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Developmental Stages, Content and Context of Adolescent Identity

THE STAGES, CONTENT AND CONTEXT
OF ADOLESCENT'S IDENTITY.

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2006

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ABSTRACT

Adolescent identity attracts much interest in the research community, however the majority of existing studies conceptualise it as a global construct with minor examination of its content. The present research focuses on a snapshot of domain-specific identities: political, religious and occupational, viewed as complex constructs, and examines them in various dimensions. First, the developmental stages of global identity as theorised by Erikson and Marcia are critically contrasted with domain-specific identities. Second, the analysis of the content of adolescents' identities reveals different values, attitudes and beliefs, which were used in a cluster analysis to identify distinct identity types. Thirdly, gender and context differences of developmental stages, content and types of adolescents' identities are considered. The context of Greek Cypriot society, specifically, the ecological systems of the politics of partition, the strong Greek Orthodox faith and the contradictions of tradition and modernisation/Europeanization are used to understand the role of the environment in adolescents' identities.

In a cross-sectional survey, 1,038 Greek Cypriot adolescents (449 males and 589 females, mean age 16.8) completed part of the Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status, which assesses identity developmental stages in both global and domain-specific identities. They were also asked to write three answers to three questions of the type "Who Are You?" in each of the referred identity domains. This valuable textual data was analysed by using both variable and person-centered approaches.

The results suggest that the identity of adolescents does not always develop synchronously across its domains, thus, the presentation of only global identity conceals the complexity of identity as a multi-faceted concept. This was especially evident in the analysis of the content of political, religious and occupational identities that revealed interesting and varying elements, as well as meaningful and heterogeneous identity types. The significance of identity content and its use in the understanding of adolescent identity is highlighted. Gender and context are integral parts of the developmental stages and the content of adolescents' identities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the memory of my parents

Solomon and Calliope

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INTRODUCTION

One of psychology's "grand theorists," Erikson (1963; 1968; 1980) proposed that the key task for adolescents is to gain a secure sense of identity: a sense of who they are within their community. New psychological trends such as the Developmental Challenge Model (Hendry & Kloep, 2002) regard adolescent identity as an initial entity that could be challenged throughout adulthood life. Young people, at least in Western cultures, do need to make some very important decisions about their lives that are likely to have long term consequences, for example relating to occupation. In countries where voting and army service are compulsory, young people may be pressured to adopt analogous identities, which are difficult to change.

Identity can be considered as having two important facets: process and content. Erikson (1980) primarily studied and theorised on the process of identity formation. His basic idea of the identity process is that young people go through a form of crisis in a lasting period of experimentation with different childhood identifications, roles and values until they manage to synthesise them in a unique configuration recognised by their community. Marcia (1966) turned this assumption into four measurable identity stages (known as the Identity Status Paradigm - ISP), which inspired a wealth of research. Identity process is seen as critical in terms of psychological well-being, with those successful proceeding to the next stages of life. Erikson (1980) argues that young people must establish their identity securely to safeguard their psychological health in adulthood.

Content, the other important facet of identity, is largely ignored by ISP identity researchers. Content is concerned with beliefs, values, attitudes and roles that are contained within one's identity. Clearly, if such factors are stable, they will have a major influence across the lifespan. Rokeach's (1968) work on the meaning and the function of beliefs, attitudes and values, turned attention to content as a worthwhile area for study. By examining young people's identity content, we can explain, or perhaps even predict how young people will behave or make decisions.

Young people's identity is embedded in social context and historical time. The important role of context in development that is recognised by Developmental Contextualism (Lerner, 1986) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory is also ignored by ISP studies. Studies of context have focussed on micro influences like parents and peers, rather than macro influences (neglecting cultural political situations,

etc.). Yet the macro contextual systems such as predominant religion, or war related political problems directly influence young peoples' values, belief and attitudes and the identity choices they make.

Another integral part of identity is gender. Identity studies are not only a-contextual but they are also frequently gender neutral. This is because ISP is not gender sensitive; especially when the global identity status is used (global identity is aggregated from different identity domains). However, gender differences are found to be related to specific identity domains, e.g.., Goossens (2001) found differences among males and females in occupational and political identity domains.

Research on identity content and gender differences, has not yet been undertaken, but indications from identity-related fields show that it will be an essential research topic. Gilligan (1982) found that women have a different moral value hierarchy from Kohlberg's (1981) male-oriented hierarchy, which showed women failing to reach the highest values. Eccels et al (1984) found that the different values of young men and women in relation to various academic options could explain their different educational and occupational decisions.

The position taken in this thesis is that both facets of identity, process and content, are important but should be studied in the context of the macro systems of culture and gender. Contemporary Greek Cypriot society, a meeting point of tradition and modernisation, has been chosen as it creates an interesting context for examining adolescents' identity. In the Greek Cypriot socio-cultural context, core domains of identity: politics, religion and occupation are studied using a survey design to capture a snapshot of developmental stages and content of Greek Cypriot young men's and women's political, religious and occupational identities.

The examination of young people's specific content in each identity domain reveals multiple variables that could be analysed in a more meaningful way by the use of a person-centered approach rather than a variable-centered approach (Magnusson, 2003). However, in the present study both variable and person-centered approaches were utilised and compared. The person-centered approach, by the use of cluster analysis, focused on grouping together young people who showed similar profiles across values, beliefs and attitudes in each identity domain. This allows some mid-range of generalisability. On the other hand, the variable-centered approach yields probabilistic

relations among variables that could be generalised, as this approach assumes universal insights about people.

This thesis is structured into eight chapters. The literature review is presented in two chapters. The first chapter is a general overview of the diverse field of self theories and aims to define identity and to comprehend theoretically such problems as the distinction between process and content of identity and the global versus multiple identities. The second chapter focuses critically on Identity Status Paradigm studies. Chapter Three deals with methodology, justifies the methodological approaches, and describes the measures, the sample and the context of the study.

Results on identity developmental stages in both global identity and in specific identity domains are presented in Chapter Four. The two types of analyses of the content of political, religious and occupational identities are presented accordingly in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. In all four results chapters, the significant relationships between identity (process/content) and gender and context variables (type of school and socioeconomic status) are presented and explained.

Discussion in Chapter Eight is concerned with the theoretical, methodological and empirical contribution of this study in the field of identity. In the exploration of the process and content of young people's identity, this thesis questions the existence of global or multiple identities and the wisdom of proposing universal, de-contextualised theories of identity versus local-specific theories.

CHAPTER 1

THEORIES OF SELF AND IDENTITY

Through the centuries, philosophers, religious thinkers, psychologists and sociologists have debated the nature of self, its structure, how it functions and how it relates to society. The self has been viewed from different perspectives and it is difficult to refer to a consensus even within the same discipline. At the dawn of the 21st century, a wide variety of discourses have approached the topics of self and identity. Many of these discourses have used different terminology for the same concepts and/or have used the same terminology for different concepts, which has created confusion.

This chapter is an attempt to minimise this confusion. First, it introduces the notion of self from a historical perspective and then gives a brief description of what different schools of psychology have offered by way of definition, development and aspects of self, and relation of self to society from both sociological and psychological perspectives. It is not a critical account of self theories per se, but rather a broad analytical description that concludes to a synthesis of robust ideas from the rich history of self, maps identity concepts from a wide variety of self-theories onto a single self-model, and indicates a useful theoretical framework for studying identity.

1.1 Historical Notions of Self

The notion of self in the Western tradition of thought was born in the first democratic constitution in 5th century BC Athens. It was then considered by Christian theorists and the philosophers of the Enlightenment. Socrates was thought to be the first to turn the focus of philosophy to the interpretation of the self: the Delphic commandment "Know thyself" was his basic dictum (Theodorides, 1955). For him, self is the unified soul with the capacity to think logically and act morally (Hamlyn, 1982). Plato divided self into three parts: the rational principle, the irrational principle and desire (Theodorides, 1955). He believed that the rational principle, which is equivalent to the intellect, should be developed through proper education in order to overrule desires and enjoy moral values (Taylor, 1989). Aristotle (1968), also placed emphasis on the development of the rational principle, but unlike Plato's idealistic vision of self content, "good living" for him integrated both moral values and desires in which each part was equally valued (Taylor, 1989).

In all three philosophies, the primacy of individual's essential logic was combined with the idea that even self-knowledge has to be verified in a community of people (Yannaras, 1983). Therefore, human beings' cognitive ability initiates self-exploration that should take place in the context of communication with other people and results in the selection and commitment to personal and collective values. For example, Thucydides (1966) said that the citizens of 5th century BC Athens were free and tolerant to each other in their private lives; but in public affairs were obedient to the laws, which were defined by all free men in their society-democracy. The sacrifice of the individual for the maintenance of society was their highest value.

The Eastern Orthodox Church elaborated on the idea that the verification of knowledge occurs within a community rejecting the primacy of essential logic (Yannaras, 1983). In the orthodox view, Christians could reach God not by their cognitive abilities but rather through experience (i.e., through love). This idea about an experiential system that acts parallel with the rational system have been proposed in psychology by Epstein (1991). In Eastern Orthodoxy, only this system, the "experiencing self" is able to achieve an intact communion with God and other people (Alevisopoulos, 1994). Those of the Orthodox faith conceptualise themselves collectively: The self can be realised and developed not through thinking individually but through living in a community where its members live not for themselves, but each is in a unity of love with others and with God. Moreover, the Orthodox person (soul and body) is conceptualised as a unified person that was created by God according to "His image and His likeness" (Yannaras, 1983).

By contrast, the Roman Catholic Church was built on St Augustine's (380-460) views, which brought back the primacy of the intellect and Plato's division of self. He claimed that only the rational principle (soul) represented the image of God; therefore, it should rule over desires (body) (Yannaras, 1983). According to him each person individually can reach self-knowledge and God by turning inward. That is to take up a radical reflexivity or adopt the first-person standpoint; the world as "I know it is there for me," is experienced by me or thought about by me, or has meaning for me (Taylor 1989). For the West (Taylor 1989), St Augustine is the first to make the first person standpoint fundamental to the search of truth and this led to the rapid development of sciences. For the Orthodox (Yannaras, 1983) he is the first who reduced the truth to a personal understanding, separating it from the dynamics of life.

Western philosophy contested Augustinian rational autonomy by rejecting gradually any metaphysical or religious aspects of the self that led to the flourish of positivism. The liberated person was seen as "...endowed with the capacities of reason, consciousness and action" (Hall, 1992: 275); and one who was independent from others or from the society.

Descartes (1596-1650) with his axiom "I think, therefore I am" reinforced the idea that the essence of the self is based on the cognitive ability of human beings and introduced the idea of "I" that represents the essence of human existence. He used Augustinian inwardness to reach the moral standards within the person. For him, self content consisted of metaphysical concepts that existed a-priori within the self. Individuals could conceptualise these concepts through thinking and by taking a perspective disengaged from the body and the world (Taylor, 1989).

Locke (1632-1704) also regarded thinking and knowing as the centre of the self, but rejected the a-priori content of self, proclaiming that the content of self derived from experience. His theory of knowledge follows Descartes: A person holding a radically reflexive and disengaged standpoint can construct a picture of things, following the canons of rational thinking. For Locke however, rationality is only applied to the process of thinking, not to the substantive content of thought. Locke's radical stance of detachment generates the picture of self as pure independent consciousness that exercises self-control (Taylor, 1989).

Kant (1724-1804) was the first to clearly distinguish two aspects of the self, the knower or subject that thinks and represents the existence, from the known or object, which is the appearance of the self to the subject (Kant, 1968). Further, he accepted Locke's idea that knowledge derives from experience, but he denied that experiences reflect exactly the external reality. Thus, he introduced the subjective view of the world and of the self (Hattie, 1992). This subjectivity formed the basis of phenomenology. Husserl (1859-1938) suggested that the self as thinker, should employ the attitude of phenomenological reduction, which implies making no judgment about the ontological status of the world (Levin, 1992). Therefore, people by bracketing the world, could say an enormous amount about the self as thinker and about that thinking.

In conclusion, self-conceptions were changing in the course of Western history (see analytical accounts in Baumeister, 1986; Gergen, 1991; Logan, 1987). However, some ideas about the self produced by historic thinkers appear in current definitions of self;

i.e., the self as a "thinking process" (apart from the Orthodox who conceptualised it also as an "experiencing process") and the self as content in terms of moral values (Taylor, 1989). Another important issue that emerges is the role of social context in self-definition. The Roman Catholic Church and rationalist philosophers encouraged individualisation by proposing radical reflexivity. The Greek Orthodox Church supported collectivism, whereas Ancient Greeks allowed individualism in the personal life but established collectivism in public affairs.

1.2   The Definitions and Functions of Self

Though psychology took essential ideas about the self from philosophy, a unified definition of self was not established. Instead, theories were generated for aspects of the self, often conflicting and confusing, such as self as object, subject, process, as well as self in terms of structure, multiple entity, unitary entity, etc. Those aspects of the self that could be measured (i.e., object) received a privileged place. Though, in these research areas, extensive knowledge on self was built up, although the scope was narrow. Theories with broader views of the self offered more comprehensive explanations of the functions of the self but became too abstract to be tested. A brief review of the definitions of self from symbolic interactionism, Erikson's identity theory, phenomenology and social psychology, will demonstrate the difficulties encountered in conceptualising identity. The review also highlights the necessity to clarify theoretical positions in the study of identity.

1.2.1   Symbolic Interactionism

James (1890), one of the intellectual ancestors of symbolic interactionism, elaborated the Kantian duality of self as subject and object and presented a multifaceted model of the self. He proposed that the self as an object, "Me," has constituents: the body (body, possessions), the social self (relations, roles and personality) and the spiritual self (consciousness, thoughts and psychological mechanisms). He placed multiplicity on the "Me" level of social self. He claimed that people have as many social selves as there are other individuals who recognise them and carry an image of them, particularly among those whose opinions are considered important.

James (1890) also clarified the essence and the role of the "I" aspect of the self that continually organises and interprets experience in a subjective manner. The individual is aware of the "I" through three types of experiences: continuity, distinctness and desire.

Additional to these features there is a second-order awareness of the self-reflectivity that knows the nature of self. A feeling of individuality, of distinctness from others, also derives from the subjective nature of the self as "knower." However, these essential clarifications that were derived from James' (1890) multifaceted system did not become well interrelated by the self-theories of his predecessors.

Mead (1934) and Blumer (1978a; 1978b), the founders of symbolic interactionism, focused only on "I" and "Me;" they understood self as a social process that involves "I" and "Me" as two distinguishable phases. Mead conceived "I" as the immediate, spontaneous and unaffected aspect of human experience; and "Me" as the incorporated perspectives of other people within the individual (Meltzer, 1978). For Mead an individual maintains symbolic interaction with the self, involving an internal conversation between the impulsive aspect "I" and the regulatory and goal-directed "Me." Blumer elaborated this idea and explained that every human act begins on the form of an "I" and ends in the form of a "Me" (Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1978). Thus, "I" is the beginning of the act that provides the driving force prior to the control of "Me" that represents the expectations of others and provides direction to the act. He suggested that self is not a fixed characteristic of the individual but a status changing in each spatial, temporal and social context (Breakwell, 1992). Goffman (1978) went beyond the interplay of "I" and "Me," the "performer" and the "audience" as he named them and distinguished a third aspect of self, the "persona." In his dramaturgical model this "persona" is the character that an individual presents to other people with the intention to appear proper and to make an impact.

Kuhn, in his effort to formulate an operational definition of self abandoned the "non-empirical" notion of "I" and dealt exclusively with "Me" (Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1978). He defined "Me" in terms of the individual's self-definitions and measured it using the Twenty Statements Test (TST by Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). In this test individuals are asked to respond spontaneously to the question "Who Am I?" and their verbal statements are coded in terms of (social) identities, roles and statuses, interests and aversions, conceptions and goals, ideological views and evaluative statements (Tucker, 1978). Kuhn restricted the notion of self, but contributed to the empirical studies of the "Me" self.

The new generation of symbolic interactionists (i.e., Hewitt, 1979; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1987) focused on the "Me" self and conceptualised it as multiple and

hierarchical. For example, McCall (1977) argued that when people are asked to identify themselves in TST, they name their characters, or masks similar to Goffman's (1978) personas. The adapted "persona" is referred to as a "role-identity" that is the composition of the "persona" and the role that individuals like to think of themselves being and acting as occupants of particular social positions. People have many role-identities, one for each social position they occupy, aspire to occupy, or have imagined they occupy (McCall & Simmons, 1978).

The individual's role-identities are hierarchically organised in terms of prominence and salience. The prominence of a role-identity is determined by a weighted average of past reinforcement of its performance. The hierarchy of predominance is relatively enduring and gives some sense of personal integrity and continuity to the individual. The salience of a role-identity is determined by its situational performance, thus, salience hierarchy is fluid (McCall, 1977; McCall & Simmons, 1978).

To sum up, symbolic interactionists began by focusing on the process of self (Blumer, 1978a; 1978b; Mead, 1934) and ended up by focusing on the content of self (Hewitt, 1979; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1987). The study of self as content contributed to the understanding of the multiplicity of self. However, this idea is contradictory to Erikson's view.

1.2.2 Erikson's Identity Theory

Erikson (1963), the most influential ego psychologist, combined psychoanalytical and sociological views to define and describe ego identity. He was the first to introduce the term identity in psychology after speculations in his clinical work. He had also examined the identity struggle of historical figures. His writings on identity are mainly theoretical and based on Western culture.

Erikson generally conceptualised ego-identity as a psychosocial construct that can be understood through the interaction of biological need, ego organisation and social context (Kroger, 1989). The function of identity is to give meaning, form and the feeling of sameness and continuity in one's unique existence. However, Erikson did not consistently define identity, he rather approached it from different positions such as: "conscious sense of individual identity," "unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character," "as a criterion for the silent doings of ego synthesis," "as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity" (Erikson, 1980: 109).

Rosenberg (1979) encountered the different senses of identity used by Erikson and clarified that although some of these elements correspond to self-concept, ego-identity largely diverges from the cognitive emphasis involved in self-concept. Kroger (1989) believes that Erikson recognised the complexity and inclusiveness of the concept of identity and thus, he described identity from different angles at different points in time.

Conversely, Peck (2004) described the different definitions of Erikson as a long struggle to understand and define the different aspects of self. In an interesting account of Erikson's writings, Peck (2004) explains that Erikson defined two self processes. The first is ego in a sense of an agent responsible for monitoring, selecting, and synthesising elements of ego-identity and self-identity into coherent configurations. The second process is "I" as the awareness that knows and reflects on ego-identity and on self-identity. Erikson also defined two basic types of self-contents: ego-identity as a synthesis of social environments and self-identity as person's internal self-images.

However, Erikson (1968) is mostly known for his notion of ego identity as adolescents' basic struggle. In this struggle, he highlighted the importance of acquiring uniqueness (differentiation) and commonality (solidarity) in order to form a coherent identity. He stated that identity "…is based on two simultaneous observations: the perception of the selfsameness and continuity of one's existence in time and space and the perception of the fact that others recognise one's sameness and continuity" (Erikson, 1968: 50).

Adolescents have to experience themselves as the same person over time, despite the necessary changes that they must undergo in terms of redefining the self and also they need to be confident that their sense of inner unity will be recognised by others. Aside from the maintenance of sameness and continuity, Erikson (1968) highlights the need for distinctiveness and uniqueness as an important but difficult aspect of identity formation. In order to maintain this uniqueness individuals have to make the right identity choices to differentiate themselves from their parents and other stereotypes.

In brief, Erikson's major contribution to understanding the healthy functioning of the self is the idea about a unified identity that provides individuals with a constant sense of who they are in any situation. Erikson mostly theorised on the process of self. Nonetheless, the operationalisation of identity (i.e., as a unitary developmental stage by Marcia, 1966) raised many problems and confusions, whereas more clearly defined terms like self-concept helped to build upon vital evidence on self, as discussed in the next chapter.

1.2.3   Phenomenological Approach

Snygg and Combs (1949) in an attempt to examine the self distant from the influential theories of behaviourism and psychoanalysis, build upon Husserl's philosophy in proposing the phenomenological framework in psychology. They stated that an adequate theory of self that explains behaviour sought to take into account people's own conscious point of view, because human beings are actively interpreting and making sense out of their worlds and the conclusions they draw affect how they act. These views were consistent with Kuhn's notion of "Me" self (Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1978); both trends joined and contributed to the self-concept theory. Initially, many and conflicting definitions had been proposed for self-concept (see Rosenberg, 1979). The simple definition by Rosenberg & Kaplan (1982) that the self-concept is the totality of the individuals' thoughts and feelings with reference to themselves as objects, it is more open to measurement and experimentation according to Wylie (1974).

Indeed, contemporary self-concept research provides a quite clear and comprehensive picture of the self as object. Self-concept is presented as a global broad concept in which different empirical knowledge could be fit. It includes elements such as social identities (as being described by social psychologists), dispositions (as being described by trait theories e.g., Allport, 1955; Eysenck, 1990; Goldberg, 1993) and beliefs about the body (physical appearance, body-image, athletic competence as studied by Harter, 1999). These elements are expressed in nouns and adjectives and could be identified by Kuhn and McPartland's TST (1954). However, self-concept is not conceptualised as a sum total of various aspects but as Rosenberg (1978) explains: "It is not just the parts, but also the relationship among the parts, that constitutes the whole" (Rosenberg, 1979: 17). Towards that end much research and theorising was developed and directed to multifaceted hierarchical self-concept models, in which global self-concept is placed at the top and particular domains and sub-domains are nested underneath (for reviews see Bracken, 1996; Hattie, 1992).

Self-concept could be conceptualised both in the present and in the future time. Markus and Nurius (1986) made a clear distinction between present and future self-concepts, and investigated future possible selves as an independent notion. These selves represent specific, individually significant hopes, fears and fantasies. They suggested that investigations concerning self-concept should take into consideration not only present

possibilities, but future ones as well: what people hope to be, and are afraid of becoming.

Possible selves are influenced by several factors such as self-schemata. Markus (1977) describes clear, definite self-concept components as self-schemata. "Self-schemata are cognitive generalisations about the self, derived from past experience, that organise and guide the processing of self-related information contained in the individual's social experiences" (Marcus, 1977: 64). It seems that self-schemata are part of the self-concept that cannot be named from the individual's spontaneous self-descriptions; they signify the implicit level of "Me" self and present the need of multilevel conceptualisation of self.

A step towards a double level of conceptualising self was made by Epstein (1991). His self-theory reflects James and Erikson's notion in terms of the processes and contents of self. He distinguishes between two self-systems: the rational system and the experiential system, each taking the form of the self as object and as agent. The rational self as agent (mind, reason) organises experience and directs behaviour according to a self theory that is based on conscious rational beliefs. The rational self as object consists of the views people hold that can readily be reported and be measured by self-reports and interviews. The experiential self is quite similar to Plato's irrational system and desire and Orthodox Church notion of "experiencing self." The experiential self as agent (heart, feelings, desire) organises experiences and directs behaviour according to a self-theory based on experientially derived schemata. The experiential self as object consists mainly of cognitions derived from emotionally significant experiences of which the person may or may not be aware. The two agent selves can direct the individual to different ends, which explains the minor or major conflicts within the self in everyday life (Epstein, 1991).

Another important contribution of Epstein's (1991) theory is the division between self and world theories that a person constructs. The rational and experiential agent selves interact selectively with the environment in a manner that promotes assimilation and accommodation, thereby producing an increasingly differentiated and integrated model of reality, which includes both a self-theory and a world theory. Both theories consist of hierarchically organised schemata and net-works of schemata, and serve not only to develop and maintain a model of reality but to facilitate an emotionally satisfying way of living, to maintain social relations and to enhance self-esteem.

In conclusion, self-concept researchers initially examined the self as object through people's conscious accounts of themselves and generated hierarchical, multifaceted models that describe the explicit (conscious) level of self-content. Besides, they pioneered to conceptualise and to study empirically other levels of self. Such levels are: the possible selves (Marcus & Nurius, 1986) that though explicit are not actual, the self-schemata (Marcus, 1977) that are rather implicit (non-conscious), and the experiential self (Epstein, 1991) that is implicit too. These different aspects and levels are useful when considered separately but it is very difficult to map them on to a single model of self. Social identity theory that examines self-concept from the standpoint of group membership added another useful dimension of considering self, but increased the confusion to the attempts to produce a single model of self.

1.2.4 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory has its origin in Tajfel's (1972) "minimal group paradigm" experiment. He found that the simple social categorisation of people into distinct groups could produce inter-group behaviour in which participants preferred in-group over out-group. Thus, he concluded that social groups provide their members with a social identity that was conceptualised as "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972: 31).

Further conclusions claimed that social identity is founded on a cognitive and a motivational base. Firstly, social identity as a cognitive structure monitors and interprets social stimuli and provides a basis for regulating behaviour. Secondly, the need for positive social-identity motivates a search for, and a creation and enhancement of, positive distinctiveness for one's own group in comparison with other groups. These cognitive and motivational elements regulate both intra and inter-group behaviour (Turner, 1982). As the theory had been criticised as laboratory based, it was then applied to real-life inter-group relations and contributed, among other findings, to the definitions of different levels of social self.

Turner (1982) in his self-categorisation theory, which is an extension of social identity theory, views self as a cognitive structure. Turner et al (1987) described self-categorisations as part of a hierarchical system of classification. They explained the opposition between the psychological and the sociological aspects of identity by distinguishing three levels of self-definition. At the most inclusive level, the self is

defined by a human identity that is the distinct identity of humans as compared with other species. At an intermediated level, the self is defined by a social identity, as a member of a group. At the individual level, self is defined by a personal identity that derives from personality traits and close personal relationships. Turner (1982) viewed social and personal identities as different parts of self-concept and claimed that people have as many social and personal identities as they have groups with which they identify, or have close relationships and idiosyncratic attributes in terms of how they define themselves.

Initially, social and personal identities were conceptualised as two extremes across a continuum. Turner (1984) argued that when social identity becomes relatively more salient than personal identity people see themselves less as differing individuals and more as similar representatives of their group. He called this a depersonalisation of the self from unique attributes; he explained that the depersonalisation process transforms individual behaviour into collective behaviour as people perceive and act in terms of a shared collective conception of self. Later developments of social identity theory challenged the social-personal dichotomy as it does not always represent the relationship between individual and collective processes, personal and social dimensions (see Deaux, 1992; Deschamps & Devos, 1998; Serino, 1998).

The latest model of self within social identity theory is the tripartite self, which assumes that the self-concept consists of three self-representations: the individual self, the relational self and the collective self (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001). The individual self is differentiated from others because of its own unique collection of traits; Kashima (2002) named it the "agentic" self because it is led by personal goals. The relational self contains the shared aspects from dyadic relationships; it is similar to Brewer & Gardner's (1996) relational identity and Markus and Kitayama's (1991) interdependent self. The collective self is defined in terms of group membership (Brewer & Gardner, 1996); it is the new name of social identity.

Few studies revealed interesting cross-historical, cross-cultural and gender differences in self conception. For example, 80% to 90% of college students in the 1980s described themselves in terms of personal identities compared to about 30% of comparable student cohort in the 1960s (Babbitt & Burbach, 1990). Also, more North Americans described themselves in terms of individual self than people from other cultures

(Triandis & Trafimow, 2001). It was also found that more women than men described themselves in terms of the relational self (Kashima, 2002).

An important new conceptualisation of the mentioned identities/selves is the reference to the self as object that implies both process and content. For example, the processes of personal and social identities imply monitoring and interpretation of social stimuli and regulation of behaviour; whereas the contents of personal and social identities imply group identification, idiosyncratic attributes, etc. The next section focuses on the process of self.

1.3   The Development of Self

Erikson (1963), who was interested more in the process of self rather than the content of self, constructed an elaborate account of the development of self. In his life cycle developmental theory, ego-identity is seen as the central feature of adolescence. Erikson (1968) focussed on identity stages and dealt with adolescence comprehensively. Self-concept theorists also viewed adolescence as a focused period, where self-concept develops into a multidimensional concept. In contrast sociologists and social psychologists apply the identity concept across the life course, that is, they generally do not see adolescence as a stage different from other life stages. They rather view identity as a "life-long reflexive project of self" (Giddens, 1991: 32-33) in a continuously changing society.

In Erikson's (1963) life stage theory, self development spans throughout the entire life of the individual and accomplishes a series of eight universal stages that are governed by the epigenetic principle. Thus, each stage is associated with a specific task to solve, and the resolution is integrated into the next stage. For example, evolved through the earlier stages of development, identity on the fifth stage coinciding with adolescence, is heavily influenced and continually being reshaped through to adulthood. During identity formation, adolescents select some and discard other early childhood identifications in accordance with their interests, talents and values and then synthesise them into a new configuration. As he explained:

> The integration now taking place in the form of ego identity is more than the sum
> of the childhood identifications. It is the inner capital accrued from all those
> experiences of each successive stage, when meaningful identifications led to a

successful alignment of the individual's basic drives with his endowment and his opportunities (Erikson, 1980: 94).

Erikson (1968) believed that a number of factors, which are more intense during adolescence, lead to a search for an identity. Such factors are the various social demands and role changes that are imposed on adolescents, which are essential for meeting the challenges of adulthood. Furthermore, the rapidity of body growth and the genital maturity that changes childhood sameness and continuity lead adolescents to a new search of identity (Erikson, 1980).

The task during adolescence has a sense of ego identity at the positive end and a sense of role confusion at the negative end. In role confusion, adolescents feel inadequate, depersonalised and alienated. They could suffer from the diffusion of ideals, which results from the failure to accept the enduring values in their culture, religion, or ideology. In other words, adolescents can imagine ideal families, religions, philosophies and societies, which, in turn, can compare and contrast with the imperfect persons and institutions of their own environment. Erikson (1968) also discussed the choice of a negative identity, which is an identity opposite to the one prescribed for them by their parents and peers. However, the failure to establish adequate personal identity does not necessarily doom adolescents to a life of lasting defeat, as Erikson (1968) assumed that ego identity is a life long struggle.

The positive end of the crisis for adolescents is the achievement of a coherent ego identity. Erikson (1968) implies that some form of crisis is necessary for the young people to resolve the identity issue and defeat identity confusion. According to Erikson (1968), a sense of coherent identity is achieved in late adolescence after a successful exploration of the occupational, ideological and sexual roles. The adequate resolution of the ego-identity versus role-confusion crisis results in fidelity. As the cornerstone of identity, fidelity represents the young person's capacity to perceive and stand up for the social ethics and ideologies of society.

Loevinger (1976) generated a model of ego development based on empirical evidence. She views ego as the "master trait of personality" that serves as an organising framework for perceiving and interpreting individual's worlds. While Erikson (1963) theorised that the developing ego occurs within normative age grouping, she has empirically found enormous variability of ego stages within any single age group, particularly within adolescents and adults. Her substantive research results suggested

that ego develops through a series of hierarchical stages, invariant in sequence, that mark a continuum of increasingly complex and differentiated ways by which one perceives oneself, the world and one's relationships in it (Loevinger, 1987).

Self-concept psychologists held that self-concept has a profound development in adolescence underlying by the role of cognitive development of that period. Harter (1996) revealed, from her work, that the number of self-concept domains that can be differentiated increases with development from early childhood to adulthood. In a later work (Harter, 1999), she describes how the cognitive advancements as well as the different social expectations in early, middle and late adolescence contribute to the developmental advancement of self-concept. Analogous to the Erikson's identity struggle, Harter (1999) explains a normative self-concept crisis in mid-adolescence. Briefly, mid-adolescents have developed the conceptual ability to detect inconsistencies in the self across roles, but they are not yet able to assimilate opposing attributes within the self-concept, also they encounter distortions in the perception of self versus others, these can lead to lower self-worth. During late adolescence conflict diminishes with the emergence of the ability to integrate opposing self-attributes into compatible higher order abstractions about the self.

Hattie (1992) argued that there is more support for a multidimensional hierarchical structure of self-concept for adolescents and for a unitary structure for younger children. For example, Byrne and Shavelson (1986) found that young people could hold a multifaceted hierarchical self-concept. In their model, the global self-concept is divided into two facets: academic and non-academic self-concepts and in turn, these second-order domains are subdivided. Academic self-concept is divided into subject matter areas and non-academic self-concept is divided into social, emotional and physical self-concepts and these are divided into more specific domains. Harter (1996) warned that in such models, the various domains appear to have equal value but individuals may consider certain domains to be more important in their overall sense of self than others.

Symbolic interactionists utilised Mead's explanation of the genesis and the development of the self that occurs through symbolic interaction (Meltzer, 1978). Accordingly, the use of significant symbols by those around children enable them to pass from the interaction of gestures to the occasional taking of others' roles and though it to share the perspectives of others. Parallel with role taking, the children acquire the capacity to act from the standpoint of the "generalised other" (beliefs about society within the

individual). This allows children to behave in terms of others' expectations. Apart from this initial genesis, individuals subjectively construct their identities continuously and in an exclusive reference to external circumstances, which are provided by day-to-day interactions, cultural institutions and social structures (Hewitt, 1979). These contradicting ideas on self development need to pull together in models that can provide empirical evidence and that can also consider the impact of contextual factors.

1.4   The Relation of Self to Social Context

Social context is a broad multilevel concept that refers to such diverse aspects as culture, time, personal relations, social class, etc. Bronferbrenner (1979) organised the multilevel relationships of the individual to social environments into a dynamic ecological system that facilitates our understanding of these complex relationships. Different theorists chose a different level of social context to discuss its impact on identity formation. In sociology, the concept of self and identity is mainly related to the type of society and culture. However, different sociological schools view this relationship differently.

In psychology, at the beginning, the self was mostly studied independently of the social context, but a few exceptions like Erikson and symbolic interactionists raised the awareness of the interrelationship of self and social context that was discussed mostly in terms of personal relationships. A general turn to the study of the role of context in a person's development started during eighties by developmental contextualism (Lerner, 1986) that focuses on the interaction between the continuously growing and changing individual and the ecological context (as have been described by Bronfenbrenner, 1979) within which the individual lives.

1.4.1   Sociological Views

Classical sociologists like Durkheim (1858-1917) and Marx (1818-1883) investigated social changes associated with industrialisation and urbanisation and proposed comprehensive and definite theories of society, which promote collective identities. These "modern" ways of thinking had their origins in the positivism of Enlightenment. However, the individual was no longer seen as being unique and separate from others as rationalist philosophers proposed. As Hall (1992) explains the relationship between the individual and society was rather mediated through collective norms and individuals'

identity was seen as being tied up with their membership of a particular social class, a specific occupational grouping, nationality etc.

Durkheim (1947) proposed that collective conscience or shared culture had to exist over and above the wishes and choices of individuals and constrain their behaviour if a society is to run smoothly. He described that in pre-industrial societies where the division of labour is minor, people are bound together by mechanical solidarity, which means that their collective conscience was strong as they shared very similar roles and values. In industrialised societies the division of labour becomes more specialised and people's collective conscience tends to be less strong as they have to carry out their specialised roles, so people have to be bound by organic solidarity, which is based on collective values. He suggested that organic solidarity (collective consciousness) would be possible and individuals could be bound together to form an integrated social unit through the existence of professional associations, through the teaching of moral values in the educational system and through a fair society.

Marx (1818-1883) was the first to suggest that the self always exists in a social context (Levin, 1992) and the nature of the self (and all the aspects of social life) is shaped by the means of production and by the social relations to the means of production (infrastructure) (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000). He explained that when humans have to work for others who own the means of production, they become alienated. Alienation involves a sense of estrangement from their work, from other workers, from what they produced and even from their own essential humanity (Marx & Engels, 1950).

