within its framework. The exploratory stage allows the adolescent to interact with his society to translate his search for occupational commitment into action, usually by age 25. Jordann (1963) in his research on vocational development in the exploratory stage states that certain environmental conditions facilitate exploratory behavior. Parents do so by providing an atmosphere which encourages independence and provides emotional support. Society encourages by the opportunities it provides for exploratory roles, the amount of time it makes available, and by the amount of conflict it places on youth.

Holland (1962,1966) studying the influence of college upon vocational stability found evidence that the university's orientation and environment tends to influence the behavior of students in subtle ways. He states that the potential to evaluate institutions along lines of psychological characteristics does not end with universities. He suggests that effective organizations, both universities and industry, play a major role in generating effective careers for the individuals in them and therefore, it is likely that the psychological context an organization provides is a major factor in career satisfaction, progress and effectiveness. Osipow (1968) states that little research has been conducted outside of the educational system concerning the effect of the interaction between the individual and environmental press on vocational decision and suggests that systematic research is needed to determine the effect of industry.

Erikson (1953) has noted that the institution of college in his opinion offers a very favourable atmosphere for identity resolution with numerous and continued opportunities to evaluate one's choices and directions without having to make a premature commitment. Marcia (1976, 1977) views college as the single most important setting for the resolution of the ego identity crisis. He suggests that the primary function of the university in a developmental context is the facilitation of

ego identity crisis and should, together with the total environment, aid to its fullest the development of ego identity.

College may very well be a major social context where youth is expected to achieve an identity. The majority of our youth, however, do not attend college, but rather, enter into the work world in one way or another. The work context must also offer a degree of support in facilitating ego identity. Though work can be viewed as the end of adolescence and the acceptance into the adult world, youth in Western society are, for the most part, still working on resolving their ego identity. Work as an institution has many positive effects upon ego development it offers concrete rewards in the form of salary and experience. As in a college environment, the work experience has been noted by organizational theorists to have a powerful effect upon the individual's value system. Emperical studies, in this area, have demonstrated the importance of modeling in the work context (Bandura, 1971) and the influence that supervisors have on shaping values (Weiss, 1978). The influence of a college teacher would seem on a par with a work supervisor in affecting values and choices. There appear to be many elements, both positive and negative, in each context that help shape personality, social behavior and identity.

Different contexts may be evaluated as to the degree to

which they encourage or inhibit ego identity development. Marcia's work has for the most part been limited to college individuals, but he proposed that any existing cultural institutions could be evaluated as to their ability to facilitate ego growth. He suggests that it should be more desirable to be ego identity achieved or moratorium than to be foreclosed or diffused. The Munro and Adams (1977) study, cited earlier, is the only experiment to date to attempt to assess the differential effect on ego identity outcome of differing contexts, mainly, college and work. While the generalizability of their findings has not been established, the result seems to indicate that working youth may display better ego identity outcome particularly with regards to ideological commitment. This finding is quite different from what is suggested by both Erikson and Marcia.

Psychosocial Adjustment

In his theory of psychosocial development Erikson (1963) described the development of the healthy personality. This is seen as occurring through the gradual mastery of one's environment, which builds toward a unity of personality and a realistic perception of oneself and the world. This growth process involves the individual's physical, cognitive and social development through complex steps of increasing differentiation and subsequently enhances personality organization and

adaptation.

A successful adaptation, leading to psychosocial adjustment, relies heavily upon adequate resolution of the developmental tasks presented at each stage. In this manner different aspects of a healthy personality are seen by Erikson as maturing in different periods. Within each stage criteria are presented for psychosocial health and ill health which are important to the subsequent personality development. Each of the resulting crises resolves itself in specific attitudes and ways of dealing with the social environment. This group of traits contributes to a healthy or unsatisfactory resolution in the process of identity formation. These discrete traits have to be synthesized into a working whole at adolescence.

An example of this is a trusting attitude developed in the first stage of development with the crisis of basic trust-mistrust. It is seen by Erikson (1963, 1968) as forming a foundation for all future ego strength. The sense of trust expands with the expanding self. A positive resolution of the crisis in this first developmental task is seen as forming the basis for an individual's sense of identity; combining the sense of trusting oneself (sense of being 'all right') and belief that one will be the same, over time, which is also recognized by others. Having a sense of basic trust helps psychosocial growth and gives one the ability to face new experiences openly. The

capacity for faith in social institutions is also important. A disruption in the ability to have faith in or trust relevant people and social institutions disturbs the quality of these social interactions. Underlying weakness in this first stage of trust-mistrust has been focused upon by Erikson often in his writings as apparent in psychopathology and a cause undermining confidence in our social institutions. He maintains that an individual who resolves his ego identity crisis in ego diffusion, will give evidence of an unsatisfactory resolution of the first crisis stage. This empirical observation has been apparently confirmed by Rasmussen (1964) who found a strong relationship between ego diffusion and disturbance in the first psychosocial stage of development. He also found the resolution of the first crisis stage to be significantly related to the next five stages. LaVoie (1976) found adolescents with a positive identity to be more trusting. It is, therefore, the basic trusting attitudes which one chooses in the earliest stages that one carries into later development. This determines the direction taken toward others, oneself, and the prevailing social institutions.

The process of identity formation also involves residual attitudes and postures taken during each of the previous developmental tasks and contributes in some form to the developing self concept. Erikson (1959) emphasizes that self-esteem in particular grows as an end product to each successful

crisis resolution. After each crisis there remain in the individual residues of feeling, positive and negative, which are central to his self-esteem and which become major organizers of personality thereafter. The more satisfactory resolutions, the more self-esteem there is to build upon, increasing the chances of developing an adequate self-concept and sense of identity. Positive child rearing practices were found to promote identity formation and foster a more positive self-concept (Coopersmith, 1967). The greater the sense of self-esteem the better able one is to deal with the alienation of the identity crisis and form a more meaningful self-concept at its resolution. This appears to be confirmed by the research which has found high ego identity adolescents to have a positive self-concept and to be more self-accepting than those with low ego identity (LaVoie, 1976). Faith in oneself to deal with the demands of the social environment, also expands with each successful resolution, bringing with it a conviction that one can define himself within a social reality. This self-acceptance aspect of the self-concept has been found to be greater in those with high ego identity (Rassmussen, 1964). The development of the self concept in the adolescent period is, thus, a consequence of extensive organization. This resulting integration of self-percepts leads hopefully to the acceptance of a stable set of roles. Matteson (1975) in his study of ego identity asserts that one must not only bring together the

various roles and selves into a coherent sense of self, but must also construct a personality in this period. The lack of internal referents and self definition leads to a failure to develop a consistent picture of relative psychosocial health. A study by Block (1961) found identity diffused individuals, who see themselves varying from situation to situation, to be more maladjusted than those with a greater role stability.

Erikson (1963) in his theory further states that each successful resolution produces changes that enhance the personality structure and therefore, general adaptation. Each stage contributes different aspects to the healthy personality which then are integrated at adolescence for a unity of personality. The positive resolution of the identity crisis would then show in an increasing differentiation and dynamic integration of personality resulting in greater adaptation. The experimental literature on ego identity supports this contention. Lower anxiety scores and greater self-esteem have been found in identity achieved college males (Marcia, 1967; Podd, Marcia & Rubin, 1970; Breuer, 1973; Stark & Traxler, 1974). Conflicting patterns in MMPI scores were found between vocationally committed and uncommitted college students (Schubert and Wagner, 1975). Other findings suggest more positive personality changes and increased general adjustment as one resolves the identity conflict (Josselson, 1973; LaVoie,

1977; Oshman, 1974). The longitudinal identity research, reviewed earlier, has also helped verify Erikson's position (Waterman & Waterman, 1971; Waterman, 1968; Offer, Marcus, & Offer, 1970).

Erikson (1968), therefore, contends that the development and formation of ego identity is related to an individual's index of psychosocial adjustment. A positive resolution of the ego identity crisis is necessary to be able to meet the demands of the adult society and to maintain a satisfactory psychosocial adjustment. Erikson's description of the stages of development and his observation concerning the criteria for health and ill health of each crisis give an understanding of his meaning of psychosocial adjustment. This process is seen in the individual's ability to meet both his own inner demands as well as those of the culture. He believes these abilities to be manifested in a trusting attitude, a stable self-concept and a healthy adaptation to reality. When the ego identity crisis is resolved, Erikson maintains, it will be visible in behaviour. Only one study has attempted to relate the concept of ego identity to psychosocial adjustment. Rasmussen (1964) found high ego identity Navy recruits had more adequate psychosocial effectiveness than did those with low ego identity as measured by a sociometric peer rating device.

Although Erikson does not present a precise definition of psychosocial adjustment, he lays out vivid descriptive

characteristics that can be measured. His writings emphasize the experience of mutual trust as a foundation together with the involvement of self-esteem with each successful stage and finally the ability to interact with one's environment productively. Psychosocial adjustment can be simply stated as the degree to which one sees oneself and the world positively, and how he behaves with both. Thus, psychosocial adjustment is very much bound to one's psychosocial identity.

Summary

Modern psychology interprets ego development as the course of personality development within the individual. Freud's original concept describes ego development as emerging from the conflict of innate drives and reality. The ego psychologists have added another major meaning to the concept by expanding upon Freud's views to include the ego developing out of its own unique process. This view includes a "conflict free" ego which develops independently from the conflict between the id and reality, and does not depend on this conflict for its energies. The ego function serves to organize and adapt important features of the personality.

Erikson supplemented both Freud and the ego psychologists' views by including the process of socialization in the development of the ego. He points to the influence and relationship of the culture on the strivings of the ego. Erikson also sees the ego as developing independently of the conflicts of innate drives. Psychosocial development is seen emerging for the purpose of mutual adaptation of the individual and society.

Erikson in his theory describes a developmental progression of combined biological, psychological and social forces progressing from one stage to another throughout the human life span. This progression of the eight stages is both universal and always in the same sequence with culture defining

their context. Each step or stage, linked to physiological growth, confronts the individual with a different crisis of a psychosocial nature. The ego develops and expands as it becomes increasingly differentiated within each step of continued interpersonal experience. Within each stage there is a particular crisis or dilemma that must be encountered for development and progress. There is a dynamic interplay between the developing individual and with people and institutions that the society and culture afford. Sets of mutualities within the social matrix are posed for each developmental stage. Psychosocial development is, therefore, the product of interactional experience between the individual and his world.

A great deal of attention is given by Erikson to the fifth stage of development, identity-identity diffusion. There is therefore a particularly rich description of the ego identity formation process in his theory.

The process of identity formation does not begin in adolescence nor is it an exclusive product of adolescence. It spans the whole developmental life cycle and develops gradually though a synthesis and resynthesis process. The adolescent period is more concerned with identity because of the need at this time to cope with the maturational changes, the integration of all one is and has been, and the subsequent acceptance into the adult world. The resulting ego identity is the combination

of several distinct features. It is a developmental outcome, an adaptive achievement, a synthesis, a dynamic process, a continuous subjective experience, a psychosocial reciprocity and an experience of oneself in the world. The psychosocial reciprocity, the subjective experience and an existential commitment are the additional perspectives that distinguish ego identity from the traditional psychoanalytic ego.

The adolescent period offers a period of moratorium to confront the difficult array of choices before a commitment to the adult world is made. This is a time where youth define and redefine themselves.

The resolution in late adolescence of the identity crisis allows youth to move into adulthood. To do so, he must sift through all the views of and attitudes toward himself and his world gathered from earlier crisis resolutions and attempt to consolidate his current social and vocational roles. Through this process, he may formulate a sense of who he is and who he will become into a unique configuration that will remain constant across situations and his interactions with others. To do this he must deal with and overcome the sense of confusion this stage encounters. The identity crisis ends with the choice and commitment to both a career and a personal set of values and ideals. A failure to make a successful resolution effects the stability of the personality organization and the quality of

psychosocial maturity. The identity crisis, with its struggle for one's identity, is an inescapable turning point for youth. Its end indicates an ability to act.

Initially, studies did not approach ego identity with precise psychosocial criteria for determining the degree of ego identity, but rather have tried to measure some component of identity achievement or diffusion.

Since its introduction in 1966, Marcia's method has held a dominant position in the empirical research of ego identity. Coupled with this is the fact that the Identity Status Interview has generated only one critical review, which seems unusual given the number of studies utilizing the identity status paradigm. Its major strength appears to be the vast amount of research it has stimulated in respect to a wide variety of developmental, cognitive and personality variables. Marcia also avoided some of the difficulties of other procedures by using a semi-structured interview. Even with its shortcomings this thirty minute semi-structured interview about occupation and ideological commitment is widely considered to approximate what Erikson meant by identity more closely than self-report questionnaires or role-consistency sorting procedures used in studies that appeared prior to the identity status approach.

The four statuses of the Marcia measure have been shown to be significantly different classification entities of the ego

identity resolution. Moratorium appears to be more like the identity achieved on most measures with foreclosed being very often similar to the diffused.

The research demonstrates, for the most part, that ego identity achieved and moratorium individuals perform more toward the positive end of an "adjustment" continuum and that foreclosed and diffused are more toward the negative pole. Though Marcia (1967) found no evidence of a maladjustment continuum associated with the identity statuses, he does believe such a continuum exists for overall ego identity. A better understanding of the status array and the psychosocial adjustment Erikson writes about is needed.

The ability of the social context to exert an influence upon behavior is well known. Society encourages development by the opportunities it provides for exploratory roles, the amount of time it makes available, and by the amount of conflict it places on youth.

Different contexts may be evaluated as to the degree to which they encourage or inhibit ego identity development. Marcia's work has for the most part been limited to college individuals, but he proposed that any existing cultural institutions could be evaluated as to their ability to facilitate ego growth. He suggests that it should be more desirable to be ego identity achieved or moratorium than to be foreclosed or

diffused, and that the social context can provide support to achieve an adequate identity crisis resolution.

Erikson (1968), further, contends that the development and formation of ego identity is related to an individual's index of psychosocial adjustment. A positive resolution of the ego identity crisis is necessary to be able to meet the demands of the adult society and to maintain a satisfactory psychosocial adjustment. Though Erikson does not present a precise definition of psychosocial adjustment, he lays out vivid descriptive characteristics that can be measured. His writings emphasize the experience of mutual trust as a foundation together with the involvement of self-esteem with each successful stage and finally the ability to interact with one's environment productively. Psychosocial adjustment can be simply stated as the degree to which one positively sees oneself and the world, and how he behaves with both. Thus, psychosocial adjustment is very much bound to one's psychosocial identity.

As was discussed in the prior review, successful development of a healthy personality relies heavily upon the interaction of the individual with his social environment. The social settings and institutions have been described as necessary to encourage the form and direction of development, providing the role and value models and responding with support to the individual's needs, thus, serving as a medium in which to

develop. The period of identity formation shares with the other developmental stages the need for various contexts related to the psychosocial task to be mastered. The adolescent period must offer contexts that encourage the development of an ego identity and allow a way to begin to enter the adult community. Different contexts can vary as to the degree of support and can be evaluated as to how well they foster identity formation.

An important limitation that both Marcia and Bourne point out is that the research has been conducted, for the most part, within the limited context of one social institution only: college. The empirical results that differentiate the statuses are confined to college students and do not permit generalization to other populations or contexts. The rationale for this has been both Erikson's (1956, 1968) and Marcia's (1976, 1977) view of college as offering a favourable setting for psychosocial growth and the development of ego identity. Erikson (1959) has pointed out that the college environment could be or is a highly favourable context for stabilizing identity formation.

Though Erikson sees the college setting as offering features and opportunities for facilitating identity resolution, he also points out that both the delayed entry into the work world and the wide separation between biological and psychosocial maturation can cause a residue of emotional immaturity. This raises the issue of the possible differing effects of varying

contexts upon the outcome of identity crisis. The only study to address itself to a comparison of college and working youth has been Munro and Adams (1977). They found that working youth attained identity achievement more frequently than college youth. Further analysis revealed this difference to be due to differences in ideology and not occupational commitment. These results raise the question that the different context may differentially effect the outcome of ego identity development. These results further raise the question as to whether or not these two contexts support parallel development resulting in similar identity outcome.

Purpose of The Present Research

It is the main purpose of this study to examine the differential outcomes of ego identity for youth in the two contexts of college and work. This is based upon Erikson's (1963) theory and his contention that the social context in which development occurs has a direct interactive influence upon the outcome of that development. He assumes that each culture influences the way by which its members deal with their developmental crises. Culture can be expected to provide environments which may be more or less supportive for healthy development than others. Within this theoretical framework Erikson (1963), Marcia (1977), and Waterman (1978) suggest that the college environment provides a favorable setting for the

resolution of the identity crisis, due to those facets that encourage identity development. While this may be true, the focus of research attention on college youth and the context of college tells us very little about the vast majority of young people who do not attend college.

Since the majority of individuals do not attend college, but rather move directly into the work force, the context of work seems the most important alternative context to that of college. The only experimental evidence to date is a study by Munro and Adams (1977) which suggests that individuals in the work context may have better ego identity outcomes than college individuals. This study indicates that there may indeed be differences in the identity outcomes of individuals influenced by different contexts.

The developmental influence of the college and work environment would seem to both share and differ in many aspects. Both contexts have features which appear similar in their developmental import. For example, each tolerates to some extent a certain amount of instability, unreliability and impulsivity as a part of late adolescence. Each also shares opportunities for training and provide role models and values, college by its structure and work through apprenticeship and work supervisors.

The difference between these two contexts seems to far outweigh their apparent similarities. However, the skills that

each context aspires to develop in the individual are quite different. College aims at enhancing verbal, conceptual, reflective and contemplative attitudes while the work environment is oriented toward action and experience. The college environment offers many points of view and styles of approach, while the work environment offers primarily one approach at a time. The role of student in the college context may prevent the individual from identifying with the adult community while individuals from the work context are clearly identified with the adult community. The role models provided by the college environment may not in fact model the actual occupation to which the student aspires, wherein the work environment is more likely to provide directly relevant models. The college student also is more likely to be financially dependent and the working youth less likely to rely on others financially. The contexts may also engender different attitudes toward one self with college carrying high prestige and future promise, and work offering a sense of accomplishment and responsibility. Consequently, the two contexts offer very different opportunities, experience and skills with which to traverse this identity development.

The ego identity statuses have been shown to be distinct ways of coping with the identity crisis and can be viewed as one measure of psychosocial growth. The body of research on ego identity status has indicated that the statuses

of identity achievement and moratorium are healthier ways of dealing with the identity crisis than are the foreclosed or diffused (Marcia, 1977; Bourne, 1978).

The first objective of the present study is to compare the frequency of occurrence of each of the ego identity statuses between the contexts of college and of work. Because the statuses of identity achieved and moratorium have consistently been found to be the more favorable statuses of ego development, it is, therefore, expected social contexts will differ with respect to their positive effects on identity development.

It is intended that the two samples of college and work will be comparable in terms of relevant variables such as sex, age, socioeconomic status. It, therefore, would seem reasonable to conclude that any difference found between the two groups relative to ego identity could be related to context.

A second purpose of this study is to compare the psychosocial adjustment of individuals in the contexts of college and work. As will be recalled, the development of a positive psychosocial adaptation is contingent upon the mutual interaction of the individual with his social setting (Erikson 1963). The social environment provides the range of experience and can vary in the degree of support given to the personality development and identity formation.

Three areas of functioning have been described in the

theoretical literature as important elements of psychosocial adjustment: a developed sense of basic trust, a positive self-concept and the ability to cope with problems effectively. These elements are seen by Erikson (1963, 1968) as developed from basic attitudes derived from successful resolutions of early stages that are carried into adolescence where they help determine the direction taken toward oneself and the social environment.

Studies have shown that positive personality changes and increased psychological adjustment follow successful ego identity resolution (Josselson, 1963, Oshman, 1974). Disturbances in basic trust have been pointed out by Erikson (1963, 1968) as observable in psychopathology that may be seen during identity resolution. Rasmussen (1964) found individuals who were identity diffused to have an unsatisfactory resolution of the first stage of development. Greater self-esteem is incurred by each satisfactory resolution, which increases the chances of developing an adequate self concept. Child rearing conditions which foster satisfactory resolutions have been shown to facilitate a more positive self-concept (Jordan, 1970). A positive self-concept leads to acceptance of a stable set of roles and the ability to define oneself within the social reality (LaVoie, 1976). Ego identity achieved individuals were found to have higher self acceptance than diffused (Rasmussen 1964). Trust and self-concept, therefore, lend confidence to one's ability to

adapt. While ego identity is the synthesis of previous identifications and self images into a psychological ego with a sense of ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity, psychosocial adjustment is the degree of positive interaction with the environment for the purpose of adaptation, and interplay between the psychological and social spheres of experience.

Thus, it is expected that in each of the three areas which are indicative of psychosocial adjustment there will be differences between the groups of college and working individuals. The psychosocial adjustment of the individuals in the two groups of college and work will be compared by using measures of trust, self-concept, and general adjustment. Any relationship which may be found between contexts in the three dependent variables could illustrate some of the contributions on the phenomena of ego development of a more intrapsychic character such as psychosocial adjustment. It is, therefore, suggested that the college individuals will have significantly different scores than the working youths on a measure of general adjustment. It is further proposed that the college individuals will have significantly different scores than the working youth on a measure of trust. It is expected that college individuals will also have significantly different scores than working youth on a measure of self-acceptance.

An additional purpose of this study is to investigate

the relationship between ego identity status and the measures of psychosocial adjustment. This study seeks to demonstrate that youth who display differences in ego identity, as evidenced by the ego identity statuses, will show different ability to effect an adequate psychosocial adjustment. This is based upon Erikson's proposal that a successfully developed ego identity is necessary for an individual to cope effectively and, therefore, to make an adequate psychosocial adjustment. Marcia's operationalizing of Erikson's concept of ego identity into the ego identity statuses, four distinct styles of dealing with identity formation, has been established as a relatively objective and discriminable mode of identity resolution. As will be recalled, there have been numerous studies yielding information on personality characteristics, patterns of interaction, and development that differentiates individuals within each of the statuses. The utility of the ego identity statuses is therefore well established (Bourne 1978). The status of identity achievement has been found the most positive and identity diffusion the least. The moratorium status is like the identity achievement on most measures, and the foreclosed like the diffusion (Marcia, 1977). Consequently, the identity achievement and moratorium are viewed as the most positive, with the foreclosed and diffusion the least. The evidence on ego identity statuses suggests that a strong relationship is likely

between the different statuses and the degree of psychosocial adjustment (Marcia, 1977).

There are, therefore, three expectations which pertain to this relationship, concerning significant differences between the ego identity statuses relative to their general adjustment, level of trust and self-concept. It is suggested that subjects high in ego identity (A & M) will score significantly higher on a measure of general adjustment than subjects low on ego identity (F & D). It is also proposed that subjects high in ego identity (A & M) will score significantly higher on a measure of trust than subjects low in ego identity (F & D). It is expected that subjects high in ego identity (A & M) will score significantly higher on a measure of self- acceptance than subjects low in ego identity (F & D).

In summary, the proposed study has three main objectives: to compare the frequency of occurrence of the ego identity statuses in the contexts of college and work; to compare the psychosocial adjustment of individuals within the context of college and work; and to assess the psychosocial adjustment of individuals within each of the four ego identity statuses. These are the experimental hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The ego identity statuses will occur significantly differently in the college context than in the work context.

Hypothesis 2: The college individuals will have significantly different scores than the working youth on a measure of general adjustment.

Hypothesis 3: The college individuals will have significantly different scores than the working youth on a measure of trust.

Hypothesis 4: The college individuals will have significantly different scores than the working youth on a measure of self-acceptance.

Hypothesis 5: Subjects high in ego identity (A & M) will score significantly higher on a measure of general adjustment than subjects low in ego identity (F & D).

Hypothesis 6: Subjects high in ego identity (A & M) will score significantly higher on a measure of trust than subjects low in ego identity (F&D).

Hypothesis 7: Subjects high in ego identity (A&M) will score significantly higher on a measure of self-acceptance than subjects low in ego identity (F&D).

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

The participants in this study were 160 males between the ages of 19 and 23. They were drawn from two social settings, college and work. The university participants were volunteers, attending full-time the fall trimester in either the third or fourth year undergraduate classes at the University of Ottawa. They represented a wide variety of academic disciplines. Males were chosen because previous data demonstrated the greater validity of the Ego Identity Status Interview for men. The 19-23 age range was used because previous studies have found this to be the age span for final identity resolution.

Participants in the working group were volunteers, solicited from government agencies and individuals enrolled in a night course in either auto body repair or welding. All volunteers were either working or actively looking for work at the time of the study. Unemployed individuals who were seeking work and not enrolled in higher education were originally included in the sample of working individuals with the rationale that unemployment is a factual component of the work world,

particularly in the young and semi-skilled worker. These were later dropped to allow for a more homogeneous group of working youth. All participants' native language was English, though some were bilingual. This was done to ensure that subjects were not from a different cultural population than upon that which the research measures were standardized.

Following the rating of each individual as to his ego identity status, 20 participants (11 college, 9 working) were dropped for lack of agreement between the two judges. Six more were dropped due to their being unemployed. The remaining sample consisted of 134 individuals, 71 college and 63 working. The mean age of all subjects was 21.3 with a S.D. of 1.27 (see Table 1).

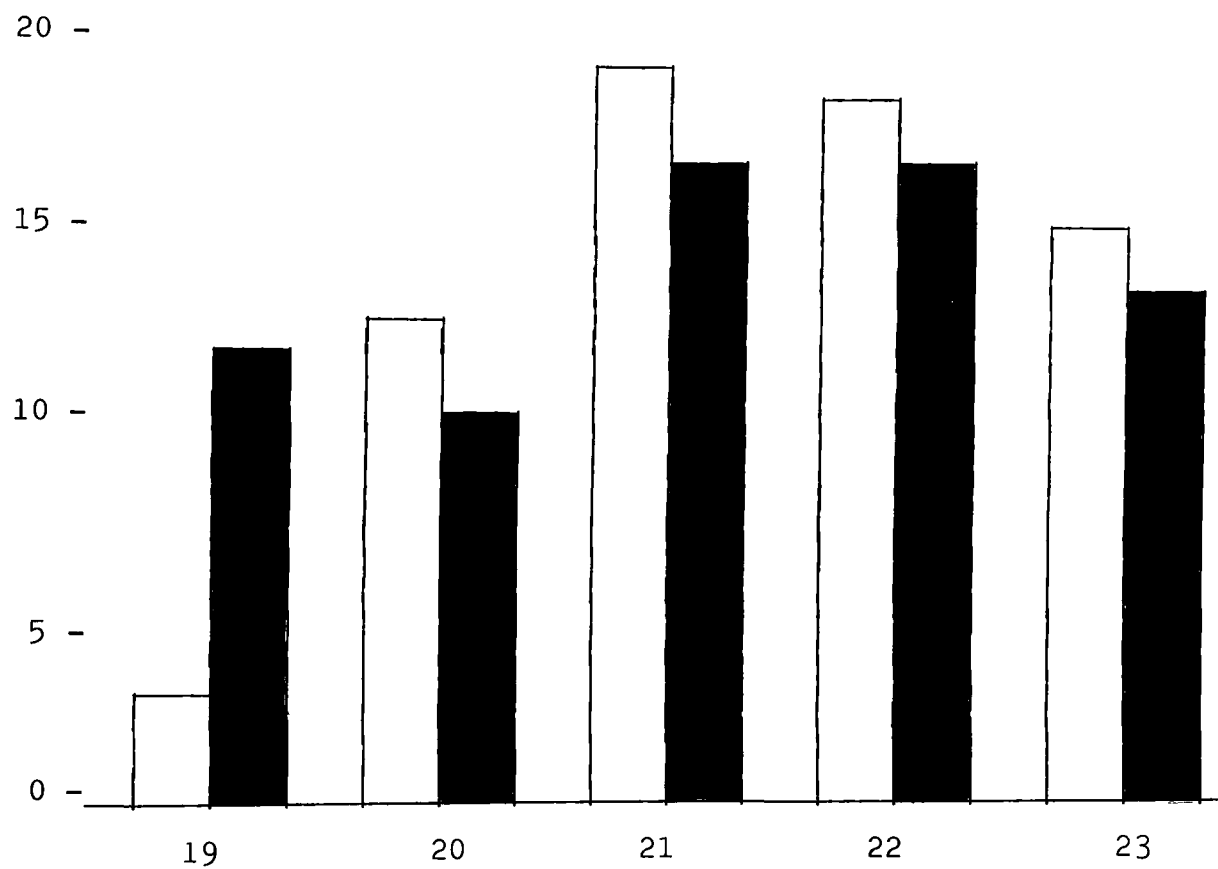
Measures

The four measures administered to all participants were the Ego Identity Status Interview (Marcia, 1964, 1966), the Adjustment Inventory (Bell, 1939, 1964), the Interpersonal Trust Scale (Rotter, 1967), and the Adjective Check List (Gough, 1960, 1965). The Blishen (1976) scale of socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada, (Table 2) as a measure of socioeconomic status, was included in the introductory questions of the Ego Identity Status Interview.