Post structuralist thinkers, such as Foucault (1982) disapproved the role of the modern states in the formation of people's identities. He said that the rational, modern state and the political management of the society, on one hand ignore who one is individually and on the other determines scientifically and administratively each individual. As he stated:

> This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life, which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him (Foucault, 1982: 212).

Foucault (1982) concluded that the political, ethical, social, philosophical problem of our days is to try to liberate us both from the state and from the type of identity that is linked to the state.

Both Foucault (1982) and Bourdieu (1986) referred to the educational system as a powerful institution used by state to form people's identities. Foucault (1982) explained that school, by the use of "normalising" processes operates to create some identities that are regarded as "normal" such as educability. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) stated that the educational system reinforces the social class identities, because it is systematically biased towards the culture of the dominant social classes and devalues the knowledge and skills of the working class. They name the dominant culture as cultural capital because via the educational system it can be translated into wealth and power. Cultural capital is not evenly distributed through the class structure and this largely accounts for class differences in educational attainment.

Post-structural theorists, the collapse of the communist ideal, and the accelerated consequences of capitalism paved the way to post-modern theories that abandoned the Enlightenment rational thinking. Post-modern theorists do not believe in the existence of objective universal theories but suppose local specific theories. For example, Lyotard (1984) said that in the post-modern era people lost faith in the search for one great truth that unites and justifies all knowledge. Instead, knowledge fragments into a multiplicity of different language-games that are specific to particular areas of science or social life. Baudrillard (1983) went even further to claim that post-modern society is based upon the production and exchange of free floating images (simulacras), which have lost their connection with reality.

Crook, Pakulski and Waters' (1992) description of how contemporary societies are undergoing a process of post-modernisation is useful in understanding the local specific character of post-modern identities. According to them,

- In modern societies there is a differentiation between folk culture and high culture. In post-modernity hyper-differentiation takes place: a variety of cultural forms develop, with no particular type being dominant or better.

- Rationalisation shaped modern cultures but in post-modern societies the use of rationalised technology to spread cultural consumption more widely and to replace the authentic cultural things or events with inauthentic leads to hyper-rationalisation.

- In modern societies the co-modification of culture involves turning cultural products into commodities that could be readily bought and sold, apart from family, class and community that were not commercialised and were major sources of identity. Now hyper co-modification involves all areas of social life. Members of the same family

or class no longer tend to share the same tastes. They are increasingly chosen from a range of lifestyle options and no style is better than the other.

Further, Hall (1992) explains that in the past, social class predominantly defined identity. With the collapse of Marxists' ideals, new social movements developed concerned with variety of issues and identities. Instead of people feeling part of a single class, their identity became fragmented in terms of their gender, ethnicity, religion, age, nationality, views on ecology and so on. These identities have a political connotation as they emphasised the difference and they expressed voices of oppression. He also described how globalisation brings two contradictory trends in the formation of post-modern identities. On one hand, the improvements of transportation and communication lead people to choose from a very wide range of different lifestyles and identities. On the other hand, global consumerism leads to an increased homogeneity in fashion, music, food etc.

Bauman (1996) holds a more extreme position. He argued that identities are not just fragmented but they become a matter of choices, which are not necessarily consistent. He explains that as jobs change so rapidly, a person's qualification or career may well be irrelevant to future jobs. Therefore, the only duty of the post-modern citizen is to "lead an enjoyable life" by changing identity at will. Bauman (1992) describes the essence and the "development" of post-modern identities as follows:

> It has no visible end; not even a stable direction... the self-assembly of the agency is not a cumulative process; self-constitution entails disassembling alongside the assembling, adoption of new elements as much as shedding of others, learning together with forgetting. The identity of the agency, much as it remains in a state of permanent change, cannot be therefore described as developing (Bauman, 1992: 194).

The contemporary sociological voices of identity are not entirely from the post-modernist perspective. Giddens (1991) and Bernstein (1996) described an "appropriate" type of identity that would help contemporary individuals to face the accelerated consequences of modern institutions. Jenkins (1996) and Bradley (1996) incorporated both modern and post-modern ideas.

Giddens (1991) argued that the post-modern era has not yet arrived but rather we are living in a high-modernity era because the institutions of modernity such as

industrialism, capitalism and surveillance are still functioning. He considered the huge changes brought by high-modernity. For example, the reorganisation of time and space and globalisation broke the protective framework of the small community and of tradition, and replaced it with much larger impersonal organisations and exposed it to global influences. Further, he rejected the claims of post-modernity that all Enlightenment thinking must be abandoned. Instead, he utilised the tradition of modern critical reason and adopted the perspectives of existential phenomenology in defining self-identity. In this attempt he sounds traditional and retrospective pointing to an ideal formation of self like Maslow's (1970) self-actualisation and Roger's (1961) fully functioning self.

Therefore, for Giddens (1991), self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences; individuals in creating their self-identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action are, contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications. He stated that self-identity is something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual, who adopt Augustinian radical doubt. He recognised, though, that self-identity, which consists of coherent and continuously revised biographical narratives, takes place in the context of multiple and difficult choices. In such situations an individual needs an ontologically secure base on moral resources in order to live a full and satisfying existence and reach self-actualisation.

Bernstein (1996) also argued that transitional capitalism, as he named contemporary era, has brought a disturbance and disembedding to collective stable identities. He pointed to the existence of seven mutually exclusive identities. Two decentred identities are constructed from local resources: (1) Instrumental (market) identities are constructed out of market signifiers and produced by projection. (2) Therapeutic identities are produced by introjections in which the concept of self is crucial and the self is regarded as a personal project. Two retrospective identities use as resources narratives of the past: (3) fundamentalist identity (nationalism, populism) and (4) elitist identity. Three prospective identities that are future-oriented and confrontational are constructed by (5) gender, (6) race and (7) region.

Bernstein (1996) pointed out that the official pedagogy in Great Britain improves only one of the seven possible identities, the instrumental, and argues that this opposition between state-regulated and distributed identities is less an index of cultural

fragmentation, as the post-modernists imply, and more a general cultural resurgence of the ritual of inwardness in new social forms. Bernstein (1996) clarified that instrumental identity is also accompanied by "trainability," that is, the ability to profit from continuous pedagogic re-formations and cope with the new requirements of "work" and "life." Further, he pointed out that this identity has to arise out of a particular social order, through relations by which an individual's identity enters into and with other individuals' identities of reciprocal recognition, support, mutual legitimisation and finally, through a negotiated collective purpose.

Jenkins' (1996) position is based on the symbolic interactionist tradition and unlike post-modernists, he believes that identity remains rooted in social experience and in the social group membership. That means that identities are never completely fluid and simply a matter of choice as Bauman (1996) suggests. Humans are not simply free to choose their own identities and whatever more some identities are not easy to change. He argues that individuals have identities that are personal to them but at the same time are shaped through social group membership. Therefore, identities contain elements of the "individually unique" and the "collectively shared." The individual elements of identity emphasise difference, the collective elements emphasise similarities, but the two are closely related.

Bradley (1996) argued that neither the modern nor the post-modern conception of identity is adequate; so she tried to pull together the two positions. She argued that structured social inequalities such as: class, gender, race/ethnicity and age remain important. However, such inequalities no longer shape identities in a straightforward way as they used to; there is more fluidity and choice in identity. But choice is not absolute; it is constrained by the existence of certain dynamic relationships. There are, for example, class dynamics that affect people's life chances and identities, but these are in constant process and change. She agrees with post-modernists that there is a good deal of choice over identity and that identities are to some extent fragmented. People lack a single identity that overarches all others. However, she agrees with Jenkins (1996) that identities are still rooted in social group membership.

1.4.2 Psychological Views

The earlier generation of psychologists discussed the inter-relationship between the individual and the social context by reference to the role of other people and society in general. Regarding the role of others in the construction of self, Cooley (1902)

described the looking-glass element of the self, the ability of individuals to see themselves through the reactions of others: "We always imagine, and in imagining, share the judgments of the other mind" (Cooley, 1978: 171). Kuhn understood self as an organisation of attitudes, which are internalisations of the individual's role prescriptions taken from "orientational others" (Tucker, 1978). He defined "orientational others" as the others: to whom the individual is most fully, broadly committed emotionally and psychologically; who have provided the general vocabulary and the meaningful roles; and in communication with whom the self-conception is basically sustained and/or changed.

Erikson (1968) used the term "significant others" to define people who are important to adolescents and who not only provide care and support but recognise and contribute to adolescents' sense of self. The adolescents seek a positive feedback for their self-perceptions from significant others like parents and peers. This sense of mutuality between the individuals' conception of the self and those that significant others hold about them is called "psychosocial reciprocity" and influences the psychosocial conflict within the ego and identity formation.

Regarding the relation of self and society, the views of symbolic interactionists are rather deterministic: People are born into an existing social structure, which shapes them (Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1978). Mead stated that the individual approaches the world from the standpoint of the dominant group views expressed in a social context (Meltzer, 1978). Specifically, "personas" are products of social learning and are acted out in accordance with the norms of the society (Goffman, 1955); ascribed or achieved identities, which people can assume in their specific situations, are shaped by the social structure (Hewitt, 1979).

Erikson (1968) holds a balanced notion on the relation of the individual and the society. He believed that in western societies, identities are not necessarily given, but are often achieved by each individual after a search. In this search, society should provide two essential aspects. First, an ideological framework that is provided by parents' generation and constitutes the "guardian of identity" (Erikson, 1968). Second, the psychosocial moratorium: the period of time offered by western societies where adult commitments are delayed in order for the adolescents to be able to search for their identity. During psychosocial moratorium adolescents experiment with different roles and possible selves and explore the different values available in society; also higher education is

another kind of moratorium that enables them to explore different social and occupational roles before deciding what to do with their lives. The criticism that has been levelled at Erikson is that psychosocial moratorium applies primarily to cultures that allow for a choice of social, ideological and vocational roles (Marcia, 1993a).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) put these ideas together and suggested an ecological perspective on human development where there is a continuous interaction between the growing human organism and the changing social and physical environment. He conceptualised environment in terms of four major ecological-environmental systems: the micro-system, the meso-system, the exo-system and the macro-system.

The micro-system represents one to one relationships in settings such as family, school and peer group, where interactions occur regularly and over extended periods, thus, influences between the individual and the others is mutual. The meso-system is composed of a network of relationships between the various overlapping and interacting micro-systems, which are continually changing because of maturation, development and transformation of the involving persons. An important conceptualisation of the meso-system is the simultaneous multiple role participation of the person who plays different roles in different contexts and changes roles as a function of time and as a function of moving from one context to another (Bronfenbrenner, 1993).

The exo-system is the larger community settings such as parents' workplace and circle of friends, neighbourhood, the mass media, the local church, civic groups. Although the person does not directly participate in exo-system decision-making, these decisions have a direct or an indirect influence on the life of the person and may deprive or enrich the quality of the micro- and meso-system of a person, which in turn affect what a person can or cannot do. The macro-system includes a core of general cultural, political, social, legal, religious, economic and educational values that find expression in social customs and in that are considered fashionable (Bronfenbrenner, 1993).

Finally, each of these systems, starting from the micro-system, is nested in the next one and they are moving together through the chrono-system in which ecological transitions take place (Santrock, 1992). Such ecological shifts, in which part or all of a system, or a combination of systems undergoes major transformations, occur throughout the human life span. Lerner (1986) incorporated the ecological system into what is known as Developmental Contextualism, which raises the full awareness of the complex, diverse, multilevel, multifaceted, reciprocal nature of all the forces and factors that shape

development during lifetime, including the individuals themselves. This broad framework aims to stimulate research and explain research findings or behaviours than to set specific developmental rules or universal laws on development (Muuss, 1996).

1.5   Synthesis

Despite the numerous and diverse views of self, there is also a tendency for many theorists to combine these various views. The present study adopts this position and attempts a synthesis of the various views with the aid of newer theories that accumulated various perspectives. As it has been argued:

> ...it is important for those doing "youth" research to use conceptual tools from a variety of disciplines in order both to theorise young people's subjective accounts and the ways in which they are positioned in their social worlds (Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997: 122).

1.5.1   Accumulation of Various Concepts of Self

Mapping the different views of the self helps to clarify the meanings of concepts of identity, identity process, identity content and identity context, which are used in the present study. There are indications from the theories discussed above that the definitions of the self could be divided into two broad categories; the "I" (the subject) and "Me" (the object) (see Table 1.1 in the next page). Philosophers were interested more in the "I" part of self. They identified it with the notion of existence that relates to the rational ability of humans. Psychologists listed in Table 1.1 who speak about "I" offer only theoretical descriptions. James (1890) defined it as the knower who synthesises experience. Erikson conceptualised two parts of it: "I" as the observer, and "ego" as the organising agent (Peck, 2004). Epstein (1991) described two parts of "I" in a different twist: the rational self in James' notion of "I" and the experiential self that organises experiences. As James (1890) predicted "I" would prove elusive to empirical study as it is difficult to observe a phenomenon that is totally subjective and may change unpredictably from one time to the other. However, we should not ignore its existence even if we only study the "Me" part of self. It is also important to keep in mind that the above theories view the "I" self as a subject, as an agent, and as a process that is characterised by unity, sameness and continuity.

Table 1.1 – Classification into "I" and "Me" Selves

Theories	Parts of Self	
	I	**ME**
Ancient Greeks	"Know thyself"	*Moral values*
Orthodox Church	Living experience	*Christian Orthodox values*
Catholic Church	Radical reflexivity	*Christian Catholic values*
Descartes	"I think therefore I am"	*a-priori concepts*
Locke	Pure Independent Consciousness	*a-posterior concepts*
Kant	**Knower - Subject**	**Known - Object**
James	**"Pure Ego" continually organises and interprets experience**	**the body, the social self, the spiritual self, the feelings and emotions, the actions**
Mead, Blumer	I	Me
Goffman	Performer	The audience of the performer, persona performed
Kuhn		Organisation of attitudes
McCall & Simmons		Hierarchically organised system of role-identities
Tajfel, Turner,		Social identity-Personal identity
Brewer, Gardner, Sedikides		Individual self, Relational self, Collective self
Self-concept theorists		Self-concept: multifaceted hierarchical system
Epstein	**Rational System Rational agentic self, mind, reason Experiential system Experiential self heart, feelings, desire**	**Rational System Views about one self that can be readily be reported-descriptive schemata Experiential system Cognitions from emotional experiences, motivational schemata**
Erikson	**Ego, I**	**ego-identity, self-identity**

Philosophers prior to Kant who was the first to divide self into subject and object of consciousness did not directly deal with the "Me" self. Retrospectively, their references to different kinds of values or concepts regarding self could be considered as relating to the content of self. In psychology, the "Me" self attracted, and it is still attracting the interest of theoretical and empirical investigation from different schools of psychology.

James (1890) described three aspects of the "Me" self: body, social and spiritual; Epstein (1991) described two different dimensions of the "Me" self: the rational and the experiential. Other schools of psychology generated rich knowledge in different parts of the "Me" self, such as social identities, attitudes and roles, self-concepts, self-schemata etc. Research showed that these different aspects of the "Me" self are characterised by either multiplicity-variability (multiple social identities, different personas, different self-schemata) or hierarchical, multifaceted structure (self-concept, role-identities, organisation of attitudes).

However, this division of the "I" and "Me" parts of self, their characteristics, and their functions are not yet clear in the literature, especially in the literature that focuses on single "Me" parts of self (i.e., ego-identity research, discussed in the next chapter). The focus on the specific aspects of self creates various conceptual problems such as whether self is unified or multiple, process or content, subject or object.

An attempt to clarify this confusion is Peck's (2005) multilevel person in context model that maps the various aspects of self into a single model. Peck suggests a different composition of the "I" and four levels of the "Me" self in the light of recent psychological research advancements. An additional merit of this model is that in a synchronic dimension (a single point in the time) it describes the contents of each level, in a diachronic dimension (longitudinal) and in each level it describes both the process and the integrated levels of self (new contents) (Roeser, Peck, & Nasir, 2005). Briefly,

- The "I" self is the phenomenal awareness at every single moment that wilfully directs and sustains attention via consciousness.
- The temperamental "Me" content is based on the inherited bio-psychological mechanisms such as core emotions, temperamental traits etc. *It is similar to Turner's et al (1987) human identity.*
- Iconic "Me" content is rather implicit and includes affective-motor schemas etc. *It is similar to Epstein's (1991) experiential object self and Markus' (1977) self-schemata.*
- Symbolic "Me" content is generally explicit and includes beliefs, values, plans and strategies. *This is the most studied level of self because is accessible to awareness. It relates to Epstein (1991) rational object self, personal identity, social identity, role-identities, self-concept etc;*

- The phenomenological "Me" content is the stream of consciousness in which all of the activated contents of the other levels come together in the form of thoughts, ideas and feelings, and initiates the "I" self to function. *The phenomenological content is experienced holistically as a single unitary object of awareness, similar to Erikson's sense of temporal and spatial continuity of ego-identity (Peck, 2004).*

Therefore, self can be seen as a unified entity and as a multiple entity, as process and as content, depending on what level of self is chosen to be studied. The problem is created with complex construct such as Erikson's ego identity, which can exist in different levels. According to his description, ego identity is "the inner capital accrued from all those experiences of each successive stage, when meaningful identification led to a successful alignment of the individual's basic drives with his endowment and his opportunities" (Erikson, 1980: 94). This view suggests that ego-identity consists of the combined set of iconic and symbolic content that has been accrued throughout experience and which can be activated in the phenomenological content providing the sense of sameness and continuity. However, because Erikson kept revising his definitions, it is unclear which levels might be implicated in the concept of ego-identity. This uncertainty was inherited to Marcia's operationalisation of ego-identity that created other conceptual problems and empirical contradictions that will be discussed in the next chapter.

1.5.2 Life Span Developmental Framework

Santrock (1992) argues that each theory has made a different contribution in explaining the rich complexity of self development in life span. Development from the life span perspective, is considered as life long, multidimentional, multidirectional, plastic, historically embedded, multidisciplinary and contextual (Baltes, 1987). Similarly, Lerner (1986) in his developmental contextual approach encountered different theories and he stressed the idea that dynamic interactional relations among biological, psychological and social processes are responsible for development; he promotes a comprehensive awareness of the diverse multiple contexts in which the individual lives (Muuss, 1996).

Equally, Hendry and Kloep's (2002) holistic model of human lifespan development is based on the commonalities of various theories and research findings. The simple idea of this model is that each individual has a different resource "pool" composed of biological dispositions, social and structural resources, skills and self efficacy, which

interact in meeting both day-to-day problems and larger life events. For Hendry and Kloep (2002) development occurs each time the challenges of life are met successfully and further resources are added to the individual's resource pool. Decay occurs when the challenges drain the resource "pool" resulting in a loss of competence. In between, two types of stagnation occur: contented stagnation, in which individuals are happy with their lifestyle and do not want to meet further challenges and unhappy stagnation in which individuals simply do not posses the resources to meet further challenges. The goodness of fit between the extent of the individual's resources and the perceived challenge is determined by factors, such as the difficulty and the timing of the task and the kind of corresponding resources the individual possess. A valuable idea is that the goodness of fit between resources and particular challenges can vary between individuals, between different life domains and within the same individual in different contexts. Thus, the model is useful not only to understand the development across the life time, but even across and within individuals in different life domains, cultural settings and historical times.

1.5.3   Social Context Framework

The different levels of socio-cultural structures and processes influence self and self development. Psychologists view identity from the angle of the individual and deal mainly with the influences in the micro- and meso- systems; basically how relationships can provide feedback, appraisals of disapproval to particular kinds of identities that the individuals posit. They also examined how the social groups or the institutions of the exo-system influence the assignment of various group labels, statuses and roles to individuals and provide opportunities. Sociologists view identity from the angle of social structure and culture and explain how the various macro-systems encourage or constrain or form particular relevant identities. Developmental Contextualism brought the awareness of the multitude of contextual influences on humans' development and to the complex interactions among these factors. In order to bridge psychologists and sociologists' views in identity studies, the key macro contextual aspects that influence the formation of identity should be specified and studied.

Table 1.2 – Different Societies that Promote Different Types of Identities

Type of society	Types and Aspects of Identity
Classical Greece	Collective in public affairs / Individual in private lives
Orthodox Christianity	Collective
Catholic Christianity	Radical reflexive individual
Enlightenment	Fully centered, unified individual, endowed with reason
Pre-industrialised Societies	*Collective identities* Mechanic solidarity (Durkheim)
Early Modern Industrialised Societies	*Collective identities* Organic solidarity (Durkheim) Communism (Marx)
Modern Societies Capitalism	*Individuated identities* Differentiation, rationalisation, co-modification (Crook et al)
Contemporary — Transitional Capitalism or High Modernity or Post-modernity	Seven mutually exclusive identities: instrumental, therapeutic, fundamental, elitist, gender, race and region (Bernstein) Self-actualisation /individualism (Giddens) Individually unique and the collectively shared identities (Jenkins) To some extent fragmented but rooted in social group membership (Bradley) Hyper-differentiation, hyper-rationalisation, hyper-co-modification (Crook et al) Fragmented in terms of gender, ethnicity, religion, age, nationality, views on ecology etc. (Hall) Permanently changing and contradictory (Bauman)

Historical time and type of society/culture seem to be two of the major aspects. The different types of societies in different historical times create different identity types, contents and processes (see Table 1.2). For example, pre-industrialised and early modern societies ascribed collective identities, modern societies encouraged individuated identities. Where the contemporary era presents the most confusing picture where theorists do not even agree about whether is transitional capitalism, or late modernity, or post-modernity. Consequently, they propose or specify different types of identities. In designing a study on identity it seems reasonable that the main characteristics of the specific society/culture have to be taken into account. Hence apart from the historical time, the macro level of a society in terms of nationality, formal religion, cultural values, political and economical situation should be described.

Social class is seen as another major contextual aspect that influences identity. Marx suggested that the self exists in a social context and the nature of the self is determined by its social class relations and its relations to the means of production (Levin, 1992). Post-modern theorists (i.e., Crook, Pakulski, & Waters, 1992; Hall, 1992) do not place such emphasis on class claiming that social class identities are not dominant, nor homogeneous as they were in the past. However, Bradley (1996) insists that structured social inequalities such as social class remain important.

A specific institution of society, formal education, has been mentioned as playing a crucial role in identity formation. Since 5th century BC, Plato suggested that appropriate education would help young people to achieve a rational identity (Theodorides, 1955). Durkheim (1947) placed importance on the teaching of moral values through the educational system in order for the individuals to develop collective identities. Foucault (1982) argued that identities are formed through the specific discourses, some of which are specific educational practices. Bourdieu (1986) theorised on the way state education reinforced social class identities. Bernstein (1996) pointed out how official pedagogy improves instrumental identities, which he viewed as the most appropriate type for contemporary society. Finally, higher education has been described by Erikson (1968) as an important kind of moratorium that enables adolescents to explore identity options.

Gender, though a key source of identity, has not been highlighted in modern theories or in psychological theories that look on human universal insights. Bradley (1996) viewed gender as one of the main sources of identity for both men and women. She believed that for women, the common experience of disadvantages and sexism provides a basis for a common identity. However, she agreed to a certain extent with post-modernism that not all women and all men experience gender as their main source of identity in all circumstances.

In conclusion, the broad theoretical framework of self and identity theories constitutes the background to discuss ego-identity studies. It identifies the importance of considering identity development as a dynamic interaction between the individual and social contexts such as historical time, particular culture, social class, educational system and gender. In the next chapter, empirical evidence concerning the development of ego-identity will be examined and the relative effects of various social contexts explored.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES, CONTENT AND CONTEXT OF IDENTITY

Although the concept of ego identity, as presented by Erikson, is difficult to operationalise, many researchers have attempted to measure it. The dominant place in the empirical study of identity development is taken by the "Identity Status Paradigm" (ISP) developed by Marcia (1966). Marcia's four identity statuses have attracted researchers' interest for nearly forty years. ISP studies examined extensively the development of identity and also provided much empirical evidence on the association of the statuses and various other social, psychological, behavioural and cognitive constructs. However, this model suffers from certain weaknesses and omissions that motivate the search for alternative identity models. Basically, ISP is relatively sensitive to individual differences, the examination of gender, content and context variation is minimal and ignores Erikson's essential position that ego identity develops in close relation to the adolescent's relevant socio-historical context. This chapter builds upon a multidimensional approach to identity by critically discussing the theoretical issues and empirical evidence from ISP on the development, content and context of identity. This discussion is also enhanced by reference to the broad theoretical framework of identity and self that has been adopted in the previous chapter.

2.1   Identity Status Paradigm

Marcia based his theory on Erikson's idea that adolescents experience a period of experimenting with alternative roles and ideals available in their society before making relatively enduring commitments, which serve both to complete their self-definition and to provide them with a place in their community (Bourne, 1978a). Using a semi-structured interview (Identity Status Interview - ISI) he asked 86 male college students about past experiences of personal crisis and present degree of vocational and ideological commitment. Thus, his measurement captured the developmental stage of identity. Results revealed, instead of Erikson's bipolar dimensions of coherent ego identity versus role confusion, four different approaches to deal with identity concerns. Marcia named them identity statuses and described them as follow:

Identity diffusion status refers to individuals who have no commitments and who are not actively trying to form any (Marcia, 1980). This position is developmentally appropriate at the beginning of adolescence. Diffused individuals have no central sense of self to give meaning and significance to their world and they find it difficult to plan for the future (Marcia, 1993a).

Foreclosure status refers to individuals who follow the commitments that are presented to them by parents or other authority figures, without ever exploring options or experiencing an identity crisis (Marcia, 1980). Marcia (1993a) clarifies that foreclosures have conferred identities; they gradually realise that they belong to a certain social group and have to live up to a prearranged set of ideals, occupational plans and interpersonal forms.

Moratorium status refers to individuals who are actively seeking among alternatives to arrive at a choice (Marcia, 1980). As noted earlier, Erikson (1980) used the notion of moratorium to describe a feature in contemporary societies in which young people are allowed to explore their options. Marcia (1993a) modifies Erikson's notion of moratorium into an identity status, by which, he designates the active period of crisis during which adolescents are exploring different roles and values available in the society, often with an increase in anxiety and uncertainty. Moratorium is logically the intermediate position between diffusion or foreclosure and achievement.

Finally, achievement status refers to individuals who have gone through a period of exploration (past crisis) and have established firm identity commitments (Marcia, 1980). Achievers have self-constructed identities that are based upon their own decision-making process (Marcia, 1993a).

The specific content areas or decision-making issues that the adolescent is exploring or has made a commitment to are referred to as identity domains. Erikson (1968) identified three central domains: occupation and ideology concerning religious beliefs and political values. These three domains were used initially by Marcia (1966) and provided the focus for much of the early identity research. According to Marcia (1993a), identity domains are the areas in which the behavioural aspects of identity formation could indicate the presence or absence of the presumed underlying identity structure.

For nearly forty years now, many researchers worldwide have pursued identity-status research in order to examine the development of identity and the association of identity with other variables. Identity researchers have either relied on ISI or developed alternative identity measures, such as the one used in the present study (EOMEIS-2 by Adams, 1999; Bennion & Adams, 1986; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). Studies, mainly of college or university students, have enriched our knowledge of young people's exploration and commitment stances but have also raised criticisms. Although Marcia and his colleagues (1993) updated ISI with added content domains and improved its psychometric properties in an attempt to respond to methodological and theoretical weaknesses, many critical issues remain unresolved; issues such as measurement discrepancies, the construct validity of identity statuses, the debate on global versus domain specific identity, the justification for sub-statuses and the dispute on whether identity statuses form a developmental continuum or a typology.

2.1.1 Construct Validity of Identity Status Paradigm

Bourne (1978b) and Cote & Levin (1988a) criticised the construct validity of the ISP. Bourne (1978b) argued that both Marcia's paradigm and interview pertain to only two of the seven facets of Erikson's concept of ego identity. According to him, asking adolescents to express their occupational and ideological commitments seems relevant only to: *"a psychological reciprocity"* that implies a mutual relationship with adolescents' immediate community and/or larger society and *"an existential stance"* of ego identity that has to do with how adolescents establish their place in the world. The other five facets of identity are not represented: Identity as *"a genetic entity"* that is developed epigenetically, incorporating the individual's experiences over the first five stages of the life cycle; identity as *"an adaptive accomplishment"* of adolescents in comparison with their social environment; identity as having *"a structural role"* in the personality; identity as *"a dynamic process;"* and identity as be *"subjective"* that implies an inner sense of sameness and continuity (Bourne, 1978a: 225-227).

Cote and Levine (1988a) made a stronger attack on the ISP by indicating a number of omissions and divergences from Erikson's notion of identity. They argued that the terms used for the four statuses are not related to Eriksonian terminology and they lack clarity (Cote & Levine, 1988a). These accusations led Waterman (1988), to clarify that Erikson and Marcia agree on identity domains (politics, religion and occupation); on adolescence as the timing of an identity issue; on the epigenetic perspective of identity

and on the identity construct, ignoring, of course, Bourne's (1978a) arguments. However, he also recognised points of disagreement, such as the divergence from the psychoanalytic perspective, the emphasis on the conscious aspects of identity, the viewing of identity, not only as a global construct but also as domain specific. He also acknowledged that the terms achievement, moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion are Marcia's definitions rather than Erikson's terminology.

Before these criticisms, Marcia himself explained that the ISI interview:

> is insufficient to expose the core of identity...what has been dealt with by these studies are some surface manifestations of identity and that their referent is a much more highly concentrated group of processes ordinarily inaccessible to direct observation (Marcia. 1978b, cited in Bourne, 1978b: 377).

In here, similar to Erikson, Marcia suggested that identity consists of explicit and implicit contents and processes. Later, Marcia (1993a) said that an individual's experience of the particular status of identity formation forms the phenomenological aspects of identity, probably indicating that what he measured with his interview are some explicit aspects of identity.

Concerning the construct validity of the statuses, much of the empirical evidence as presented in reviews of identity studies (i.e., Bourne, 1978b; Marcia, 1993b; Waterman, 1982) shows status differences on numerous social-psychological, personality and cognitive dimensions, underlying structural aspects of identity statuses. However, these differences are not always consistent across the four statuses. For example, Adams & Shea (1979) examined the relationships between Loevinger et al's (1970) ego developmental stages and identity statuses and showed that among college males and females, achievers were the only identity status to be significantly related to one of the stages, namely the highest post-conformist (integrated) level. In contrast, another study with college women found significant relations between two groups: moratorium women together with achievers were located more frequently in the post-conformist stages, and foreclosures together with diffusion women tended to be conformist and pre-conformist (Ginsburg & Orlofsky, 1981).

There are, however, a few good examples of construct validity of ISP. Authoritarianism and socially stereotypical thinking were consistently higher in foreclosed males and females than in moratoriums (Marcia, 1966; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Matteson, 1974;

Schenkel & Marcia, 1972). Moratorium individuals reported the highest levels of anxiety and foreclosed the lowest levels (Marcia & Friedman, 1970). Bob (1968 cited in Marcia, 1993b) studied male college students and found that achievers performed the best under stress on a concept attainment target; foreclosed became cognitively constricted and diffused tended to withdraw. In Marcia and Friedman's (1970) study achieved women chose the most difficult college majors, while diffused women chose the least difficult. On a measure of cognitive sophistication, college male achievers and moratoriums were more cognitively advanced than those who were foreclosed or diffused, with the moratoriums scoring higher than achievers (Slugoski, Marcia, & Koopman, 1984).

Van Hoof (1999), critically commenting on the above evidences, said that the statuses were not identified as four distinct psychological entities on any of these associated variables. She further claimed that it is unclear which construct the statuses actually measure and that there is no theoretical reasoning about why the statuses should perform differently on the variables selected for predictive or construct validity. Berzonsky and Adams (1999) answered that no operational definition can completely measure a hypothetical construct, especially the complex Eriksonian identity. They, however, acknowledged the need for methodological improvement.

Indeed a methodological limitation that needs improvement relates to the samples used. The studies relying on the identity status interview (ISI) used small non-random samples of exclusively college and university students from Western countries (Cote, 1996a). EOMEIS, as it is a self-report that is easy to administer, solved the problem of the sample size, though, again, it was mostly applied to white, university students. Schwartz (2005), a Neo-Eriksonian who tries to bring ISP research closer to Erikson's original ideas, suggested that identity studies need to be applied to three unexamined populations: high school adolescents, adolescents with other ethnic or national backgrounds, and adolescents with lower socioeconomic status and who are less educated.

A measurement discrepancy that needs consideration relates to EOMEIS classification. Less than a 50% of the participants fall into one of the "pure" statuses, (achievement, foreclosure, moratorium and diffusion), thus, two additional status classifications emerged: individuals who failed to meet classification criteria on any of the four

subscales were viewed as "low profile moratoriums," while individuals who met classification criteria on more than one subscale were viewed as being in "transition" (Adams, 1999). For example, Grotevant and Adams' (1984) original study, found it difficult to classify college students into a pure identity status. Within samples from Texas (n=317) and Utah (n=274), 11% and 13%, respectively, were categorised as identity achieved; 13% and 10% as foreclosed; and 21% and 17% were diffused. The pure and low moratoriums were combined to yield 51% and 52% respectively; while 4% and 8% were in transition. Jones et al (1994) proposed the use of 0.5 S.D. cut off criteria (instead of the 1.00 S.D. rule) in order to improve classification outcomes. However, in a sample of 2004 9th to 12th grade students, there was only an 8% overall increase in "pure" statuses, while 60% of the sample was still classified as low profiles or transitional. These two statuses were either excluded from the sample, or most commonly collapsed into the other statuses. However, there are no strong justifications for this collapsing strategy.

In conclusion, both supporters of ISP (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Marcia, Waterman, Matterson, Archer, & Orlofsky, 1993; Waterman, 1999a; 1999b) and opponents (Bourne, 1978b; Cote & Levine, 1988a; 1988b; Van Hoof, 1999) did not conceptualise the four identity statuses within a broader framework of the notion of self, which would have helped to solve some of the theoretical and conceptual problems of the ISP. Erikson and Marcia, as clinicians, considered ego-identity to consist of both implicit and explicit contents and processes, though neither of them provided a sufficient amount of detail about these contents and processes. Conversely, ISP focuses on young people's perceptions of their exploration and commitments in various life areas, which reveals some explicit content of the "Me" part of self. The researcher who analyses their answers assigns them in one of the four structural statuses that indicate a presumed developmental progression in the arbitrary chosen content domains. Concerning the construct validity problem, that the four statuses were not identified as four distinct psychological constellations on any of the associated variables might lie in the ambiguity of global identity, which is the next issue.

2.1.2   Global versus Domain Specific Identities

Erikson, due to his psychoanalytic background and his developmental epigenetic notion of self preferred mostly to understand and describe identity as a process that provides a sense of sameness and continuity. Marcia (1966) initially viewed and measured identity

as a global structure following Erikson's theorising that identity is a unified construct. In his semi-structured interview, the participants were assigned three scores, one for each original domain that was used to define their global identity status. When Marcia and other researchers began work with females and other age-groups, they introduced new content areas; such as family and career conflict (Marcia & Friedman, 1970); premarital sexuality (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972); gender role attitudes for both sexes (Matteson, 1974). The initial content areas of vocational choice, religious beliefs, political ideology, and the newer domains of gender-role attitudes and beliefs about sexual expression now comprise the core area domains. Supplemental domains, such as relationships with friends and dates, have also been added to be used according to the age of the participants and their interests in specific contexts (Waterman, 1993b). Likewise, Grotevant and Adams (1984) in EOMEIS made a distinction between ideological/intrapersonal domains of occupation, politics, religion and philosophical life style; and interpersonal domains of gender roles, friendship, recreation and dating.