The Ego Identity Status scoring manual, which Marcia

Table 1

Distribution of Age

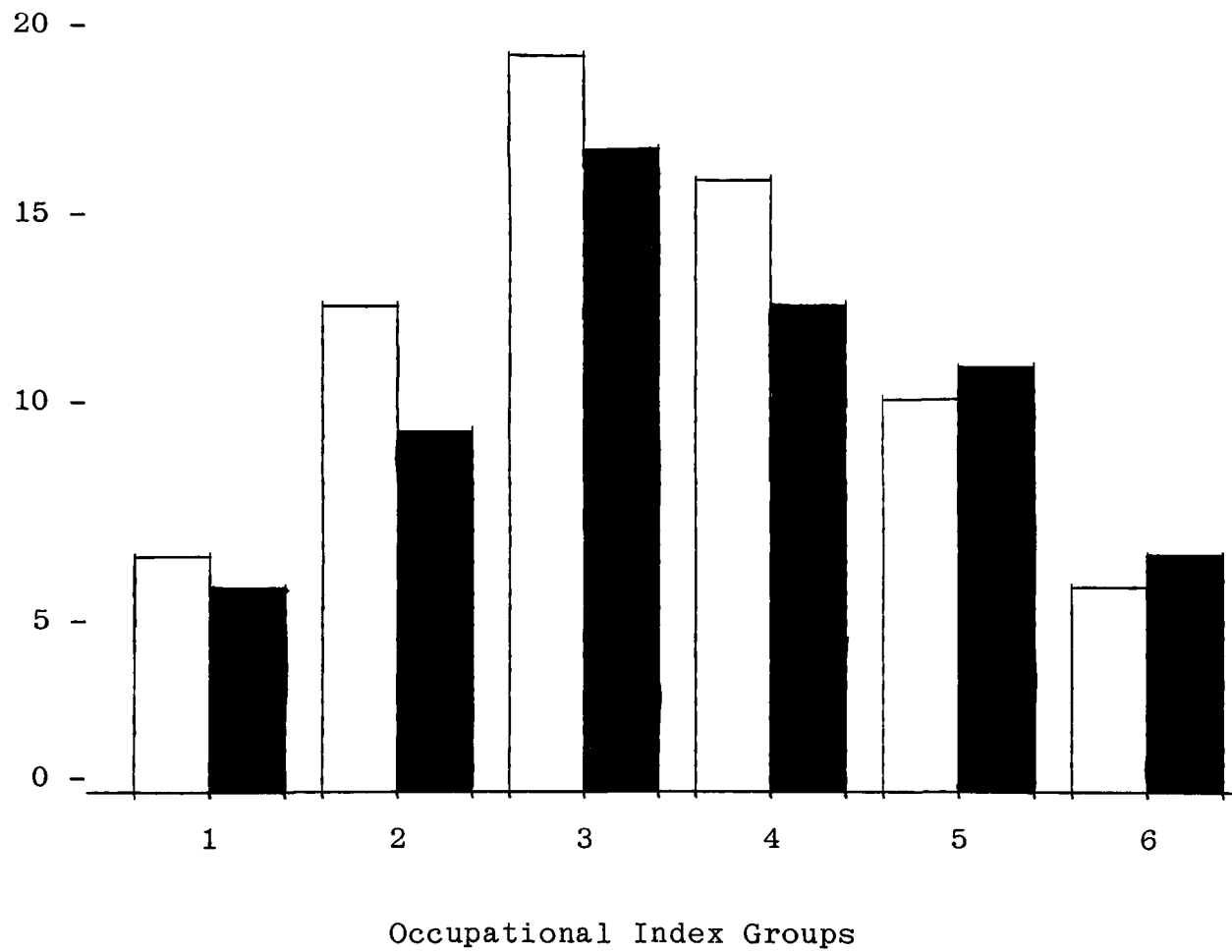


College =  N = 71

Work =  N = 63

Table 2

Distribution of SES Group



College =  N = 71

Work =  N = 69

(1964, 1966) developed, is based on the theoretical formulation of the four identity statuses and the empirical self-description of the individual. Interviews were tape recorded and the agreement of two judges were used as criteria for classification.

Interjudge reliability was originally established using two separate random samples for two different colleges. A 100% agreement among judges was used as the criterion and agreement of 70% and 75% was obtained. Additional research has shown increase in this initial inter-score reliability. An average of 80% was found for subsequent studies using either unanimous agreement or 2/3 agreement of three judges. (Table 3)

The validity of identity statuses was originally established by Marcia in two studies (1964, 1966). The first, having dealt with the development of the scoring manual for the interview, established concurrent validity. Marcia constructed the Ego Identity Incomplete Sentence Blank (EI-ISB) as an independent measure of identity, based upon hypothesized response correlates of identity achievement. Those in the identity achieved statuses were found to score highest and those in identity diffusion scored lowest. This measure of overall ego identity thus provided confirmation of the concurrent validity of the statuses. The second examined the relationship between the identity statuses and performance on a number of task variables; overall ego identity, concept attainment under stress, level of

Table 3

Inter-scorer Reliability for the Identity Status Interview

Investigator	Year	Number of Interviews	Number of Judges	Criterion	% of Agreement
Mahler, C.	1969	20	2	unanimity	85
Donovan, J.	1970	22	2	unanimity	79
Podd, M., Marcia, J.E. & Rubin, B.M.	1970	164	2	unanimity	73
Marcia, J.E. & Friedman, M.	1970	46	3	two-thirds	73
Waterman, A., & Waterman, C.	1970	92	2	unanimity	72
Waterman, A., Beubel, M. & Waterman, C.	1970	92	3	unanimity	75
Cross, H., & Allen, J.	1970	81	2	unanimity	83
Podd, M.	1972	134	3	two-thirds	85
Toder, N., & Marcia, J.	1972	20	3	two-thirds	87
Schenkel, S., & Marcia, J.	1972	91	3	two-thirds	90
Orlofsky, J., & Marcia, J.	1972	47	2	unanimity	83
Josselson, R.L.	1972	30	2	unanimity	90
Genthner, R.W. & Neuber, K.	1975	18	2	unanimity	94

* Marcia 1976, p.24

aspiration, degree of authoritarianism and self-esteem change. All measures except self-esteem change differentiated among the statuses. The self-esteem measure was determined to be unreliable due to the length of time between test-retest. A subsequent study by Marcia (1967) rectified this, and found that aspiration, degree of authoritarianism and self-esteem change. All measures except self-esteem change differentiated among the statuses. Marcia's initial studies were concerned with establishing some validity for the ego identity construct itself. The development of Marcia's measure has consequently offered both validity for the construct and a more differential and clearly operational technique for measuring ego identity resolution. The identity statuses have also established a more discriminating mode of identity resolution than have other measures.

Further validation studies. Over the last ten years research dealing with the identity statuses has established well their validity. Construct validity of the identity statuses has been shown in research dealing with statuses and intelligence (Marcia, 1966; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel, 1975) cognitive controls (Bob, 1967, 1968) and the personality correlated of self

esteem (Marcia, 1967; Breuer, 1973), moral reasoning (Podd, 1972), decision-making styles (Waterman and Waterman, 1974), defensive styles (Mahler, 1969), internal-external locus of control (Waterman, Beubel, and Waterman, 1970), cooperation and competition (Podd, Marcia, and Rubin, 1970), anxiety (Marcia 1967; Mahler, 1969).

A number of studies relating to college performance and the statuses were performed in the areas of scholastic achievement (Cross and Allen, 1970), change of major (Waterman and Waterman, 1972), change of status (Waterman and Waterman, 1971; Waterman, Geary and Waterman, 1974), psychosocial maturity (Waterman and Goldman, 1968), satisfaction in college (Waterman and Waterman, 1970), and drug use (Dufresne and Cross, 1972; Pack, Brill and Christie, 1976).

Sexual differences on the interview and between the statuses were investigated by Marcia and Friedman (1970), Toder and Marcia (1973), Schenkel (1975), Schenkel and Marcia (1972), and Orlofsky (1977). Developmental studies, dealing with the child rearing practices of parents and different statuses, were performed by Jordan (1970, 1972) and Cross and Allen (1970). Donovan (1970) integrated three conceptual areas in his research: theories of identity development, interpersonal style and object relatedness. These studies, using Marcia's measure, have not only supported the validity for the construct of ego identity and

the different approaches to its resolution, the ego identity statuses, but have also produced a large number of personality correlates and expected behaviours for the different statuses.

The Ego Identity Status Interview is a 30 minute semistructured interview (described previously) for determining ego identity status. The same outline questions are used for all interviews with deviations permitted to allow an examiner to more fully explore and clarify some areas for a more accurate rating.

Each interview is taped recorded for further classification. Two interviewers independently rated each interview according to Marcia's scoring manual (1964, 1966). The interview was rated according to two criteria: the presence or absence of a crisis or decision period, and the degree of commitment for the three areas of occupation, religion and politics. Each rating was then compared for agreement. Where there was disagreement as to an individual's status, the subject was dropped. This allowed for a greater degree of accuracy in determining the four ego identity types. Interjudge reliability between the two independent raters across the 160 subjects was 87.4%, yielding 140 final subjects.

A copy of the interview form and the manual for classification are presented in Appendix A.

The Adjustment Inventory (Appendix B), adult form, developed by Bell (1939, 1960) provides a measure of personal and social adjustment in the areas of home, health, social, emotion and occupation. Questions in these areas contribute to a total adjustment score. A low score is indicative of better adjustment. The Adjustment Inventory is a standardized self-report which contains questions about the individual's own behaviour and his experience of his environment. In the original validation studies items included in the inventory were those that differentiated between the upper and lower fifteen percent of the individuals in a distribution of adult scores. The Inventory showed a high degree of differentiation (.99) between individuals assessed as "well" adjusted and "poorly" adjusted by adult counselors (Bell 1939, 1960). No evidence was found relative to the contribution of social desirability to this measure. This instrument was selected within the context of the present research as a measure of general adjustment. The intended purpose of this measure in the present research was to provide an operational indicator of the extent to which an individual is adapting to his general environment.

The Interpersonal Trust Scale (ITS) (Appendix C) was developed by Rotter (1967) as a measure of generalized expectancy of trust. It is designed to measure a person's generalized expectancy that the word or promise of another

individual or group, with regard to their future behaviour, can be relied on. The development of a generalized attitude of trust is seen by Rotter as learned directly from the behaviour and verbal statements of parents and other important social agents. The ITS deals with classes of significant social agents whose behaviour could effect the subjects life. The subject is asked to express his trust for such social agents as parents, teachers, politicians, news media, etc. The ITS was formed to correlate $r=.29$ with the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale. This low correlation suggests that trust is a socially desirable trait and that social approval is somewhat related to trust of others, but the total amount of variance in the test scale accounted for by social approval motive is considered relatively small. The scale is a self-report test and consists of 25 trust items with 15 filler items, added to obscure the purpose of the test. It is an additive test of the five point Likert-type format, in which a high score demonstrates trust for a great variety of social agents.

The construct validity of the scale has been demonstrated by a number of studies in its ability to predict complex trust related behaviour (Rotter 1967; Katz and Rotter, 1969; Massari & Rosenblum, 1972). A study by Wright and Tedeschi (1975) found items on the ITS to be comparable to Erikson's formulation of basic trust. The items specified refer to the

trustworthiness of parents and other benign authorities which appears to be initiated and formed within the family at an early stage of development and have a modifying effect on later development. They viewed these items as measuring and related to this early fundamental aspect of trust.

The ITS was used in this research as a measure of the degree of trust associated with basic trust developing from Erikson's first stage of development, as it is manifested by a generalized trusting attitude toward important agents in society. As such, it is used here as an operational indication of the quality of the individual's interpersonal adjustment with the social environment.

The Adjective Check List (ACL) (Appendix D) was developed by Gough (1960, 1965). It is a list of 300 adjectives that are frequently used to describe personal attributes. The test is a standardized self-report check list. The items are classified as either "favourable", "neutral", or "unfavourable", descriptive adjectives. Of the 300, 75 were judged "favourable", 150 "neutral", and 75 "unfavourable".

The formula, developed for this scale by Gough (1950), is the proportion of all the adjectives checked that are classified as "favourable", divided by the total number of adjectives checked, yielding a percentage score. Those scoring high are considered to have a relatively "more favourable" self-

concept than those scoring low.

In the original validation studies a low correlation of $-.15$ was found between the self-acceptance scale and the self-criticality scale, comprised of the unfavourable adjectives, for two sample groups. The self-acceptance scale was found to have a high positive correlation with the self-acceptance scale of the California Personality Inventory. A $-.40$ correlation with the Welsh anxiety scale was found (Gough, 1964, p.21). The self-acceptance scale was found to correlate $r=.36$ with Edward's Social Desirability Scale in a sample of males. The self-acceptance scale has been found to correlate $.69$ with high ego identity on a overall measure of ego identity (Rasmussen, 1964).

The self acceptance scale, from the ACL, was used in the present research as a measure of self-concept. The self concept construct is used, then, as an indicator of what Erikson describes as the integration and organization of self percepts. In Erikson's view self-concept is central to identity formation. The extent to which the self-concept is developed and positively weighted is seen as important to a positive psychosocial adjustment. Erikson emphasizes the importance of the self-concept in increasing the development of an adequate identity.

The revised Blishen (1967, 1976) socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada was used as the measure of socioeconomic status. This index assigns a score to 484

occupations based upon Blishen's computation of regression weighted values for income level, educational status and prestige rating for each of the included occupations. The technique is based upon data from the 1971 census conducted by Statistics Canada. In the present study the ordinal scale for determining class membership formulated by Blishen was employed, using the ten digit score from the individual index value, subjects were assigned to one of six ordinal groupings. Class I consists of subjects whose socioeconomic score is 70 or above, that is high socioeconomic status. Class II contains subjects scoring 60.00 to 69.99; Class III scores 50.00 to 59.99; Class IV is 40.00 to 49.99; Class V consists of scores of 30.00 to 39.99; and finally, Class VI consists of scores below 30.00 and is therefore the lowest socioeconomic level (see Appendix E). The question as to the occupation of the subject's parents was included in the introductory questions of the Ego Identity Status Interview (Appendix A). A measure of the parents SES was used because college students would all fall in the lowest category reflecting a homogeneous state of affairs. Furthermore, the SES of the parents would seem at this juncture of development more likely to influence the development of ego identity. A measure of SES was included in the present study in order to clarify the effect of potential differences in SES on any of the measures, particularly context.

Procedure

The ego identity status interview was individually administered to each participant according to the procedure indicated in Marcia's manual. The examiners were either the writer or a second doctoral student familiar with interviewing techniques and testing procedures. Each interview was tape recorded for rating by each examiner. Each examiner was unaware of the decisions of the other. Furthermore, neither had any knowledge of the outcome of the dependent measures, as they were administered at a later time.

Following the administration of the Ego Identity Status Interview subjects were placed in another private office. The three paper and pencil questionnaires were administered in one session following each interview. Instructions for each of the three tests were the standard instructions which accompany each questionnaire. An examiner was on hand to answer any questions during testing. The Adjustment Inventory was administered first, followed by the Interpersonal Trust Scale and the Adjective Check List. No time limit was imposed for any of the questionnaires. The approximate testing time for all measures was one hour.

The college students were tested first, during a two week period. One week from the end of that period the working individuals were tested during another two week period.

On the basis of agreement in independent ratings by the two examiner-judges, each individual was placed in one of the four ego identity statuses. The criteria used were from the Interview Manual. The presence or absence of crisis and commitment for each of the three areas: occupation, religion and politics, were assessed and rated according to the criteria for each status. Religion and politics are combined to yield ideology. A single overall status rating is then given the individual. Subjects were dropped if the two judges disagreed as to the status or if a final judgement could not be rendered. This allowed for a greater degree of accuracy in categorizing subjects as to their status. Of the original 160 subjects, twenty-six were dropped, giving a final sample of 134 subjects. The Adjustment Inventory and the Interpersonal Trust Scale were scored by computer according to their standard scoring and the formula for the Self-Acceptance Scale of the Adjective Check List was hand scored according to Gough's (1950) standard method.

Statistical analysis. To test the first hypothesis and compare the frequency of occurrence of the statuses in the two contexts a Chi square test of independence was employed. This was followed by three two way analysis of variance performed on each of the three dependent measures with two levels of context and four levels of status. This was conducted with unequal N's.

A discriminant function analysis was lastly performed to clarify the relative contribution of each of the three predictive variables of psychosocial adjustment in distinguishing among the four criterion variables of status.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The analysis of the gathered data was first assessed as to the effect, if any, of SES upon all measures. The testing of the research hypothesis then followed. Subsequent to testing the research hypotheses, a discriminant analysis was carried out to clarify the meaning of earlier findings.

Assessment of Relationship of SES

In order to assess the relationship between SES and either the college or work context, a point biserial correlation was calculated ($p_b = .091, N = 134$). No significant relationship was demonstrated between the two.

This was followed by a coefficient of contingency correlation (X^2) between SES and the ego identity statuses. This also produced no significant results ($C = -.07, N = 134$).

To further establish whether SES had any influence on the variables in this study, a Spearman's rank coefficient of correlation was performed between SES and each of the three dependent measures. No systematic relationship was found between SES and the Adjustment Inventory ($p = .10, N = 134$), the ITS ($p = -.042, N = 134$), or the ACL ($p = -.07, N = 134$).

Assessment of the Role of Context

The first array of participants consisted of 134 male individuals between 19 and 23 years old: 71 college, 63 working. Based on their response to the Ego Identity Status Interview, individuals were assigned to one of the four status groups.

To determine whether any of the four statuses occur with significantly more frequency in either of the two contexts, a Chi square test of independence was subsequently performed. There was no significant difference found in the distribution of statuses between the two contexts (Table 4).

In order to investigate the ability of the ITS (trust) to differentiate between the contexts of college and work, and the four statuses, a two way analysis of variance, with two levels of context and four levels of status, was performed. The third hypothesis, that context affects the level of trust and the sixth hypothesis that the statuses affect the level of trust, were investigated together. The two way analysis of variance carried out on the ITS scores showed that the scale did not significantly differentiate between levels of independent variables: context or status (Table 5). The power of this contrast for context, using the Cohen (1969) method was approximately .35 and the power of the contrast for status was .50.

The second hypothesis, stating that individuals within the college group will demonstrate a different level of general

TABLE 4

INCIDENCE OF STATUSES WITHIN CONTEXT

	ACHIEVED	MORATORIUM	FORECLOSED	DIFFUSED
WORKING	16	18	14	15
COLLEGE	20	23	14	14
df=3 $\chi^2 = .831$ N=134				

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE OF THE
ITS SCORES BY CONTEXT AND STATUS (N=134)

SOURCE	df	SS	MS	F
CONTEXT	1	52.832	52.832	.934
STATUS	3	151.106	50.368	.890
CONTEXT/ STATUS	3	153.989	51.329	.907
ERROR	124	7012.01	56.54	

adjustment than the working group and the fifth hypothesis stating that the level of general adjustment will differentiate among statuses, were tested together. The two way analysis of variance with the two levels of context and four levels of status, was performed on the Adjustment Inventory scores and showed no significant difference on these scores produced by context. The resulting values, as seen in Table 6, do show a significant status effect upon adjustment scores. There was no significant interaction between context and status. The power of the context contrast using the Cohen (1969) method was .50.

A post hoc analysis of the statuses main effect, using the Scheffe test ($p \leq .05$), showed significant differences (Table 7). The achieved and foreclosed groups scoring highest were significantly different from the moratorium and diffused groups. Achieved and foreclosed were not significantly different from each other, nor were the moratorium from the diffused.

For the purpose of assessing the fourth hypothesis concerning the ability of self-acceptance to differentiate between the contexts of college and work and the seventh hypothesis concerning the ability of self-acceptance in differentiating among the statuses, a two by four two-way analysis of variance was initiated on the scores of the Self-Acceptance Scale of the ACL. There were no significant effects for context, nor was there any significant interaction

TABLE 6
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE OF THE
ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY SCORES BY
CONTEXT AND STATUS (N=134)

SOURCE	df	SS	MS	F
CONTEXT	1	364.996	364.996	2.102
STATUS	3	7702.815	2567.605	14.792**
CONTEXT/ STATUS	3	26.697	8.899	.051
ERROR	124	21523.303	173.575	

** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 7

SCHEFFE POST HOC ANALYSIS OF
ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY STATUS MEANS ($p \leq .05$)

SUBSET	GROUP	X
1	FORECLOSED	19.024
	ACHIEVED	23.891
2	MORATORIUM	34.936
	DIFFUSED	38.538

between context and status (Table 8). The power of this context contrast using the Cohen (1969) method was less than .25. A significant difference was obtained in self-acceptance scores among statuses.

A post hoc analysis of the statuses main effect, using the Scheffe test ($p \leq .05$), showed significant differences only between achievement and diffusion subjects with foreclosed scoring highest (see Table 9). Individuals in the achieved and foreclosed statuses are not significantly different from each other. The moratorium and diffused individuals were also not significantly different from each other. Those in the achieved group are also not significantly different from the moratorium, but are significantly different from the diffused subjects.

In order to assess the relationships among all of the dependent measures Pearson product-moment correlations were carried out. The coefficient of determination was computed in order to evaluate the communiality of shared variances of each of the three dependent measures. The Interpersonal Trust Scale correlates significantly negatively ($r = -.31$) with the Bell Adjustment Inventory at the .01 level of probability indicating a common variance of .09. This indicates that 9% of the variance in each of these two measures is accounted for by the variance in the other measure. The negative correlation between the Bell

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLE OF THE
ACL SCORES BY CONTEXT AND STATUS (N=134)

SOURCE	df	SS	MS	F
CONTEXT	1	.001	.001	.025
STATUS	3	1.153	.384	9.608**
CONTEXT/ STATUS	3	.159	.053	1.325
ERROR	124	4.989	.040	

** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 9

SCHEFFE POST HOC ANALYSIS OF
THE ACL STATUS MEANS ($p \leq .05$)

SUBSET	GROUP	X
1	DIFFUSED	.809
	MORATORIUM	.924
2	MORATORIUM	.915
	ACHIEVED	1.024
3	ACHIEVED	1.024
	FORECLOSED	1.032

Adjustment Inventory and the Adjective Check List was ($r = -.35$) significant at the .001 level of probability, indicating a common variance of .12 or a 12% communality of variance. A significant correlation between the Interpersonal Trust Scale and the Adjective Check List was also demonstrated ($r = .26$) with a coefficient of determination of .07. Thus the dependent measures demonstrate a small but significant relationship with each other. The small amount of the shared variance indicates that they are predominately independent measures.

In order to evaluate the relative contribution of each of the three dependent variables in distinguishing among the four identity statuses, a discriminant analysis was performed, using Wilks' lambda criterion with 3 and 131 degrees of freedom. In the first step of analysis the variable ITS was dropped as not discriminating between groups. The Adjustment Inventory and the ACL remained as the optimal set of variables. Two discriminant functions were computed and the eigenvalues are shown in Table 10, as are the standardized and unstandardized discriminant function coefficients. Of the total sample 42.14% were correctly classified.

In summary, the role of socioeconomic status was explored by correlation with each of the dependent and independent measures. No significant effect was found for the socioeconomic level. The frequency of occurrence of the ego

identity statuses was tested with a Chi square test of independence. No significant difference in the distribution of the statuses was found between the two contexts of college and work. The independent measures of context and status were investigated together for possible differences on each of the three dependent measures. Three two-way analyses of variance were executed. None of the three dependent measures showed any significant differences for context. There were significant differences for status. The Adjustment Inventory differentiated between two groups: foreclosed and achieved, and moratorium and diffused. The self-acceptance scale of the ACL differentiated between three groups, foreclosed and achieved, moratorium and diffused, and achieved and moratorium. The third dependent measure the ITS was found not to differentiate between statuses.

TABLE 10
 DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS TABLE OF EGO IDENTITY STATUS
 BY ITS, ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY, AND ACL
 DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION	EIGENVALUES	PERCENTAGE	CANONICAL CORRELATION	DERIVED
1	.409	97.28	.539	0
2	.011	2.78	.106	1

STANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

	FUNCTION 1	FUNCTION 2
ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY	.708	.852
ACL	- .464	1.006

UNSTANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENT

	FUNCTION 1	FUNCTION 2
ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY	.045	.054
ACL	- 2.185	4.376
CONSTANT	.731	-6.113

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings reported in the previous chapter, relates these findings to earlier research and attempts to draw inferences for the theoretical framework upon which the research is based. A subsection is also included which evaluates the presented research with an emphasis upon the implication for future inquiry followed by a summary and conclusion.

Discussion of Results

In order to clarify the generalizability of the presented data an initial analysis of the data was done to assess the possible impact of socio- economic status on the experimental measures. Socio-economic status was not found to show a relationship to any of the experimental measures. Neither context nor identity status bore any relationship to socioeconomic level. There was also no major influence of SES upon the three dependent measures: the Interpersonal Trust Scale, the Bell Adjustment Inventory and the Adjective Check List.

The first research hypothesis stated that the ego identity statuses would show a difference in the frequencies

with which they occur in the two contexts of college and work. This hypothesis was not accepted, because no significant differences in the frequency of the statuses were demonstrated. Neither context produces a disproportionate number of individuals from any of the statuses. The fact that neither context yields any significant differences in status distribution raises more questions than it answers. If the ego identity outcome in the context of college is not different from a work context, as was found for the age span of 19-23, then one must ask if the development of identity formation is the same in both contexts. If not, at what point does the working group differ in its resolution of the identity crisis.

The importance of the finding that ego identity statuses were not different in their frequency of occurrence between the two contexts is made clearer when discussed together with the following results.

One of the main objectives of this study was to demonstrate a difference in impact on psychosocial adjustment by the college and work context. The research attempted to show that the context in which an individual was living would have a significant effect upon his psychosocial adjustment, as measured by its three specified components: trust, general adjustment, and self-concept. In testing each of the hypotheses in this regard, focusing on the role of context, no significant differences were

found between the two contexts on the three dependent measures. Subjects in neither context displayed significant differences in their general adjustment, level of trust or self acceptance. The power of these contrasts, however, never exceeds 50% which suggests that the measures employed require a substantially greater number of subjects in order to discern the actual presence of real differences. That is, each of the measures used is fairly weak in its discriminatory capability.