The increase in identity domains, the study of both males and females and the study of other age groups helped to reveal the complexity and multiplicity of identity manifestations. This complexity led the majority of identity theorists to conceptualise identity on both global and domain specific levels. Waterman (1988) was the first to make the clarification that one of the points of disagreement between Erikson and the researchers of ISP is the viewing of identity not only as a global construct, but also as a domain specific one. Although identity researchers find it interesting to report and comment on identity-domain specific results, the area has not received adequate attention. Besides, the use of the global measure creates theoretical and empirical problems.

Theoretically, there is no comprehensive position on the relation between global and domain-specific identity. Grotevant (1987) stated that specific domains of identity are separate, but related, constructs. There are also some recommendations on the use of the global and domain specific identities. The use of global identity is recommended when studying the correlates of identity statuses (i.e., research referred to in the previous section) or when investigating relations with other global constructs. The use of domain specific statuses is recommended in the examination of external variables that are related to an identity domain (Raskin, 1984 cited in Goossens, 2001), or in differences

between two or more groups (Waterman, 1993b), or in developmental questions (Waterman, 1985).

Nonetheless, these recommendations lack the clarity of self-concept theoretical assumptions where the relation between global and specific self-concepts is well established. Rosenberg (1979) stated that "it is not just the parts, but also the relationship among the parts, that constitutes the whole" (Rosenberg, 1979: 17). Further, he pointed out that specific and global levels are not identical or interchangeable: both exist within the individual's phenomenal field as separate and distinguishable entities and each can and should be studied on its own. Also, information on the one cannot form the basis for conclusions about the other, because the global attitude is not the product of a simple addition of the parts, but a complex synthesis of elements. An appreciation of both global and domain-specific self-conceptions led theorists to speculate on the links between them and produced a number of multifaceted-hierarchical models (Bracken, 1996; Hattie, 1992).

Empirically, the picture is uneven and blurred. The inclusion of different domains in different studies makes the comparisons difficult. Marcia's (1966) original interview includes three domains. Grotevant and Cooper's (1981, cited in Grotevant, Thorbecke, & Meyer, 1982) expansion of Marcia's interview includes six domains. Waterman (1993b), in the final identity handbook, suggested five core domains and six supplemental domains. EOMEIS includes eight domains. Another problem is revealed from the different criteria used by the researchers to weight domains specific statuses in order to arrive at a global score. Marcia (1966) suggested that the domain scores should be indicative of the global score. Waterman (1993b) gave five different guidelines on how to obtain the global identity score. For example, one criterion weights global identity to the domain that is important to the interviewee; another criterion weights global identity to the intuitive impression of the interviewer. In the EOMEIS, an additive integration of the domain-specific ratings is used.

Statistical tests of the convergence of identity statuses across domains and between global and domain specific statuses do not support the global identity hypothesis. First, the convergence across domains is very low. For example, in Pastorino et al's (1997) identity-interview study, in which six domains were covered, only 2.4% of a college sample was classified in the same status group across domains. Second, the

convergence between global and domain-specific statuses is moderate: 69.4% for politics (Kroger, 1986), 58.8% for occupation and higher (85%) for religion (Rogow, Marcia, & Slugoski, 1983).

Nevertheless, the majority of studies deal with global identity and secondary importance is given to identity domains. In Marcia et al's (1993) handbook of identity, only a few paragraphs are dedicated to domain specific identities. It seems that researchers are hesitant to explore the fruitful variability of domain-specific identities; For example, Jackson et al (1990) in examining the effects of gender and of family cohesion and adaptability on identity statuses using global identity, found domain-specific results worth mentioning, because the variability was high. However, they did not attempt a further analysis of their variables and the domain-specific identities.

Two solutions are proposed to the problematic treatment of identity as both a unitary and multi-domain construct. One supports the exclusively global conception of identity, and the other the sole acceptance of domain specific identities. Although there are researchable grounds for both positions, they are one-sided and ignore the multilevel picture of identity.

Cote and Levin (1988a) and Van Hoof (1999) insisted that the operationalisation of identity should be marked by the sense of temporal-spatial continuity, which is the core aspect of ego-identity as defined by Erikson. Specifically, Van Hoof (1999) argued that with the increasing number of content areas in identity status research, the study of the relationship between domain-specific and global identity was the concern of only a few studies, which do not provide answers or insights into temporal-spatial continuity. She also took issue with the division of domains into ideological/intrapersonal and interpersonal. She argued that each domain consists of both intra- and interpersonal aspects; i.e., religion belongs to the intrapersonal one, but according to Archer (1992) there are adolescents who discuss the importance of their relationship with God. So, for them the ISP under-represents Erikson's notion of ego-identity that underlines the sense of sameness and continuity for an individual.

Cote and Levin (2002) in response to the notion of multiple identities they gave their own interpretation to Erikson's notion of temporal spatial continuity by proposing that is reflected in a tripartite identity that consists of ego, personal and social identities. The ego identity enables the ego (a psychic agency whose function is to control behaviour)

to have a conscious sense of its temporal-spatial continuity. This stability is observable in terms of personal identity as the person experiences their behavioural and character repertoire; and in terms of social identity in a person's recognised roles within a community. They explained that all three levels of identity involve "second order reflexivity" that suggests "the subjective sense of differentiation," from the knowledge derived by a person in concrete everyday experiences; this reflexivity helps to maintain "the ego's sense of continuity" (Cote & Levine, 2002: 116-117). However, these explanations are theoretical and vague, making Erikson's already abstract thinking more complicated.

On empirical grounds, De Haan and Schulenberg (1997) took a decisive step towards the use of domain-specific identities by showing the differences between religious and political identities; measured by EOMEIS (Bennion & Adams, 1986) in 209 university students. The results challenged the global identity assumption that co-variation among identity domains is high. A moderate correlation was found in foreclosure status (r= 0.55), a small correlation (r= 0.25) in moratorium status and no significant relations between religious and political diffusion and religious and political achievement. Although the sample was small and not representative, the study indicates that political and religious identity should be measured separately.

Goossens (2001) too supported the use of domain specific identity. He used the ideological identity from EOMEIS to classify 339 college students into global identity statuses and the DISI-ORP (Dellas Identity Status Inventory by Dellas & Jernigan, 1981) to classify them into domain-specific identities. DISI-ORP measures identity separately for the domains of occupation, religion and politics in six statuses: achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, diffused-diffused, diffused luck and unclassified. The results showed low convergence in identity statuses across the three domains; only 6% were assigned to the same identity status in all three domains. The percentage increased to 15% where the two diffused statuses were combined. Further, he tested for similarities in global and domain specific identities and he found moderate convergence (0.33) when the low profile status (50% of all students) was collapsed into the moratorium status; and higher convergence (0.42) when low profiles were dropped from the sample. Although this study suffers from the limitations that EOMEIS and DISI-ORP are different measures and its sample is not representative, it makes a decisive step towards the use of domain-specific identities.

It seems that the use of domain specific identities is viable and may be better able to provide detailed accounts of the complexity and heterogeneity of the explicit content of identity. However, the existence of a global identity that offers the notion of unity should not be abandoned according to the broader conceptualisation of self; and according to Erikson's (1968) major contribution to understand adolescence as a period where people gain a unified sense of themselves and who they are.

2.1.3   Identity Statuses and Sub-Statuses

An irregularity in Identity Status Paradigm research is the existence of sub-statuses within the four main statuses. Marcia (1974, cited in Bourne, 1978b) commented that identity sub-statuses should be regarded as interpretive formulations "made to fit" specific research findings rather than the other way round. Bourne (1978b) similarly proposed that identity sub-statuses are associated with particular subcultures, cohorts, or age groups specific to particular studies and are not widely applicable. There have been few empirical attempts to distinguish and explain sub-statuses within the four main statuses.

Diffusion status seems to consist of the most uneven group and there is considerable agreement among ISP researchers that there are numerous subtypes within diffusion status (Waterman, 1988). Marcia (1966) in the initial analysis of ISI distinguished between the "playboy" type of identity diffusion, which functioned reasonably well and "schizoid," a psychologically unhealthy type. Archer and Waterman (1990), based on theoretical analysis of Erikson's earlier life stages and their own impressions from interviewing adolescents, made a systematic effort to subdivide six types of identity-diffused status: (1) Pre-crisis diffusions are aware of entering in exploration in the future, Raphael (1975, cited in Kroger, 1995) named this type "passive moratoriums;" (1) Apathetic diffusions never express interest in forming any commitments because of a sense of hopelessness; (3) Alienated diffusions do not express any interest in forming commitments because of their anger towards society; (4) Pathological diffusions exhibit pathological symptoms, similar to Marcia's "schizoid" type; (5) Marginally involved diffusions are characterised by a minor and loose attachment to identity commitments; (6) Commitment avoiding diffusions are exploring but are unwilling to form any commitment. From a longitudinal perspective, Cote and Levin (2002) identified two types of diffusion: the refusers who develop a series of defences with which to "refuse" entry to adulthood; and the drifters who, although they exhibit more personal resources,

similarly lack integration into a community. Responding to the need for a further sub-division of the diffusion status, Dellas and Jernigan (1981) in the development of the DISI, distinguished the diffused-diffused (in the known sense) from the diffused-luck status that refers to a dependence on luck accompanied by an absence of strong identity commitments.

Foreclosure also appears as an uneven status. Archer and Waterman (1990) distinguished five types of foreclosure status amongst adolescents: (1) Open foreclosed have commitments but they are not opposed to other options; (2) Closed foreclosed are dogmatic on their commitments; (3) Premature foreclosed made their commitments before entering to adolescence; (4) Late developing foreclosed made their commitments in early adulthood; (5) Appropriated foreclosed are those who are dedicated entirely to a particular life style, cult or social group. Kroger (1995) gave more attention to sub-statuses and tried to find the underlying factors of the differences among foreclosed sub-statuses. In a two-year longitudinal study, she examined empirically the psychological differences between "developmental" foreclosure and "firm" foreclosure (similar to closed and appropriated types). The distinction between "firm" and "developmental" foreclosures is suggested by Berzonsky (1985, cited in Kroger, 1995) and is based on individuals' willingness to enter or not a moratorium phase in the future. In her study, "firm foreclosures" had higher nurturance seeking scores and more frequent early memory themes of seeking security than did "developmental foreclosures," moratoriums and achievers.

References to the existence of sub-grouping within the other two statuses are few. The use of EOMEIS leads to the distinction between "pure moratorium" and "low profile moratorium." Adams (1999) treated the two types as a single moratorium status because in all his studies he found that the pure and low-profile moratorium-status' individuals appeared as very similar in their attitudes, values, behaviours and developmental trajectories. Marcia (1993a) distinguished between achievement and "alienated achievement," a type that lack occupational commitment but have strong ideological commitment.

In conclusion, Erikson (1968) emphasised a bipolar result of identity task resolution in late adolescence, namely identity coherence or identity confusion. Marcia empirically established four identity resolutions: achievement, moratorium, foreclosure and

diffusion. There are indications that these four resolutions are problematic: individuals within the same status vary (Kroger, 1995); only half of the tested individuals fall into the pure statuses (Jones et al, 1994). Additionally, in an era characterised by fragmentation, differentiation and the existence of many local truths, attempts to classify people into only four identity resolutions may be seen by some as restrictive, non-representative and dogmatic. A step towards further differentiation of identity structure seems to be warranted.

2.1.4 Developmental Hypothesis of Identity and Empirical Evidence

The examination of identity development with the use of Identity Status Paradigm has had limited success and instigated the debate on whether identity statuses form a developmental continuum or a typology. Waterman (1982; 1993a) proposed the developmental hypothesis, based on the assumption that the transition from adolescence to adulthood involves progressive strengthening of the sense of identity. In his descriptive model of sequential patterns of identity development, he identified four identity sequences: First, the *progressive* developmental shifts, from diffusion into foreclosure or moratorium, from foreclosure to moratorium, and from moratorium to achievement. Each movement involves either the start of considering identity alternatives or the development of commitments. Second, a change into the identity diffusion status from any of the other statuses is considered as developmentally *regressive* because it involves putting aside identity concerns. The shift from achievement to moratorium status, however, is not considered as a regression, but rather as a resumption of crisis. Fourth, the *stability* of diffusion, foreclosure and achievement statuses are considered. Stability of moratorium status is not proposed because it is associated with an expressed desire to make changes in one's life.

Waterman (1982; 1993a) provided empirical evidence that the movement from adolescence to adulthood involves a predominance of progressive developmental shifts, and maintained that progress is limited in high school years, extensive during college years and involves consolidation and re-examination in adulthood. However, a great deal of research and theorising (Kroger, 1996; Stephen et al., 1992; Meeus, 1996; Meeus et al., 1999; Cote and Levin, 1988a; Van Hoof, 1999) gives only moderate support to Waterman's model and scepticism has arisen about whether the use of ISP can adequately explain the development of identity.

Concerning the *progressive* trends, Waterman (1993a) refers to three cross-sectional studies of identity formation involving ISI (Archer, 1982; 1985; Meilman, 1979) that showed significant increase in the frequency of achievement with age in all domains. Meilman (1979) interviewed males from twelve to twenty-four years old and Archer (1982; 1985) interviewed eleven to seventeen year-olds of both sexes. In all three studies, all participants were in the foreclosure and/or diffusion statuses at the youngest level. The foreclosure status was more often observed for the domains of religious beliefs (Meilman, 1979) and sex-roles attitudes (Archer, 1982); the diffusion status was more frequent in the domain of political ideology (Archer, 1982; Meilman, 1979). At the end of the high school years (17-18 year-olds), the developmental trend is evident: Archer found 19% and Meilman 24% achievers and moratoriums, mostly in the domain of occupation.

Concerning the *regressive* trends, Waterman (1982; 1993a) gave this little attention as he was concerned with emphasising the progressive patterns. Kroger (1996), however, examined three types of regression using developmental and clinical literatures. First, disorganisation, the movement to diffusion from any other identity status, was the result of overwhelming stress caused by major trauma and/or loss. Longitudinal studies on adolescence show that a small number of individuals follow this type of regression (Adams & Fitch, 1982; Marcia, 1976).

Second, rigidification, the shift from achievement or moratorium to foreclosure status, involves a narrowing of perspective that restricts access to a diversity of life experiences. While this regression type is not proposed by Waterman (1982; 1993a), it has been reported in a number of studies. For example, in Marcia's (1976) longitudinal study 57% achieved and 29% moratorium late adolescents were rated as foreclosed six years later. Kroger (1996) said that rigidification and disorganisation are maladaptive regressions because they do not facilitate the developmental process.

Third, disequilibrium, the movement from achievement to moratorium has been considered adaptive. Waterman (1982; 1993a) considered it as a resumption of a crisis. Marcia (1980) regarded it as a life span developmental process of identity strengthening, characterising adulthood. He theorised that, after the first resolution of identity, the person enters into successive periods of exploration-commitment or moratorium-achievement-moratorium-achievement (MAMA) cycles. These transitional

identity structures can be initiated by internal psychological changes or by external life events. Thus, initial identity will be disequilibrated once meaningful commitments become unsatisfactory as particular values, attitudes, roles and identifications may no longer be perceived as meaningful or satisfactory (Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia, 1992). The individual re-enters the crisis in order to find new, or recover earlier, identity elements and integrate such elements into a more complex identity structure. Review of empirical evidence shows that up to 50% of achievement participants between late adolescence and young or middle adulthood shift into moratorium status (Kroger, 1996).

Concerning *stability*, Waterman (1982; 1993a) reviewing three ISI longitudinal studies found that moratorium was the least stable status over a period of four college years and was highly unstable in all domains. He also found that even achievement, which is the most stable status, had one-third to one-half shift by the time of the follow up test. Regarding identity domains, achievement and foreclosure were more stable in occupational identity, and diffusion was more stable in religious and political ideology (Waterman, 1993a). According to Waterman (1993a), over the college years there is relative stability in the statuses related to the specific domains of identity.

Meeus (1996) in a review of existing research, and Meeus et al (1999) in their study provided partial support to Waterman's developmental hypotheses. In a systematic overview of research of the period 1966-1993, he showed that progressive developmental trends are found in most studies. However, when he clarified the form of progressive developmental shifts, he showed that only a small minority of studies found systematic progressive developmental shifts; i.e., an increase in both achievers and moratoriums in a combination with a decrease in diffusions or/and foreclosures. The majority of studies showed single progressive trends. When he looked at domain specific identity studies, he found that longitudinal studies showed more progressive developmental trends than cross-sectional studies. This pattern is reversed in global identity studies. Meeus (1996) found it difficult to explain but concluded that domain specific statuses are accurate about what they represent.

In a longitudinal study with 1538 Dutch adolescents Meeus et al (1999) showed a decrease in diffusion and an increase in achievement for relational identity (personal relationships) and a decrease in diffusion and an increase in foreclosure for societal

identity (school and work). However, when the status transitions were examined on an individual level they were not as comprehensive as described by Waterman (1982; 1993a). Meeus et al (1999) also argued that development did not necessarily proceed via moratorium but can also proceed via foreclosure. Waterman (1999b) agreed that at the individual level identity development is not unidirectional and does not proceed in a prescribed sequence.

Additionally, Meeus (1996) and Meeus et al (1999) examined Marcia and Waterman's argument that identity develops extensively during college years. In the first analysis of the 1966-1993 identity studies, he showed that the studies with high school samples showed more, or at least as many, progressive developmental shifts as the studies with college samples (Meeus, 1996). In a meta-analysis that included only studies with sub-samples of high school students or college/university students and young adults, Meeus et al. (1999) found that the development of identity is slightly stronger in late adolescence than in early adolescence. They also found that, in the high school period, the progressive development of identity takes place more by moving out of diffusion; in contrast, in late adolescence and young adulthood they found that development is most common by moving out of foreclosure and reaching achievement. Nonetheless, in their Dutch study, they found that identity develops at a regular rate during adolescence (Meeus, 1996; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999). These findings led Waterman (1999b) to reconsider the timing hypothesis and stated that it is difficult to make accurate predictions about when change will occur.

Van Hoof (1999) completely refuted the conclusion that the available evidence supported the general directional hypothesis on identity development. She analysed the results of all the developmental studies that had been published so far and showed that stability predominates in identity status shifts. It seems that she is biased towards stability as, for example, she did not count the single progressive changes (difference in one status) and she insisted that a substantial proportion of the college students were still found in the less advanced statuses like diffusion and foreclosure. She concluded that the ISP should not be considered as a model for identity development. Berzonsky and Adams (1999) rejected her conclusion, pointing to the results from longitudinal studies that showed more change than stability and more progression than regression. However, they agreed with Van Hoof that the utility of maintaining the developmental sequence D-F-M-A is inapplicable (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999).

As a result of the criticism, a debate on whether identity statuses form a continuum or a typology arose. Cote and Levine (1988a) criticised Marcia's assumption that identity statuses could be rank ordered along a developmental continuum: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. They also considered the ISP to be elitist indicates that identity achievement is of higher psychological quality since evidence shows that only a minority ever attain it. Waterman (1988) then argued that the statuses are a typology of qualitatively different approaches to the task of identity formation. He also refuted the elitism claim by saying that identity theorists assumed that everyone has the potential to become identity achieved. However, Cote and Levine (1988b) asserted that if the continuum is rejected then the ISP should not be considered as developmental. In the same vein, Van Hoof (1999) wondered why identity statuses are still suitable for conceptually and empirically describing developmental changes if the developmental assumptions regarding the statuses have been so seriously questioned. Consequently, Waterman (1999a) argued that achievement is the most developmentally sophisticated status, diffusion is the least sophisticated status and moratorium and foreclosure are intermediate in developmental sophistication. Nevertheless, the issue of developmental stages has been already de-emphasised by Developmental Contextualism that views stages as occurring with a high degree of probability, but not as predetermined and invariant (Muuss, 1996).

Overall, empirical findings suggest a great deal of evidence for progressive, regressive, fluctuating and stable sequential pathways among various groups (Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). However, ISP seems that "no longer qualifies as a developmental theory but at best, as a descriptive system for transitions in identity status" (Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999: 422). Even the characterisation of an individual as having an "advanced" or a "non-advanced" global status is disputed. ISP is useful in studying the degree of exploration and commitments among individuals, and should be considered as one of several approaches to identity. As ISP fails to address the mechanisms involved in the transition between statuses (Lavoie, 1994), new models have been proposed in order to investigate the underlying processes and determinants of identity (for an account see Bosma & Kunnen, 2001).

2.1.5 An Example of a Meta-model of Identity Status Paradigm

Berzonsky (1989; 1990; 1993) in his identity style theory viewed identity development not as a shift from one status to another but in terms of different pathways (identity

styles), in which individuals approach or avoid the tasks of constructing, testing and reconstructing their self-theories. He empirically found that identity styles are related to stable inter-individual differences in short-term processing orientations. Within this theorisation he considered identity as a unified construct similar to Erikson's notion, so each of his identity styles is underlined by the feeling of sameness across domains. However, in the studies referred to below, there is a measurement weakness concerning Identity Style Inventory (Berzonsky, 1992a), a five-point Likert scale, which yields three separate scores, the highest of which is used to classify a respondent in one of the three identity styles. In that way all participants are classified but comparisons across samples cannot be made as scores are standardised within a sample, making cross sample comparisons difficult. Nevertheless, the three identity styles are established.

Information-oriented identity style is used by identity achieved or moratorium individuals (Berzonsky, 1989; 1992b; Streimatter, 1993). Research has indicated that the informational identity orientation is positively associated with self-exploration (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994), problem-focused coping (Berzonsky, 1992b), adaptive defence mechanism (Berzonsky & Kinney, 1994), introspectiveness, need for cognition, feelings and fantasies, openness to ideas and personal identity aspects (Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992). Berzonsky (1993) claimed that information-oriented individuals function intuitively as scientific self-theorists.

Normative-oriented individuals have been found to be related to foreclosure status (Berzonsky, 1989; 1992b; Streitmatter, 1993). Research has shown that these individuals rely on a normative problem solving and decision making (Berzonsky & Neimeyer, 1994), they mostly use emotion-focused coping (Berzonsky, 1992b) and they are closed to information that may threaten hard-core aspects of the self, such as value and belief systems (Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992). According to Berzonsky (1993) they act as dogmatic self-theorists.

Diffuse/avoidant orientated individuals have been found to be related to diffusion (Berzonsky, 1989; 1992b; Streitmatter, 1993); Research found that reliance on diffuse/avoidant identity orientation is positively associated with avoidant coping (Berzonsky, 1992b) and negatively correlated with introspectiveness, openness to personal ideas and feeling, need for cognition and a personal identity emphasis (Berzonsky & Sullivan, 1992). Diffused identity individuals are reluctant to face up to

and to deal with identity issues and conflicts (Berzonsky & Kinney, 1994) and external-control expectancies (Berzonsky, 1990). Berzonsky (1993) said that they act as ad hoc self-theorists reacting continually to situational demands.

Interestingly, Berzonsky in understanding and measuring these identity styles touched the implicit level of identity that relates to the implicit cognitive and personality characteristics of individuals. In that way, he puts the multifaceted composition of identity on the theoretical and empirical agenda. It means that identity can be identified as four identity resolutions: the identity statuses, and also as three identity processing orientations: the identity styles. Although, both identity statuses and styles are useful in understanding individuals' identity, they are abstract broad categorisations, which are not dependent on any specific content. The explicit specific level of identity content reveals the beliefs, attitudes and values that are contained in an identity. The present study emphasises this fruitful identity area.

2.2   Content of Identity

Psychologists gave a privileged place to the "Me" parts of the self that could be measured, such as the identity stages. However, identity stages do not provide any specific information of identity content (beliefs, values, attitudes, roles, etc). Since Erikson and Marcia were interested in providing nomothetic, universal knowledge of identity, they only considered content in an abstract and general framework. Rokeach (1968) made the first move by explaining the meaning and the function of beliefs, attitudes and values; though, again he spoke generally. Self-concept theorists indicated the strong relation of the content of the explicit level of self to context and its usefulness in explanations and predictions. ISP tradition has just begun to recognise the usefulness of identity content.

Erikson (1968) defined the content of identity at several points in his work. Some of his basic ideas about identity content concern identifications in terms of occupational self and commitment to an ideology. He claimed that "the final identity...includes all significant identifications" (Erikson, 1968: 161) and he considered young people's occupational identity to be very important. Further, he emphasised that young people should adopt an "ideological commitment" otherwise they suffer from "confusion of values" (Erikson, 1968: 188). He considered that an ideological focus on democratic ideals and on religious moral values completes the individual's identity.

Although, values such as moral or political are recognised as an important part of identity content, references are general. Theologians and philosophers, as already discussed, viewed moral values as an essential aspect of the "Me" self. In developmental psychology, Kohlberg (1981) studied morality because he viewed it as an integral part of self and created a hierarchy of universal values; he placed the highest value on human life, equality and dignity. Gilligan (1982) attacked the universality of his moral theory in terms of gender. She argued that the highest moral values for women are the care for others, sensitivity to others and the responsibility they take for others. Sociologists on the other hand, gave emphasis to political values; they believed that part of the process of developing an adult identity involves becoming committed to a particular political ideology, e.g., communist ideology (Haralambos & Holborn, 2000). Further, sociologists assume that the content of identity in terms of values is acquired through group membership. For modernists, identity content is defined exclusively by class values, while post-modernists brought the issue of heterogeneity claiming that a variety of sources of identity content is evident and all sources are equally valid.

Rokeach (1968) made a real contribution to our understanding of beliefs, attitudes and values that form part of an individual's identity. Though his theory refers to universal systems that exist within each individual, he explained how these systems influence stability and change in identity and he opened the way to the examination of specific beliefs, attitudes and values. Rokeach (1968) said that each person could have hundreds of thousands of beliefs, thousands of attitudes and dozens of values. He gave the following basic definitions and descriptions.

He defined beliefs as the inferences made by an observer about underlying states of expectancy and the belief system as a psychological but not necessarily logical organisation of person's beliefs. He identified five classes of beliefs that vary in their importance to the individual. (1) Type A primitive beliefs represent basic universal truths that everyone accepts about physical reality, social reality and the nature of the self; people are strongly committed to them. (2) Type B primitive beliefs are involved with existence and self-identity but they are not shared with others. (3) Authority beliefs concern positive and negative authority of people or groups. (4) Derived beliefs concern ideological beliefs originating from religious or political institutions. (5) Inconsequential beliefs are arbitrary matters of taste (Rokeach, 1968).

Rokeach (1968) defined attitude as a relatively enduring organisation of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner. Each belief within an attitude organisation has three components: the cognitive that represents a person's knowledge, the affective that relates to emotions and the behavioural that leads to action. Ideologies are constituted by religious, political or philosophical attitudes accordingly and are institutionalised or shared with others. An attitude may simultaneously serve several or all of the following functions: utilitarian where individuals serve their benefits; ego-defensive in which individuals protect themselves; value expressive in which individuals express their values; and knowledge function based upon the search for meaning and understanding of the world.

Finally, value is a type of belief, representing positive or negative ideal modes of conduct such as to seek truth and beauty (instrumental values), and ideal terminal goals, such as security and happiness (terminal values). Once a value is internalised it becomes, consciously or unconsciously, a criterion for guiding action, for developing and maintaining attitudes toward relevant objects and situations, for judging self and others, for comparing self with others and for influencing the values, attitudes and actions of others. A value system is a hierarchical organisation of ideals or values in terms of importance and there are two types as the two types of values: instrumental and terminal value systems (Rokeach, 1968).

These ideas motivated Bourne (1978b) to suggest that the Identity Status Paradigm should move towards examining young people's basic life values. Marcia (1966) originally specified three basic identity content areas: occupation, religion and politics; Marcia et al (1993) in a further development of this work suggested eight more content areas; the focus again was not directed at beliefs, attitudes, or values but at exploration and commitment statements in these content areas. Bourne (1978b) encouraged identity researchers to look for systematic differences among the identity statuses and the most salient personal values. He predicted that this is a worthwhile research area and that it might be striking to find no differences in basic values among people belonging to different identity statuses. Bourne's (1978b) suggestions were buried and only recently a few identity researchers did start scratching the surface of this fruitful area of identity content.

Knafo and Schwartz (2004) examined the relations between identity statuses and parent-child value congruence and found that the four identity statuses did not differ at the level of parent-child value congruence. An interesting part of this study is the use of the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) created by Schwartz (Knafo & Schwartz, 2004). Schwartz followed Rokeach's (1968) conception of values and tried to define the basic universal value system. For him the crucial content aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivational goal they express. Schwartz (1992) found evidence from diverse groups in over 60 countries to support the claim that people discriminate among 10 motivational distinct values from 5 domains: Conservatism (security, conformity, tradition) vs Openness to change (self-direction, stimulation); Self-enhancement (power, achievement) vs Self-transcendence (universalism, benevolence) and Hedonism. In the PVQ 40 short verbal portraits represent the above values and the participants indicate how much they resemble these portraits on a 6-point-Likert scale (Knafo & Schwartz, 2004). The basic universal value system has a great deal of potential, but it is also essential to examine this in terms of the specific content of each identity domain.

In two studies, Berzonsky (1994) and Berzonsky, Macek & Nurmi (2003) examined the relation between identity processing styles and identity content. They approached identity content through Cheek's (1989) framework that defines three identity contents: personal, social and collective. The personal identity content is defined by private self-attributes including personal values, goals, self-knowledge and unique psychological state. The social identity content is defined by public self-attributes such as one's reputation, popularity and impressions managed for others. The collective identity content is defined in the expectations and normative standards of significant others and referent groups such as family, community, country and religion. These identity contents are measured by the Aspects of Identity Questionnaire (a self-report 5 point Likert scale by Cheek, Underwood, & Cutler, 1985). Results indicated that young people who used an informational style relied on personal attributes, those who used a normative style relied on collective self attributes and those who used a diffused/avoidant style relied on social self attributes in defining their sense of identity. The second study tested the hypothesis in three different cultural groups and found the same pattern within all three cultural contexts. Both studies offered construct validation of the three identity styles using identity content. However, they used specific

populations of university students, they faced the shortcoming of self reports and the emphasis was on generalisations whereas the area calls for approaches that will reveal the heterogeneity and complexity of identity content.

The early research in self-concept was really a study of the content of self, as it utilised the open-ended probe "Who Am I?" The responses were classified into different categories providing evidence of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of self-concept content. For example, Gordon (1982) classified the responses into 29 categories that fall into 8 domains: (A) Ascribed characteristics (like gender, nationality, religion); (B) Roles and memberships (like kinship, occupational, political affiliation); (C) Abstract identification (like ideological references); (D) Interests and activities (like tastes, artistic activities); (E) Material references (like body-image); (F) Four systematic senses of self (competence, self-determination, unity, moral worth); (G) Personal characteristics (personality traits); (H) External meanings (like situational references).

Later research focuses on the examination of specific self-concepts. The Michigan Study of Adolescent Life Transition, a well acclaimed longitudinal study, indicated the usefulness of the content of specific self-concepts. MSALT began in 1982, with the sample of approximately 3000 sixth graders in 12 different school districts of Michigan; approximately 2000 of these adolescents were contacted into their early adulthood and been given standard survey questionnaires (Barber, Eccles, & Jozefowicz, 1999). They examined also academic self-concept by looking at adolescents' competence ratings for skills linked to adult occupational choices. While amongst gifted students they found no gender differences concerning efficacy (i.e., competence of success, leadership skills), the values that males and females attached to various related options were different. More specifically, the females were less likely than the males to enrol in advanced mathematics, mainly because they felt that maths was less important, useful and enjoyable than did the males (Eccles, Adler, & Meece, 1984). Additionally, females placed more value than did males on the importance of making occupational sacrifices for one's family and of having a job that allows one to help others and do something worthwhile for society. In contrast, the males placed more values on becoming famous, making lots of money, seeking out challenging tasks and doing work that involves the use of maths and computers (Jozefowicz, Barber, & Eccles, 1993). Educational and occupational choices of the sample showed that the values (content) of academic self-

concept are important predictors of gender differences (Barber, Eccles, & Jozefowicz, 1999).

Therefore, theoretical position and evidence form other areas, such as self-concept (Eccles, Adler, & Meece, 1984), indicates that ISP should undertake the examination of the content of identity because identity statuses do not predict how young people behave or make choices, but beliefs, attitudes and values could do. This content should be examined separately in each identity domain as the use of domain specific identities were found to be more reliable and valid (De Haan & Schulenberg, 1997; Goossens, 2001). As there has been limited investigation of this area in the literature, the employment of an inductive approach, which attempts to build categories from the data, seems preferable (such as "Who Am I?"). It is also essential to examine the content of specific identity domains in close relation with the context because "specific values, expectations, knowledge, theories and ideologies…reflect the social location of the perceiver" (Turner, 1999: 33). Therefore, the context of identity is the next concern of the chapter.

2.3   Context of Identity

Contextual influences on identity statuses had been largely neglected in empirical research, at least for the first three decades of ISP. A special issue of the Journal of Adolescents (vol. 19, 1996) dedicated to "Identity Development in Context" marked a turn towards the study of the role of context in identity development. In this, new theoretical positions were expressed and identity research moved its focus from micro (e.g., parents' influences) to macro contextual factors such as specific cultural, historical contexts and educational systems. Both theoretical positions and examples of empirical evidence are critically examined. The key issue of this discussion is whether individuals actively construct their identities using the content available in their social context or whether both identity process and content are imposed on individuals by the specific historical and contextual circumstances.

As Cote and Levine (1988a) rightly identified, the Identity Status Paradigm ignored the role of the context and viewed statuses as an intrapersonal attribute, whose development is mainly affected by individual factors. They further claimed that Marcia's notion of identity commitment is a-contextual while Erikson's social psychological view of commitment formation is context-related. For Erikson, the adolescent's commitment to

(his/her) identity is not complete unless "society... recognising him as somebody who had to become the way he is" (Erikson, 1980: 122). Although Erikson did not elaborate the social part of identity as extensively as the psychological part, he did point to the basic social dimensions that are essential to identity formation. He addressed the type of the society, its cultural values and the specific historical time in which adolescents live; the psychosocial and institutional moratoria that are provided by society; and the contribution of "significant others."

Adams and Marshall (1996) on the part of ISP, made an attempt to put individuals' identity in context. They said that micro- and macro- environments such as interpersonal communications, culture, economics, politics and social class influence identity formation through shared values and ideologies. However, they kept the emphasis on individuals' dynamic construction of their identities driven by their personal need to feel both unique and connected to others. Kroger and Green (1996) provided evidence to support this claim, showing that internal change processes played a more decisive role in identity formation than external contextual factors. In a retrospective study of 100 males and females, aged 40-63 years, using ISI, they studied events related to identity transitions, such as internal, age-graded, historical-graded, critical events, family cycle, new context and significant other. They found that "internal change" was associated with 47% of identity status change in the domain of politics, 58% in the domain of religion and 63% in the domain of occupation. Without diminishing the key role of personality variables in identity formation, the other variables, when put together as a group of external contextual factors, could easily counterbalance the highlighted role of internal factors. Besides, the relationship between contextual and personal factors in identity formation process should be considered.

Grotevant (1987) moved from ISP to an identity model, where individual and contextual factors interact with one another and influence the identity formation process. According to him the contextual factors such as cultural beliefs and expectations with regard to identity, and individual factors such as having choices, are mediated via primary social groups (family and peers). Kerpelman et al (1997) focused on the micro-processes of Grotevant's (1987) model, and examined how the match or mismatch of interpersonal feedback, self-perception and identity standard lead to the maintenance or change of identity. The results of a laboratory test was quite informative on the role of intra personal micro-processes on identity development (Kerpelman and

Lamke, 1997, cited in Kerpelman, Pittman, & Lamke, 1997). However, the larger contextual factors that are embedded in identity process were ignored. Grotevant (1987; 1997) suggested that identity micro-processes might differ between cultures, socioeconomic groups and genders.

Baumeister (1986) explained how different societies or the same society at different times, provide different levels of choice in the construction of self. At one extreme, a society may provide a social structure where an identity is assigned by ancestry or gender. At the other extreme a society may require choice, often between incompatible alternatives. Similarly, Cote & Levine (2002) encountered the equivalence of identity statuses within different types of society. In pre-modern societies individuals are expected to adopt their identities by accepting the expectations of other people; thus, foreclosure identity status is the norm. In modern societies, individuals are expected to construct their identities by following their distinct personal style, so, achievement status is encouraged. In post-modern societies individuals discover their identities by projecting images that meet the approval of a community and gain access to the community as long as the images remain acceptable; thus, diffusion and moratorium emerge as the predominant statuses. However, not all the views from psychology agree on what are the most appropriate identities in post-modern societies. Similar lack of agreement exists amongst sociologists as has been described in Chapter One.

On one hand, Gergen (1991) agreed with Hall (1992) and Bauman (1992; 1996) that post-modern identities are fragmented and saturated. He argued that individuals are "...constantly borrowing bits and pieces of identity from whatever sources are available and constructing them as useful or desirable in a given situation" (Gergen, 1991: 150). He explained that technologies saturate individuals with multiple and inconsistent relationships, which invite them to play such a variety of roles to the extent that the unified self withdraws. On the other hand, Baumeister and Muraver (1996) agreed with Giddens (1991) on individuated, self-actualised identity. They described that western societies allow people to choose and change their circumstances and adapt their identities as they wish, but this increases the pressure on individuals, especially on adolescents, who have to create their own identity without having a clear value basis. They encountered that the major problem in contemporary Western societies is the loss of several main value bases, such as tradition and religion, which justified certain ways of doing things and provided the criteria for everyday choices. For them, the most

important cultural adaptation to this value gap has been to elevate the self by self-interest and self-actualisation into a major value base.

For Cote (1996b) the active adaptation to the increasingly manipulative and extremely demanding post-modern conditions is for individuals to invest in who they are, or acquire and negotiate an "identity capital." Both personal and contextual resources consists individual's "identity capital." The personal-psychological assets, such as self-efficacy, critical thinking abilities, cognitive flexibility and complexity and self-monitory are more intangible; the sociological assets, such as educational credentials, social and vocational network memberships, and styles of dress and speech, which are "the passports" into other social and institutional spheres, are more tangible. Cote's indication on the role of sociological assets in the effective adaptation of identity is a valuable complement to the individualised perspective, which attributes identity development only to personal assets.

However, in testing identity capital in a student sample, Cote (1997) found that the more agentic personality attributes were consistently associated with identity capital acquisition while the more communal attributes were not. It seems that identity capital explains only the "elite" individuals who have the agentic personality to negotiate their resources with others in order to secure or access social positions. All the others are characterised as passively accepting any "mainstream" identities (Cote & Levine, 2002). Hendry and Kloep's (2002) model, which takes account of both individuals' various resources and external contextual factors, explains three different forms of "passive" identities without imposing the notion of deficiency on those individuals.

It seems that there is no theoretical agreement on how much choice individuals are allowed by post-modern conditions and whether is more adaptive for people to have saturated (Gergen, 1991) or individuated (Baumeister & Muraver, 1996) identities. Cote's identity capital, which purports to hold a position in the middle, is rather near to individuated identity as it emphasises the personal agency. However, there is empirical evidence on Baumeister & Muraver's (1996) argument that the best way to conceptualise the complex relationship between individual identity and socio-historical-cultural context is adaptation, because it can explain both the casual importance of the culture, and the individual choices.

Kroger (1993) investigated the impact of the social and economic changes of the mid-1980s in New Zealand upon the identity formation process of late adolescents. Changes concerned the move of the country from a partly socialised to a free market economy that brought rises in unemployment (10.7% by 1990). Over a 6 year interval, two samples of male and female university students (1984, n=140; 1990 n=131) were interviewed with ISI in four domains. Results showed that females were more likely to be foreclosed in occupational, political and gender role domains in 1990 compared within 1984, and was explained by Kroger as a response to a more rigid and restrictive social structure that particularly affected women. Women's global identity status showed no significant trend towards decrease in achievement, which showed that identity domains are more sensitive in revealing cultural influences.

Likewise, a cross cultural examination of the impact of specific societies on adolescents' identity development was examined (Jensen, Kristiansen, Sandbekk, & Kroger, 1998) and then replicated (Stegarud, Solheim, Karlsen, & Kroger, 1999). University students from Norway and United States were given EOMEIS-2 and group differences were shown in means and standard deviations. Both studies found that Norwegian men and women scored significantly lower on all eight identity status domains than United States participants. The moderate identity exploration and commitment of Norwegian students may reflect their adaptation to the mixed liberal welfare state of Norway that stresses equality among individuals. By contrast the higher identity exploration and commitment among American students may reflect the US free-market economic system that stresses the uniqueness of individuals and competitiveness. These studies have drawn attention to the importance of understanding identity development within the specific historical, political, economical and cultural context in which a study takes place. They also pointed to the need to investigate identity development and content in other cultures.

Empirical evidence on adolescents' identity formation within another key contextual area that can be explained by adaptation, concerns studies on different educational orientations. Cote and Levine (1988a) on the basis of Erikson's writings reconsidered identity moratorium, not only as a psychological period (Marcia's notion) but as a social structure (Erikson's notion) that is provided by the society to allow young people identity experimentation. Such established institutionalised moratoria are offered by universities and are of two main types: the technological and the humanistic. Cote and

Levine (see Levine, Pakvis, & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2000) conducted a few studies to examine the impact of these two different value systems on identity formation. As they opposed ISP, they did not use Marcia's approach to measure identity development but their own paper and pencil measures. Generally, they empirically demonstrated that: technological oriented students are likely to experience less severe identity crises, and resolve identity with a non ego-dominated personality. Conversely, humanistic oriented students are likely to experience more severe identity crises but resolve identity with a greater degree of ego dominance that better prepares them to resolve problems by themselves. Levine et al (2000) explained that the technological university orientation provides more support to the students to simply define themselves in terms of their occupations; this orientation is also encouraged by North American society, while humanistic university orientation provides a more marginal ideology often opposed by the broader social system.

The impact of different educational environments on identity development was also shown by a few ISP studies. For example, Adams and Fitch (1983) in an ISP showed that educational environments that promoted thought expanding, analytical and critical awareness of societal issues facilitated identity development. However, all these studies gave a restricted picture of only the academically able students who studied in universities. The extent of the impact of educational environments on university students is challenged by evidence showing that different university departments attracted students with different identity status, and even different gender (Adams & Fitch, 1983). There is a need for studying secondary education students, where there is a broader spectrum of academic abilities and a non-biased range of identity statuses. Also by studying students from different types of secondary schools and from different specialisations will provide a better explanation in how specific types of education facilitate or restrict identity development.

Therefore, even in the revised position of ISP, individuals are viewed as autonomous agents in charge of their identity formation; where contextual factors such as class, gender, race, religion are rather considered as contents of identity. Basically, the underlying psychological identity processes are regarded as a human universal with the "content" provided historically and culturally. Such a position puts an unfair pressure on the shoulders of the individuals who linked the failure to achieve an identity to inadequacy and lack of adjustment (Foddy & Kashima, 2002). A qualitative study of

young Europeans (Brannen, Lewis, Nilsen, & Smithson, 2002) showed that occupational choice had more appeal to, and relevance for, young people whose social background and education provided the resources necessary to think that they were the creators of their own destinies without help from others. For the less privileged, the choice served to worsen their situation and created a pessimistic outlook on life, since, according to individualisation, there is no one to blame but oneself.

Yoder (2000) introduced the concept of "barriers" as a way of modifying ISP, so that each status more accurately reflects an individual's ability to influence those external socio-economic and cultural forces, which may affect identity resolution. These limitations can be of any sort such as socioeconomic status, educational opportunities, political restrictions, religion and gender, which are imposed externally and limit the individual's exploration or/and commitment in all or some domains. As these barriers are context and time specific and differ in the degree of severity, he suggested that ISP researchers should empirically identify them in each study and separate them from internal limitations. Phillips and Pittman (2003) pointed to a great omission of ISP, which was to empirically study various "barriers" and specifically the relationship between identity processes and socioeconomic status.

To sum up, ISP theoretically came nearer to Developmental Contextualism. However, empirically, it has a long way to go. For example, the issue of personal agency in identity formation needs elaborated empirical investigation; the relationship between context and identity content has only been studied in terms of identity domains; the impact of different types of secondary education or the "barrier" of lower socioeconomic status on identity process and content have been minimally studied. Moreover, context should not only count as a variable, but be implicated in each stage of a study. For example, the choice of identity domains should be salient in the specific cultural context. Primarily, identity process and content should always be understood and investigated in terms of males and females.

2.3.1   Gender and Identity

Erikson's identity theory has been criticised as "antrocentric" (male-biased) (Cote & Levine, 2002; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001), particularly, his notion of an autonomous, individuated identity that is based on dispositional agency and independence describing modern, Western male norm, from which any variation is considered as different in

degree (deviant). Gilligan (1982) was the first to introduce the notion of relational self as distinct from an autonomous self. She explained these two selves on the basis of the different developmental processes of the two sexes. Males define themselves through separation from their mothers, so masculinity is linked with independence; while females define themselves through attachment, so femininity is linked with human relationships. From Gilligan's standpoint men's and women's identities are different in kind; women are more embedded in context and concerned with care-taking and the empowerment of others, whereas men are more concerned with power-based dominance patterns, abstract and universal principles, and self-empowerment.

Further, women's relational identity and men's agentic identity are reinforced by capitalistic Western societies that are structured to accommodate gender differences. Therefore, men and women are traditionally channelled to pursue identity resolutions in different spheres. According to Lengerman and Wallace (1985) men mainly have access to the public sphere that refers to the complex, bureaucratically organised institutions of modern life; whereas women mainly have access to the private sphere that refers to the less formal, emotionally more open networks of social relationships around family. Although the model of different-in-kind identities has enriched our understanding of the psychosocial distinctiveness of men and women and defeated the notion of women's identity being deficient, it reinforces gender stereotypes. It restricts the understanding of women who have masculine tendencies and men who have feminine tendencies (Cote & Levine, 2002). In terms of socialisation, things have changed for both men and women in contemporary society (Cote, 1996a).

A feminist standpoint by Sorell and Montgomery (2001) offers an alternative conceptualisation of the different-in-degree and different-in-kind options. They accept the usefulness of Erikson's and Gilligan's notions of identity, but they view identities to emerge from personally and socially constructed meanings of ascribed statuses and other sex-related opportunities, constraints and responsibilities, which vary in different socio-historical contexts and in different individuals. Thus, they advise researchers to avoid imposing preconceived interpretations of participants' claims and to look for difference as well as commonality in identity processes. Having in mind feminist flexible conceptualisation of men's and women's identities, focus now will be on ISP empirical evidence.

The general agreement points to no significant differences in how and when females and males form their adult identities (Marcia, 1993b; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Waterman, 1993a). In a major review of 56 empirical studies (from 1966-1995) using various ISP measures, Kroger (1997) found little evidence of gender differences on identity status distributions between males and females. Concerning process, both genders showed increasing frequencies of moratorium and achievement statuses and decreasing frequencies of diffusion and foreclosure statuses over time, although, half of the studies involving high school samples found that males undertook the above pathway later. These findings can be explained on the underlined universalism of ISP and the use of global identity, which assumes the same developmental process amongst individuals. However, Matteson (1993) questioned whether males and females who are in the same status show similar behaviours. In his review, foreclosure status appears to be adaptive for women, at least on some variables, and does not appear to have the rigid defensive character that it has for men.

Gender differences and similarities are uncovered with the use of identity domains indicating their utility. Though these patterns have not been consistent across studies, they provide some insight into the factor of gender. Archer (1993), summarising the findings before 1993, said that in the domains of sexuality, family/career prioritising and friendship, females were more likely to be in moratorium and achievement statuses, while males were more likely to be in foreclosure and diffusion statuses. Similarities in statuses distribution were found in occupation, religious beliefs, political ideology and gender roles domains (in a review by Waterman, 1993a). Particularly for occupation, Kroger (1993) found that both males and females ranked this domain to be the most important to their self-definition. In a more recent study, Goossens (2001) found gender differences in the domains of occupation and politics. In occupation, females were more likely to be in achievement status and males in foreclosure status. In politics, males were more likely to be in achievement status and female in diffusion status. Meeus et al (1999) used a different conceptualisation of identity domains and found females to be more advanced than males in relational identity but found no gender difference in societal identity.

Based on her early findings concerning gender difference in identity domains, Archer (1985; 1989) claimed, [and it was confirmed later by Waterman (1993a) and Meeus et al (1999)] that identity development is more complex for females than for males, as

females try to establish identities in more domains than do males. This claim is in accordance with contemporary socialisation, which appears to be more complex for women than men. More women than men are tackling and balancing identity issues in both private and public spheres. In contrast the majority of men seem to have been less willing to interconnect the public and private, preferring the public (Cote, 1996a).

Moreover, gender differences should not be treated singly but in relation to specific socio-cultural and historical contexts. For example, Adams and Fitch (1983) found that different educational systems had different impacts on males' and females' identities. Male foreclosures and achievements were found more frequently than male moratoriums and diffusions in college departments that emphasised academic and student awareness, while female foreclosures and achievements were found more frequently than female moratoriums and diffusions in college departments that emphasised academic propriety and scholarship. Kroger (1993), as already mentioned, found that New Zealand's social changes influenced females but not males to show an increase in foreclosure and a decrease in achievement status.

To conclude, several identity reviews on gender called for better ways to study and conceptualise differences and similarities in males' and females' identities. Matteson (1993) suggested that studies should include respondents of both genders drawn from the same population, to allow valid comparisons between genders. Sorell and Montgomery (2001) drew attention to the identity content, as content "preserves individual distinctiveness," while identity statuses "average it." ISP lacks investigation concerning males' and females' identity content in term of beliefs, attitudes and values, which might be useful in understanding gender differences and explain behaviours. Cote (1996a) and Kroger (1997) advised that gender should be studied in relation to other key contextual variables. A final indication emerging throughout the discussed literature is that the development and content of young men's and women's identities would be more fruitfully examined in relation to identity domains within a specific context.

2.4   Identity Domains

Identity domains are usually imposed by the researchers with the pre-assumption that ISP domains are relevant to all adolescents of any national backgrounds. However, self-concept theorists and symbolic interactionists introduced the idea that sub-domains of

self-concept or role-identities have different psychological centrality. For example, Stryker (1987) conceptualised self as a structure of identities organised in a hierarchy of salience. He argued that the distribution of identities in the salience hierarchy depends on the varying levels of commitment to the roles underlying identities, and reflects how the social context facilitates or impedes these commitments. From this perspective, it is important for identity studies to establish which identity domains are salient in the chosen context and in the chosen sample. In the present study the decision on the identity domains that to be examined was made by reflecting on the specific context[1].

The need to study identity in other cultures, and the need to look at specific contexts providing special situations for identity development led the choice of the context of Greek Cypriot society for the present study. A detailed description of the macro environments of this society is presented in the Methodology Chapter. Here, it is important to point to three basic reasons that make Greek Cypriot society an interesting context for examining adolescents' identity.

- The rapid development of Cyprus from a traditional society into a modern European one (especially the rapid development of the tourist industry and culture, and the consequences of joining the European Union) forces the replacement of traditional values;
- The national issue of a partitioned country, which is always on the agenda, places pressures on young people to deal with politics;
- Christian Orthodox religion is still strong in Cyprus although it is in contrast with the European life style of the island;

In this cultural context, the domains of politics, religion and occupation are of a particular significance and recent theoretical assumptions and empirical evidence on these domains will therefore be reviewed.

2.4.1 Political Identity

Erikson (1968) in his understanding of how adolescents develop the sense of who they are also considered the societal framework with its specific governmental constitution, history and political ideologies. Thus, the political domain became one of the core ISP domains of global identity, though specific to western democracies. Domain specific

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[1] An exploratory interview of a group of young people who were similar to the sample of the present study confirmed the selected domains.

research is limited. Researchers have predominantly explored identity development in an undifferentiated way. However, a brief review of existing ISP empirical findings shows that in the political domain, university and college students were more likely to be diffused than in other domains (Archer, 1982; Goossens, 2001; Jackson, Dunham, & Kidwell, 1990; Meilman, 1979) and this diffusion was more likely to be stable over the years (Waterman, 1993a). Kroger (1993) found it strange that over half of the women and one third of all men in her sample of university students ranked the political domain least important to their self-definition, despite the context of New Zealand's enormous economic restructuring. In contrast, in occupation and interpersonal domains advanced statuses were more frequently found in all the above studies. Jackson et al (1990) interpreted this evidence as reflecting the utilitarian style of contemporary youth in America and in the majority of Western societies. In other words, Western young people are more interested in their personal and relational issues than considering social issues.

Recent political socialisation studies that focused on different cultural contexts and a broader notion of politics present a more complete picture of the political identity of contemporary young people. These studies (Jankowski, 1992; Roker, Player, & Coleman, 1999; Whyte, 1999) viewed socialisation as a process that recognises the agentic role of young individuals, who cognitively construct the political and moral understandings that form their identities. On the other hand, they viewed that the contexts in which young people are living as complex and heterogeneous systems that could shape the political understanding and the political practices of young people. Accordingly, young people's political identity content in terms of values and attitudes is likely to vary considerably across time, location, different historic and political situations (Youniss & Yates, 1999).

Review of the evidence from political socialisation studies in Western societies agrees with ISP finding that at the end of the 20th century, rising individualism and self-interest in young people prevails (Yates & Youniss, 1999). What has declined is the traditional notion of party politics that focuses on the development of political views and attitudes, party support and voting intent (Roker, 1995). It seems that in the Western societies, with a long history of democratic institutions and political stability, young people find no excitement in being involved in "formal" politics, but are, rather, interested in other forms of participation in society. Studies such as the one carried out by Roker and

colleagues (Roker, Player, & Coleman, 1999) on British adolescents showed a broader sense of politics. For example, this study showed that a significant proportion of 14- and 16-year-olds from three state schools in England were involved in voluntary work and community activities, campaigning, helping younger children, running School Councils, etc.

In contrast, in societies characterised by political instabilities and conflicts, which are grounded in historical events and shaped continuously by internal and international tensions, young people's political socialisation is more "formal." In the conflicting society of Northern Ireland, a survey of 1,300 young people, age 16 to 20, found that 75% of them were "very" and "fairly" interested in what is happening politically in Northern Ireland and over half said that they would like to be more involved in the political process. However, these young people had deeply opposing political affiliations, 88% of the Catholics described themselves as nationalists (opposing to the British establishment), whereas 60% of the Presbyterians and 65% of Church of Ireland were unionist (agree with the British establishment), only 25% of the whole sample they said they were neither (Democratic Dialogue, 1996 cited in Whyte, 1999).

Therefore, in studying young people's political identities, their political actions and their civic participation, it is essential to consider the historical, socioeconomic and political positions of their country. It is also important to be aware of the other factors that have been found to play a role in young people's political identity. Most research into the political socialisation of young people has identified the primary role of parents; i.e., parenting practices, values and styles are related accordingly to positive civic engagements, extremism or indifference (Yates & Youniss, 1999). Research also indicates media, peers and school as factors that influence political socialisation (Jankowski, 1992).

A representative study of the relation between type of school and political identity with control on family background was carried out by Roker (1991). This study was also pioneering in measuring both identity process and content. A sample of 127 young females (15-18 years old) in a public and a private school in England were interviewed. Results showed a statistically significant association between type of school and political identity statuses. Private school students were either in achievement status (45%) or in foreclosure status (45%), while nearly half of state school students were in

diffusion status (Roker & Banks, 1993). Private school students had significantly greater interest in politics, trust in the political process, knowledge of local politics and anticipation of being politically active in the future (Banks & Roker, 1994). Interpretation of the results was based on the different school systems and ethos, i.e., private school promotes the sense of personal confidence, competitiveness and articulation. Results also reflected the political affiliations in each school: 73% of private school students were committed to the Conservative party that was in government at that time, while 33% of state school students were anti-politics and 37% undecided (Banks & Roker, 1994). This study shows the merits of studying both the process and content of political identity in relation to school context; however, other major factors such as gender and social-class were ignored.

Key findings on the content of political identity and its relation to gender and social-class are presented in Bynner et al's study (2003). The data of this study came form the "UK 16-19 Initiative" research programme on the economic and political socialisation of young people in Britain. This three year longitudinal quantitative study examined annually two 600 cohorts, aged respectively 15-16 and 17-18 from four diverse areas. Bynner et al's (2003) analysis showed a comprehensive picture of five dimensions along which political identity of young people may vary. Three of these dimensions illustrate the "formal" notion of political identity: political engagement (i.e., interest, awareness), political conservatism and tolerance (i.e., sexual and racial equality); two dimension related to the broader notion of politics: moral conservatism (i.e., traditional sexuality) and environmentalism. Variation of these dimensions across gender showed that young women were less engaged politically, less politically conservative and less environmentalist; but they were more morally conservative and they had more tolerant attitudes than the young men. Variation across social class showed political engagement, political conservatism, tolerance and environmentalism to be higher in young people from upper class (professional); political conservatism was also stronger amongst young people from the middle class (managerial, skill-non manual).

Nevertheless, it would be also very interesting if the data came out of an inductive approach and not imposed on young people by some self-report scales. This "explicit" data could then be analysed by the use of a sensitive to individual-profile differences approach such as cluster analysis to identify political identity types. The relation of

these types to various historical and political contexts as well as to other key contextual factors would provide a sound picture of young people's political identities.

To sum up, ISP is biased toward modern western democracies, and still holds a restricted view of politics. The political socialisation approach, on the other hand, stresses the personal agency of young people and considers how the complexities of politically stable and unstable societies frame the development and content of political identity. It seems that education, gender and social class play a framing role in young's people political identity.

2.4.2   Religious Identity

The study of religion in adolescence is generally a neglected topic (i.e., Donelson, 1999) and the existing studies are of a narrow scope. ISP evidence on the development of religious identity is limited. This evidence shows that for the religious domain, young people were more likely to be in foreclosure (Jackson, Dunham, & Kidwell, 1990; Meilman, 1979) or in diffusion statuses (Goossens, 2001) rather than in other statuses. Those in diffusion status tend to remain diffused; and no significant gender differences were found in religious domain (as reviewed by Waterman, 1993a). Most of the non ISP studies focused on the healthy correlates of religious commitment during adolescence: i.e., higher religiosity levels were associated with lower levels of delinquency, substance abuse, sexual behaviour (reviewed by Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1989) and higher levels of coping with stress (reviewed by Donelson, 1999).

Markstrom and colleagues (Markstrom-Adams, Hofstra, & Dougher, 1994; Markstrom, 1999) connected these two research lines by investigating the role of religious participation on the healthy identity development of high school students. Specifically, they elaborated Erikson's writings on how the institution of religion facilitates the emergence of fidelity, the ego-strength that results from the successful resolution of identity crisis. In the first study, Markstrom-Adams et al. (1994) regarded identity commitment as evidence of fidelity and measured it using EOMEIS. They found that more frequent church attendance was associated with commitment statuses (foreclosure and achievement) and lower scores with the non-commitment statuses (diffusion and moratorium). In a second study, Markstrom (1999) used a specific scale to measure fidelity and examined the relations of religious practices to fidelity, identity status and ethnic group. She found that fidelity was significantly stronger for Christian European

Americans who attended religious services and participated in Bible study. However, she did not replicate the previous findings on the association between global identity and religious involvement.

Thus, findings from the above studies generally, but not consistently support the claim that greater religious involvement is associated with the positive identity resolution. However, Markstrom-Adams et al. studies suffer from conceptual and methodological narrowness that characterise most of the ISP studies. For example, although they define fidelity as a rich concept that provides a socially acceptable channel for adolescents' passions, promotes feelings of belongingness, produces ethical strength, enhances the social order and provides a purpose in life (Markstrom-Adams, Hofstra, & Dougher, 1994), they measured it as mere presence of commitment in the first study. The use of global identity instead of the use of domain specific identities may have created the resulting inconsistencies. Moreover, their samples consisted of students from strong and particular religious groups such as Mormon.

One of the studies (Hunsberger, Pratt, & Pancer, 2001) that attempted to overcome some of these limitations, used, apart from OMEIS, multiple measures of commitment (e.g. self-reports of religiousness), and also focused on crisis-exploration (by examining religious doubts) by employing a more religiously diverse sample (including atheists). Their findings supported the positive link between religion and identity development and provided more discriminate associations for each identity status. However, there were unexpected relations between statuses and religious variables, probably due to the use of OMEIS and global identity. Specifically, there was little association between achievement and religion; moratorium was modestly related to religious doubting, lack of religious commitment and lower religious fundamentalism; foreclosed individuals were more likely to be religiously committed and less doubtful of religious teaching; diffused individuals tended to be religiously uncommitted, disagree with religious teachings, but tended to have religious doubt indicating exploration.

Some other researchers examined the relation between identity statuses and religious content in terms of orientations and beliefs. Markstrom-Adams and Smith (1996) used the Religious Orientation Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967) that identifies four religious orientations (intrinsic, extrinsic, indiscriminate pro-religious and non-religious). They found that extrinsic orientation (a utilitarian stance) was related to diffusion (the least

advanced status) and that intrinsic orientation (internalised religiosity) was not related to diffusion status. De Haan & Schulenberg (1997) found similar evidence but also showed that intrinsic religious commitment was positively related to religious achievement (beta=0.16). Goossens (2001) used a scale measuring pre-determined beliefs and attitudes and found that religious foreclosed participants were more likely to describe themselves as believers, whilst religious diffused participants were more likely to be non-believers. Even though these studies showed that some religious beliefs and orientations underlined some identity statuses, the focus on identity content was secondary. The use of predetermined restricted categories limited the extraction of the rich religious content in an individual's identity and also restricted the investigation of gender differences.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence concerning the relationship between religious participation and gender, but mostly from western samples. In a review of this literature Donelson (1999) reported that nowadays, females are generally at least somewhat more religious than males on a wide range of dimensions, such as attending religious services and activities more often, reporting more intensive religious experience, feeling closer to God, being more involved in religious social activities. The evidence suggests that women and men experience faith and God differently and parallels with women's relational identity and men's agentic identity. Ozorak (1996, cited in Donelson 1999) found that women emphasised the personal relationship with God and other people of the religious community. In contrast, men are more likely to focus on God as powerful and judgmental so they exhibit more concern with spiritual discipline and the financial efficiency of the religious group.

The interest concerning the relation of religious education (RE) and religious participation is minimal and is overshadowed by controversies, such as the justification of RE in state schools (White, 2004), or the justification of religious schools (i.e., catholic, Jewish, Muslim) in secular societies (Short, 2003). Another problem is that RE studies mostly examined young people in religious schools and usually did not acknowledge control over the role of strong family influence in these contexts (Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1989). Two basic issues that have been studied concern the quantity and the quality of RE. Benson et al (1989) reported that religious schooling (in Jewish and Catholic schools) has a long term impact on adolescent religiousness if it involves at least 1,000 hours of classroom instruction in religion. In a recent study,

Dorman et al (Dorman, McRobbie, & Foster, 2002) examined the quality of religious instruction on religious attitudes in 1317 students in an Australian Catholic school. They found that positive classroom environments, such as good classroom control and management, accounts for 27% of the variance in the attitude towards Christian practice.

Another line of theory and research that is related to religious identity is offered by Fowler's faith developmental stages. Fowler (1992) considered human faith as a universal, non-religious, non culturally related human capacity that is identified in socialisation process by accepting the world view, acquiring cultural values and forming a self-image in relation to others. Theoretically, he followed the tradition of universalistic stage theories (i.e., Erikson, 1963; Kohlberg, 1981; Piaget, 1970). Empirically he used in-depth interviews with different age groups to find that faith develops in seven stages. Unlike Erikson he proposed that adolescents unreflectively synthesise beliefs and values and only in the next stage, young adults examine critically their faith, make explicit choices of ideology and self-aware commitments (Fowler, 1992).

Fowler's theory has been criticised by postmodernists in a similar fashion as universal, structuralist theories (Day, 2001). However, its major limitation is the contradictions in the actual conceptualisation of faith. Nelson (1992) commented that it is unreal to disentangle human faith from religion and culture and that Fowler cannot fully uphold his position as his stages mainly reflect the Western Christian religion. Another contradiction is that the identification of human faith with the socialisation process is not even reflecting the Christian views. From an evangelical perspective the Christian faith is given by God to man, it is rather "an external action of God that is not innate" and faith is also the personal acceptance of the presence of Christ in an individual's life that is not universal (Jones, 2004: 355). Thus, according to Jones (2004) neither the way Christian faith is acquired nor its content is identified with Fowler's conceptualisation of faith.

The evidence indicates that faith is, rather, a human capacity that relates to a specific religious culture, and that makes it a complicated issue to study. On the other hand the diversity of various religions and the interrelationship of religion and other cultural and contextual factors such as ethnicity, religious institutions (i.e., church), gender, type of

education make the search for generalisation difficult. Instead, useful knowledge could be revealed from contextually oriented studies where young people's explicit content of religious ideology is examined in close relation with their specific religion in their specific society. This kind of data offers also the chance of generalisation.

2.4.3 Occupational Identity

Unlike the political and religious identities, occupational identity established a stronger status in terms of both theory and research. The interest has basically been inspired by young people's primary concern to establish an occupational identity, which is evident in ISP studies. Findings have persistently shown the particular significance of occupational identity across different western nations. Bosma (1992) found occupation to be the domain of most personal relevance for a group of adolescents sampled from a wide range of secondary and tertiary schools in Netherlands. The majority of both males and females of New Zealand cohorts in Kroger's (1993) study ranked occupation first in importance in self-definition. Skorikou and Vondracek (1998) showed that US high school students were in more advanced statuses in occupational identity earlier than in other domains or in global identity and showed a progression with age only in occupational identity.

These findings led Skorikou and Vondracek (1998) to conclude that the advancement in occupational identity facilitates global identity. However, this conclusion is probably true for any domain, not just that of occupation. Meeus and Decovic (1996) found that relational identity was far more important for self-definition than occupational identity for young unemployed people. It seems, rather, that the relation between occupational and global identity is reciprocal as with the other domains. This reciprocal relation is evident from Vondracek et al's (1995) study in which global-identity-achieved high school students scored significantly lower than any other status individuals in career uncertainty. In another study, identity diffusion high school students scored significantly lower than the other identity status groups in occupational aspirations, work interests differentiation and self-efficacy of occupational choice (Vondracek & Skorikov, 1997).

Nurmi (1991) reviewed that in planning for the future, adolescents are most preoccupied with their careers in schools and work. However, the study of occupational identity through the static and a-contextual perspective of ISP is inadequate to explain how

contextual opportunities and constraints interact with adolescents' occupational development.

> (This) relation is dynamic in the sense that the developing identity drives the choices between the different kinds of occupation to pursue; and at the same time, the opportunities available in the labour market, as controlled by employers, limit recruitment to certain kinds of job, or in times of recession, to any kind of job at all (Bynner, 1998: 29).

To explain these dynamic relationships, Vondracek et al (1983) proposed a developmental-contextual approach to occupational identity in combination with ISP, which has a research impact. They viewed identity formation as occurring as a result of the dynamic interaction between a developing person and an ever-changing, multi-level context that includes family, peers, school, parents' work and interpersonal relations, socio-cultural environment, job opportunities, economic conditions and technological advances.

Within this approach Silbereisen and colleagues (1997) examined how the dynamic interaction of the macro- governmental system and the meso- family system influences adolescents' career development in the former East and West Germany. This is part of a series of studies on understanding the pervasive influence of the government on adolescents growing up in the East and the corresponding freedom form government interference and control for those growing up in the West. A sample of 1090 young people from 13 to 19 years old from West Germany and 584 from East Germany completed self-reports on parental support behaviours during childhood, leisure activities, identity beliefs and initial vocational choice. Analysis showed that adolescents from East Germany were almost twice as likely to have made an initial occupational choice at any given age and, generally, they made this decision more than one year earlier than their West Germany age mates; average age across gender was 14.3 in the East and 15.5 in the West.

The more advanced identity search was generally associated with earlier initial occupational choice, but this association was much stronger in the West. The findings illustrate the contextual differences of the two regions. The occupational decisions were more institutionalised, directed and limited in terms of the choices available in the former totalitarian-communist system in the East Germany and more open and

individualistic in the democratic-capitalistic system in the West. Beyond overall differences between contexts, it was found that in both regions earlier occupational choices seem to correspond to family oriented activities, while later occupational choice seem to correspond to more frequent leisure activities with peers. These findings are consistent with Baumeister & Muraver's (1996) argument that individuals adapt their identity according to the socio-historical-cultural context.

However, the labour market in post-modern societies changes so rapidly that individuals might not have the time to adapt their identities to the new demands. In the same socio-political context of Great Britain but with a difference only in the 12 year cohort, the relationship between young people's identity capital and employability changed dramatically (Bynner, 1998). Comparative analysis involved a large longitudinal study of more than 1600 individuals in each birth cohort, which is the 10% of those born in one week in 1958 and in 1970. In the 1958 cohort unemployment rates were 10% for men and 11% for women over the period of ages 16-23. The unemployment rate had increased greatly in the 1970 cohort, where 40% of men and 33% of women had experienced some unemployment over the period of ages 16-21. Bynner (1998) explained that the employment climate was easier for the 1958 cohort because regardless of their educational attainment or basic skills, most obtained employment; in contrast employment demands were harder for those in the 1970 cohort with poor educational attainment, who had more difficulty in obtaining an employment. A more sophisticated analysis (LISREL showed a relationship between theoretical variables and observed variables in a "path" model) confirmed the significant role of identity capital in terms of educational attainment and basic skills in accounting for employability in the labour market for the 1970 cohort. However, for the 1958 cohort, identity capital was only significant to the kind of occupation entered, but not for employability. Therefore, (occupational) identity capital is complicatedly related to different contexts and to different historical times.

Other factors that have an impact on adolescents' occupational identity are their educational abilities, gender and socioeconomic status. Meeus (1993) found that late adolescents who performed well at school were more likely to belong to more "advanced" occupational identity statuses than those whose school performance was poor. Reitzle and Vondracek (2000) used person-centered approaches to analyse, in retrospective data of young adults from Germany after unification, the multiple factors

that were associated with the complex developmental-contextual phenomena of career development. However, the main factors accounting for most variability in the timing of career and family transitions, were not the macro-contextual and social change, but education and gender.