In the present study, college, per se, does not manifest a profound effect on the psychosocial adjustment of those within this context, when compared with those in a work context. Even though college has been thought to offer a positive setting for identity formation, it has not been shown to produce any more psychosocial health than does a working context. This is seen in the findings of both the absence of differences on all the psychosocial adjustment measures, as seen in Tables 5, 6, and 7, and in the absence of differences between the contexts in the frequency of the more positive statuses (achievement and moratorium) and the less positive statuses (foreclosed and diffused) (Table 4). These findings are difficult to interpret due to the low statistical power emanating from the dependent measures used. These two investigated contexts may conceptually differ in the amount and kind of support they seem to offer, but experimentally this has not been demonstrated, from the

individuals emerging from these two contexts. If there is in fact any difference between these two broad contexts they may be other than those explored by this study.

The findings that neither context differs in fostering better ego identity formation or a more positive psychosocial adjustment elicit a number of possible alternative explanations. The theoretical position of Erikson relating to the mutual interaction of the individual with his social environment in the process of ego development, though clinically observed, has as yet to be experimentally demonstrated. This of course is not a sound reason for rejecting his view that contexts differ in their support of development.

Erikson, however, has also often been criticized by psychoanalytic writers because his conceptualization of ego identity encompasses so many more different perspectives than seen in other personality-theoretical concepts that it lacks a theoretical precision many require if a concept is to be operationalized. The Eriksonian theory developed in the 1950's addresses many elements of the identity process which may be considered lacking sufficient detail. This may contribute to the difficulty in adequately addressing the complexities and subtlety of modern adolescence in identity formation.

Two broadly defined contexts have been compared in

the present study to determine if they differ in their effect upon the formation of identity and psychosocial adaptation. The fact that neither context was found to differ may be due more to the global definition of "context" employed than to any theoretical basis. The acceptance of environment as a determinant of behavior by social psychological theorists has very often been too global and has, for the most part, been implicit rather than explicit (Bevan, 1967). Wohlwill (1970) points out how the concept has been most often used to refer to a diverse set of conditions of experience "ranging from attendance in nursery school to socialization practices of parents; from the provisions for practice on training in a task to the role of culture or society in a global sense." (p.304) He further notes that the role of environment has almost invariably referred to social or interpersonal influence or to effects ascribed to the milieu in an unspecified sense. The answers to the questions posed in this study relative to the role of context, therefore, need a comprehensive investigation that would address the complicated interactions among a long list of variables that interact upon the adolescent. Erikson views ego development as a step by step expansion of the individual's capacities and social radius. Each stage, beginning with the singular relationship of mother to child in the first stage, increases the complexity of the individual's interaction with the social environment. By the

fifth stage of development the individual interacts with a large array of important facets of his environment, each offering a particular dimension of support to ego formation. Both college and work have many subenvironments that may differ both within and between contexts. Contexts, therefore, may be more specific than previously assumed. Perhaps to be able to demonstrate the definite effects of a context, it would be necessary to view a narrower, more carefully defined environment. There is probably as much difference from school to school and teacher to teacher in a college context as there is from job to job and boss to boss in a work context. Holland (1962) has suggested in his work on occupational development and achievement that effective organizations, whether college or industry, play a major role in generating effective careers for individuals and, therefore, it is likely that the psychological context the organization provides is a major factor in career satisfaction, progress and effectiveness. Two positions with the same title in different companies or the same major in different universities will be very different because of the environmental differences each organization produces. It may very well be that the quality of the context depends on how functional and supportive are its parts in relation to the whole experience.

The elements of a philosophically "ideal" context may be the nurturers of identity achievement, rather than an actual

college or work experience per se. For example, the opportunity for a guided exploration of life's alternatives may occur in a variety of settings and may not occur in a given college or work experience. Consequently, the psychosocially beneficial environment may be more abstract in meaning and more individually specific in application, than a single social institution in the conventional sense. In the same way, the psychosocially beneficial environment for trust development is not motherhood. It rather, embodies the abstract notion of "mothering" that in individual application may be provided by not only a natural mother, but also by father, relative and even biological strangers. The concept deals with the quality of the institution, regardless of who one interacts with specifically. Perhaps, for example, the context or institution of college may in this sense be similar to motherhood. What is proposed is that the psychosocial institution which could be most supportive of ego identity may be "colleging" rather than college. That is, an environmental attitude which supports and encourages the exploration, testing and integration of identity achievement. Future research may be fruitfully directed at discovering and describing those environmental phenomena which constitute effective methods of supporting the identity crisis in college or any other context.

College has been discussed as a context that should

ideally offer support, time to explore life alternatives and facilitate development of a more positive identity than any other context. Erikson (1963), Marcia (1976) and Waterman (1979) all stress the possible favorable atmosphere college could offer for identity resolution and formation. Marcia (1976) discussing the college context in terms of its potential for maximizing support for the identity crisis also points to areas that he sees as potentially psychologically harmful. He suggests that forcing students into narrow curriculum (over-professionalization) in the first two years and the over emphasis on grades rather than the learning process deter the identity formation process as well as the effectiveness of college. Erikson (1963) also notes the opportunities to evaluate one's choices and direction without making a premature commitment are potentially offered by a college context. He, also, though, points to the possible detrimental effect a prolonged education and delayed commitment and entry into adulthood have. The apparent positive aspects of college may, therefore be overshadowed by an overextended adolescence and clouded by the production emphasis of modern education.

Entering the work world with full time employment has traditionally been seen as the means of being accepted into the adult world. Joining the work force can be considered as a termination of the psychosocial moratorium that initiates

movement toward a rapid conclusion of identity formation. This view is supported by the work of Munro and Adams (1977) who found working youth more committed to an identity than college students. Further analysis found college and work to have the same degree of occupational commitment while they differed sharply on ideological commitment suggesting that they may not be as different as first indicated. This difference can be explained by the varying atmospheres of the two contexts with college allowing considerable freedom of thought and offering a variety of ideological perspectives to consider. College can be viewed as a more open and flexible system which allows additional time and freedom to ponder ideological alternatives. The context of work does not foster such rigorous scrutiny of philosophical alternatives, perhaps rendering a shorter, less complex search for ideological commitments for its youth.

Accepting the implications of this study's findings also leads to the possibility that each context contains the necessary elements for identity formation and psychosocial adaptation. The fact that the present research consistently finds no difference between the college and work contexts suggests that not only does the Marcia measure lend itself to use with individuals in the work context, but it would seem that the notion of ego identity statuses which are the foundation of the Marcia measure may apply equally well to youth in both contexts.

Furthermore, in contemporary society the environment of college and early work may be more similar than they have been in the past. Modern college environment has undergone a decreased emphasis in liberal arts and an increased emphasis in professional and technical training. Similarly, there are increased demands for training and technical expertise in the work environment.

Another important feature when comparing college and work individuals, is self-selection. Potential differences between the two contexts may be in areas not explored in the present study in that there may be great differences between those who choose to attend college from those who choose to enter the work world directly. The fact that subjects assign themselves into groups on the basis of only one variable, here college or work, allows for the possibility of other variables influencing this study. It may be that one or more of the characteristics that cause someone to choose going to college rather than work, such as learning styles, motivation, family background, or values, may influence the experimental outcome. More careful investigation is, therefore, needed to clarify and differentiate the nature of self-selection of and actual role of context as theorized by Erikson.

A third objective of the research was to demonstrate that the three dependent measures comprising psychosocial

adjustment would differentiate between the identity statuses. All participants were assigned to their identity status independently of context.

In testing hypothesis six it was predicted that generalized trust, as measured by the Rotter ITS, would differentiate between the four identity statuses. No significant differences were shown. None of the identity statuses were shown to be more trusting than any other. The research findings in the area of trust and identity are somewhat conflicting. The present finding is supported by an earlier study by Waterman, Beubel, and Waterman (1970), who in testing for the level of trust with the Rotter ITS, divided the statuses into high and low ego identity groups. They found no significant difference on the ITS, but offered no possible explanation of their results. Tan et al. (1977) shortened the ITS to 10 items and correlated this abbreviated scale with a molar measure of ego identity. No significant relationship was found. Though trust, as measured by the ITS, does not appear to correlate with ego identity, another measure of trust, the basic trust subscale of the Erikson Measure of Personality Development (Constantinople, 1969) was found to have a significant relationship to the ego identity statuses in two studies (LeVoie 1976; Waterman, C.K. et al 1970).

Within the present study the statistical power of the contrasts between ego identity statuses employing ITS were

moderately low. This suggests that the ITS is perhaps not the best measure in view of its weakness for discerning differences between the statuses in the area of trust. None of the other studies that attempted to assess the relationship between the ITS and the Ego Identity Statuses reported the power of their non-significant contrasts. Since there are no other measures currently available to measure trust directly, future researchers may wish to explore this dimension and, therefore, should be aware of the necessity for a substantial increase in experimental group size. It is also possible, that the instrument used in this study as an operational measure of trust was measuring a different variable than the basic trust referred to by Erikson. The Rotter measure is based on social learning theory, which is dissimilar in several major respects from psychoanalytic theory.

While Erikson focuses upon the affective interpersonal process from the ego psychoanalytic model, Rotter's interest lies in the conditioned differences of social interaction as viewed from the social learning matrix. Erikson hoped to define the most dominant characteristics in human development, whereas Rotter looks to generalized tendencies of behavior. The development of trust for Erikson begins with early bodily experiences which provide the basis for a psychological state of trust and includes joint experience and mutual regulation of frustration as essential components of identifi-

cation in establishing a basic sense of trust. Trust for Rotter develops with learned expectancies from specific experiences which are then generalized to novel situations to guide behavior. Erikson also sees trust as the development of a sense of expectancy but through a mixture of trust and mistrust. Each successful outcome of trust produces favorable expectations of new experiences but each experience will also offer occasions for mistrust. For Erikson, trust is an inner experience; for Rotter, a subjective expectation of a future behavior.

Clearly, trust is a complex phenomenon and as such it is obviously difficult to measure by conventional means. The Rotter technique is the most widely research measure currently available. While it has been pointed out that the ITS is somewhat related, (Wright and Tedeschi, 1975) it perhaps does not do justice to Erikson's construct of basic trust. Basic trust is a complex construct which incorporates not only the assumption about the trustworthiness of society but also the trustworthiness of oneself, as well as the ability to balance mistrust to the point of being capable of knowing that trust is not always warranted. It must be pointed out that Rotter's measure of trust assumes what would be considered "naive trust". On his questionnaire the maximum number of points are given for answering question items in the direction of absolute trust. This, therefore, does not incorporate a potentially critical element of

Erikson's notion of basic trust: that is the trust-mistrust ratio.

It was predicted in hypothesis five that achieved and moratorium status subjects will achieve the highest scores on general adjustment followed by foreclosed and diffused men. The results of this study provide partial support for the above hypothesis in that the following comparisons were significant. The two groups that emerged were comprised of first the foreclosed and achieved individuals, those scoring a high degree of adjustment, and second, a group consisting of the moratorium and diffused individuals, indicating a significantly lower adjustment (Table 6). The foreclosed were highest in general adjustment but not significantly different than the achieved. The moratorium were higher than the diffused and were significantly different from the foreclosed and achieved.

The findings that the foreclosed scored with the achieved and the moratorium with the diffused is not surprising in light of the past research. Both Donovan (1970) and Mahler (1969) found those in the foreclosed statuses to have a repressive defensive style of dealing with anxiety producing material and situations. This defensive style of the foreclosed, characterized by reluctance to admit feelings of anxiety or permit awareness of disturbing thoughts, emerged clearly from the results of Mahler's study. It follows that, on a self-report

adjustment test it would be most unlikely that a foreclosed individual would respond in any way that would acknowledge unpleasant ideas or elicit anxious feelings. The moratoriums on the other hand were viewed in the same studies as reflective, more open and with a greater ability to describe their feelings. Yet, they have also been described as insecure, changeable, personalizing issues and ambivalent. Bob (1969), Marcia (1970) and Mahler (1967) have all found the moratorium individual to have the greatest degree of anxiety of all the statuses. In the light of the ongoing identity conflict within the moratorium, and their openness concerning their feelings, it is understandable that a moratorium individual would report a greater degree of maladjustment than a foreclosed individual and also experience a greater degree of maladjustment than would an achieved individual.

The status array also indicates the degree of commitment. The foreclosed and achieved men are committed to life goals and identify with a personal set of values, while the moratorium and diffused are both uncommitted to any occupation or firm belief system. The foreclosed, though committed, has acquiesced to his parents choices and values without reevaluating them for himself, thus avoiding a crises. His commitment is firm but rigid. The moratorium is uncommitted and vague, due to his active search for a career and goals to be committed to. The

diffused, on the other hand, is detached and withdrawn from commitment. Those who manifest commitment, then, display better overall self-reported adjustment, than those characterized by the absence of such a stable commitment.

The Self-Acceptance Scale of the ACL, used to measure the degree of positive or negative self-conception, was hypothesized as being able to differentiate between the statuses. It was predicted in hypothesis seven that the achieved and moratorium individuals would achieve the highest scores with the foreclosed and diffused achieving the lowest. This hypothesis was partially supported, as seen in Table 5, by the present investigation. The three groups that were derived (varying from the most to the least adjusted in self-concept) consisted of: 1) foreclosed and achievement, 2) achievement and moratorium, and 3) moratorium and diffusion. The achievement was not significantly different from either the foreclosed or the moratorium and the moratorium was not significantly different from the diffused. The results follow a similar, but more differentiated pattern than was seen with the Adjustment Inventory. The foreclosed individual scored highest and the diffused the lowest.

That the foreclosed individual should have scored higher than, but not significantly different from those in the achieved status, and yet not similarly to the diffused, as would

be in accord with the conceptual framework of the statuses, is consistent with their description from previous research. Marcia (1967) in an early study found no significant differences among the statuses on his initial self-esteem measure. He stated that, given previous findings of foreclosed individuals' tendency to set extraordinary and unreasonably high goals for themselves and using a variable that could be described as a measure of the subjects "tendency to say good things about himself", the foreclosed could be predicted to obtain the highest scores on a measure of self-concept.

The ACL can easily be described as a measure that reflects a subject's tendency to give a positive description of himself, and which may have as its motivation a strong desire to impress others. Gough (1950) stated that high scoring subjects on the self-acceptance scale have a sincere concern with behaving appropriately and with doing one's duty. This description fits well with the foreclosed individual, who has a strong need for approval, displays an unrealistically high level of achievement, endorses authoritarian values, always wants to look well, and has an inflated self-concept (Marcia 1976).

The ambivalent position of the moratorium of not being significantly different from either the achieved or diffused, does not detract from earlier conclusions for this status. In fact, it would appear to strengthen them. Those in the moratorium

status are conceptualized as being closer to the identity achieved individual, than with the foreclosed or diffused individual, due to their positive striving toward commitment and resolution. The research has also shown them to be similar to the achieved on most measures.

Why moratorium individuals would then also be similar to diffused individual on a measure of self-acceptance can be answered by previous findings. The tendency of moratorium individuals to introspect, viewed in conjunction with their high anxiety level, would, perhaps, be enough to lower their self-acceptance scores. Of all statuses, moratorium individuals feel most acutely the insecurity of their position.

According to Marcia (1976), when one evaluates adolescents along the dimension of commitment alone, two groups emerge: the committed and the uncommitted. These groups are equivalent to Erikson's identity achieved and identity diffused. In his initial research Marcia (1964) found that the committed group contained two types, which he labelled identity achieved and foreclosed statuses and the uncommitted group contained two types, also, which he called moratorium and diffused statuses. This commitment dichotomy is clearly reflected in the two levels of the psychosocial adjustment found in the present study.

Only the statuses of identity achieved and identity diffused truly reflect the ego identity resolutions continuum.

The foreclosed do not seem to even enter into the identity development phase, preferring to retain their parentally given identity. Thus, if the foreclosed perceived himself as poorly adjusted or lacking self-esteem, he would not remain foreclosed. The moratorium, on the other hand, are in the throes of the crisis portion of identity development and have yet to resolve their identity in either direction. Consequently, it seems that to assess the adjustment of those statuses whose identity is not yet resolved on a continuum with those whose identity is resolved, does not take the meaning of Erikson's concept of ego identity properly into account. What the present study fails to demonstrate is the dimension of crisis, which separates the foreclosed from the achieved and the moratorium from the diffused. This may be due to the fact that Marcia's statuses seem to reflect coping styles in the face of adolescent crises rather than degrees of resolution. The measures of the components of psychosocial adjustment employed in this study were all subjective self-report instruments of perceived adjustment. Had the measures included a more objective dimension within the assessment of psychosocial adjustment, it is possible that the element of crisis would have emerged. This is especially true when one considers that both self-report instruments, (i.e. Bell, ACL), are not corrected for socially desirable response set.

Evaluation of the Present Study.

This section will critically evaluate certain aspects

and qualifications of the present research. An assessment of some important methodological features will be made, and some of the implications for future research will be considered.

The results obtained in this study are reflective only of the two populations sampled. The college sample were English speaking third and fourth year males between the ages of 19 and 23, from a bilingual university. Volunteers were solicited from a wide variety of classes to ensure obtaining as representative a college population as possible. The working population was indicative only of English speaking males between the ages of 19 and 23. The majority were employed in a variety of bilingual government agencies, while others were employed in various jobs in Ottawa while attending evening trade classes. All subjects were volunteers who agreed to participate without receiving monetary incentive. There of course could have been a selection factor operating between those who volunteered and those who did not. It may be that different results would have been obtained from non-volunteers, from volunteers who were paid for their time, or from individuals from another university or job setting. Therefore, the results of this study can only be generalized to this type of population.

The sampling procedure which includes those individuals with whom the Marcia Ego Identity Interview has demonstrated validity, that is, males between the ages of 19-23

seems adequate. The inclusion of a broad spectrum of parental SES lends heterogeneity to the sample on this dimension which extends its generalizability in that regard. The selection procedure for individuals to be included in the college groups seems adequate. The sampling for individuals to be included in the work group, however, does not seem ideal. The inclusion of evening vocational community college students, in spite of the fact that each was employed full time, seems somewhat contaminating. The groups of college and work would be more clearly dichotomous were those individuals eliminated from the work sample. Finally, given the use of certain dependent measures which proved to have low statistical power, the study would have benefited from a larger sample size. An increase in sample size would have also allowed the researcher greater freedom in the selection and use of techniques of statistical analysis.

There were two independent variables used in the present study. The first of these was context which was operationally defined in light of the theoretical discussion of Erikson and Marcia, as college and working youth. In retrospect this dichotomy seems both global and overly molar and does not adequately take into account those features of the environment which have direct bearing upon adolescent ego identity development. The college environment is not necessarily

homogeneous nor is the work place. It may well be that these results indicated that context, as it is discussed in the literature and as it was defined in the present research, has been defined in too global a fashion. It would, therefore, seem more worthwhile for future researchers to consider context in terms of those qualities which foster development such as time and opportunities to explore individual potentials and develop work capabilities as well as ideological and social values.

Future research should also look more closely at each of the contexts to see what they do offer to help identity. If one looks at the broad various contexts that the culture supplies, there is the possibility that, within each are the necessary interactions needed for various styles of resolution, except under the most extreme circumstances. A possible example may be an extremely constricted, rigid, authoritarian environment such as a prison or the proverbial military school. Further research might also clarify the possible parallelism of the two contexts. Comparison of ego identity in the early years needs to be made, especially at the point of entry into each context. A longitudinal investigation of the two contexts would help to elucidate any differences which may exist in identity development when compared.

Another important issue that is raised is the need to uncover the common factors within both contexts that promote ego

identity formation. What were thought to be the important differences of the two contexts have been pointed out earlier. What is now needed is a more careful investigation to clarify and differentiate the nature and actual role of context in the formation of identity.

The Marcia measure of Ego Identity Status is the second independent variable in the present research. This measure, as the single indicator of ego identity seems adequate (Bourne, 1978). The exclusion of those individuals upon whom the judges did not agree seems appropriate in the sense that those individuals assigned to a status were more validly classified. Since the number of individuals who were not classified was fairly small (12.5%), it might have been illuminating to have grouped these persons into an unassigned category and thereby include them in the data.

SES was used as a descriptive measure and as such seems adequate to the purpose. The use of parental SES over participant SES seems quite useful, since college student would have all rated a single classification. Furthermore, parental SES seems to have a more direct bearing upon adolescent development, since it incorporates economic, cultural, child rearing and value factors (Havinghurst, 1976; Holland, 1962,1966).

Three measures were employed as dependent variables and were operationally defined as representing facets of

psychosocial adjustment. These were the Rotter Interpersonal Trust Scale, the Adjective Check List's self acceptance scale, and the Bell Adjustment Inventory. The fact that no objective measure of adjustment was included among these self report measures was in retrospect an important limitation. Each of the measures with the exception of the ITS is influenced significantly by social desirability. Consequently, the portrait of psychosocial adjustment which emerges from the present study appears to be a clearer view of self perception and commitment to an identity and less an objective assessment of actual behavioral adjustment. It is hoped that future research will incorporate an objective indicator of adjustment in any operational construct of psychosocial adjustment.

The ITS which was used in the present study was discussed earlier in terms of its low statistical power relative to ego identity status and the possible variation of the Rotter conceptualization of trust and that of Erikson. The Rotter trust scale remains the most widely researched measure of trust currently available. Future research may benefit from the awareness that experimental groups should be very discrepant in nature and contain large subject pools. There is also the need to establish what actual relationships may exist between Rotter's concept of trust derived from social learning theory and Erikson's concept of trust derived from ego psychoanalytic

theory. A further problem for future research is to clarify the dimension of basic trust as it applies in youth's identity formation as well as the need for a valid measuring instrument. Also the differential effects of basic trust on the ego identity statuses has yet to be shown. Additional research is needed to demonstrate the importance of this variable on the statuses.

The Adjective Check List and the Bell Adjustment Inventory are the two remaining variables to be discussed. Neither of these measures was able to discriminate between the contexts with meaningful statistical power. Both measures, however, discriminated between the ego identity statuses relative to the dimension of commitment. For this reason both of these measures appear to have utility relative to psychosocial adjustment. They would seem, however, somewhat limited without supplementation by other less subjective measures.

The procedure which was employed in the present study in which individuals were given the Ego Identity Status Interview followed by the pen and pencil measures seem adequate to the task at hand. It would, perhaps, contribute a certain experimental sophistication had the task order been randomly assigned. Although this is a minor point, the study would have been improved if this had been done.

The techniques employed for the statistical analysis of experimental results appear essentially adequate to assess the

significance and generalizability of the research finding. The employment of techniques to assess statistical power of non-significant results was particularly useful in that it clarified the nature and generalizability of the non-significant findings. Had the sample size been larger, a more elaborate discriminant analysis would have been possible. It would, further, have been possible to carry out a reliability assessment of the discriminant analysis that was done. Although the discriminant analysis provided most interesting results, such a technique must always await cross validation.

Because the statistical power of the dependent measures in this study is quite low and since self-report scales of personality variables, similar to those used in this study, are not known for their robust statistical power, it would also improve future research to carefully maximize the differences between the experimental groups theoretically. Experimental groups containing a minimum of 400 individuals would probably be necessary. Such a large subject pool would probably allow a better evaluation of the hypotheses which have been raised in this study. The study would also benefit from more powerful measures than those used in the present research. The mere dichotomy of college students versus working youth may be far too global and molar and consequently insensitive to the more important aspects of the construct of context.

In summary, the present study appears to raise more questions than it frankly answers. The theoretical importance of environmental context to development appears to have been discussed in a somewhat more global manner than the evidence herein would justify. It would appear that future experimentation will need to define context not in terms of a particular setting but rather in terms of a more dynamic accommodation to a developmental process. While the concept of psychosocial adjustment has a good theoretical foundation, the operational measures of that phenomenon in the present research were only partly adequate. It appears necessary to assess psychosocial adjustment not only in terms of subjective perception, as was the case here, but also in more objective terms. The real value of this study will be determined by its ability to influence future researchers in clarifying the realistic meaning of environmental context and in the improved selection of operational measures of psychosocial adjustment.

In a more positive view this study did demonstrate that both the subjective assessment of self-concept and the subjective evaluation of general adjustment do clearly discriminate between those ego identity statuses which have made a commitment and those which have not. This lends support to the position of James Marcia based on Erikson that the formulation of commitment is discernible in relation to ego identity resolution.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of the present study was to examine Erikson's concept of ego identity and the effect social environment has on identity formation, within the framework of his psychosocial theory. The first purpose was to demonstrate that the statuses of the Marcia Ego Identity Status Interview measure, would have a different frequency of occurrence in a college context than a work context. The second objective was to compare the psychosocial adjustment of individuals in the two contexts with the hypothesis that those in college would display different psychosocial adjustment from working youth. The final purpose was to demonstrate that the positive ego identity, as seen in the achievement and moratorium statuses, would have a significantly better psychosocial adjustment than would a less positive ego identity, as seen in the foreclosed and diffusion statuses.

In view of these objectives 70 college and 63 working males between the ages of 19 to 23 were given Marcia's Ego Identity Status Interview and were rated as to their ego identity. The response of the subjects to the three defined elements of psychosocial adjustment, level of trust, general adjustment and self-concept, were investigated in light of their ego identity and context.

The contexts of college and work were found not to be

significantly different in their frequencies of any of the statuses, nor to reveal any differences in psychosocial adjustment. The definition of context appears to be too broad, both as it is described in the literature and as it is used here. Further research is needed to clarify those elements within these broad social settings that contribute differentially to identity development.

In the last set of findings two of the three dependent measures comprising psychosocial adjustment did differentiate between the statuses. Measures of general adjustment and self concept did differentiate between the Ego Identity Statuses. The statuses, however, did not fall in the predicted order. Self report measures of adjustment appear to separate the statuses along the dimension of commitment, but not crisis. No differences were found in the level of trust for the statuses. This appears to be due more to the inability of the testing instrument to measure more accurately Erikson's basic trust than to similarity between the statuses. The findings of the present study were further evaluated and implication for future inquiry were discussed. The most important implication for further study concern this study's failure to find a significant difference between contexts. It would seem that the notion of context needs to be re-defined, not in terms of a broad social setting, but rather along the more specific lines of those

elements in an environment which are theorized to foster development. Psychosocial adjustment as it was operationally defined in the present study must be expanded to include objective measures of adjustment as well as self-report measures. These clarifications can be used to better understand which environments help growth and give clues to both the college and work worlds for ways of minimizing problems of moving from adolescence to adulthood.

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Appendix A

IDENTITY STATUS INTERVIEW

Introduction:

What year are you in?
Where are you from? Living at home?
How did you happen to come to (name of school)?

Did your father go to college? Where? What does he do now?
Did your mother go to college? Where? What does she do now?

Occupation

You said you were majoring in _ _ _ _; what do you plan to do with it?
When did you come to decide on _ _ _ _? Did you ever consider anything else?
What seems attractive about _ _ _ _ _?
Most parents have plans for their children, things they'd like them to
go into or do - did yours have any plans like that for you?
How do your folks feel about your plans now?

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?

Religion

Do you have any particular religious affiliation or preference?
How about your folks?
Ever very active in church? How about now? Get into many religious
discussions?
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? How did you resolve your questions? How are
things for you now?

Politics

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?
Any issues you feel pretty strongly about?
Any particular time when you decided on your political beliefs?
What did you think of the past election?

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 involves 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 term, 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 or 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 fundamentalist; they think 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 here 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 freelancing. Inside, I'm a big knot. 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 the back of his mind is the ministry--still considering it. Seems to be an idealistic 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 don't 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 where 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 beliefs. 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 periods. 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 had 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 upon, 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, so 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 the 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 came 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 religious 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 show 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 picked 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 ~~no~~ concern where he stands vis a vis society, as if the world went its way and he went his with 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 areas. It should be clear that clinical judgment is to be exercised, not suspended.