Gender differences in career interests, which are part of occupational identity and refer to preferences for certain work, have been found to be quite robust during adolescence and consistent with traditional gender role stereotypes. It has been already mentioned that Eccles et al (1984) showed that gender differences in career interests are likely to be due to value expectancies regarding the rewards and costs of future occupations. In a review of the gender and career choices literature, Schulenberg et al (1991) reported that females typically score higher on scales reflecting social service, clerical and artistic interests, and lower on scales reflecting scientific, technological and business interests in comparison to males. Nevertheless, in their study, they showed that traditional gender differences were greater when coupled with low educational aspirations and high career certainty. Where young people had low educational aspirations and high career certainly, females were more likely to reject science options and males to be attracted to technology and outdoor activities.

Socioeconomic status (SES) appears to influence both occupational aspirations and employment. Females with higher SES background have been found to demonstrate greater interest in high prestige traditionally male-dominated occupations than do females with lower SES backgrounds (reviewed by Schulenberg, Goldstein, & Vondracek, 1991). Bynner (1998) in the referred analysis found that for both cohorts the social class of the family was mediating through other variables towards employability, but especially for the 1970 cohort SES at the age 10 was shown to exercise a direct negative effect on unemployment; middle class young people acquire both tangible and intangible elements of identity capital, which helps their employment prospects.

Another interesting area of occupational research is the very explicit part of occupational identity, the work related values. A few similar broad work value categories have been identified: Intrinsic values such as develop skills and abilities, responsibility, interesting work (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999; Super, 1980); extrinsic values such as secure employment, good wages, promotion, good working hours, safety (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999; Super, 1980); relational values such as

contact with people, contribution to society (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999); and prestige values such as achievement, status, authority (Schwartz, 1999). Sverko and Super (1995), by comparing the importance of work values in young people from eleven countries, found that intrinsic values took the top position, while utilitarian extrinsic values came after. However, there is evidence for an increase in importance in utilitarian and individualistic values among generations in western countries (Sverko, 1999).

Sinisalo (2002) suggested that the work-value changes should be interpreted within the economic and cultural changes in each country. In his cross-sectional studies of three successive decades in Finland, three different adolescent cohorts aged 15 to 17 rated work values in terms of importance. Extrinsic values concerning work hygiene such as safety, easy work, good working hours, were important in 1977, in 1989, lost their importance, while extrinsic instrumental values such as promotion and good wages were more important; in 1995 work hygiene values were important again together with intrinsic values. Sinisalo (2002) said that the fluctuation in importance in work values reflected the three different economic and social situations. During the 1970s Finland went through a strong depression; The 1980s was a period of high economic boom, and 1995 was the first year of recovery after a sudden economic recession. The study also showed traditional gender differences in work values; males assigned higher importance to extrinsic values than females.

The brief overview of occupational identity could not cover all the issues from the magnitude of occupational studies internationally. Nevertheless it shows that occupational identity is of central importance in the lives of individuals in almost all modern societies and of critical importance to the welfare of families, communities and nations (Vondracek, 2001). Thus, a proper knowledge of young people's process and content of occupational identities within their specific context is needed.

2.4   Conclusions and Directions of the Present Study

The Identity Status Paradigm (ISP) provides an empirically valid and reliable method of studying young people's presence or absence of exploration and commitment in terms of four identity statuses in various life domains. "Neo-Eriksonian" theorists use the rich knowledge gathered from nearly forty years of ISP utilisation as well as the extensive criticisms to make a step forward to a better conceptualisation and methodological

investigation of identity. Within this framework, the present study identifies the following contested areas.

Identity developmental stages

It seems that the ISP is no longer considered a useful developmental theory of identity. Identity researchers have created other models to examine the process of identity development, as well as the underlying mechanisms and determinates, often using longitudinal designs. Still, the ISP is useful in examining the stages of identity at a given point in time (e.g., in cross-sectional designs) and making comparisons between various groups in a population. The extensive use of the concept of a "global identity" that is aggregated from different domains seems problematic, while evidence from the use of domain specific identities provides more fruitful and valid information on both young males' and females' identities. Measurement discrepancies that result in classifying only half of the participants, and empirical evidence on the existence of sub-statuses, provide an impetus for thinking of a different system of classification. Measurement limitation concerning the overuse of university students from western countries should be considered.

Identity content

Studies within the ISP have over-examined the relation of the statuses and other constructs, as well as the developmental pathways of identity, but have virtually ignored identity content in terms of beliefs, values and attitudes. The few studies that have focused on this very explicit level of self, revealed an important area of identity conceptualisation. Examining identity content that is related to the specific context of specific individuals promotes understanding and provides a sound basis for predictions. In order for individuals to reveal their identity content, inductive measurements should be utilised. Additionally, the emergence of looking at individual differences and not only at group differences requires more individual-sensitive measurements such as person-centered approaches.

Identity context

Erikson placed a heavy emphasis on the role of contextual factors in identity development, but ISP has generally failed to acknowledge this emphasis. There is a disagreement amongst sociologists and psychologists about the extent to which individuals' agency or the powerful impact of environment affects identity formation.

There is though, empirical evidence from ISP that contextual factors such as significant others, historical time, type of society and the educational system are central factors in identity statuses; socioeconomic status is unexplored; and only the use of domain specific identities reveals reliable gender differences. Moreover, there has been minimal focus on the relationship between various contextual factors and specific identity content, which will be a fruitful area of interpreting identity because the explicit level of content tends to reflect the social and culture environment. Therefore, any study of identity should examine sensitively both males and females and take into account the specific historical, cultural, social context of young people.

On the basis of these conclusions the present study was designed to:

1. Use the ISP in a cross-sectional design to examine the developmental stages (statuses) and content of identity in a representative sample of male and female students from all types of secondary education and diverse socioeconomic classes of a specific society. Specifically, the separate examination of the process and content of political, religious and occupational identities, which are salient in the specific socio-historical and cultural context of Cyprus, would help to examine multiple or/and unitary aspects of identity.

2. Use an inductive technique in an open manner to elicit young males' and females' explicit identity content that will help to describe their beliefs, values and attitudes in the domains of politics, religion and occupation. This explicit data is appropriate for examining differences on the level of the individual, thus person-centered approaches such as cluster analysis will help to classify individuals into meaningful identity types. The classification suggests an expansion of the four identity statuses, applies to all participants, and relates to each identity domain.

3. Consider context and gender as integral parts of the study of identity. Thus, political, religious and occupational identities - defined in terms of statuses, content (beliefs, values, attitudes) and types - would be examined in relation to gender, type of school and socioeconomic class. The multidimensional notion of identity, in close connection with the specific historical, social, cultural context of Greek Cypriot society, provides a basis for discussion of the

applicability of universalism and to rethink of the supposed utility of traditional identity statuses.

Table 2.1 – Snapshot of Developmental Stages, Content and Context of Identity

One Moment in Time			
Levels of Organisation	Levels of Representation		Level of Integration
Person	Explicit Level of Political, Religious, Occupational Identities	Content	Beliefs, attitudes, values, identity types
		Developmental stage	Identity statuses
Context	Mesosystem		
	Exosystem		Type of school Socioeconomic status
	Macrosystem		Political situation Greek Orthodox Church Economical situation

Finally, Table 2.1, which is a modification of one layer of Peck's (2005) multilevel person-in-context model, provides a conceptual framework for the study by showing that within the broader notion of self, the present study focuses on the explicit level. The levels of organisation refer to distinct and independent areas of life such as the person and the context. The levels of representation within the person refer to four levels of James' (1890) "Me-self," from which only the explicit level has been studied here. The levels of representation within the context refer to exo- and macro- systems that the present study focuses. The levels of integration refer to the developing state of contextual and personal content differentiation and integration. For example, beliefs are in level 1, attitudes and values are integrated in level 2 (because attitudes and values are constructed from multiple beliefs) and identity type (cluster) is integrated in level 3 (because clusters are constructed by combinations of beliefs, attitudes, values).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1   The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present research is to critically examine the theory of Ego Identity Status; to investigate identity content with focus on the domains of politics, religion, and occupation; to indicate interrelations between context and gender and identity; and to suggest an appropriate theoretical and methodological approach in the study of identity.

3.1.1   Research Questions

The present research examines the following questions:

- Does adolescent identity develop synchronously across its domains?
- How can the content of identity in the domains of politics, religion and occupation be defined and classified (in the Greek Cypriot context)?
- What is the relationship between identity (developmental stages, content and identity types) and social context (gender and social/academic status)?
- What theoretical and methodological approaches might enhance the contemporary understanding of adolescent identity?

3.1.2   Methodological Framework

The methodological framework of the present research utilised and at the same time compared two distinct approaches to study adolescent identity. The first, the variable-centered approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994), is well known and much used in identity studies. Its focus is on the relations between variables across persons. The second, the person-centered approach (Magnusson, 2003), has attracted the interest of developmental psychologists, (but it is not yet established in identity studies). It focuses on the patterning of multiple variables within persons and the classification of similar persons into homogeneous sub-groups. Each approach adopts a different ontological position in the conceptualisation of reality and of the nature of knowledge.

The variable-centered approach assumes universal characteristics across people, thus, searches for nomothetic knowledge by using quantitative research on random or representative samples (Peck & Roeser, 2004). Its basic advantage, according to Miles

and Huberman (1994), is that it yields probabilistic relations among variables that can be generalised. Magnusson (2003) points out that the relations among variables are studied at the group level and generalisations are made in these terms. Therefore, an understanding of single individuals and of how variables function within individuals is beyond the variable oriented nature of information provided by this approach (Bergman & El-Khouri, 2003). For years, the only way to study the patterning of variables within individuals was the case-centered approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The case centered approach assumes particularistic insights about an individual, thus, searches for idiographic knowledge by using qualitative research on particular individuals (Peck & Roeser, 2004). Although, it yields rich data documenting the holistic patterning of multiple variables within single persons, it can not be generalised to how such variables are related across many individuals.

The person-centered approach takes the middle path between variable and case centered approaches. It focuses on grouping together persons who show similar profiles across a series of variables; thus, it allows some mid-range of generalisability and some mid-range of specificity at the level of sub-group (Peck & Roeser, 2004). The framework of the person-centered approach is the holistic-interactionistic perspective on individual development, which considers the individual as the organising principle for scientific inquiry. This framework assumes that individuals:

> …proceed and develop as irreducible wholes and cannot be decomposed into or understood as independent components. At each stage of individual development, the totality gets its characteristic features and properties from the interaction among the elements involved, not from the effect of each isolated part of the totality (Magnusson, 2003: 10).

Therefore, within the holistic-interactionistic perspective, no single factor can determine development alone and the psychological significance of a certain component for the functioning of an individual cannot be understood by studying it in isolation and out of its context (Magnusson, 2003). This perspective seems to undermine the value of the variable-centered approach, but as this study shows, the two approaches are complementary.

The present study advocates the holistic interactionistic perspective in the study of a snapshot of adolescents' political religious and occupational identities. Specifically, it

assumes that adolescents' identities at a single point of development could be understood as wholes (identity profiles) that gain their characteristic features and properties from the interaction among the elements involved. Further, the person-centered approach is used to cluster adolescents' identities profiles into meaningful and homogeneous groups. In this way, the relations between groups of people who share similar identity profiles and social context variables is more meaningful than the relation of single variables (identity components) and social context variables. Because the present study is one of the first attempts to examine identity through the holistic interactionistic perspective and the person-centered approach in a different and un-studied cultural context, the variable-centered approach was also utilised as a tried and tested method. Magnusson (2003), an expert on the person-centered approach, suggests that these two approaches are complimentary not contradictory. Moreover, he indicates that only one criterion decides whether one of the models is more appropriate than the other for the choice of data and statistics in a specific study: how well each of them contributes to meaningful answers to the questions being raised (Magnusson, 2003).

In order to examine a snapshot of identity developmental stages and content, a cross-sectional survey was used to study a representative sample of Greek Cypriot adolescents. The selection of a single cohort of adolescents, rather than a series of age groups spanning adolescence, was based on the assumption that this age group (sixth formers) represents a critical period in identity development (Meeus, 1996; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Waterman, 1999a; 1999b). Additionally, the study examines critically Erikson's (1963) assumption that a coherent identity is established by the end of adolescence, which is aligned with biological age. Therefore, by focusing on the age group that is considered critical for identity development, each person's identity developmental stage in terms of ISP can be examined closely (Adams, 1999; Marcia, 1966). Moreover, by looking at descriptive details of identity content, the variations between individuals of the same age can be investigated and the influence of gender and context can be examined.

The first research question, which concerns whether adolescent identity develops synchronously across its domains, challenges an aspect of the developmental theory of identity. Namely, that the development of identity in each identity domain is not synchronous. The theory itself and the relevant research findings are situated within a positivist approach. Therefore, in this question the hypothetic-deductive procedure was

followed. Starting from a body of theory, a research hypothesis was formulated and tested.

The second question, which concerns the definition and classification of identity content in the domains of politics, religion and occupation within the Greek Cypriot context, examines the content of identity in the domains of religion, politics, and occupation. As this area is new in identity literature, no instrument was available. Thus, the employment of an inductive approach that attempted to build variables from the data was found to be most appropriate. For that purpose some features of Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) were employed. The textual data from the written descriptions of the participants with regard to who they were in each domain of identity matched the Grounded Theory requirements. Then, open-ended coding was used that involved reading through the data and conceptualising it into meaningful units of analysis to "see with analytic depth what is there" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 76). Comparisons were tried out between concepts and variables, as well as some integration, in order to form the final variables. Finally, the analysis was performed by using both the variable-centered approach and the person-centered approach.

The third question examined the relationship between identity (developmental stages, content and identity types) and social context (gender and social/academic status), through Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological perspective on human development. Bronfenbrenner's comprehensive and broad framework complemented the holistic interactionistic perspective for understanding the role of environment in the development of the individual. This ecological perspective was also used in the exploration of individual variables such as identity statuses and identity content components. The present research was not sophisticated enough to examine the whole spectrum of environmental systems, but it used some systems relevant to young peoples' political, religious and occupational identities.

The use of two different kinds of data from the same sample, and two different kinds of methodological approaches, made triangulation possible and offered validity confidence. Specifically, the present study used the data and methodological triangulations that embraced the notion of convergence between independent measures and an independent set of data with the same objective (Denzin, 1978). Extra reasons for the extensive use of the two triangulations were the testing of a new methodological

approach in the area of identity, the use of a translated and modified measure, and a new measure in an unstudied context (Greek Cypriot adolescents).

The two different methodologies can be compared. The use of two methodologies that could complement one another was an advantage of the present study, because both methodologies have different limitations. "The development of coherent strategy for integrating methodologies, designed to test comprehensively clearly defined theoretical propositions, is the basic foundation for researching psychological process" (Breakwell, Hammond, & Fife-Schaw, 1995: 15)

Finally, when planning psychological research, there are not only theoretical and methodological considerations but ethical considerations that have to be accommodated as well. Therefore, the Trust for the Study of Adolescence' Ethics Guidelines were followed (Appendix A).

3.1.3   Research Design - Survey

The present research employed a survey design, particularly the cross-sectional survey, as the basic strategy for collecting data in relation to a snapshot of identity development and content. The purpose of a cross-sectional survey is to approach a representative sample of respondents at a particular point in time, to gather data with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, and to make inferences about the population as a whole. Since the sample is regarded as a cross-section of the population under study it is possible to make comparisons between subgroups: males vs. females and look for relationships between variables (Breakwell, Hammond, & Fife-Schaw, 1995). It can provide a relatively simple and straightforward approach to the study of attitudes, values and beliefs. The strengths of quantitative research through survey are generalisability and accountability. Generalised results are visible and accessible to others and can support arguments (Robson, 1999), but "statistics should be the servant rather than the master of the survey analyst" (De Vaus, 1996: 9).

3.1.3.1   Sample Design

A key issue in designing a descriptive study is the idea of a "representative" sample: one that has the same characteristics as its population but it is much smaller in number. The present cross-sectional survey employed a multi-stage cluster sampling with the incorporation of proportionate stratification sampling and its sample size was 10% of the population (for the merits of cluster sampling and the 10% samples see Moser &

Kalton, 1977). The target was to maximise the precision of the results and to acquire the confidence to generalise conclusions. Therefore, the first step was to obtain a sample equivalent to 10% of the population. The population of the students in Cyprus who were attending the sixth form of secondary schooling in 2000-2001 was 10,031 students. In the survey, 1,038 (10.3%) students from 15 secondary schools took part. The second step was to employ a multi-cluster sampling, which was divided into three levels of sampling as follows.

On the first level, stratified samples from the three different types of secondary schools of Cyprus were taken in order to secure the inclusion of adolescents with all types of educational backgrounds. Around 10% of the population of each type of school was included (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 - Students of the Sixth Year in 2000-2001 by Type of School

	State Secondary	State Technical	Private Secondary
Population	7641	1522	868
Sample	814	150	74
Percentage	10.6 %	9.8%	8.5%

On the second level, representation of all the geographic settings of Greek Cypriot adolescents was secured by taking stratified samples from five different provinces of Cyprus. Around 10% of the population of sixth form students from each province was included (see Table 3.2). Although Cyprus is a small country with a homogenous population, where distances between villages and towns are small, provinces show variability in tourist developed areas, modern towns and traditional agricultural areas. Thus, schools from each province were chosen purposively to represent these features.

Table 3.2 - Students per Province in 2000-2001

	Nicosia	Limassol	Larnaca	Paphos	Ammochostos
Population	3714	2786	1579	956	452
Sample	519	244	112	100	63
Percentage	14%	9%	7%	10%	14%

On the third level, the population of each state school was stratified into specialisations. This is because the state secondary school sample was large. So, in order to secure

representation, a stratified sample of the five different specialisations was taken and around 10% of population was included (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 - Students per Specialisation in State Schools, 2000-2001

	Classical Studies	Scientific Studies	Economic Studies	Secretarial Studies	Foreign Languages
Population	1482	1669	2495	1218	101
Sample	197 13.2%	168 10%	283 11.3%	144 11.8%	20 20%

A cluster sampling followed, which means that the classes were selected randomly within each specialisation. Finally, all the students of the class took part in the survey, as the class is considered to be the last unit of sampling.

Gender of the participants is one of the important variables to be examined. No special procedure was followed to attract equivalent numbers of males and females as all the schools in Cyprus are mixed. Table 3.4 shows the number of males and females of the study.

Table 3.4 - Students of the Sixth Year in Cyprus by Gender, 2000-2001

Type of School		Males		Females	
		N	Percent	N	Percent
State Secondary	Population	3174		4467	
	Sample	269	8.5%	545	12.2%
State Technical	Population	1255		267	
	Sample	133	10.6%	17	6.4%
Private Secondary	Population	463		405	
	Sample	47	10%	27	6.7%
Total	Population	4892		5139	
	Sample	449	9.2%	589	11.5%

The choice to administer the survey with students of the last year of secondary school (age mean 16.8, age median 17, and age range 16.01 – 19.08) is because it is considered an active period of identity development. Cyprus offers the opportunity to study identity with a representative sample of the whole spectrum of the particular society because the

great majority of students in Cyprus stay at school up to the sixth year. This is also a critical year for the identity of Greek Cypriot young males and females. Males after secondary schooling have two years of compulsory military service where any "decision making" for occupational and career choices is postponed; while females have to decide on their immediate career or occupation.

3.1.3.2 Pilot Work

Piloting was used extensively in testing and checking every aspect of the present research. In the earliest stages, the pilot work was exploratory, and its basic concern was the conceptualisation of the research questions. For this purpose, exploratory interviews with five individual adolescents (2 males and 3 females) and with two groups of five (3 females and 2 males) and three (3 males) adolescents (16 –17 years old) were carried out. One significant aspect that was investigated through the above exploratory interviews was to define the most important domains of identity amongst the Greek Cypriot adolescents. Those that emerged were politics, religion, occupation and gender-roles.

The next step of the pilot work, as Breakwell et al (1995) defined, was to test out the various operational definitions and research methods that were under active consideration, and to see if some of these methods, instruments and definitions were more useful, or were simpler to administer than others. Four different questionnaires were tried out during this stage.

1. Identity Style Inventory (ISI3) (Berzonsky, 1992a) was tried out with 10 Greek Cypriot adolescents living in London (9 females and 1 male age 15-18). As there was a change in the objectives of the study this questionnaire was not appropriate.

2. Ego Identity Process Questionnaire (EIPQ) (Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, & Geisinger, 1995) is a self-report that was translated into Greek and was piloted with 50 Greek Cypriot adolescents living in Cyprus, 23 males and 27 females at the age range of 17-18. Although, it is a short and simple questionnaire with good properties and rewarding results it was not chosen because it needed more statements on each domain to measure identity domains separately.

3. In the final pilot study two questionnaires were given: The first was a half version of the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2) (Adams, 1999), which is a self-report for measuring identity development in

global identity and in the identity domains of politics, religion, occupation and gender-roles. Second, the Identity Content Questionnaire (ICQ), which consists of four open-ended questions for investigating identity content in the referred identity domains. Both questionnaires were appropriate for the final study (description and justification are presented later).

The final pilot study was conducted in Cyprus. It was a difficult period as the students were preparing for their final exams and access to a secondary school was impossible. However, from informal circles 59 EOMEIS-2 (half-version) and ICQ were completed. The participants were Greek Cypriot adolescents, 16.5 to 18 years old attending the 5th and the 6th year of secondary school.

The results from the pilot study concerning the shortened version of EOMEIS were very satisfactory as they gave preliminary answers to the questions of the present study and showed good reliability coefficients. The rich and informative results from ICQ demonstrated that this was a worthwhile way of examining the content of identity. Although its initial purpose was to obtain textual data in order to extract categories and prepare a self-report scale for examining identity content, the decision was taken to retain this measure as it was in the main study. Furthermore, the participants expressed their appreciation at having the opportunity to think about such open-ended questions and to express themselves in their own way; this indicated the face validity of ICQ. Generally, the results and the statistical tests from the pilot study were very similar to those of the final study, thus, the 59 participants were included in the final sample.

Specific aspects which were concerned with the wording of the questions, the length of the questionnaires, the amount of personal information that would be necessary, the kind of instructions that had to be given both written and orally and the practising of the researcher were the things that were established in this pilot study. Another important aspect of the pilot study was that the participants were asked to give their opinion about the measures and to indicate any corrections or suggestions. Consequently, some minor alterations were made to both measures, based on participants' suggestions. The experience of conducting the pilot was immensely rewarding, the measurements had proved to be appropriate and well designed for the purpose of the fieldwork.

3.1.3.3 Restricting the Focus of the Main Research

The original set of questionnaires that was given to the sample included items for measuring the developmental stages and the content of gender-roles identity. Three reasons led to the decision to take this domain out of the present research and to examine it in a separate study. First, the gender-roles domain is classified into the interpersonal part of global identity, so it is not theoretically consistent with the domains of politics, religion and occupation, which are classified into the ideological part (Adams, 1999). Second, the gender-roles identity results, though interesting, do not extend the general theoretical and methodological conclusions of the study. Third, the presentation of gender-roles identity would make the thesis too long. For the same last two reasons, social context variables such as provinces, specialisation, school grades, place of origin, place of living and family status, were also excluded.

3.2 Measurements

A three part questionnaire was employed in the present study. The first part concerned the examination of the developmental stages of global identity and of political, religious and occupational identities. The second part concerned the examination of the content of political, religious and occupational identities. The third part concerned the demographic variables, which were used to test for associations between identity stages and identity content. The three questionnaires are presented below.

3.2.1 Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-2

EOMEIS-2 is a self-report for classifying participants into identity statuses. The original version, the Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status (OMEIS) (Adams, Shea, & Fitch, 1979) evolved from research experience with Marcia's (1966) semi-structured interview to allow for wider and less costly measurement of the four identity statuses of the Ego-Identity Status Paradigm (Marcia, 1966). More precisely, OMEIS was based on the assumption that exploration and commitment, the two primary measurement categories are relatively conscious activities and can be measured sufficiently by a self-report questionnaire. They designed test items based on participants' responses to interview questions, which reflected the theoretical amount of exploration and commitment that would be typical for each identity status. This prototypic version (OMEIS) includes the ideological domains of politics, religion, and occupation, in order to match those originally utilised by Marcia (1966). Grotevant and Adams (1984) constructed the EOMEIS-1 by expanding the prototype version to include interpersonal identity

domains. Bennion & Adams (1986) modified the instrument items and improved its psychometric qualities in the final revision, the EOMEIS-2, which is characterised by Marcia as "the most highly developed and validated group-administered questionnaire for assessing identity status" (Marcia, 1993a: 17).

3.2.1.1 Description of EOMEIS-2

EOMEIS-2 consists of 64 items, 32 items assess ideological identity in the domains of politics, religion, occupation and philosophical life-style values and 32 items assess interpersonal identity in the domains of friendship, dating, gender-roles and recreation. Two items represent each combination of identity status by area of identity. The participant is asked to indicate agreement or disagreement on a 6-point-likert scale, with the anchors of "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." The present study utilised the 24 items of EOMEIS-2 that refer to the domains of politics, religion and occupation (see Appendix B). This version was named EOMEIS-2-(PRO)[1].

3.2.1.2 Reasons for Choosing EOMEIS-2

EOMEIS-2 was chosen for examining the developmental stages of adolescents' identity for the following reasons:

- It is based on Erikson's (1968) framework and it evolved from research experience with Marcia's (1966) Ego Identity Status Paradigm.

- It is mainly used to measure global identity; however, the measurement of identity domains is also possible. Thus, the present study, by using the same measure within the basic theory of identity had the opportunity to challenge the synchronicity of identity development in global and in domain specific identities. Global identity in the present study aggregated only from the original domains that Marcia used; this did not distort the enquiry under investigation.

- It has been widely used in many studies in North America, Europe, Australia, and beyond. This indicates its usefulness and applicability cross-culturally. Also, it offers a strong base for comparisons.

- It has very good psychometric qualities.

- It is a self-report scale that can be utilised with a common set of items, which will be answered by all participants. Its strength is in comparability as it provides a similar base on which all participants are classified.

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[1] PRO stands for Politics, Religion and Occupation.

- It is easy to administer and score. Thus, it is appropriate for use in a large survey, such as employed in the present study.

3.2.1.3 Translation into Greek and Modification for Greek Reality

It was considered more appropriate and reliable to translate the questionnaire into Greek, the mother language of the participants. Additionally, statements were modified in order to be closer to the culture of the participants. Translation and modification not only stayed close to the original measurement, but kept the principle of the questionnaire, which is the use of simple ordinary language to present common situations. After a laborious process, a translation and a modification of the questionnaire into the Greek language was achieved. The process of translation and modification went through three stages. a) Translation of the 32 items into Greek by the researcher and distribution to four Greek PhD students[2], who suggested some corrections. b) The questionnaire was piloted and the language and expressions were discussed with ten Greek Cypriot students from the pilot sample. Minor corrections were made. c) Finally, the questionnaire was given to two Greek linguists for a final checking and again minor but critical corrections were made.

3.2.1.4 Scoring EOMEIS-2-PRO

The scoring rules of the original measure were applied (Adams, 1999). Items were scored by weighting the "strongly agree" response with a value of six and the "strongly disagree" with a value of one. Identity status sub-scales were derived by totaling all six items across the three content domains into a summated sub-scale score of diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement. The raw sub-scale scores ranged from a possible low of six to a possible high of thirty-six.

Then, the instruments classification rules were applied; according to these rules, scores of raw sub-scales are only thought appropriate for interpretation if they exceed a certain magnitude above the norm (mean). Specifically, means and standard deviations were generated for each status scores and a cut-off point was derived for each status by adding the mean and the standard deviation. Adams (1999) recommends cut-off points for both measures (OMEIS, EOMEIS-2). However, it was found more reasonable to use the cut-off points derived from the present sample. Table 3.5 presents this information

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[2] These PhD students were all teachers in Greek community schools, teaching Modern Greek A-Level that includes the teaching of translation. All translators have their first degree from a Greek university and a master's degree from an English university.

of EOMEIS-2-PRO version in parallel with OMEIS (Adams, 1999), because both measures used the same three domains of politics, religions and occupation.

Table 3.5 - *Means, Standard Deviations and Cutoff Points of Global Identity*

	OMEIS			EOMEIS-2-PRO		
	Means	SD	Cutoff	Means	SD	Cutoff
Achievement	26.38	4.08	30	26.93	4.58	32
Moratorium	16.94	3.96	21	18.17	4.78	23
Foreclosure	16.25	5.22	21	14.84	5.11	20
Diffusion	15.60	3.29	19	16.22	4.62	21

Using a similar strategy, cut-off points were derived from the data of the present study and were used to classify participants into the four statuses of each identity domain. Table 3.6 presents the means, the standard deviation and the cutoff points of each identity domain of EOMEIS-2-PRO.

Table 3.6 - *Means, Standard Deviations and Cutoff Points for each Identity Domain*

Domain	Status	Means	SD	Cutoffs
Occupation	Achievement	8.87	2.59	11
	Moratorium	7.27	2.89	10
	Foreclosure	3.03	1.73	5
	Diffusion	4.03	2.20	6
Politics	Achievement	9.04	2.19	11
	Moratorium	7.98	2.71	11
	Foreclosure	5.59	2.72	8
	Diffusion	7.82	2.97	11
Religion	Achievement	9.02	2.09	11
	Moratorium	4.99	2.59	8
	Foreclosure	6.22	2.64	9
	Diffusion	4.37	2.45	7

Theoretically possible scale ranges are 2-12.

Further, participants' raw sub-scale scores were compared against the cut-off points. By using a series of three rules, a participant was classified into a single identity status or

into a transition identity status. The classification rules for scoring all versions of the OMEIS (Adams, 1999) are the following:

Pure Identity Status Rule: Individuals scoring one standard deviation above the mean or higher, on a give sub-scale are scored as being in that identity statuses if all remaining scores are below their appropriate sub-scale cut-off comparison ("Pure" Identity Status).

Low-profile Status Rule: Individuals with scores falling less than one standard deviation above the mean on all four measures are scored as the "low profile" moratorium. Adams (1999) suggested that pure moratorium and low-profile moratorium should be treated as a single moratorium status when equivalence is observed on independent variables. In the present study, the composition of low profile status is examined at length in the results chapters.

Transition Status Rule: Individuals with more than one score above the standard deviation cut-off comparison are scored as in transition and are given a "transition" status category. Collapsing transition rules are also used. This is a procedure by which individuals, whose scores cannot be classified into the four basic identity statuses, are rank ordered into the next less sophisticated identity statuses. Thus, everything above diffusion, when represented as a diffusion transition blend (e.g. diffusion-foreclosure, diffusion-moratorium) is collapsed into diffusion, so diffusion gains most of the transitional cases. When foreclosure transitions are present, such as foreclosure-moratorium or foreclosure-achievement, they are collapsed into foreclosure, so fewer cases go to foreclosure. When moratorium-achievement transitions are observed, they are collapsed into moratorium so even fewer cases go to moratorium, and none to achievement (Adams, 1999). Although there is no known investigation of the transitional individuals in the literature, the present study examined the composition of transitional status at length.

3.2.1.5 Psychometric Properties of EOMEIS-2-PRO

The psychometric properties of EOMEIS-2 were critically reviewed in Chapter 2 as being part of one of the basic enquiries of this study. The psychometric properties of EOMEIS-2-PRO are generally good. Here, the reliability and one type of construct validity are presented. The estimation of another type of construct validity, as well as estimations of concurrent validity is presented comprehensively in the results chapters.

Table 3.7 - Internal Consistency Results

	Cronbach's alpha Bennion & Adams (1986) Ideology*	Cronbach's alpha Bennion & Adams (1986) Interpersonal*	Cronbach's alpha Present Study- Total**
Achievement	.62	.6	.53
Moratorium	.75	.58	.53
Foreclosure	.75	.8	.66
Diffusion	.62	.64	.46

*n=106 participants, **n=1038 participants

Reliability, as internal consistency, was measured using Cronbach's alpha. Table 3.7 shows that the internal consistency for each identity status of EOMEIS-2-PRO version was .46 to .66. These alpha scores are slightly lower than the estimations of internal consistency for ideological and interpersonal domains for EOMEIS-2 from the basic study of Bennion and Adams (1986) probably because only three domains were used. However, they are not unduly low as the estimation of the median Cronbach's alpha from 20 studies ranged from .3 to .9 and the median was .66 (Adams, 1999).

Construct validity addresses the accuracy of the instrument in assessing the underlying theoretical elements of a psychological construct. One way to estimate construct validity of EOMEIS-2 is factor analysis, and ideally four separate factors, one representing each identity status, would be expected. In the factor analyses conducted by Bennion and Adams (1986) and Grotevant and Adams (1984), three different factors emerged: one for achievement, one for foreclosure and one for diffusion and moratorium statuses, which were found to share some variance.

In the present study, the factor analysis was conducted by using Maximum Likelihood extraction with three factor-solution and Varimax rotation. Although this was a better solution than the four factor one, it gave a blurred picture with only foreclosure status emerging as a distinct factor, while moratorium shared some variance with both achievement and diffusion (Appendix E).

Interestingly, the same kind of factor analyses were conducted separately for political, religious and occupational identity and showed an ideal picture. Table 3.8 shows that factor analysis for occupational identity gave four separate factors that represented each identity status, accounting for 76% of the total variance.

Table 3.8 – Rotated Factor Matrix for Occupational Identity

Occupation	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Diffusion 1	-0.2		0.33	0.43
Diffusion 2				0.83
Foreclosure 1		0.86		
Foreclosure 2		0.60		
Moratorium 1			0.69	
Moratorium 2	-0.22		0.57	
Achievement 1	0.77		-0.3	
Achievement 2	0.75			

Only -0.2 > Proportions > 0.2 are listed

In Table 3.9 the factor analysis for political identity gave four separate factors that represented each identity status, accounting for 75% of the total variance.

Table 3.9 – Rotated Factor Matrix for Political Identity

Politics	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Diffusion 1	0.74			
Diffusion 2	0.69		0.4	
Foreclosure 1		0.83		
Foreclosure 2		0.67		
Moratorium 1			0.69	
Moratorium 2			0.64	
Achievement 1	-0.5			0.16
Achievement 2				0.72

Only -0.2 > Proportions > 0.2 are listed

In Table 3.10 factor analysis for religious identity gave three factors, one for moratorium, one for diffusion and one for foreclosure accounting for 60% of the total variance. The only loading for achievement status was a negative correlation with moratorium.

Table 3.10 – Rotated Factor Matrix for Religious Identity

Religion	Factor		
	1	**2**	**3**
Diffusion 1	0.24	**0.5**	
Diffusion 2	0.25	**0.9**	
Foreclosure 1			**0.86**
Foreclosure 2			**0.51**
Moratorium 1	**0.68**	0.21	
Moratorium 2	**0.70**		
Achievement 1	-0.35		
Achievement 2	-0.20		

Only -0.2 > Proportions > 0.2 are listed

Overall, factor analyses tests suggest that the EOMEIS-2-PRO exhibited construct validity for the three identity domains, when considered separately. These results support one of the basic arguments of the present study, that each identity domain should be studied independently.