Subject # X

IDENTITY STATUS - INTERVIEW RATING SHEET

Occupation: Foreclosure

Religion: Foreclosure-Diffusion

Ideology: Foreclosure

Politics: Identity Achieve. - Foreclosure

IDENTITY STATUS: Foreclosure

Comments:

Use this space for note-taking and demurrers.

Appendix B

DIRECTIONS

ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS HONESTLY AND THOUGHTFULLY. YOUR ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS WILL BE TREATED IN THE STRICTEST CONFIDENCE AND WILL BE USED SOLELY FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY. THEREFORE, FEEL FREE TO GIVE CANDID REPLIES. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. INDICATE YOUR ANSWER TO EACH QUESTION BY MARKING THE ANSWER SHEET

USING A for YES

 B for NO

 C for ?

USE THE ? ONLY WHEN YOU ARE CERTAIN THAT YOU CANNOT ANSWER YES OR NO. THERE IS NO TIME LIMIT; BUT WORK RAPIDLY.

IF YOU ARE NOT EMPLOYED NOW, ANSWER THE OCCUPATIONAL QUESTIONS WITH REFERENCE TO THE LAST POSITION WHICH YOU HELD. IF YOU ARE PRESENTLY A STUDENT OMIT THE QUESTION REFERRING TO WORKING CONDITIONS.

- 1a Yes No ? Does the place in which you live now in any way interfere with your obtaining the social life which you would like to enjoy?
 2a Yes No ? Do you have ups and downs in mood without apparent cause?
 3a Yes No ? Are you troubled occasionally by a skin disease or skin eruption such as athlete's foot, carbuncles, or boils?
 4a Yes No ? Do you feel self-conscious when you have to ask an employer for work?
 5a Yes No ? Do you sometimes get badly flustered and "jittery" in your present job?
 6a Yes No ? Have you had any trouble with your heart or your kidneys or your lungs?
 7a Yes No ? Do you feel that your present home environment allows you enough opportunity to develop your own personality?
 8a Yes No ? Do you like to participate in festival gatherings and lively parties?
 9a Yes No ? Do you think you made the wrong selection of your occupation?
 10a Yes No ? Have you ever been extremely afraid of something which you knew could do you no harm?
 11a Yes No ? Is any member of your present home very nervous?
 12a Yes No ? Does your present work allow you time off each year for some vacation?
 13a Yes No ? Have you ever been anemic (lacking in red blood corpuscles)?
 14a Yes No ? Do you worry too long over humiliating experiences?
 15a Yes No ? Do you find it difficult to start a conversation with a stranger?
 16a Yes No ? Did you disagree with your parents about the type of occupation you should enter?
 17a Yes No ? Does it upset you considerably to have some one ask you to speak when you have had no time to prepare your talk?
 18a Yes No ? Does some particular useless thought keep coming into your mind to bother you?
 19a Yes No ? Do you take cold rather easily from other people?
 20a Yes No ? Do you think you must "play politics" to get promotion or an increase in pay in your present job?
 21a Yes No ? Do you keep in the background on social occasions?
 22a Yes No ? Have you had unpleasant disagreements over such matters as religion, politics, or sex with the person or persons with whom you live?
 23a Yes No ? Do you get upset easily?
 24a Yes No ? Do you find it necessary to watch your health carefully?
 25a Yes No ? Has there ever been a divorce among any members of your immediate family?
 26a Yes No ? Has your employer always treated you fairly?
 27a Yes No ? Do you frequently come to your meals without really being hungry?
 28a Yes No ? Are you often in a state of excitement?
 29a Yes No ? Do you feel embarrassment if you have to ask permission to leave a group of people?
 30a Yes No ? Do you think that you have to work too long hours on your present job?
 31a Yes No ? Have any of the members of your present home made you unhappy by criticizing your personal appearance?
 32a Yes No ? Do you find that you tend to have a few close friends rather than many casual acquaintances?
 33a Yes No ? Have you had an illness from which you feel that you have not completely recovered?
 34a Yes No ? Does criticism disturb you greatly?
 35a Yes No ? Are you happy and contented in your present home environment?
 36a Yes No ? Would you like to secure some other job than the one you now hold?
 37a Yes No ? Are you often the center of favorable attention at a party?
 38a Yes No ? Do you frequently have shooting pains in the head?
 39a Yes No ? Are you troubled with the idea that people are watching you on the street?
 40a Yes No ? Do you feel a lack of affection and love in your present home?
 41a Yes No ? Do you have considerable difficulty in knowing just where you stand with your present employer?
 42a Yes No ? Do you suffer from sinusitis or any obstruction in your breathing?
 43a Yes No ? Are you bothered by the feeling that people are reading your thoughts?
 44a Yes No ? Do you make friends readily?
 45a Yes No ? Do you feel that your present employer or boss holds a personal dislike or grudge toward you?
 46a Yes No ? Do the person or persons with whom you now live understand you and sympathize with you?
 47a Yes No ? Do you day-dream frequently?
 48a Yes No ? Has any illness you have had resulted in a permanent injury to your health?
 49a Yes No ? Do you have to work on your present job with certain people whom you dislike?
 50a Yes No ? Do you hesitate to enter a room by yourself when a group of people are sitting around talking together?
 51a Yes No ? Do you feel that your friends have happier home environments than you?
 52a Yes No ? Do you often hesitate to speak out in a group lest you say and do the wrong thing?
 53a Yes No ? Do you have difficulty getting rid of a cold?
 54a Yes No ? Do ideas often run through your head so that you cannot sleep?

- 88a Yes No ? Does any person with whom you live now become angry at you very easily?
- 88c Yes No ? Are you getting enough pay on your present job to support those who are dependent upon you?
- 7b Yes No ? Are you troubled with too high or too low blood pressure?
- 88d Yes No ? Do you worry over possible misfortunes?
- 89c Yes No ? If you come late to a meeting would you rather stand or leave than take a front seat?
- 89a Yes No ? Is your present boss or employer an individual whom you feel you can always trust?
- 81b Yes No ? Are you subject to hay fever or asthma?
- 82a Yes No ? Are the members of your present home congenial and well-suited to each other?
- 83c Yes No ? At a reception or a tea do you seek to meet the important person present?
- 84a Yes No ? Do you feel that your employer is paying you a fair salary?
- 85d Yes No ? Are your feelings easily hurt?
- 86b Yes No ? Are you troubled much with constipation?
- 87a Yes No ? Do you dislike intensely certain people with whom you live now?
- 88c Yes No ? Are you sometimes the leader at a social affair?
- 89e Yes No ? Do you like all the people with whom you work on your present job?
- 70d Yes No ? Are you bothered by the feeling that things are not real?
- 71a Yes No ? Do you occasionally have conflicting moods of love and hate for members of your immediate family?
- 72c Yes No ? Do you feel very self-conscious in the presence of people whom you greatly admire but with whom you are not well acquainted?
- 73b Yes No ? Do you frequently experience nausea or vomiting or diarrhea?
- 74d Yes No ? Do you blush easily?
- 75a Yes No ? Have the actions of any person with whom you now live frequently caused you to feel blue and depressed?
- 76e Yes No ? Have you frequently changed jobs during the last five years?
- 77c Yes No ? Do you ever cross the street to avoid meeting somebody?
- 78b Yes No ? Are you subject to tonsillitis or other throat ailments?
- 79d Yes No ? Do you often feel self-conscious because of your personal appearance?
- 80e Yes No ? Does your present job fatigue you greatly?
- 81a Yes No ? Is the home where you live now often in a state of turmoil and dissension?
- 2d Yes No ? Do you consider yourself rather a nervous person?
- 82c Yes No ? Do you greatly enjoy social dancing?
- 84b Yes No ? Are you subject to attacks of indigestion?
- 85a Yes No ? Did either of your parents frequently find fault with your conduct when you lived with them?
- 86e Yes No ? Do you feel that you have adequate opportunities to express your own ideas in your present job?
- 87c Yes No ? Do you find it very difficult to speak in public?
- 88b Yes No ? Do you feel tired most of the time?
- 89e Yes No ? Is the pay in your present work so low that you worry lest you be unable to meet your financial obligations?
- 90d Yes No ? Are you troubled with feelings of inferiority?
- 91a Yes No ? Do the personal habits of some of the people with whom you now live irritate you?
- 92d Yes No ? Do you often feel just miserable?
- 93b Yes No ? Has it been necessary for you to have frequent medical attention?
- 94c Yes No ? Have you had a number of experiences in appearing before public gatherings?
- 95a Yes No ? Have you been able to get the promotions you desire in your present job?
- 96a Yes No ? Does any member of your present home try to dominate you?
- 97b Yes No ? Do you often feel fatigued when you get up in the morning?
- 98c Yes No ? Do any of the people with whom you work have personal habits and characteristics which irritate you?
- 99c Yes No ? When you are a guest at an important dinner do you do without something rather than ask to have it passed to you?
- 100d Yes No ? Does it frighten you to be alone in the dark?
- 101a Yes No ? Did your parents tend to supervise you too closely when you lived with them?
- 102c Yes No ? Have you found it easy to make friendly contacts with members of the opposite sex?
- 103b Yes No ? Are you considerably underweight?
- 104e Yes No ? Does your present job force you to hurry a great deal?
- 105d Yes No ? Have you ever, when you were on a high place, been afraid that you might jump off?
- 106a Yes No ? Do you find it easy to get along with the person or persons with whom you live now?
- 107c Yes No ? Do you have difficulty starting conversation with a person to whom you have just been introduced?
- 108b Yes No ? Do you frequently have spells of dizziness?
- 109d Yes No ? Are you often sorry for the things you do?
- 110e Yes No ? Does your present employer or boss take all the credit for a piece of work which you have done yourself?

- 111a Yes No ? Do you have frequent disagreements with the individual or individuals where you live now concerning the way things are to be done about the house?
- 112a Yes No ? Do you get discouraged easily?
- 113b Yes No ? Have you had considerable illness during the last ten years?
- 114c Yes No ? Have you had experience in making plans for and directing the actions of other people such as committee chairman, leader of a group, etc.?
- 115e Yes No ? Do you feel you are just a cog in an inhuman machine in your present job?
- 116a Yes No ? Does any person in the place you now live frequently object to the companions and friends with whom you like to associate?
- 117b Yes No ? Are you subject to attacks of influenza?
- 118e Yes No ? Does your present employer or boss praise you for work which you do well?
- 119c Yes No ? Would you feel very self-conscious if you had to volunteer an idea to start a discussion among a group of people?
- 120d Yes No ? Have you frequently been depressed because of the unkind things others have said about you?
- 121a Yes No ? Are any of the members of your present household very easily irritated?
- 122b Yes No ? Do you have many colds?
- 123d Yes No ? Are you easily frightened by lightning?
- 124c Yes No ? Are you troubled with shyness?
- 125e Yes No ? Did you enter your present job because you yourself really wanted to go into it?
- 126b Yes No ? Have you ever had a major surgical operation?
- 127a Yes No ? At home did your parents frequently object to the kind of companions you went around with?
- 128c Yes No ? Do you find it easy to ask others for help?
- 129e Yes No ? Do you get discouraged in your present work?
- 130d Yes No ? Do things often go wrong for you from no fault of your own?
- 131a Yes No ? Would you like very much to move from the place where you now live so that you might have more personal independence?
- 132c Yes No ? When you want something from a person with whom you are not very well acquainted, would you prefer to write a note or letter to the individual than go and ask him or her personally?
- 133b Yes No ? Have you ever been seriously injured in any kind of an accident?
- 134d Yes No ? Do you dread the sight of a snake?
- 135e Yes No ? Do you feel that your work is supervised by too many different bosses?
- 136b Yes No ? Have you lost considerable weight recently?
- 137a Yes No ? Does the lack of money tend to make your present home life unhappy?
- 138c Yes No ? Would it be difficult for you to give an oral report before a group of people?
- 139e Yes No ? Is your present job very monotonous?
- 140d Yes No ? Are you easily moved to tears?
- 141b Yes No ? Do you frequently feel very tired toward the end of the day?
- 142a Yes No ? When you lived with your parents did either of them frequently criticize you unjustly?
- 143d Yes No ? Does the thought of an earthquake or a fire frighten you?
- 144c Yes No ? Do you feel embarrassed when you have to enter a public assembly by yourself after everyone else has been seated?
- 145e Yes No ? Do you find that you have very little real interest in your present job?
- 146b Yes No ? Do you sometimes have difficulty getting to sleep even when there are no noises to disturb you?
- 147a Yes No ? Is there anyone at the place where you live now who insists on your obeying him or her regardless of whether or not the request is reasonable?
- 148c Yes No ? Did you ever take the lead to enliven a dull party?
- 149e Yes No ? Do you feel that your immediate superior or boss lacks sympathy and understanding in dealing with you as an employee?
- 150d Yes No ? Do you often feel lonesome even when you are with people?
- 151a Yes No ? As a youth did you ever have a strong desire to run away from home?
- 152b Yes No ? Do you have many headaches?
- 153d Yes No ? Have you ever felt that someone was hypnotizing you and making you act against your will?
- 154c Yes No ? Do you often have much difficulty in thinking of an appropriate remark to make in group conversation?
- 155e Yes No ? Do you sometimes feel that your employer does not show real appreciation of your attempts to do your job in a superior manner?
- 156b Yes No ? Have you ever had scarlet fever or diphtheria?
- 157a Yes No ? Do you sometimes feel that you have been a disappointment to your parents?
- 158c Yes No ? Do you take responsibility for introducing people at a party?
- 159e Yes No ? Do you experience a fear of losing your present job?
- 160d Yes No ? Do you frequently have spells of the blues?

Appendix C

GENERAL OPINION SURVEY

This is a questionnaire to determine the attitudes and beliefs of different people on a variety of statements. Please answer the statements by giving as true a picture of your own beliefs as possible. Be sure to read each item carefully and show your beliefs by marking the appropriate number on your IBM answer card (or answer sheet).

If you strongly agree with an item, fill in the space numbered one. Mark the space numbered two if you mildly agree with the item. That is, mark number two if you think the item is generally more true than untrue according to your beliefs. Fill in the space numbered three if you feel the item is about equally true as untrue. Fill in the space numbered four if you mildly disagree with the item. That is, mark number four if you feel the item is more untrue than true. If you strongly disagree with an item, fill in the space numbered five.

1. Strongly agree
2. Mildly agree
3. Agree and disagree equally
4. Mildly disagree
5. Strongly disagree

Please be sure to fill in the spaces completely and to erase completely any marks to be changed. Make no extra marks on either the answer card or the questionnaire.

- F 1. Most people would rather live in a climate that is mild all year around than in one in which winters are cold.
2. Hypocrisy is on the increase in our society.
3. In dealing with strangers one is better off to be cautious until they have provided evidence that they are trustworthy.

1. Strongly agree 2. Mildly agree 3. Agree and disagree equally
4. Mildly disagree 5. Strongly disagree

4. This country has a dark future unless we can attract better people into politics.
5. Fear of social disgrace or punishment rather than conscience prevents most people from breaking the law.
- R 6. Parents usually can be relied upon to keep their promises.
- F 7. The advice of elders is often poor because the older person doesn't recognize how times have changed.
8. Using the Honor System of not having a teacher present during exams would probably result in increased cheating.
9. The United Nations will never be an effective force in keeping world peace.
- F 10. Parents and teachers are likely to say what they believe themselves and not just what they think is good for the child to hear.
- R 11. Most people can be counted on to do what they say they will do.
- F 12. As evidenced by recent books and movies morality seems on the downgrade in this country.
- R 13. The judiciary is a place where we can all get unbiased treatment.
14. It is safe to believe that in spite of what people say, most people are primarily interested in their own welfare.
- R 15. The future seems very promising.
16. Most people would be horrified if they knew how much news the public hears and sees is distorted.
- F 17. Seeking advice from several people is more likely to confuse than it is to help one.
- R 18. Most elected public officials are really sincere in their campaign promises.
- F 19. There is no simple way of deciding who is telling the truth.
- F 20. This country has progressed to the point where we can reduce the amount of competitiveness encouraged by schools and parents.
21. Even though we have reports in newspapers, radio and television, it is hard to get objective accounts of public events.

1. **Strongly** agree 2. Mildly agree 3. Agree and disagree equally
4. **Mildly** disagree 5. Strongly disagree

- F 22. It is more important that people achieve happiness than that they achieve greatness.
- R 23. Most experts can be relied upon to tell the truth about the limits of their knowledge.
- R 24. Most parents can be relied upon to carry out their threats of punishment.
- F 25. One should not attack the political beliefs of other people.
26. In these competitive times one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.
- F 27. Children need to be given more guidance by teachers and parents than they now typically get.
- F 28. Most rumors usually have a strong element of truth.
29. Many major national sport contests are fixed in one way or another.
- F 30. A good leader molds the opinions of the group he is leading rather than merely following the wishes of the majority.
- R 31. Most idealists are sincere and usually practice what they preach.
- R 32. Most salesmen are honest in describing their products.
- F 33. Education in this country is not really preparing young men and women to deal with the problems of the future.
- R 34. Most students in school would not cheat even if they were sure of getting away with it.
- F 35. The hordes of students now going to college are going to find it more difficult to find good jobs when they graduate than did the college graduates of the past.
- R 36. Most repairmen will not overcharge even if they think you are ignorant of their specialty.
37. A large share of accident claims filed against insurance companies are phony.
- F 38. One should not attack the religious beliefs of other people.
- R 39. Most people answer public opinion polls honestly.
40. If we really knew what was going on in international politics, the public would have more reason to be frightened than they now seem to be.

Appendix D

DIRECTION:

THE ANSWER SHEET CONTAINS A LIST OF 300 ADJECTIVES. PLEASE READ THIS QUICKLY AND CHECK IN THE BOX NEXT TO EACH ONE YOU WOULD CONSIDER TO BE SELF-DESCRIPTIVE. DO NOT WORRY ABOUT DUPLICATIONS, CONTRADICTIONS AND SO FORTH.

WORK QUICKLY AND DO NOT SPEND MUCH TIME ON ONE ADJECTIVE. TRY TO BE FRANK AND FILL THE SPACES FOR THE ADJECTIVES WHICH DESCRIBE YOU AS YOU REALLY ARE, NOT AS YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| ☐ absent-minded
1 | ☐ cheerful
31 | ☐ dependent
61 | ☐ foresighted
91 | ☐ impulsive
121 |
| ☐ active
2 | ☐ civilized
32 | ☐ despondent
62 | ☐ forgetful
92 | ☐ independent
122 |
| ☐ adaptable
3 | ☐ clear-thinking
33 | ☐ determined
63 | ☐ forgiving
93 | ☐ indifferent
123 |
| ☐ adventurous
4 | ☐ clever
34 | ☐ dignified
64 | ☐ formal
94 | ☐ individualistic
124 |
| ☐ affected
5 | ☐ coarse
35 | ☐ discreet
65 | ☐ frank
95 | ☐ industrious
125 |
| ☐ affectionate
6 | ☐ cold
36 | ☐ disorderly
66 | ☐ friendly
96 | ☐ infantile
126 |
| ☐ aggressive
7 | ☐ commonplace
37 | ☐ dissatisfied
67 | ☐ frivolous
97 | ☐ informal
127 |
| ☐ alert
8 | ☐ complaining
38 | ☐ distractible
68 | ☐ fussy
98 | ☐ ingenious
128 |
| ☐ aloof
9 | ☐ complicated
39 | ☐ distrustful
69 | ☐ generous
99 | ☐ inhibited
129 |
| ☐ ambitious
10 | ☐ conceited
40 | ☐ dominant
70 | ☐ gentle
100 | ☐ initiative
130 |
| ☐ anxious
11 | ☐ confident
41 | ☐ dreamy
71 | ☐ gloomy
101 | ☐ insightful
131 |
| ☐ apathetic
12 | ☐ confused
42 | ☐ dull
72 | ☐ good-looking
102 | ☐ intelligent
132 |
| ☐ appreciative
13 | ☐ conscientious
43 | ☐ easy going
73 | ☐ good-natured
103 | ☐ interests narrow
133 |
| ☐ argumentative
14 | ☐ conservative
44 | ☐ effeminate
74 | ☐ greedy
104 | ☐ interests wide
134 |
| ☐ arrogant
15 | ☐ considerate
45 | ☐ efficient
75 | ☐ handsome
105 | ☐ intolerant
135 |
| ☐ artistic
16 | ☐ contented
46 | ☐ egotistical
76 | ☐ hard-headed
106 | ☐ inventive
136 |
| ☐ assertive
17 | ☐ conventional
47 | ☐ emotional
77 | ☐ hard-hearted
107 | ☐ irresponsible
137 |
| ☐ attractive
18 | ☐ cool
48 | ☐ energetic
78 | ☐ hasty
108 | ☐ irritable
138 |
| ☐ autocratic
19 | ☐ cooperative
49 | ☐ enterprising
79 | ☐ headstrong
109 | ☐ jolly
139 |
| ☐ awkward
20 | ☐ courageous
50 | ☐ enthusiastic
80 | ☐ healthy
110 | ☐ kind
140 |
| ☐ bitter
21 | ☐ cowardly
51 | ☐ evasive
81 | ☐ helpful
111 | ☐ lazy
141 |
| ☐ blustery
22 | ☐ cruel
52 | ☐ excitable
82 | ☐ high-strung
112 | ☐ leisurely
142 |
| ☐ boastful
23 | ☐ curious
53 | ☐ fair-minded
83 | ☐ honest
113 | ☐ logical
143 |
| ☐ bossy
24 | ☐ cynical
54 | ☐ fault-finding
84 | ☐ hostile
114 | ☐ loud
144 |
| ☐ calm
25 | ☐ daring
55 | ☐ fearful
85 | ☐ humorous
115 | ☐ loyal
145 |
| ☐ capable
26 | ☐ deceitful
56 | ☐ feminine
86 | ☐ hurried
116 | ☐ mannerly
146 |
| ☐ careless
27 | ☐ defensive
57 | ☐ fickle
87 | ☐ idealistic
117 | ☐ masculine
147 |
| ☐ cautious
28 | ☐ deliberate
58 | ☐ flirtatious
88 | ☐ imaginative
118 | ☐ mature
148 |
| ☐ changeable
29 | ☐ demanding
59 | ☐ foolish
89 | ☐ immature
119 | ☐ meek
149 |
| ☐ charming
30 | ☐ dependable
60 | ☐ forceful
90 | ☐ impatient
120 | ☐ methodical
150 |

☐ mild 151	☐ practical 181	☐ sarcastic 211	☐ sophisticated 241	☐ tough 271
☐ mischievous 152	☐ praising 182	☐ self-centered 212	☐ spendthrift 242	☐ trusting 272
☐ moderate 153	☐ precise 183	☐ self-confident 213	☐ spineless 243	☐ unaffected 273
☐ modest 154	☐ prejudiced 184	☐ self-controlled 214	☐ spontaneous 244	☐ unambitious 274
☐ moody 155	☐ preoccupied 185	☐ self-denying 215	☐ spunky 245	☐ unassuming 275
☐ nagging 156	☐ progressive 186	☐ self-pitying 216	☐ stable 246	☐ unconventional 276
☐ natural 157	☐ prudish 187	☐ self-punishing 217	☐ steady 247	☐ undependable 277
☐ nervous 158	☐ quarrelsome 188	☐ self-seeking 218	☐ stern 248	☐ understanding 278
☐ noisy 159	☐ queer 189	☐ selfish 219	☐ stingy 249	☐ unemotional 279
☐ obliging 160	☐ quick 190	☐ sensitive 220	☐ stolid 250	☐ unexcitable 280
☐ obnoxious 161	☐ quiet 191	☐ sentimental 221	☐ strong 251	☐ unfriendly 281
☐ opinionated 162	☐ quitting 192	☐ serious 222	☐ stubborn 252	☐ uninhibited 282
☐ opportunistic 163	☐ rational 193	☐ severe 223	☐ submissive 253	☐ unintelligent 283
☐ optimistic 164	☐ rattlebrained 194	☐ sexy 224	☐ suggestible 254	☐ unkind 284
☐ organized 165	☐ realistic 195	☐ shallow 225	☐ sulky 255	☐ unrealistic 285
☐ original 166	☐ reasonable 196	☐ sharp-witted 226	☐ superstitious 256	☐ unscrupulous 286
☐ outgoing 167	☐ rebellious 197	☐ shiftless 227	☐ suspicious 257	☐ unselfish 287
☐ outspoken 168	☐ reckless 198	☐ show-off 228	☐ sympathetic 258	☐ unstable 288
☐ painstaking 169	☐ reflective 199	☐ shrewd 229	☐ tactful 259	☐ vindictive 289
☐ patient 170	☐ relaxed 200	☐ shy 230	☐ tactless 260	☐ versatile 290
☐ peaceable 171	☐ reliable 201	☐ silent 231	☐ talkative 261	☐ warm 291
☐ peculiar 172	☐ resentful 202	☐ simple 232	☐ temperamental 262	☐ wary 292
☐ persevering 173	☐ reserved 203	☐ sincere 233	☐ tense 263	☐ weak 293
☐ persistent 174	☐ resourceful 204	☐ slipshod 234	☐ thankless 264	☐ whiny 294
☐ pessimistic 175	☐ responsible 205	☐ slow 235	☐ thorough 265	☐ wholesome 295
☐ planful 176	☐ restless 206	☐ sly 236	☐ thoughtful 266	☐ wise 296
☐ pleasant 177	☐ retiring 207	☐ smug 237	☐ thrifty 267	☐ withdrawn 297
☐ pleasure-seeking 178	☐ rigid 208	☐ snobbish 238	☐ timid 268	☐ witty 298
☐ poised 179	☐ robust 209	☐ sociable 239	☐ tolerant 269	☐ worrying 299
☐ polished 180	☐ rude 210	☐ soft-hearted 240	☐ touchy 270	☐ zany 300

Appendix E

MEANS OF DEPENDANT MEASURES

	N	ITS $\bar{X}$	SD	ACL $\bar{X}$	SD	BELL $\bar{X}$	SD
<u>WORK</u>							
Ach		65.4	7.35	.97	.16	25.7	11.72
Dif		66.2	6.31	.86	.22	41.0	16.43
Mor		66.3	9.21	.90	.24	36.9	18.21
For		68.2	3.74	1.07	.06	20.1	6.48
	63	<u>66.53</u>	<u>6.67</u>	<u>.95</u>	<u>.20</u>	<u>30.93</u>	<u>13.21</u>
<u>COLLEGE</u>							
Ach		70.1	8.33	1.06	.19	22.6	12.22
Dif		66.7	6.06	.76	.14	36.5	15.52
Mor		65.7	9.44	.93	.26	33.4	15.40
For		68.9	5.60	1.04	.10	18.3	8.08
	71	<u>67.85</u>	<u>7.37</u>	<u>.95</u>	<u>.17</u>	<u>27.7</u>	<u>12.8</u>
TOTAL	134	67.17	7.02	.95	.18	29.8	13.0

Biographical Statement

Anthony Mustello was born to Mildred and Philip Mustello in Jersey City, New Jersey, USA on August 11, 1940. After graduating from Seton Hall Prep he attended Fairleigh Dickinson University in Teaneck, New Jersey from which he graduated with a BA degree in psychology in 1964. In June of 1972 he received his MA degree in psychology from Montclair State College in New Jersey. From 1964 until June 1973 he was employed in programs dealing with drug abusive and delinquent adolescents in the New York and New Jersey area. He lectured extensively to teachers and parents throughout the state of New Jersey on these topics. In September, 1973 he entered the Faculty of Psychology of the College of Graduate Studies at the University of Ottawa. Prior to the awarding of the Ph.D. degree, he served as an intern in the psychodiagnostics and psychotherapy at the Guidance Center of the University of Ottawa and the Royal Ottawa Psychiatric Hospital.