3.2.2 Identity Content Questionnaire

The Identity Content Questionnaire was constructed for the purpose of the present study as there was no relevant questionnaire in existence. ICQ is a simple questionnaire, the purpose of which is to examine the content of identity, that based on the WAY technique (Bugental & Zelen, 1950). The WAY is an interview technique, which arose from self-concept theory, aiming at exploring the participant's self-perception. Bugental and Zelen (1950) administered the WAY by giving the participants a plain piece of paper and asking them to write three answers to the question: "Who Are You?" In the original study, the replies were analysed within the theoretical framework of self-concept and seventeen categories were found. Kuhn and McPartland (1954) turned this procedure into a well known and widely used questionnaire, the Twenty Statements Tests (TST). In TST, participants are asked to give 20 answers to the question "Who Am I?" in a period of 12 minutes.

3.2.2.1 Description of ICQ

ICQ consists of three open-ended questions with reference to a stated domain and participants have to write three answers to each question. Specifically, the "Who Are You?" question was transformed for each one of the three identity domains. The

questions for politics and religion are relevant to the present self and were modified as follows: "Who are you in terms of your political beliefs?" "Who are you in terms of your religious beliefs?" The question for occupation is appropriate for secondary school participants to refer to the future self and it was modified as: "Who will you be in terms of an occupation?" The three open-ended questions were given in a questionnaire form and each question had an appropriate space for the three answers (Appendix C). The instruction was:

> I would like you to write three answers to the following questions. Your answers may be anything you wish: words, phrases and sentences as long as you feel satisfied that you describe yourself. You have to remember that you are asked to give three answers to each question.

3.2.2.2 Advantages of ICQ

ICQ is considered as a potentially more valid research method than the self-report scales for the following reasons:

- The participants have the opportunity to express themselves the way they want to and to write the things that are most important to them, without being directed into ready options that have been chosen in advance by the researcher. Open-ended question allows participants to structure their responses along lines most expressive of their own needs and most meaningfully related to their current situation. "As a stimulus, the question may be considered to be a type of projective technique, in that it allows a free field for response" (Bugental & Zelen, 1950: 484).
- All the variables emerged from the data and are not imposed upon by the researcher.
- The results allow controlled statistical analysis by using both variable and person-centered approaches.
- It offers the opportunity to triangulate the results from EOMEIS-2-PRO.

3.2.2.3 Scoring of ICQ

At first, all the 1038 questionnaires were read and a general idea about the content of identity and possible ways of analysis was formed. The scoring of the ICQ was completed by securing the maximum reading from the respondents' answers. First, each question was analysed separately in a way suggested by De Vaus (1996) for analysing open questions. The researcher read through 100 answers and created variables, each variable might have two or more categories. Both the variables and the categories were

created according to the participants' answers. Then, the meaning of variables and categories was discussed with three people familiar with Greek Cypriot adolescents; the scoring system was discussed with two experts; and minor modifications were completed. Then each one of the 1038 answers was read carefully and scored. The variables, the categories and the scoring system for the content of political, religious and occupational identities are presented analytically in each one of the relevant results chapters.

In a second step, a five-stage process of cluster analysis was performed within a holistic-interactionistic perspective and a person-centered approach following Peck and Roeser's (2003) procedures and a cluster analysis textbook (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). In stage one, the appropriate variables had been chosen carefully; Bergman and El-Khouri (2003) indicated that the results are sensitive to the variables included in the profile, so they should be selected with caution. Stage two involved the empirical identification of subgroups. Variables were standardised at the sample level and then a cluster analysis was used (with Ward's method and squared Euclidean distance as the measure of similarity) to identify subgroups. The final cluster solution was based upon considerations of within-group homogeneity, between-group heterogeneity and parsimony. In stage three, face validity was examined and the groups were ordered, named and identified. In stage four, the concurrent validity of the cluster solutions in terms of theoretically related variables was explored. In stage five, the distribution of gender and context variables across the nine political groups were examined. Because each cluster analysis used different variables and different validation elements, these steps are presented in more detail in the relevant results chapters.

3.2.2.4 Psychometric Properties of ICQ

Because ICQ is a new measure, its reliability and validity lay basically in the expressed self-perceptions of the participants. It is assumed that the ICQ questions and the way in which they were put to the participants elicited truthful responses and indicated the more salient elements of their identity content.

In the final stage, the study provided very good psychometric properties of ICQ. Construct, concurrent and face validity tests were performed and presented in the results chapters as they formed a part of the study. Inter-rater reliability, which is very important for such kind of analysis, was performed. Another rater, after having become

familiar with the coding system, scored 50 answers in each domain. Results are very good, showing 81% total agreement for political variables; 88% for religious variables; and 93% for occupational variables (see Appendix F for analytical results).

3.2.3 General Background Questions

General Background questions produced categorical data, which was needed in stratifying the sample, in describing the social background of participants and in making comparisons between the sub-groups of the sample. As Oppenheim (1966) advised, "we must be particularly rigorous in excluding unnecessary detail" (Oppenheim, 1966: 58). Therefore, the present study used information about gender, age, name of the school; specialisation, father's occupation and mother's occupation (see Appendix D).

3.3 Information on Participants' Ecological Systems

Some of the participants' exo-systems and macro-systems, which are related to adolescents' political, religious and occupational identities, are described here. The exo-system, the larger community setting, has a direct or an indirect influence on the life of young people, though they do not directly participate in exo-system decision-making (Muuss, 1996). Specifically, the socioeconomic status and the educational system influence the micro- and meso-system of young people, and affect to a certain extent, what they can or cannot do. The macro-system consists of the overarching pattern of micro- meso- and exo-systems characteristic of a given society and asserts indirect, but very powerful influences on young people's development (Muuss, 1996). Particularly, the main characteristics of the Greek Cypriot society: the Greek Christian Orthodox Church, the Cyprus political problem, and the Cyprus economic situation are described briefly to provide background information that helped the discussion of the results. To complete the ecological picture of the Greek Cypriot young people, events or situations are described until 2000, the historical time of the study.

3.3.1 Socioeconomic Status of the Participants (Exo-system)

The socioeconomic status of the participants is the first key social context variable and an important exo-system of the participants' ecology. It was determined from both parents' occupations according to Nash's (1995) suggestion that families rather than individuals should be regarded as class located. First, father's and mother's occupations were classified according to the 10 broad categories of the International Standard

Classification of Occupations (Elias & Birch, 1994). A few minor alternations were made to the scale.

1. Four more categories were added: the unemployed, pensioners, the dead, and housewives.
2. The non-professional civil servants and the owners of medium and small enterprises were put into the third category, because, roughly, their income is similar to the technicians (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11 - Father's and Mother's Occupation

	Occupations and situations	Father		Mother	
		N	%	N	%
1	Senior officials, owners & managers of large and medium enterprises	81	7.8%	27	2.6%
2	Professionals	117	11.3%	82	7.9%
3	Technicians, *junior civil servants and owners of small and medium enterprises*	191	18.4%	154	14.8%
4	Clerks	90	8.7%	146	14.1%
5	Service workers and shop and market sales workers, policemen	99	9.5%	84	8.1%
6	Farmers Skilled agricultural	32	3.1%	-	-
7	Craft and related trades workers	287	27.6%	37	3.5%
8	Machine operators and assemblers	69	6.6%	6	0.6%
9	Elementary occupations	23	2.2%	59	5.7%
10	Armed forces	19	1.8%		
	Unemployed	*11*	*1.1%*	*2*	*0.2%*
	Pensioners	*5*	*0.5%*	*-*	
	Dead	*14*	*1.3%*	*3*	*0.3%*
	Housewives		*-*	*438*	*42.2%*

These occupations were then collapsed into three categories (Table 3.12), using the following categorisation (Nash, 1995; Vryonides, 2003):

- Belonging to upper class when at least one of the partners is in 1, 2 and 10[3] categories of occupation and the other to any other category.

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[3] Those who belong to armed forces in the present study were higher officials.

- Belonging to middle class when at least one of the partners is in category 3 or 4 and the other in any one of the lower categories.

- Belonging to working class when both partners are in category 5 or under.

Table 3.12 - Socioeconomic Status of the Participants

Socioeconomic Status	N	Percent
Professionals or upper- middle: upper class	226	22%
Intermediate or lower middle class: middle class	385	37%
Working class	427	41%

A chi-square test shows that there is a statistically significant association between socioeconomic status and the type of school ($\chi2=112.74$, df=4, p<.01). Table 3.13 clearly shows that private schools' students were more likely to come from upper class; state schools' students were more likely to come from middle; and technical schools' students were more likely to come from working class (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13 – Socioeconomic Status by Type of School

Socioeconomic Status	Type of school		
	State Secondary	**Technical**	**Private Secondary**
Upper class	19% -3.5*	11% -3.4*	69% **10.2***
Middle class	39% 2.1*	37%	20% -3.1*
Working class	42%	52% 3*	11% -5.5*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

3.3.2 Participants' Schools (exo-system)

The three different types of secondary school in Cyprus offer a different curriculum and a different school ethos. As the type of school is the second key social context variable, and a significant exo-system, a brief description of each type of school will help the interpretation of the results.

3.3.2.1 State Secondary Education

The great majority of students in Cyprus study in the state secondary schools that generally offer a humanistic Greek Christian education. The basic aim is to promote the development of healthy moral personalities and to create able, democratic and lawful citizens. It also aims to strengthen national identity, cultural values and universal values

for freedom, justice and peace, and to nurture love and respect for people (MECC, 1999).

The duration of state secondary school is six years and is free for all. The first three years of secondary schooling are compulsory; in the last three years students only leave to attend technical school. The school leaving certificate (see UCAS, 1999: 9), when supported by a good performance in relevant subjects of the General Entrance Examination, is acceptable for entry into the Greek universities (in Greece and in Cyprus).

The state school sample was heterogeneous in some aspects and homogeneous in some others. Specialisation was the best indication of the heterogeneity. At the time of the study, state school was divided into five specialisations[4]. Each specialisation had a specific set of lessons, which lead students to become specialised in the direction they had chosen. Specifically, Classical, Economical and especially Scientific specialisations were considered to be of higher status and equipped students to pursue tertiary education in their chosen direction. Secretarial and Foreign Language specialisations appealed more to those students who were interested in obtaining an office job.

Homogeneity was reflected in the core curriculum, the extra-curriculum activities and the state school ethos that was offered in all specialisations. Core curriculum promoted general knowledge and humanistic education (MECC, 1999). Two of the core curriculum lessons are religious education, which is not taught as in British state schools, but as in religious denomination schools, and history, where special importance is given to Greek History. The priorities of History lesson are: the ideal of the democratic constitution of Ancient Athens, where each citizen was responsible for the common good, as well as the ideal of the love and the sacrifice for the freedom of your country, as in Greek revolution, in Greek resistance against the Nazis and in Cyprus anti-colonial struggle. Extra-curriculum activities include the celebration of religious and national days. The state school ethos promotes a humanistic education around the values of Greek Christian Orthodox Church and Greek national values and culture.

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[4] The tradition of specialisations ended in the year 2000-2001 for the students of the fourth year of State Secondary Schools, who followed a new institution, the Unified Lyceum. The new system offers students the opportunity to choose whatever combination of lessons they want, in addition to a core curriculum of general and humanistic subjects. It is an advantage for the study to take students from the old system of specialisations because the division amongst the students was explicit and therefore, the sample was variable and representative.

3.3.2.2   Technical and Vocational Education

The Secondary Technical and Vocational School is a three-year education course following the first three years of state secondary school and is offered free. It aims to offer a balanced program of general and technological education and to prepare the students to be employed in the world of work (MECC, 1999). Theoretically, Technical School leavers can compete on equal terms with school leavers from State secondary schools for places in Tertiary Education; however, few continue their education beyond Technical school.

Technical School has a good reputation for the quality of education and training it offers, although, it is attended mostly by students with lower grades. Public opinion considers technical school students to be of low educational status and not well-behaved. For example, officials in the ministry were slightly concerned whether technical school students would behave appropriately or would understand and answer the questionnaires. However, students in the present sample showed respect in the survey; most of them completed the ICQ using one word or a few short phrases in a restricted vocabulary.

Technical schools focus on technical and vocational directions. The Technical Studies emphasises theory and practice in science and technical knowledge and skills and is offered to academically more able students. The vocational department provides training for craftsmen and various service trades. Students following the vocational route practice apprenticeship in work places three days of the week (MECC, 1999). Thus, less time is spent on religious education and the non-intellectual environment does not encourage exploration but rather acceptance of certain ethical rules.

3.3.2.3   Private Secondary Education

Most of the Private Secondary Education in Cyprus is linked with English education and offers the curriculum of GCSE[5] in "O" and "A" Levels. Schooling consists of two stages and extends over a period of six or seven years. Private school students in the survey were in their first year of A' Levels (same age as the students from the State schools). Specifically, elite private schools in Cyprus prepare students to enter reputable English universities and follow a professional career. The education standards are high and fees are quite considerable, which make them accessible primarily to good students

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[5] General Certificate of Secondary Education in Ordinary and Advanced Levels

from the upper class and also to children of foreign diplomats. Thus, though students' and teachers' ethnic and religious backgrounds were more diverse than the state school students, the population was more homogeneous regarding their socioeconomic class and their social capital.

3.3.3 Greek Christian Orthodox Church in Cyprus (macro-system)

When describing the place of the Orthodox Church and the partition in the Greek Cypriot community (next section) I have stepped out of the objective, researcher stance and adopted the position of the Greek Cypriot community, of which I am a part. This decision was taken quite consciously as it offers the most authentic way of representing the experience of the Greek adolescents who were the participants of the study. Their experience of the Greek Cypriot Orthodox Church and the "Cyprus political problem" is extremely culturally and historically laden, as will be observed when their comments are analysed.

The Christian Orthodox Church of Cyprus is an influential and powerful institution with a triple function: spiritual, cultural and political. Spiritually, it encourages people to live a personal relation with God. It teaches that this relationship can only be fulfilled through the Christian Orthodox Church, which is a body of community where its members live not for themselves, but each in a unity of love with others and with Christ, the head of the church body. Its metaphysical answer to life is that life and death are not related to the body but are conceptualised within this relation: the loving communion with God leads to eternal life, while the separation from God leads to the spiritual death. Orthodox tradition based its catechism on worship. Even the more naive people can find themselves in a personal loving relation with God, through the visible and invisible elements of the holy liturgy, the sacraments, and other forms of worship during the liturgical cycle, where theology is expressed in hymns and is illustrated in the icons (Yannaras, 1983).

Therefore, Christian Orthodox people, especially during the 300 years of Ottoman seize, are traditionally organised around communities, where the local church is the centre of cultural and family activities and the local priest was the leader (Egglezakis, 1986). Many customs are also related to religious celebrations round the year; and women are mostly responsible for keeping these traditions. Church weddings, baby christenings, Sunday services, and participation in the sacramental life of the church are the

foundations of Christian Orthodox families (Alevisopoulos, 1994). In these families, church functioning can be considered as one important exo-system for young people; while young peoples' relationship with the local priest is one of the important micro-system relations. Because of these close relationships, any scandal in the church upsets people; though the Christian orthodox position is that the faith of Christians should not be influenced by any scandals within the clergy. In the period of research, two big church scandals had shaken Cypriots. First, the accusations that a Bishop had homosexual affairs dominated the Cyprus media for months and divided the church (BBC, 2000b). Second, another bishop who resigned because he was accused of attempting to defraud a British businessman was brought before the court (BBC, 2000a).

The church in Cyprus also has a strong political role, which can only be understood through Cyprus history. For nearly eight centuries various conquerors[6] came and went from Cyprus and, throughout, the Church of Cyprus was the only institution responsible for maintaining the Greek Christian identity of the island. For example, during British control (1878-1958), the Cypriot church was at the forefront of the movement seeking union with Greece. On attaining independence in 1960, Archbishop Makarios was elected as head of the new republic and sustained this double role as the head of the church and the state until his death in 1977 (Mills, 2002). This legacy inspired the church leaders to play a political role, although public opinion, especially left-wing, preferred them to concentrate on their spiritual role (AKEL, 2000).

3.3.4 Political Situation in Cyprus (macro-system)

The following account of the Cyprus political situation is described as it is "objectively" presented to Greek Cypriot adolescents. Cyprus, due to its strategic position, has an unfortunate history throughout the centuries leading to partition. The "Cyprus Problem" appeared in 1955 when the British Government ignored the demands of Greek Cypriots for self-determination. The National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants (EOKA), formed mostly by young religious people, was guided spiritually by Archbishop Makarios and militarily by commander Grivas (Papagathaggelou, 1995) and embarked upon a militant struggle to free the country from the colonial rule and unify it with Greece (Mills, 2002). The British Government, unwilling to accept the Greek liberation movement in Cyprus, began to exploit the Turkish factor and encouraged the

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[6] French (1191-1489), Venetians (1489-1571), Ottomans (1571-1832), British colony (1878-1958)

intervention of Turkey. In 1958, following the eruption of intercommunal clashes and the proposal of a partitionist plan by the British Government, Archbishop Makarios accepted a solution of limited independence, the basic premises of which had been elaborated in Zurich by the Governments of Greece and Turkey. Following independence in 1960, tension between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots increased and culminated in serious intercommunal fighting in December 1963. In 1974 Turkish troops landed in northern Cyprus following an overthrow of Archbishop Makarios by right wing extremists, which was backed by the military junta of Greece. The island has been effectively partitioned ever since and approximately 36% of the territory of the Republic is under the illegal Turkish Cypriot control (Cyprus, 2002a).

The Turkish invasion and occupation of 1974 made its mark on every function of life in Cyprus. It dramatically changed the demographic distribution of the population. 200,000 people were expelled from their homeland in the northern part of Cyprus and became refugees in their own country. 35,000 Turkish soldiers, armed with the latest weapons, are stationed in the occupied area. Over 115,000 settlers have been brought over from Turkey while at the same time the Greek Cypriot inhabitants were systematically expelled from their homes. It wounds people's lives. Thousands of people, including civilians, were killed or ill-treated by the Turkish invaders. There are still 1493 Greek Cypriots missing, many of whom were held in Turkish custody. It eradicates every trace of a 9,000 year old cultural and historical heritage in the occupied area. Churches, monuments, cemeteries and archaeological sites have been destroyed, desecrated or looted. Priceless religious and archaeological treasures, part of the world's cultural heritage, are being stolen and smuggled abroad, and illegal excavations and dealings in antiquities are taking place. All Greek place-names have been replaced by Turkish ones (PIO, 2002; 2003).

Insecurity and disillusionment were the feelings of Greek Cypriots, especially 26 years after the invasion. A "Green Line" - a buffer zone dividing the two parts - was patrolled by United Nations troops (Carter, 2003). Successive UN Secretaries-General had made efforts to secure a settlement to the Cyprus dispute through intercommunal talks that started in 1977. A great attack in 1983 to these talks was the establishment of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" by the Turkish Cypriots, which was recognised only by Turkey. Nevertheless, the rounds of talks under UN auspices carried on, but produced no result, given that the Turkish side refused to abide by UN resolutions (PIO,

2002). These talks between the successive leaders of the Cyprus Republic (Archebishop Macarios and then three other elected presidents) and the Turkish leader were always the first news in the mass media. Over the years the "Cyprus Problem" has built up different feeling amongst Greek Cypriots such as distress, disappointment, or indifference.

Political parties in Cyprus were quite polarised, especially after the invasion, creating a climate of tension and hatred among Greek Cypriots. On one hand, the Democratic Rally (DISY), the left wing party, was blamed by the other parties for the Cyprus tragedy; because amongst its member were the extremists who overthrew Archbishop Makarios and gave Turkey a reason to invade (AKEL, 2000). DISY members, though, were proud of the anti-colonial struggle (Ioannidis, 2005), of the rationalist policy and of their European Union orientation (DISY, 2005). The Communist party (AKEL), on the other hand, did not take part in the anti-colonial struggle, but were proud of supporting Greek-Turkish solidarity and envisaged a solution through the common interests of Greek and Turkish workers (AKEL, 1995). In the centre, the Democratic Party (DIKO, 2005), acclaimed the legacy of Makarios' policy and played a balancing role as the two extreme parties needed its collaboration to get the leadership in the elections. Until 2000, the three successive presidents came from these different political parties, giving Greek Cypriots the opportunity to experience the different policies and, to a certain extent, their expectations from their leaders or their parties became more pragmatic; for some of them, it created indifference or anti-political feelings.

Even though, the general political situation of Cyprus was one macro-system of young Greek Cypriots. Political parties, especially for those who were party affiliated, worked as an important exo-system. Then, young people's relationships with their grandparents and their parents were vital micro-system relations that transmitted political values; that is grandparents who were EOKA members carried the pride of sacrifice for the love of the country. Their fathers were probably soldiers who defended Cyprus in the Turkish invasion. Refugee families all had their stories to tell of those days. From the participants' background information, 19% of young people had both parents' refugees and 28% had one parent refugee.

3.3.5   General Economic Situation in Cyprus (macro-system)

Whereas the political problem still remains unresolved, the economy, based on the free enterprise system, has made a remarkable recovery. In 1974, 70% of the economic potential of Cyprus came under Turkish occupation, but the hardworking and progressive Cypriots used any potential to bring an economic flourish (PIO, 2002). Cyprus became a major tourist destination, where nearly all seaside towns developed their distinct Tourist industry that produced their own impact on Cypriots. The extension of business in Cyprus demanded the employment of foreign workers in elementary occupations, putting their own mark on Cypriot society. It became also a service centre, mainly banking, shipping and telecommunications. Cyprus governments worked hard to acquire the economic standards to join the EU. Cyprus has a standard of living that is even higher than some European Union member-states and the performance of the economy compares favourably with that of most EU countries. According to the World Development Indicators (1999) published by the World Bank, Cyprus holds 16th place worldwide in terms of per capita income (Cyprus, 2002b).

It should be noted that the Greek Cypriot society transformed rapidly from a poor agricultural economy into a modernised state (Panayiotopoulos, 1995). Three generations ago the great majority of Cypriots were small farmers living in deprived rural areas, structuring their lives around strict patriarchal and traditional values. Nowadays, Cyprus is an affluent modern/European society in relation to economic and general life styles. Nevertheless many traditional cultural values are alive in this macro-system of young people.

3.4   Procedures for Conducting the Main Research

The main research took place between the 2nd and the 23rd of October 2000 in Cyprus. During this short period the survey was completed. The whole procedure was organised well in advance in order to achieve the best results.

Conducting a questionnaire survey in the state schools in Cyprus requires a laborious negotiation through the officials of the Cyprus' Ministry of Education and Culture. The research proposal was given directly to the Minister of Education and Culture of Cyprus who had a very positive attitude towards research. The official procedure started with his authorisation. Letters to head teachers were sent to inform them about the type of research that was to be undertaken and dates when it would be carried out.

Most importantly, the research was conducted at the right time in the academic year. This was early October. During that period, schools were settled and it was not a period near to exams or holidays. Therefore, students were more willing to complete a questionnaire and teachers were willing to give up a period of a lesson for this. The questionnaire could be completed within one period (45min) which increased the willingness to cooperate.

The researcher visited all the 15 schools by arrangement with the head teachers and went into 49 different classes either alone or accompanied by the head teacher, the deputy head, or the class teacher. In each class, the researcher briefly introduced the purpose of the research and the importance of participants' contribution. This introduction proved to be of interest to the participants and encouraged them to participate. Instructions on how to complete the questionnaire were given orally and any queries were answered. During the completion time, the researcher was present and answered any further questions. The general behaviour towards the research of most of the students in all the schools was enthusiastic; many students became really interested in the research. The researcher collected all the questionnaires and checked that each one had been completed.

However, thirty-two participants (3%) were withdrawn from the study; the original number of questionnaires given was 1070. All participants were males, 13 were State school students, 11 were Technical school students, and 8 were Private school students. There were three different reasons for the withdrawn. Fourteen participants refused to answer the questionnaire, claiming either personal or religious reasons. This was totally acceptable as they were assured that had the right to refuse to take part in the study. Six participants had difficulties in completing the questionnaire. Twelve participants completed the questionnaire invalidly[7]. All questionnaires were the EOMEIS-2-PRO was properly completed but they have kept in the survey, even where the ICQ section was not complete[8]. There was no questionnaire with only ICQ be completed.

Soon after the collection of the data the researcher prepared and sent feedback letters to the 15 head teachers and to the 3 high officials of the Ministry of Education and

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[7]Circling the same number in EOMEIS-2-PRO or circling only the first page and either not answering ICQ or write inappropriate words (swearing, obscenities) on ICQ.
[8] In ICQ, there are 13 missing values in Political domain, 19 missing values in Religious domain and 21 missing values in Occupational domain.

Civilization who monitored the whole procedure. The letters to the head teachers thank them and their staff for taking part and gave a brief account of the data collection process in their schools. The letters to the two head officials of State and State Technical schools also provided a brief account of the procedures carried out in the schools and expressed the gratitude. Finally, a copy of all the letters and a review of the study were sent to the official responsible for any research conducted in state schools. A final report with the results, discussion and implications of the study has been promised to this department after the completion of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGES OF IDENTITY

This chapter examines whether adolescent identity develops synchronously across its domains and what the impact of social context is in identity development. First, the results from the analysis of the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2-PRO), which was used to classify global and specific identities statuses (i.e., political, religious and occupational identities), showed a degree of divergence between participants' global identity and specific identities. Second, the associations between global and specific identity statuses and gender and context variables showed both the context influences and the heterogeneity of the developmental stages of global and specific identities. Third, the associations between political, religious and occupational identities were explored. Finally, a critical examination of the use of EOMEIS-2 was attempted.

4.1   Global Identity versus Domain Specific Identities

Following the scoring procedures of EOMEIS-2, the participants of the present study were classified into the global identity statuses aggregating their scores across the three identity domains of politics, religion and occupation. Then, applying the same procedures, participants were classified into separate identity statuses for each identity domain. However, there was a problem in applying the EOMEIS-2 classification system. In common with most studies employing EOMEIS-2, less than 50% of the participants fell into one of the "pure" statuses, (achievement, foreclosure, moratorium and diffusion). The other 50% were allocated to a Low-profile Status (participants who do not clearly belong in any one of the "pure" statuses) or a Transition Status (participants who belong to more than one "pure" status). Although, the recommendation for collapsing the low profile and transition statuses was adopted in the present study as in the majority of studies that used EOMEIS-2, the characteristics of low profile and transition individuals are examined closely and critically through all four results chapters.

The first level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis is presented in Table 4.1 to show the classification of Greek Cypriot young people into the six identity statuses.

Table 4.1 - *Identity Classification across Domains in the First Level of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis*

	Global Identity		Political Identity		Religious Identity		Occupational Identity	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Achievement	12%	127	14%	149	18%	187	22%	232
Moratorium	10%	106	5%	48	9%	91	12%	124
Foreclosure	11%	111	13%	138	8%	86	4%	41
Diffusion	9%	92	12%	120	7%	73	9%	89
Low Profile	47%	487	34%	356	38%	393	31%	325
Transition	11%	115	22%	227	20%	208	22%	227
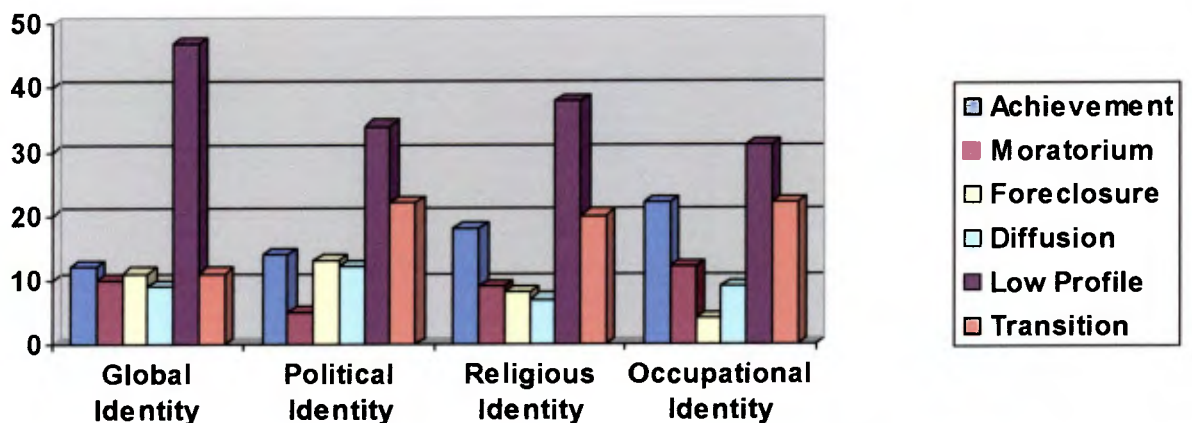
Figure 4.1 - *Distribution of Participants into the Six Identity Statuses in Global, Political, Religious and Occupational Identities*

Table 4.1 gave the first indication of the variability in each identity status across global identity and identity domains. For example, results in global identity showed only 12% of participants in achievement status, while achievers in political identity were 14%, in religious identity were 18% and in occupational identity were 22%. This variability is more clearly illustrated in the bar charts of Figure 4.1.

In the second level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis low profile participants were collapsed into the moratorium status, and as a result, moratorium status had the highest percentage

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of participants. The transition participants were collapsed into moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion statuses according to the criteria referred to in the Methodology Chapter. The only status that remained pure in the second level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis was achievement. The variability in the classification of participants in the four statuses of global identity and of the identity domains of politics, religion and occupation is still apparent in the second level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis, which is presented in both Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2.

Table 4.2 - *Identity Classification across Domains in the Second Level of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis*

	Global Identity		Political Identity		Religious Identity		Occupational Identity	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Achievement	12%	127	14%	149	18%	187	22%	232
Moratorium	58%	600	44%	453	48%	496	46%	471
Foreclosure	13%	134	20%	204	15%	159	8%	86
Diffusion	17%	177	22%	232	19%	196	24%	249
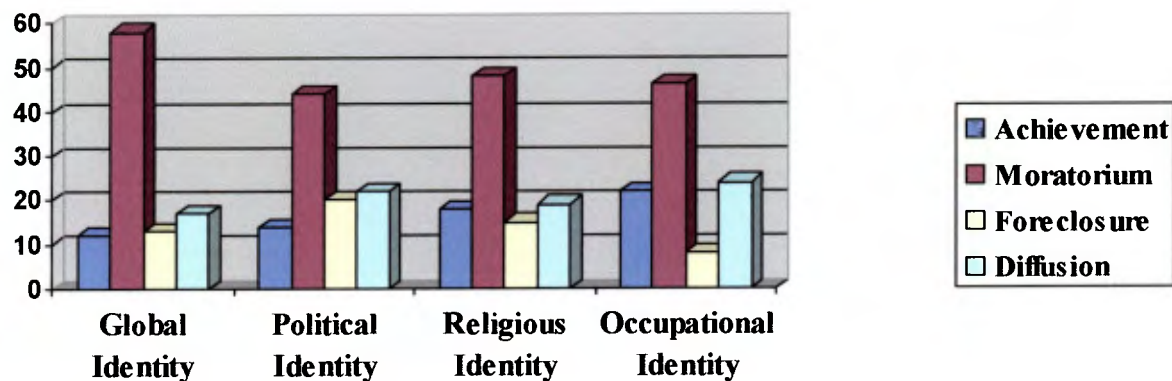
Figure 4.2 - *Distribution of Participants into the Four Identity Statuses in Global, Political, Religious and Occupational Identities*

Statistical investigations were conducted at the second level of analysis to test whether individuals were in the same statuses across global identity and identity domains. The first investigation applied a goodness of fit test to pair comparisons of the frequencies shown in Table 4.2 to examine whether the distribution across statuses is the same for each specific identity domain and global identity.

Three Null Hypotheses were tested and rejected as shown in Table 4.3 (see Appendix G for the calculations). The distribution across statuses for global identity was significantly different from the distribution of statuses for politics ($\chi2$ =22.09, df=3, p<.01), religion ($\chi2$ =12.27, df=3, p<.01) and occupation ($\chi2$ =34.44, df=3, p<.01). The nature of the differences is illustrated in Figure 4.2. In particular a larger number of young people were classified as moratorium in global identity than in any of the specific domains.

Table 4.3 - Three Null Hypotheses concerning the Goodness of Fit Tests between each Identity Domains and Global Identity

Ho1: The distribution across status categories is the same for Political and Global identity.	$\chi2$ =22.09 df=3, p<.01
Ho2: The distribution across status categories is the same for Religious and Global identity.	$\chi2$ =12.27 df=3, p<.01
Ho3: The distribution across status categories is the same for Occupational and Global identity.	$\chi2$ =34.44 df=3, p<.01

In the second investigation, the means of the statuses for each identity domain were plotted against a third of the means of the statuses of global identity as shown in Figure 4.3. The three scatter plots allow visual comparisons of identity statuses of global identity and each identity domain. Equal distance of an identity status from both axes shows an equivalence of global and domain identity; i.e., in Figure 4.3, unequal distance of an identity status from the axes shows a difference of global and domain identity. More specifically, in the comparison of political and global identity, diffusion, foreclosure and moratorium statuses were different. In the comparison of religious and global identity, diffusion, foreclosure and moratorium statuses were different. In the comparison of occupational and global identity, diffusion and foreclosure statuses were different.

The overall results from EOMEIS showed that the global identity statuses of Greek Cypriot young people were not exactly synchronous across identity domains. It seems that a global identity could not give a valid description of individual's specific identities. The break down of global identity in domains requires further investigation between identity domains and gender and context variables.
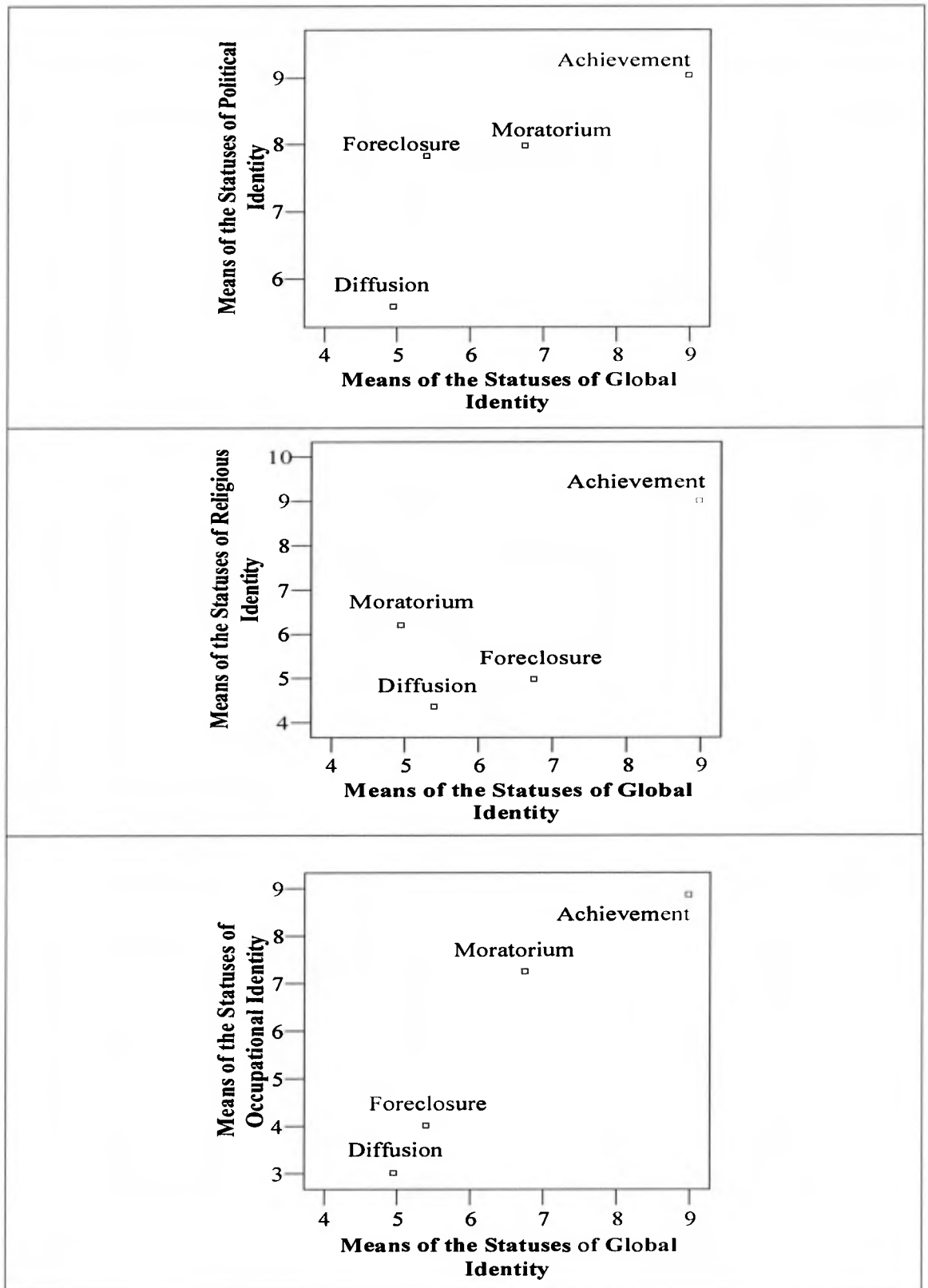
Figure 4.3 - *Scatter Plot of the Means of each Status of Political, Religious and Occupational Identities and the 1/3 of the Means of each Identity Status of Global Identity*

4.2 Associations between Global and Specific Identities and Participants' Gender and Social Context

The purpose of examining the gender and social context differences of the global identity and domain specific identities was twofold. First, it was to investigate further the evidence from EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis that the global identity did not give a clear picture of the participants' identity statuses in the separate domains of identity. Second, it was to examine whether gender, type of school and SES (socioeconomic status) of the participants were associated with global and specific identity domains. Therefore, chi-squares tests[1] were conducted and presented between the independent (social context) variables of gender, type of secondary school and SES of participants and the dependant variables of global, political, religious and occupational identities.

4.2.1 Gender and Identity Statuses

Results showed that there were gender differences in global identity and in three identity domains. However, the direction of the difference diverged and the separate investigation of gender differences in each identity domain revealed a more complex picture than global identity on its own showed.

Table 4.4 – *Gender by Global Identity Statuses*

Gender	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
Male (N=499)	11%	52%	14%	23% 4.4*
Female (N=589)	13 %	62% 3.3*	12%	13%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between gender and global identity ($\chi2$=23.91, df=3, p<.01). Table 4.4 shows that the difference was concerned with two of the four statuses. Young women were more likely than expected by chance to belong to moratorium status, and young men were more likely to belong to diffusion status. However, this picture did not reflect all the three identity domains from which global identity was aggregated and thus, global identity did not represent political, religious and occupational identities as it was supposed to do.

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[1] Because of the number of chi-square analysis, the .01 level or lower is adopted to denote statistically significant associations. Associations significant at the .05 level will be considered to suggest a trend.

Table 4.5 – Gender by Political Identity Statuses

Gender	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
Male (N=499)	17%	43%	24% 3*	16%
Female (N=589)	13 %	44%	16%	27% 4.1*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The association between gender and political identity is statistically significant ($\chi2$=23.24, df=3, p<.01). However, the differences between genders and identity statuses were unrelated to the results of global identity. Table 4.5 shows that young men were more likely to be foreclosed in their political identity, whereas females were more likely to be diffused. Traditionally males in the Greek Cypriot culture are expected to be politically involved and commonly they follow their families' party affiliation.

Table 4.6 – Gender by Religious Identity Statuses

Gender	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
Male (N=499)	17%	42%	14%	27% 6.1*
Female (N=589)	19 %	52% 3.2*	17%	12%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

Only the associations of religious identity with gender, which is statistically significant ($\chi2$=37.65, df=3, p<.01) showed the same significant differences between males and females as global identity. Table 4.6 shows that young women were more likely to be in moratorium status, whereas young men were more likely to be in diffusion status. It seems that Greek Cypriot young women were more advanced in their relgious identity as they were more likely to explore religious issues. Traditionlly, women are expected to be more concerned with religion and responsible for keeping the religious customs.

Table 4.7 – Gender by Occupational Identity Statuses

Gender	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
Male (N=499)	18%	37%	9%	36% 7.8*
Female (N=589)	25 % 2.8*	52% 4.7*	8%	15%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

Finally, there is a statistically significant association between gender and occupational identity ($\chi 2$=65.07, df=3, p<.01). Table 4.7 shows that in occupational identity young women were more likely to belong to moratorium status and young men were more likely to belong to diffusion status, which reflects the associations of global identity. However, females were also more likely to belong to achievement status. In the context of Greek Cypriot society, females in the last year of secondary schooling have to decide whether to follow a career or continue with their education; whilst males have two more years of compulsory military service, which enables them to postpone or extend their "decision making" time.

4.2.2   Type of School and Identity Statuses

Results showed that there were significant associations between different types of schools and global, religious and occupational identities, but not for political identity. Interestingly, the association between participants' type of school and political identity is not statistically significant ($\chi 2$=10.27, df=6). This clearly shows that participants' global identity did not represent their political identity (which comprised a part of global identity). Concerning the differences in the other two identity domains, the direction of the difference diverged from global identity differences.

Table 4.8 – Type of School by Global Identity Statuses

Type of School	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
State (N=814)	13%	59%	13%	15% -2.5*
Technical (N=150)	13 %	48% -2.5*	16%	23% 2.2*
Private (N=74)	7%	63%	8%	22%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

The association between the participants' type of school and global identity is statistically significant ($\chi 2$=12.68, df=6, p<.05). Table 4.8 shows that students from state schools were less likely to be in diffusion status in their global identity, whereas students from technical schools were more likely to be in diffusion status and less likely to be in moratorium status.

Table 4.9 – Type of School by Religious Identity Statuses

Type of School	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
State (N=814)	19% 2.3*	49%	16%	16% -4.3*
Technical (N=150)	13 %	46%	15%	26% 2.4*
Private (N=74)	14%	42%	9%	35% 3.7*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented

The association between the participants' type of school and religious identity ($\chi2$=24.26, df=6, p<.01) is statistically significant. As in the global identity, diffusion status was more likely to be significant amongst technical school students and less likely to be significant amongst state school students (see Table 4.9). Unlike global identity, state school students were more likely to be in achievement status, whereas private school students were more likely to be in diffusion status. Here, religious education seems to have its impact on students' identity developmental stages. State schools provide religious education, where a discussion of religious issues, as well as the position of the Christian Orthodox church is encouraged. Additionally, the state school ethos embodies Christian Orthodox values and attendance at holy liturgy and the sacramental life of the church is encouraged and provided. Technical and private schools provide religious education to a lesser degree.

Table 4.10 – Type of School by Occupational Identity Statuses

Type of School	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**
State (N=814)	24%	46%	8%	22% -3*
Technical (N=150)	23 %	32% -3.6*	9%	36% 3.9*
Private (N=74)	9% -2.8*	65% 3.5*	4%	22%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented

The association between the participants' type of school and occupational identity ($\chi2$=31.63, df=6, p<.01 is statistically significant. Table 4.10 shows that state school students were less likely to be in diffusion status, technical schools students were less likely to be in moratorium status and more likely to be in diffusion status, and private school students were less likely to be in achievement status and more likely to be in moratorium status. Students from private schools typically come from the more affluent

end of society, where career and employment options are much wider and the school ethos encourages academic confidence amongst students. A surprising result was that students attending technical schools showed relatively high levels of diffusion in their occupational identity. It is surprising because their course is a vocational one. It might be anticipated that they would therefore be foreclosed or achieved. ICQ data in Chapter Seven provides information to explain this finding.

4.2.3 Socioeconomic Status (SES) and Identity Statuses

Results showed that there were significant associations between socioeconomic status and religious and occupational identities that were not apparent when examining global identity. Moreover, the relationship between socioeconomic status and religious and occupational identity differed.

Table 4.11 – *Socioeconomic Status by Religious Identity Statuses*

Socioeconomic Status	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion
Upper (N=226)	15%	47%	12%	26% 2.9*
Middle (N=385)	19 %	48%	14%	19%
Working (N=427)	19%	48%	18% 2*	15% -2.4*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented

First, there is a statistically significant association between socioeconomic status and religious identity ($\chi2$=13.26, df=6, p<.05). Table 4.11 shows that upper class participants were more likely to be in diffusion status whereas working class participants were more likely to be in foreclosure status and less likely to be in diffusion status.

Table 4.12 – *Socioeconomic Status by Occupational Identity Statuses*

Socioeconomic Status	Identity Statuses			
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion
Upper (N=226)	19%	57% 4.1*	10%	14% -4.1*
Middle (N=385)	24 %	44%	8%	24%
Working (N=427)	22%	40% -2.9*	8%	30% 3.5*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented

Second, there is a statistically significant association between socioeconomic status and occupational identity (χ2=28.20, df=6, p<.01). Two opposing features were presented in Table 4.12. Upper class participants were more likely to be in moratorium status and less likely to be in diffusion status; whereas working class participants were more likely to be in diffusion status and less likely to be in moratorium status.

4.3   Comparisons of Political, Religious and Occupational Identities

The statistical tests of the above section showed that the relationships of global identity with gender and context variables were somewhat similar and somewhat different from the relationships of its domains with the same variables.   The purpose here is to investigate the relationships amongst the three identity domains in order to acquire a complete picture of the synchronicity in the developmental stages of political, religious and occupational identities. This is also a test of validity of the three classifications and internal consistency of the EOMEIS-2 measure. Additionally, it evaluates the use of the Identity Status Paradigm both theoretically and empirically.

Table 4.13 – Political Identity Statuses by Religious Identity Statuses

Political IdentityStatuses	Religious Identity Statuses				
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	Total
Achievement	38 2.6*	72	11 -2.9*	28	14%
Moratorium	83	248 4*	48 -3.7*	74	44%
Foreclosure	26 -2.2*	88	47 3.4*	43	20%
Diffusion	40	88 -3.4*	53 3.6*	51	22%
Total %	18%	48%	15%	19%	100

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented

There is a statistically significant association between Political Identity Statuses and Religious Identity Statuses (χ2=50.62, df=9, p<.01), which validates the two domain identities to one another. Specifically, achievement, moratorium and foreclosure statuses of political and religious identities were significantly associated, showing a degree of convergence between the two identity domains (see Table 4.13). However, diffusion status of political identity was more than likely to associate with foreclosure status of religious identity, suggesting that very dedicated religious young people were not interested in politics. Diffused in religious identity young people were equally allocated to the four political identity statuses. These differences between identity status

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in the domains of politics and religion, not addressed by global identity theory, illustrate the value of examining identity at the level of domain.

Table 4.14 – *Political Identity Statuses by Occupational Identity Statuses*

Political IdentityStatuses	Occupational Identity Statuses				
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	Total
Achievement	47 2.9*	61	15	26 -2*	14%
Moratorium	99	228 2.8*	30	96	44%
Foreclosure	40	80 -2*	26 2.6*	58	20%
Diffusion	46	102	15	69 2.3*	22%
Total	22%	46%	8%	24%	100

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented

The association between Political Identity and Occupational Identity is also statistically significant ($\chi2=28.86$, df=9, p<.01), which again cross-validates the two domain identities. Here, all four statuses of political and occupational identities were significantly associated showing a degree of convergence between the two identity domains (see Table 4.14). But despite this agreement, divergence was also apparent.

Table 4.15 – *Religious Identity Statuses by Occupational Identity Statuses*

Religious IdentityStatuses	Occupational Identity Statuses				
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	Total
Achievement	67 4.9*	70 -2.4*	14	36	18%
Moratorium	98	259 4.2*	30 -2.5*	109	48%
Foreclosure	36	65	24 3.4*	34	15%
Diffusion	31 -2.4*	77	18	70 4.3*	19%
Total	22%	46%	8%	24%	100

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented

The final association between Religious Identity and Occupational Identity is statistically significant ($\chi2=56.97$, df=9, p<.01) too, which again cross-validates domain identities. As in the association above, all four statuses of religious and occupational identities were significantly associated, showing a degree of convergence between the two identity domains (see Table 4.15). But again, despite this agreement, divergence was also apparent.

4.4 Consideration of the First Level of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis

The evidence that around half of the participants could not be classified in one of the four identity statuses in the first level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis calls for a critical examination of EOMEIS-2. This issue has been raised by others (see Chapter 2), but a further investigation using the results of the present study aims to shed light on the weakness of the EOMEIS-2 measurement and the composition of the two ambiguous statuses (i.e., low profile and transition) Therefore, all the associations between identity (global, political, religious and occupational) and all variables (gender, type of school and socioeconomic status) were tested twice: for the first level of analysis (six statuses) and for the second level of analysis (four statuses).

With two exceptions, presented below, all the associations were confirmed using the six statuses classification. It is worth looking at an example of the allocation of percentages in one pair of cases, where tests in both levels were statistically significant. The example is the associations between Occupational identity and gender (Level 1: $\chi2=60.26$, df=5, p<.01, Level 2: $\chi2=65.07$, df=3, p<.01).

Table 4.16 – Occupational Identity by Gender in the First and Second Levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis

Statuses	Occupational Identity x Gender (Level 1)		Occupational Identity x Gender (Level 2)	
	Male N=499	Female N=589	Male N=499	Female N=589
Achievement	18%	25% 2.8*	18%	25% 2.8*
Moratorium	9%	15% 2.8*	37%	52% 4.7*
Foreclosure	5%	3%	9%	8%
Diffusion	14% 5.9*	4%	36% 7.8*	15%
Low Profile	27%	35% 2.6*	---------	----------
Transition	27% 3.3*	18%	---------	----------

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented

Table 4.16 shows that the comparison of percentages between the statuses of the two levels showed a considerable difference except achievement status, which remained the same. In the first level, achievement had the highest percentage amongst the pure statuses, but in the second level, moratorium came first with very high percentages

(male: 37%, female: 52%). This is because in level 2, low profile status and some cases of transition status were collapsed into moratorium status. It can be seen that these Level 1 categories of low profile and transition behaved in a similar way to Level 2 categories into which they were collapsed.

However, this equivalence was not apparent in the two cases where the associations in the first and second level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis differed. The first case is the association between global identity and the type of school, which is not statistically significant in the first level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis ($\chi2$=12.25, df=10, p<.05), but it is statistically significant in the second level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis ($\chi2$=12.68, df=6, p<.05).

Table 4.17 - Global Identity by Type of School in the First and Second Levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis

	Global Identity x Type of School (Level 1)			Global Identity x Type of School (Level 2)		
	State N=814	Technical N=150	Private N=74	State N=814	Technical N=150	Private N=74
Achievement	13%	13%	7%	13%	13%	7%
Moratorium	10%	7%	15%	10M+48LP +1T=59%	7M+42LP = 48%** -2.5*	15M+48LP =63%
Foreclosure	10%	14%	8%	10F+3T= 13%	14F+2T= 16%	8F= 8%
Diffusion	8%	12%	11%	8D+7T= 15% -2.5*	12D+10 T= 23%** 2.2*	11D+11T= 22%
Low Profile	48%	42%	48%	-----	-----	-----
Transition	11%	12%	11%	-----	-----	-----

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
** The difference in result of the addition is due to the rounding of the numbers.
Note: M= Moratorium, F= Foreclosure, D= Diffusion, LP= Low Profile, T=Trasition

A closer look at Table 4.17 helps to explain, how in this case, the collapsing of low profile and transition statuses worked towards creating statistically significant differences. In the first level of analysis (see Table 4.17), the distribution of the percentages of each status across type of schools was very similar. In the second level of analysis, the low profile and transition statuses were collapsed into the other statuses in such a way that the differences in moratorium and diffusion statuses became significant.

Therefore, in the second level of analysis, technical school students were more likely to be in diffusion status and less likely to be in moratorium status; whereas state school students were less likely to be in diffusion status.

Table 4.18 – Political Identity by Socioeconomic Status in the First and Second Levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis

	Political Identity x SES (Level 1)			Political Identity x SES (Level 2)		
	Upper N=226	Middle N=385	Working N=427	Upper N=226	Middle N=385	Working N=427
Achievement	19% 2.3*	14%	12%	19% 2.3*	14%	12%
Moratorium	5%	4%	4%	5%M+38LP+ 4T =47%	4M+33LP +6T= 43%	4M+34LP+ 4T =42%
Foreclosure	11%	11%	17% 2.8*	11F+5T= 16%	11F+7T= 18%	17F+6T= 23% 2.1*
Diffusion	9%	15% 2.5*	10%	9D+9T= 18%	15D+10 T= 25%	10D+13T= 23%
Low Profile	38%	33%	34%	-----	-----	-----
Transition	18%	23%	23%	-----	-----	-----

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: M= Moratorium, F= Foreclosure, D= Diffusion, LP= Low Profile, T=Trasition

The second case is the association between political identity and socioeconomic status, which is statistically significant at the first level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis ($\chi2=20.43$, df=10, p<.05) but not statistically significant at the second level of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis ($\chi2=12.42$, df=6, p<.05). Table 4.18 shows that in the first level of analysis there were three significant associations, but in the second level of analysis, one of these significant associations disappeared. Specifically, upper class participants were more likely to be in achievement status. As achievement status remained the same in the second level of analysis, this significant association remained. Working class participants were more likely to be in foreclosure status in the first level of analysis. The collapse of transitional cases into the foreclosure status of the second level of analysis helped this association to remain significant. However, this did not work the same for the third association. Middle class participants were more likely to be in diffusion status in the first level of analysis, but in the second level of analysis this association disappeared.

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Table 4.19 – *Gender by Political, Religious and Occupational Identities in the First Level of EOMEIS-2-PRO Analysis*

Identity Domain	Statuses	Gender			
		Male (N=499)		Female (N=589)	
Political Identity χ2=22.55 df=5, p<.01	Achievement	17%		13%	
	Moratorium	3%		6%	2.6*
	Foreclosure	16%	2.5*	11%	
	Diffusion	10%		13%	
	Low Profile	**36%**		**33%**	
	Transition	**18%**		**24%**	**2.3***
Religious Identity χ2=34.24 df=5, p<.01	Achievement	17%		19%	
	Moratorium	7%		10%	
	Foreclosure	7%		9%	
	Diffusion	11%	4.5*	4%	
	Low Profile	**34%**		**41%**	**2.5***
	Transition	**24%**	**3***	**17%**	
Occupational Identity χ2=60.26 df=5, p<.01	Achievement	18%		26%	2.8*
	Moratorium	9%		14%	2.8*
	Foreclosure	5%		3%	
	Diffusion	14%	5.9*	4%	
	Low Profile	**27%**		**35%**	**2.6***
	Transition	**27%**	**3.3***	**18%**	

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The last investigation focuses on the composition of low profile and transition statuses. For this purpose the allocation of the six statuses across identity domains for males and females with emphasis on low profile and transition statuses is used. As Table 4.19 shows that males were more likely to be in transition status in their religious and occupational identities. In these two identities, males were also more likely to be in diffusion status in both levels of analysis. These indications show that diffusion and transition statuses share some variance; thus, the collapsing of most of transition cases into diffusion is justified. Females, on the other hand, were more likely to be in low profile status in their religious and occupational identities. In occupational identity,

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females were also more likely to be in moratorium status in both levels of analysis and in religious identity they were more likely to be in moratorium status in the second level of analysis. These indications show that moratorium and low profile statuses share some variance; thus, the collapsing of low profile cases into moratorium is justified.

Synopsis

The analysis of the EOMEIS-2-PRO in both levels showed that Greek Cypriot young people were not exactly in the same statuses across their global, political, religious and occupational identities. Additional statistical tests revealed that global identity (which was aggregated from the domains of politics, religion and occupation and is supposed to represent them), is significantly different from its consistent domains. Therefore, the break down of global identity into domains and the individual examination of each domain is essential to the understanding of adolescent identity.

In a further examination, this heterogeneity in the development of global identity and of each identity domain is highlighted by gender and social context differences. Though global identity statuses classification across gender, type of school and socioeconomic status were reflected to some degree in the status classifications of identity domains, the patterns of the percentages in each status of each identity domain differed from global identity. Thus, the processes of political, religious and occupational identities in relation to gender and context variables were more complex than could be seen by looking at global identity alone.

Concerning gender differences, global identity results reflect religious and to some extent occupational identities but not political identity. Specifically, females were more likely to belong to moratorium status and males were more likely to belong to diffusion status in their global, religious and occupational identities; females were also more likely to belong to achievement status in their occupational identity. In political identity, males were more likely to be foreclosed and females were more likely to be diffused. These differences reflect the context of the Greek Cypriot society, where men are expected to be politically involved and women to be concerned with keeping the religious customs. Males, after secondary school, have to serve in the army for two years, which postpones any occupational plans.

Concerning type of school differences, global identity represents only the feature that diffusion status was less likely amongst state school students but more likely amongst

technical school students in religious and occupational identities; political identity is not associated with type of school. Religious identity seems to be influenced by the religious education (RE) offered in each type of school. Thus, state school students, who received a more advanced RE, were more likely to be in achievement status and less likely to be in diffusion status. Technical and private school students, who received a restricted RE, were more likely to be in diffusion status. Concerning occupational identity, private school students were more likely to be in moratorium status and less likely to be in achievement status; something which reflects their economic and cultural capital. On the other end, technical school students were more likely to be in diffusion status and less likely to be in moratorium status. This finding was not expected as their vocational orientation was supposed to help them to be clear about their future occupational identities. The investigation of identity content, which follows, sheds light on this issue.

SES was only associated with religious and occupational identities. Upper class and working class participants were opposed. In religious identity, upper class participants were more likely to be in diffusion status whereas working class participants were more likely to be in foreclosure status and less likely to be in diffusion status. In occupational identity, upper class participants were more likely to be in moratorium status and less likely to be in diffusion status, whereas working class participants were the opposite.

Despite these differences, there was considerable convergence between identity domains. These findings showed internal consistency of EOMEIS-2 and are in agreement with the Identity Status Paradigm. However, the distribution of the statuses for each identity domain did not exactly coincide as global identity theory would suggest, demonstrating the value of analysis at the level of domain.

Finally, a critical examination of EOMEIS-2 showed that the classification system is quite robust. However, statistical tests should be examined at both levels of EOMEIS-2 analysis in order to confirm the significance of the results and to be aware of any significant trend that is not shown in the second level of analysis. As far as the composition of low profile and transition statuses is concerned, it seems that low profile is related to moratorium status and transition status to diffusion status. However, the individuals belonging to these two statuses were different from First Level moratorium and diffusion individuals. For this reason a further examination of the composition of

low profile and transitional participants is attempted in the next chapters, using identity content.

In conclusion, a snapshot of identity developmental stages of Greek Cypriot young people showed that adolescent identity does not always develop synchronously across its domains. Attempts to simplify this picture by presenting only global identity conceal the more complex reality that emerges when a multidimensional concept of identity is applied. However, this more complex picture about adolescents' identities is restricted if the examination is not extended to the content of the identities. Therefore, the next three chapters are dedicated to the investigation of the content of political, religious and occupational identities.

CHAPTER 5

THE CONTENT OF POLITICAL IDENTITY

This chapter presents the analysis of the content of political identity of Greek Cypriot adolescents based on their answers to the open-ended question "Who are you in terms of your political identity?" In the first part of this chapter, responses were coded as a function of their relevance to political values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours and the relationships among these categorical variables and social context were explored. In the second part, this classification system was re-analysed to explore the existence of political types or clusters and the associations between these types and gender and context variables were examined. A construct validation of Political Identity Statuses and Political Identity Content was also presented.

5.1 Categorical Variables of Political Identity

Seven categorical variables emerged from an inductive analysis of participants' textual data; these variables were coded as values, attitudes, beliefs, behaviours and party affiliation. First, the variables and their categories were conceptually and operationally defined. Frequency figures for each variable illustrated the complex picture of political identity content. Secondly, the associations between the categorical variables (Interest in Politics; Commitment to Politics; Exploring Politics; and Political Tolerance) and social context variables (gender; type of school; and socioeconomic status) documented the heterogeneity of political identity content. Participants' quotations were used to clarify meanings where needed.

5.1.1 Description of the Content of Political Identity

The seven categorical variables that emerged from the data were named and defined according to their specific content. Participants conceived politics in a restricted sense. The politics they expressed pertained mainly to political ideologies, political parties, politicians and the problem of Cyprus partition. Participants gave three answers to the question; each participant could mention different variables. Variables for which participants provided no relevant responses were classified as "not mentioned."

Four of the categorical variables (Interest in Politics, Commitment to Politics, Exploring Politics and Political Tolerance) seemed to be the most salient elements of participants'

political identity as the majority referred to them. Consequently, the bar charts that are presented for these variables, describe the whole sample. The other three categorical variables (Political Input, Attitudes towards Politicians and Political Party) seemed to be salient for only a minority of participants[1]. Thus, the bar charts that are presented for the non-salient variables describe only the participants who referred to them.

5.1.1.1 Interest in Politics

The first categorical variable, Interest in Politics, gives an overall flavour of all the participant's responses to "Who are you in terms of your political identity?" and is an outline of subsequent variables. There is no "not mentioned" value for this variable. Interest in Politics is a political value of participants' self-theory. It declares the level of interest in political ideologies, political parties, politicians, political matters and the problem of Cypriot partition. The interest focused primarily on Cypriot political matters, and to a lesser extent on international politics. Political interest is measured in an ordinal level that ranged from high interest to no interest (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 - Operational Definition of the Interest in Politics

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
High interest	Dealing with politics with dedication, holding a clear political position, being well informed about political matters and viewing political activity as an essential part of their identity.	3
Interest	Dealing with politics, either holding a political position or being inclined to form one, and viewing political activity as a part of their identity.	2
Low interest	Dealing with politics as part of general social activity with no real political position, and viewing political activity as an insignificant part of their identity.	1
No interest	Not dealing with politics at all, having no political interest, or being anti-politics. Politics does not make up part of their identity.	0

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[1] Another non-salient variable, "Sources of Political Knowledge," was mentioned by 6% of participants. Apart from the 44 participants who mentioned that they got their political knowledge from various sources, the rest of the categories were minor and did not make any contribution.
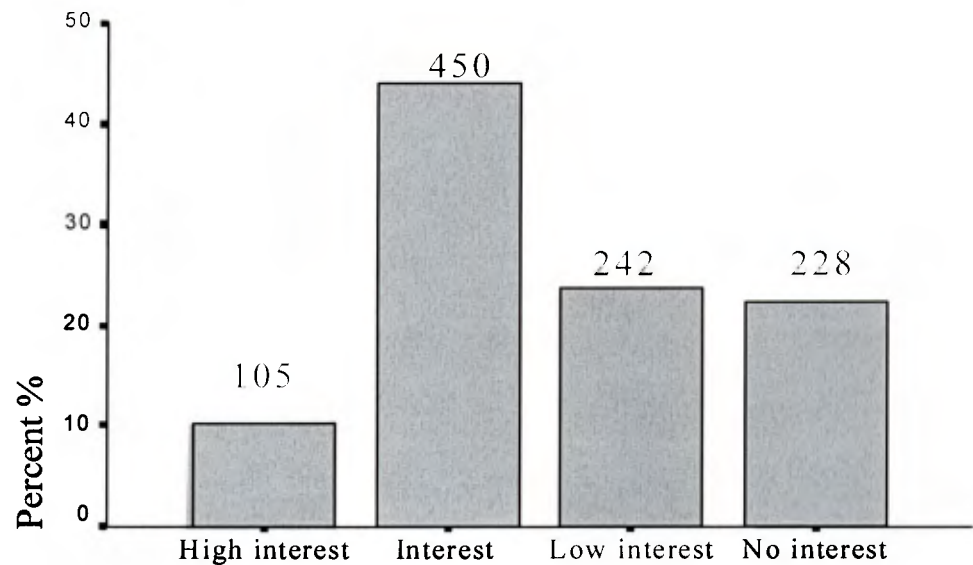
Note: N=1038, Missing=13

Figure 5.1 - *Participants' Level of Interest in Politics*

Figure 5.1 shows the participants' distribution into the four levels of interest in politics. Around half of the participants (54%) showed interest in politics, while the remainder (45%) showed either a low interest or an indifference to politics.

5.1.1.2 Commitment to Politics

Commitment to Politics is a political value of participants' self-theory. It classifies the level of participants' commitment either to politics generally, or to a political party. Lack of political commitment expresses either an undecided position, or an anti-political position, or a lack of political views (see Table 5.2). The "not mentioned" category was given the same value as the "no political commitment" category, which is zero, because the participants who did not mention the category showed that political commitment was not a salient element in their political identity content.

Table 5.2 - Operational Definition of Commitment to Politics

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Committed to politics as a duty	Pre-occupation with the politics, especially the politics of their country, active involvement by forming and expressing political views. Commitment to a particular party could be present, but this is not the priority.	3
Committed to a party	Supporting the political views and directions of a particular Greek Cypriot political party.	2
Undecided	Considering the political views of a party or political views of various parties, but not decided yet about supporting a particular party.	1
Anti-politics	Being actively against politicians, political parties and politics.	-1
No political commitment	Holding no political views, or any political involvement, or any intention to be involved with politics.	0
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
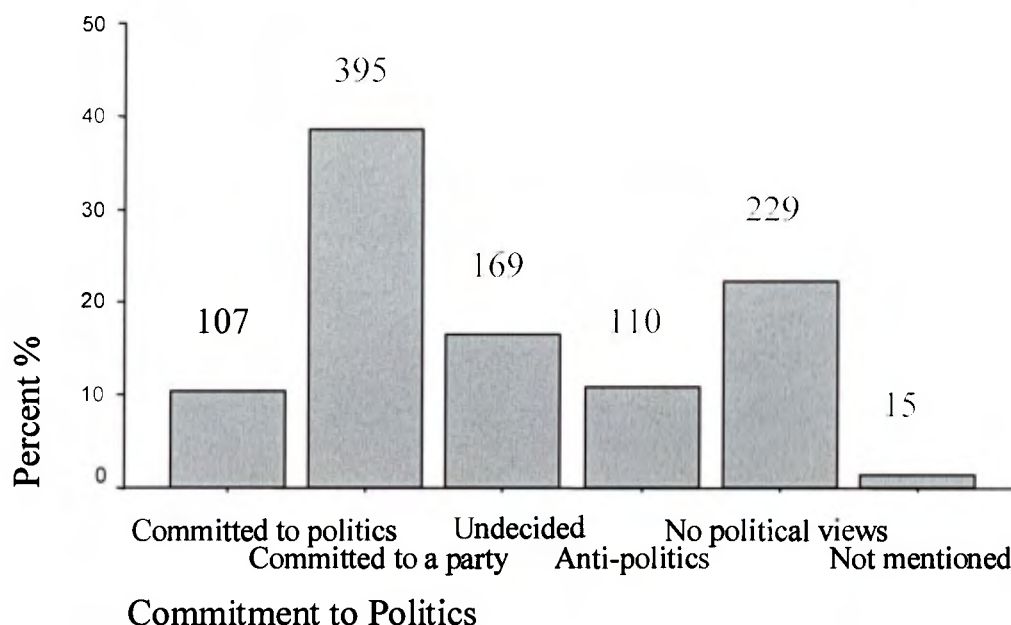
Note: N=1038, Missing=13

Figure 5.2 - *Participants' Level of Commitment to Politics*

Figure 5.2 shows the participants' distribution into the five levels of commitment to politics. Young peoples' statements of political commitment demonstrated that nearly half of them were committed to politics: 10% considered political activity as a duty, for example, "*I believe that every citizen should be pre-occupied with politics and they*

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should not remain indifferent," (672, male); 38% were committed to a specific party, for example, *"I support the political party that I think is the best and express my opinions,"* (12, female). Half of the young people, who were not committed to politics, were divided into three groups: 16% were thinking of politics but were undecided, for example, *"I have not decided yet whom to support"* (507, male); 11% had anti-political views, for example, *"I am against the political parties because they separate people"* (265, male); and 22% had no political views, for example, *"indifferent"* (881, female).

5.1.1.3 Exploring Politics

Exploring Politics is a political value of participants' self-theory. It deals with the level of participants' exploration, either past exploration, or present exploration, or future exploration of political position(s). The lack of political exploration expresses either the support of a political position without exploration, or the absence of both commitment and exploration (see Table 5.3). The "not mentioned" category was given the same value as the "no exploration" category, which is zero, because the participants who did not mention the category showed that political exploration was not a salient element in their political identity content.

Table 5.3 - Operational Definition of Exploring Politics

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Past exploration	Taking a political position after a process of comprehensive exploration. Clearly, the exploration was done in the past.	3
Present exploration	Currently, either exploring a political position, or exploring different political positions.	2
Future exploration	The mention of an intention to explore political positions in the future.	1
No exploration	Either the adoption of a political position without exploration, or no political position, and no exploration of any political position(s).	0
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
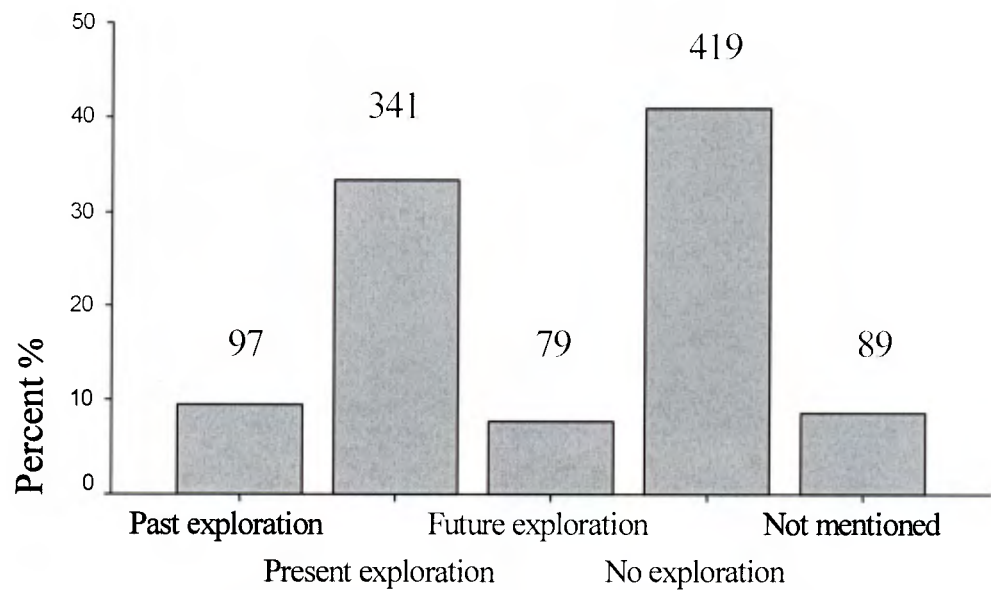
Note: N=1038, Missing=13

Figure 5.3 - *Participants' Level of Exploring Politics*

Figure 5.3 shows the participants' distribution into four levels of exploring politics. Half of the young people indicated some level of exploration, either past exploration (9%), or present exploration (33%), or future exploration (8%). Still, 40% showed an absence of exploration: 13% declared that they have a political position without exploration; and 27% showed no exploration.

5.1.1.4 Political Tolerance

Political Tolerance is a political attitude of participants' self-theory. Participants' responses revealed four different levels of tolerance towards the political views of other people (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 - Operational Definition of Political Tolerance

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Tolerant	Support a political position, but accept that other people's political positions are of equal worth. Respect when they discuss different political positions with other people. This is a democratic political attitude.	3
Open-minded	They are open to other people's political positions, which inform their own political choices. They are, either, exploring political positions, or they have just chosen one. This is a liberal political attitude.	2
Not tolerant	Support a political position, but do not accept that other people's political positions are of equal worth. They do not show respect when they listen to and discuss different political positions with other people. This is a fanatical political attitude.	1
Avoiding politics	Avoid discussing anything concerning politics, either because they do not want to reveal their political position, or because of disinterest in politics, or because they are anti-politics.	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
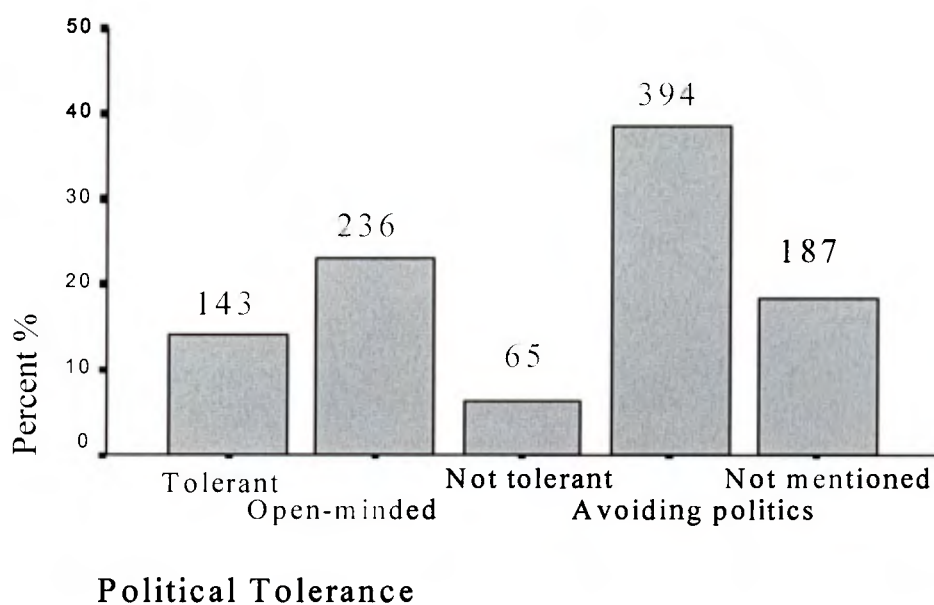
Note=1038, Missing=13

Figure 5.4 - *Participants' Levels of Political Tolerance*

Figure 5.4 shows the participants' distribution into the four different political attitudes concerning their tolerance to other people's political position. Here it can be seen that

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14% of young people can be characterised as having a democratic political attitude: *"I try to respect and listen to all the opinions of the other political parties,"* (12, female). Twenty-three percent of young people showed a liberal, open-minded political attitude: *"I try to learn as much about the different political parties as I can so that I can select the one I believe is right for me,"* (62, male). Only 6% can be characterised as maintaining a fanatical political attitude: *"Fanatic"* (350, male). The biggest group of young people (38%) showed an avoidant political attitude: *"I am not involved with politics in any way"* (218, male), or *"I am indifferent to politics,"* (52, female).

5.1.1.5 Political Input

Political Input describes whether participants follow their own personal beliefs or those of their parents' (see Table 5.5). It is a belief of self-theory and is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' political content; only 20% of the participants referred to it.

Table 5.5 - Operational Definition of Political Input

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Not follow family	They do not follow their parents' political views. They either adopt a different political position within their parents' political ideology, or they support a different political party.	3
Questioning family	They follow their parents' political views, but they question them, or they are sceptical on several issues.	2
Follow family	They follow their parents' political views.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
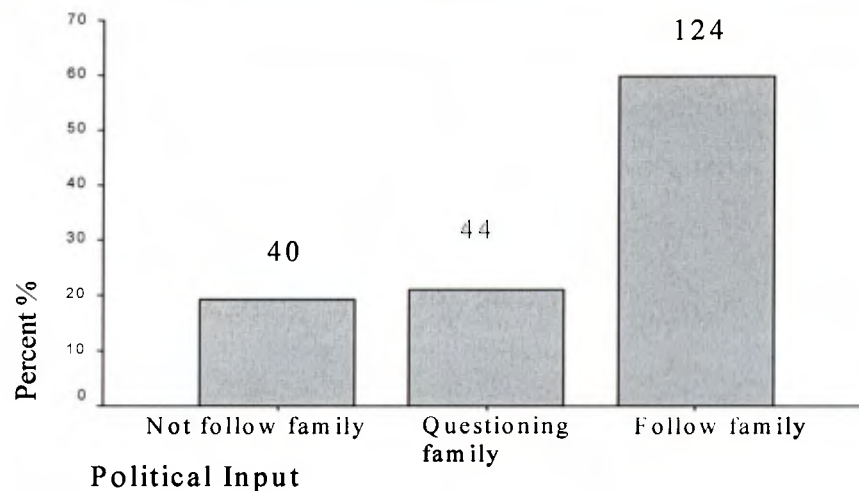
Note: N=208, Missing=13, Not mentioned=817 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 5.5 - *Participants' Levels of Political Input*

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The percentages in Figure 5.5 were calculated based on the 208 young people who mentioned it. From those, 60% derived their political beliefs from the authority of their parents, 21% critically considered the political beliefs of their parents and 19% chose their own political beliefs.

5.1.1.6 Attitudes towards Politicians

The sixth categorical variable is the Attitudes towards Politicians. This variable illustrates four different attitudes of participants' world-theory (see Table 5.6). It is a non-salient aspects of the participants' political content; only 17% of the participants referred to it.

Table 5.6 - *Operational Definition of Attitudes towards Politicians*

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Supporting politicians	Have a positive attitude towards the politicians from the political party they support. Some cheer the name of the party leader.	3
Critical to politicians	Have a critical attitude towards politicians. Declare that they judge politicians from their actions and not from their propositions.	2
Politicians' utilitarianism	Have a sceptical attitude towards politicians. Declare that politicians work for their own interest.	1
Opposing politicians	Have a negative attitude towards politicians. Declare that they are against politicians. Politicians or political parties are unable to solve the partition problem of Cyprus.	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
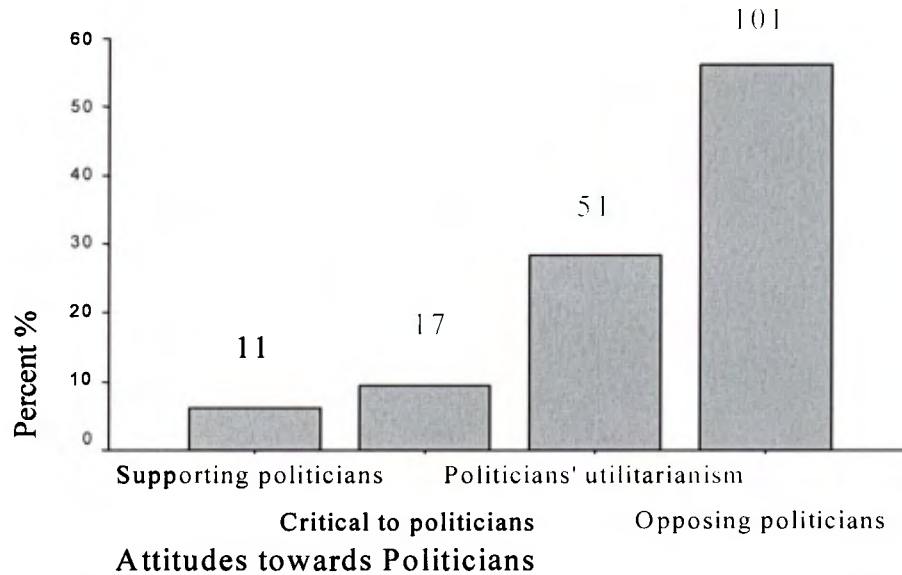
Note=N=180, Missing=19, Not mentioned=839 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 5.6 *- Participants' Attitudes towards Politicians*

In Figure 5.6 the percentages were calculated based on the 180 young people who mentioned this variable. Fifty-six percent had a negative attitude towards politicians; they either declared something similar to, *"I am against everything that goes on in politics today,"* (215, male), or they expressed some kind of milder displeasure with the political parties: *"I believe that there is no political party in Cyprus that will be able to solve our problem (Cyprus partition),"* (3, female). Ten percent had a critical attitude towards politicians: *"I believe that politicians should not be judged by their speeches, but by their actions,"* (11, male). Twenty-eight percent had a sceptical attitude towards politicians, by raising the issue of the utilitarianism of politicians: *"I would prefer them (politicians) to look after the interests of Cyprus and not their personal interests,"* (82, female). Only 6% had a positive attitude towards politicians: *"I believe in good politicians because it is they who determine the fate of our country,"* (152, male).

5.1.1.7   Political Party

Political Party is a classification of the political parties that the participants supported. It is a non-salient aspect of participants' political identity content; only 99 (10%) of the participants declared their party affiliation. Table 5.7 presents the numbers of participants who were affiliated to five of the Greek Cypriot political parties (three other small political parties were not mentioned by the participants). The voting percentages for each of the parties referred to parliament elections in 2001 set the context of the

status of each party. The majority of young Greek Cypriots seemed to prefer to describe their political identity without referring to the party they supported. Probably many of them had no particular party affiliation.

Table 5.7 - Political Parties of Participants

Greek Cypriot Parties	Frequency (N=1038)	Percent %	Elections 2001 %
DISI (Democratic Rally) - Right	48	49	34
AKEL (Progressive Workers) - Left	38	38	35
DIKO (Democratic Party)Right-Center	6	6	15
EDEK (Social Democrats) -Socialist	6	6	6
Green Environmentalists -Green	1	1	2
Total	99	100	
Not mentioned	926		
Missing	13		

5.1.2 Associations between Political Identity Content and Participants' Gender and Social Context

After the description of political values, beliefs and attitudes of young people in Cyprus, the next step was to investigate the relationships between political identity content and participants' social context. Therefore, chi-squares tests were conducted and presented between the independent (social context) variables of gender, type of secondary school and SES (socioeconomic status) of participants and the following political content variables[2]: Interest in Politics, Commitment to Politics, Exploring Politics and Political Tolerance. These political content variables were chosen because the majority of the participants referred to them. So, they seem to reflect social norms for this specific youth culture at this specific time.

5.1.2.1 Gender and Political Identity Content

Statistical tests showed some interesting differences between males and females in their political identity content, as well as some remarkable similarities. Some of the findings could be interpreted in terms of cultural expectations for men to be more politically involved and committed to family's party affiliation, i.e., more males than females were

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[2] Because of the number of chi-square analysis, the .01 level or lower is adopted to denote statistically significant associations. Associations significant at the .05 level will be considered to suggest a trend.

committed to political parties. Some findings reflect the intensive political atmosphere of Cyprus due to the partition problem, i.e., both young men and young women were interested in politics. However, some other findings are open to different interpretations. Content associations revealed a more complex picture about adolescents' political identity than the restricted one presented by EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis, which shows that it was more likely for males to be foreclosed and females to be diffused.

Table 5.8 - Gender and Interest in Politics

Gender	Levels of Interest in Politics			
	High interest	**Interest**	**Low interest**	**No interest**
Male (N=441)	14% 3.5*	43%	18%	25% 2*
Female (N=584)	7%	45%	28% 3.4*	20%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between the gender of participants and Interest in Politics ($\chi 2=23.38$, df=3, p<. 01). In Table 5.8, although, slightly less than half of all males and females showed interest in politics, high political interest and no political interest were significant political types for young men, whereas low political interest was a significant type for young women.

Table 5.9 - Gender and Commitment to Politics

Gender	Levels of Commitment to Politics				
	Committed to politics as a duty	Committed to a party	Undecided	Anti-politics	No political commitment
Male (N=434)	11%	42%	12%	11%	24%
Female (N=576)	10%	38%	20% 3.2*	11%	21%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (1%) were treated as missing values.

Commitment to Politics has a statistically significant association with gender ($\chi 2=10.45$, df=4, p<. 05). Table 5.9 shows that young women (20%) were more likely than expected by chance to be undecided about political commitment: *"I still have not decided, which is the political party that I want to be part of"* (76, female).

Table 5.10 - Gender and Exploring Politics

Gender	Levels of Exploring Politics			
	Past exploration	Present exploration	Future exploration	No exploration
Male (N=379)	15% 3.4*	28%	7%	50% 2.9*
Female (N=557)	7%	42% 4.2*	10%	41%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (9%) were treated as missing values.

Exploring Politics has a statistically significant association with gender ($\chi2$=28.66, df=3, p<. 01). Table 5.10 demonstrates that young women were more likely to be currently involved in political exploration: *"I would like to learn more about all the political parties before deciding which one is right for me,"* (28, female); whereas young men were more likely to report past exploration *"I have searched well enough into politics,"* (507, male). Half of the young men showed no exploration and 13% of them were committed to a political position without exploring it. Similarly, 13% of young women who showed no exploration shared this "foreclosure" position.

Table 5.11 - Gender and Political Tolerance

Gender	Levels of Political Tolerance			
	Tolerant	**Open-minded**	**Not tolerant**	**Avoiding politics**
Male (N=351)	16%	22%	14% 6*	48%
Female (N=487)	18%	32% 3.2*	3%	47%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (18%) were treated as missing values.

There was also a statistically significant association between gender and Political Tolerance ($\chi2$=40.83, df=3, p<. 01). Results in Table 5.11 show that females were more likely to be open-minded, whereas young males were more likely to be intolerant to opposite views. Nearly half of both males and females avoided politics.

5.1.2.2   Type of School and Political Identity Content

Although type of school is related to all four political identity content variables, this relation is non significant in political identity status. Students from private schools showed the greatest involvement in politics, reflecting their ruling high class backgrounds; followed by students from state schools; students from technical schools

showed political indifference, reflecting both working class backgrounds and non-academic education.

Table 5.12 - Type of School and Interest in Politics

Type of School	Levels of Interest in politics			
	High interest	**Interest**	**Low interest**	**No interest**
State (N=804)	10%	44%	25% *2.2	21% -2.5*
Technical (N=147)	9%	36% -2.1*	20%	35% **3.9***
Private (N=74)	12%	57% **2.3***	15%	16%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

The association between type of school and Interest in Politics is statistically significant ($\chi2$=21.84, df=6, p<. 01). Table 5.12 shows that 57% of students from private schools declared an interest in politics and only 16% of them showed no interest. In contrast, students from state schools were more likely to show low interest (25%), and students from technical schools were more likely to show no interest in politics (35%).

Table 5.13 - Type of School and Commitment to Politics

Type of School	Levels of Commitment to Politics				
	Committed to politics as a duty	Committed to a party	Undecided	Anti-politics	No political commitment
State (N=794)	11%	39%	17%	11%	22%
Technical (N=143)	12%	34%	13%	10%	31% **2.7***
Private (N=73)	1% -2.7*	53% **2.6***	15%	14%	17%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or -1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (1%) were treated as missing values.

Commitment to Politics has a statistically significant association with type of school ($\chi2$=19.94, df=8, p<. 05). Table 5.13 shows that more than half of private school students were committed to a political party, though they were less likely to be committed to politics as a duty.

Table 5.14 - Type of School and Exploring Politics

Type of school	Levels of Exploring Politics			
	Past exploration	Present exploration	Future exploration	No exploration
State (N=744)	10%	39% 2.3*	9%	42% -3.1*
Technical (N=134)	11%	24% -3.3*	5%	60% 3.9*
Private (N=58)	12%	42%	5%	41%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or –1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (9%) were treated as missing values.

The association between type of school and Exploring Politics is statistically significant (χ^2=18.67, df=6, p<. 01). Around 11% of students from all types of schools had decided their political views after exploration. Table 5.14 shows that the difference lies in the presence or absence of present exploration. More students from state and private schools showed present exploration than students from technical schools. Sixty percent of technical school students showed no exploration.

Table 5.15 - Type of School and Political Tolerance

Type of school	Levels of Political Tolerance			
	Tolerant	Open-minded	Not tolerant	Avoiding politics
State (N=663)	19% 2.5*	29%	7%	45%
Technical (N=120)	11% -2*	23%	8%	58% 2.7*
Private (N=55)	11%	31%	16% 2.5*	42%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or –1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (18%) were treated as missing values.

Lastly, the association between type of school and Political Tolerance is statistically significant (χ^2=16.49, df=6, p<. 05). Table 5.15 shows a clear pattern: students from state schools were more likely than expected by chance alone to be tolerant of the political positions of others, probably reflecting the humanistic education they received; students from private schools were more likely not to be tolerant of the political positions of others; while students from technical schools were more likely to avoid politics.

5.1.2.3 Socioeconomic Status (SES) and Political Identity Content

The socioeconomic status of participants is related to political identity content variables, unlike the non-significant association between SES and political identity status. Overall findings showed that the higher the SES the higher the involvement.

Table 5.16 - Socioeconomic Status and Interest in Politics

Socioeconomic Status	Level of Interest in politics			
	High interest	Interest	Low interest	No interest
Upper (N=225)	11%	55% 3.7*	21%	13% -3.8*
Middle (N=383)	11%	42%	23%	24%
Working (N=417)	9%	40% -2.1*	26%	25% 2*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

The association between socioeconomic status and Interest in Politics is statistically significant ($\chi2$=21.86, df=6, p<. 01). Two important features are evident from Table 5.16: First, more than half of the participants from the upper class showed interest in politics. Second, a quarter of participants from the working and middle classes showed no interest in politics. Table 5.16 shows that the higher the class, the higher the interest and vice versa.

Table 5.17 - Socioeconomic Status and Commitment to Politics

Socioeconomic Status	Levels of Commitment to Politics				
	Committed to politics as a duty	Committed to a party	Undecided	Anti-politics	No political commitment
Upper (N=221)	15% 2.4*	41%	20%	12%	13% -4*
Middle (N=379)	9%	41%	15%	10%	25%
Working (N=410)	10%	37%	16%	11%	26%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or -1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (1%) were treated as missing values.

Commitment to Politics has a statistically significant association with socioeconomic status ($\chi2$=21.01, df=8, p<. 01). Table 5.17 shows that participants from the upper class were more likely than expected by chance to show commitment to politics as a duty and less likely to show no political commitment. In contrast, around a quarter of middle and working class participants had no political commitment.

Table 5.18 - Socioeconomic Status and Exploring Politics

Socioeconomic Status	Levels of Exploring Politics			
	Past exploration	Present exploration	Future exploration	No exploration
Upper (N=203)	11%	51% 4.8*	8%	30% -4.8*
Middle (N=354)	10%	32% -2.2*	10%	48%
Working (N=379)	10%	33%	7%	50% 2.7*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or −1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (9%) were treated as missing values.

The association between socioeconomic status and Exploring Politics is statistically significant ($\chi 2$=29.88, df=6, p<. 01). Table 5.18 shows that half of the participants from the upper class were in the process of present exploration, whereas half of the participants from the working class showed no exploration.

Table 5.19 - Socioeconomic Status and Political Tolerance

Socioeconomic Status	Levels of Political Tolerance			
	Tolerant	Open-minded	Not tolerant	Avoiding politics
Upper (N=186)	22%	41% 4.4*	6%	31% -4.9*
Middle (N=310)	14%	25%	10%	51%
Working (N=342)	17%	24% -2.2*	7%	52% 2.6*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or −1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (18%) were treated as missing values.

The association between socioeconomic status and Political Tolerance is statistically significant ($\chi 2$=32.3, df=6, p<. 01). Table 5.19 shows two opposite clear patterns: Young people from the upper class were more likely to be open-minded and less likely to avoid politics, while working class young people were more likely to avoid politics and less likely to be open-minded.

5.1.2.4 Log-linear Analysis

The relationships between political and social variables presented above are all bi-variate. One might expect some overlap between type of school and SES, some shared variance. Interestingly, the relationship between these two variables and political identity content are by no means identical. For example, private school students tended to be politically intolerant, and upper SES students tended to be politically tolerant. In

any case, all the above analyses were also run using log-linear techniques, which allowed the consideration of two social variables at one time. These more complex analyses revealed nothing more than the bi-variate analyses presented here and are therefore not reported. In other words, associations between SES and politics between school type and politics remained significant even when three variables were considered in the same analysis.

5.1.3   Validation of Political Identity Content and Political Identity Status

Two of the participants' salient categorical variables, namely Commitment to Politics and Exploring Politics, are related to the basis for the definition of identity statuses. This provides the opportunity to examine the concurrent validity between the EOMEIS-2-PRO and ICQ questionnaires. Further, definitions of the content of low profile and transition statuses[3] were considered, using the results of the cross tabulations.

There are statistically significant associations between Commitment to Politics, and the six political identity statuses (achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, diffusion, low profile and transition) from the EOMEIS-2-PRO first level of analysis[4] ($\chi2=283.67$, df=20, p<.01) and the four political identity statuses (achievement, moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion) from EOMEIS-2-PRO second level of analysis ($\chi2=304.21$, df=12, p<.01).

Table 5.20 shows a strong link between the four pure identity statuses, which were resulted from EOMEIS-2-PRO and the presence or absence of commitment, which were resulted from ICQ. In achievement, which remains pure in both levels of analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO, people are supposed to be committed. Hence, 81% of adolescents who were in achievement status in their political identity declared a commitment either to politics, or to a party. In foreclosure status, people are supposed to be committed to views of significant others. Sixty-five percent of foreclosed adolescents declared commitment. In moratorium status, people are supposed to be undecided. Fifty-eight percent of pure moratorium adolescents were either undecided, or had no commitments. People in diffusion status are supposed not to have any commitment. Fifty-nine percent of diffused adolescents declared that they had no political views.

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[3] Low profile and transition statuses were described in chapters 3 and 4.
[4] The two levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis were described in chapters 3 and 4.

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Table 5.20 - *Political Identity Statuses and Commitment to Politics*

Six Political Identity Statutes	Levels of Commitment to Politics				
	Committed to politics as a duty	Committed to a party	Undecided	Anti-Politics	No political commitment
Achievement	22% 4.8*	59% 5.4*	9% -2.5*	5% -2.6*	5% -5.6*
Moratorium	13%	22% -2.4*	47% 5.5*	7%	11%
Foreclosure	3% -3.2*	62% 6*	7% -3.2*	7%	21%
Diffusion		10% -6.8*	6% -3.3*	25% 5.1*	59% 10*
Low Profile	14% 2.1*	38%	20% 2*	11%	17% -2.9*
Transition	9%	32% -2.5*	22% 2.4*	10%	27%
Four Political Identity Statuses					
Achievement	22% 4.8*	59% 5.4*	9% -2.5*	5% -2.6*	5% -5.6*
Moratorium	14% 2.9*	35% -2.1*	25% 5.9*	10%	16% -4.4*
Foreclosure	6% -2.2*	61% 7.2*	9% -3.1*	7% -2.3*	17% -2.3*
Diffusion	1% -5.4*	13% -9*	13%	21% 5.4*	52% 12.1*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Similarly, political types concerning political commitment from ICQ were significant amongst the equivalent identity statuses groups from the second level of analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO. However, for the moratorium group, apart from the undecided type, the committed to politics as a duty type was also significant. This is due to the collapsing of low profile identity status into moratorium identity status. Although committed to politics as a duty is partly relevant to the moratorium feature of searching through political ideas.

Table 5.20 also offers the opportunity for a definition of low profile and transition statuses. Low profile individuals belonged to two significant groups: those who were committed and those who were undecided. Although only the undecided group seem to match with moratorium status, both were collapsed into it and inherited a mixed composition of moratorium individuals at the second level of analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO. In transition status, participants were more likely to be undecided, which matches

with moratorium status and seems unrelated to diffusion; however, most of them were collapsed into diffusion.

Table 5.21 - Political Identity Statuses and Exploring Politics

Six Political Identity Statutes	Levels of Exploring Politics			
	Past exploration	Present exploration	Future exploration	No exploration
Achievement	51% 16.1*	33%	6%	10% -8.3*
Moratorium		68% 4.6*	11%	21% -3.3*
Foreclosure	3% -2.9*	20% -4.2*	5%	72% 6.7*
Diffusion		3% -7.9*	11%	86% 9.3*
Low Profile	7% -2.4*	55% 8.5*	5% -2.9*	33% -5.1*
Transition	3% -3.8*	32%	16% 4.3*	49%
Four Political Identity Statutes				
Achievement	51% 16.1*	33%	6%	10% -8.3*
Moratorium	6% -3.9*	58% 11.9*	6% -2.4*	30% -7.8*
Foreclosure	5% -2.8*	29% -2.4*	6%	60% 4.7*
Diffusion		5% -11*	17% 4.9*	78% 11.4*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Exploring Politics from ICQ is also significantly associated with the EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis on the first level ($\chi2=463.24$, df=15, p<.01) and on the second level ($\chi2=489.43$, df=9, p<.01). Table 5.21 presents the strong link between the four pure identity statuses presented in the first analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO and the presence or absence of exploration accordingly. In achievement status, which remains pure in both levels of analysis, people are supposed to have engaged in prior exploration. Hence, 51% of adolescents, who were classified using the EOMEIS-2-PRO measure as being in achievement status in their political identity, declared a past exploration in ICQ. In foreclosure status people are supposed not to explore their views. No exploration type from ICQ was significant amongst foreclosed participants in both levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis. Probably the 46% of no exploration people who declared commitment to a political party coincided with foreclosure status. In moratorium status, people are supposed to show present exploration. Present exploration type from ICQ was significant amongst moratorium status in both levels of EOMEIS-2-RPO analysis.

People in diffusion status are supposed to have no exploration. No exploration type from ICQ was significant amongst diffusion status in both levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis.

More low profile participants reported present exploration, which was similar to moratorium status. Transition status participants were more likely to show future exploration, a more advanced position than pure diffusion participants who were more likely to show no exploration. Transitional participants were collapsed to diffusion status at the second level of analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO, which resulted in consisting of two significant sub-groups.

Generally, there is a strong concurrent validation for both measures, EOMEIS-2-PRO on political identity and ICQ on Commitment to Politics and Exploring Politics variables. As far as the indication of the existence of sub-groups within each of the identity statuses concerned, these are explored and explained in the following section, where a cluster-analysis differentiated more political groups. These groups are both related to political identity statuses and political identity content.

5.2   Cluster Analysis of the Content of Political Identity

In this section, a five-stage process of cluster analysis was performed within a holistic-interactionistic exploration of political identity content. In stage one, five of the political identity content variables (Interest in Politics, Commitment to Politics, Exploring Politics, Political Tolerance and Political Input) were included in the cluster analysis.

Stage two involved the empirical identification of political subgroups or political types. Variables were standardised at the sample level and then a cluster analysis was used (with Ward's method and squared Euclidean distance as the measure of similarity) to identify subgroups. A Cluster solution was used for analysis based upon considerations of within-group homogeneity between-group heterogeneity and parsimony.

In stage three, answers to the following questions were used to examine face validity: Does the pattern of variables in each cluster group look meaningful? Are these groups of people recognisable in terms of identity theory (i.e., identity statuses) and are there any political types that are known in Greek Cypriot political context? Then the nine political groups of participants were ordered, named and identified. Young people's own words were used to illustrate each political group.

In stage four, the concurrent validity of the cluster solutions in terms of theoretically related variables was explored. Toward this end, the variable Political Identity Status (from EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis) was used to "validate" the nine political types. This test also formed a concurrent validity test for the Identity Status Paradigm and helped to clarify the strengths and weaknesses of ISP theory and measurements.

In stage five, the distribution of gender and context variables across the nine political groups was examined. In this way, the political types were tested on construct validity by using demographic variables. Moreover, the gender, academic and socioeconomic composition of emergent subgroups was examined.

5.2.1   Nine Political Types of Greek Cypriot Adolescents
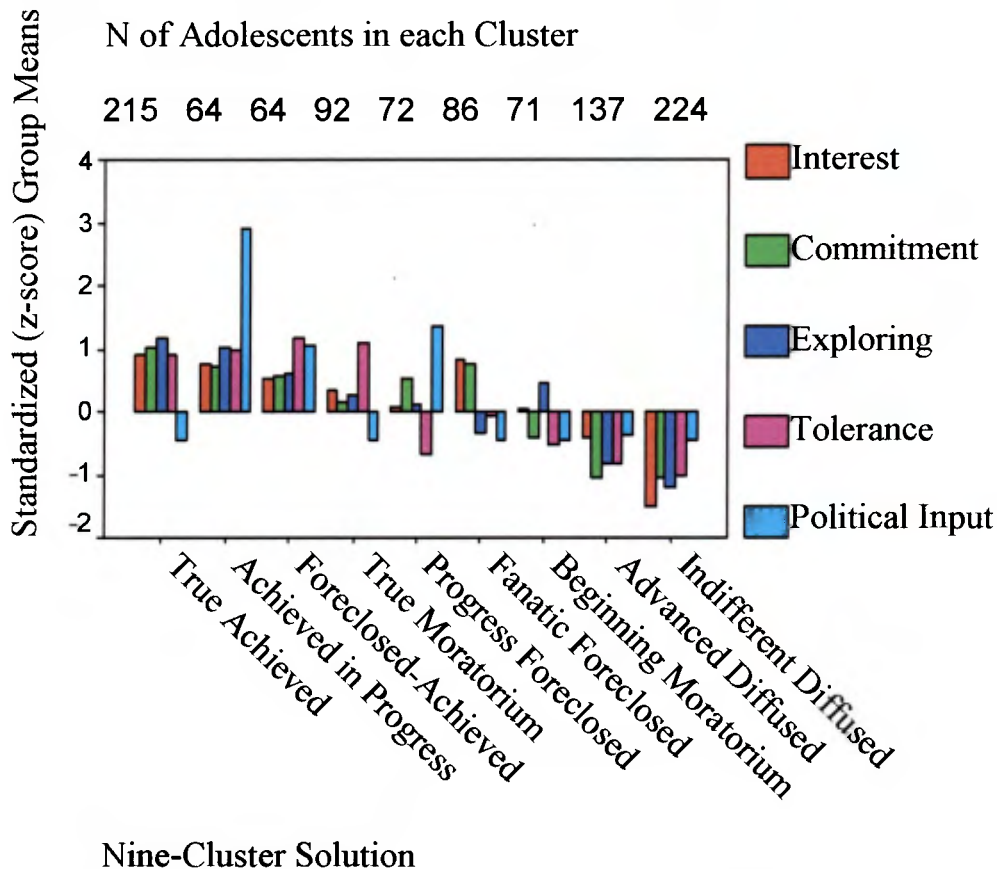
Figure 5.7 - *Nine Political Types of Greek Cypriot Adolescents*

The nine-cluster solution in Figure 5.7 presents z-score means on the clustering variables by subgroup. Clusters were ordered from the most "advanced" political type to the least "advanced" political type. Each political type was given a short name of identification and the number of adolescents in each group was also shown.

The emphasis here is on the description and the identification of each political type. These political types are related to identity statuses, forming sub-categories of the four statuses and present a more elaborate and detailed classification model of political identity. Additionally, young people's own words illustrated the meaning of each political group and serve to show a richer complexity within each one of these groups.

5.2.1.1 True Achieved

True Achieved political type was found to characterise 215 Greek Cypriot young people, 21% of the sample. These young people are considered to belong to the most "advanced" political type because they had high interest or interest in politics; they were either committed to politics as a duty, or were committed to a political party after exploration. Many of them were still exploring the political position they had chosen. They are open to other people's political ideas. The following quotations from Greek Cypriot young people of the True Achieved type demonstrate this political type.

> I am interested in the political activity of my country. I worry about it. I believe that everybody should be interested in political happenings by supporting a political party (955, male).

> I am an individual with a very strong political background. I am well informed and politically conscious but not a party activist. The ideals of the political party I support are based on the same ideals as my own and express my views the most (141, female).

Moreover, forty of these young people (19%) showed a critical stance towards politicians and political life in Cyprus. As a young man characteristically expressed it: *"I am disappointed by current political life"* (67, male). Twenty-seven of them (13%) reported that they used various sources to get information on political issues, which is a core characteristic behaviour of identity achieved status. As a young female articulated it: *"I am not indifferent as there are many kinds of political ideologies, but I am researching them through a range of resources and trying to choose the best one"* (484, female).

5.2.1.2 Achieved in Progress

Achieved in Progress political type was found to characterise 64 Greek Cypriot young people, 6% of the sample. These young people had an interest in politics; they were committed to a political party, but they were still exploring the political positions of the

party they had chosen. They were also open to other people's political ideas. The distinct feature of the majority of these young people was that they relied on their own judgments and not on their parents' political views.

> I am politically independent. I believe in what I want to believe and not what my parents believe in. I disagree many times with the words and actions of the political party that I support. I am not influenced by what the politicians say (78, male).

> I have already decided which political ideology I want to be part of when I grow older although there are some ideas from the opposite party that I support. For my political beliefs I am not influenced by my family (724, female).

Additionally, 13% of them mentioned that they used various sources to get their political knowledge. As a young woman expressed it: *"I try to read and learn about the history of my country so that I am certain of my choices"* (19).

5.2.1.3 Foreclosed to Achieved

Foreclosed to Achieved political type was found to characterise 64 Greek Cypriot young people, 6% of the sample. As the name suggests, these young people were in transformation from foreclosure to achievement, sharing characteristics from both statuses. They had an interest in politics, and they were committed to a political party (probably the one their parents supported). However, they were exploring the political positions of this party. Additionally, they were tolerant to other people's political positions, while at the same time they were following their parents' political views.

> In my political beliefs my family has generally influenced me. I try however to be politically informed and to express an opinion about the activities of the political party I support; I also know the ideologies of the party and what the party tries to achieve (20, female).

> Concerning my political beliefs my family has generally influenced me, but I still keep myself informed about politics and I listen to all the different ideologies of the other political parties and I am not a member of a party (61, male).

5.2.1.4 True Moratorium

True Moratorium political type was found to characterise 92 Greek Cypriot young people, 9% of the sample. These young people were interested in politics; they were

undecided on what political party to follow and, in line with this position, they were either starting to explore different political positions or had the intention to do this in the future. As expected, they were tolerant of other people's political positions, which showed their democratic political attitude towards the various political parties.

I do not know a lot about politics. I am a liberal person. I try to learn about the different types of political trends so that I can reach a conclusion (97, female).

I do not support a certain political party. I haven't found yet the political party that has given me hopes for my country. I do not discuss my political beliefs often (8, male).

5.2.1.5 Progress Foreclosed

Progress Foreclosed political type was found to characterise 72 Greek Cypriot young people, 7% of the sample. As the name indicates, these young people were progressing from foreclosed characteristics into rather moratorium-like characteristics. Some of them had an interest in politics and the others had low interest in politics; they were committed to a political party (the one their parents supported). However, towards this end, the majority were questioning their parents' political views.

I do not get involved with the political parties because I do not know which one is right or wrong and who works for the benefit of my country and who does not. I follow the one my parents believe in until I am in a position to decide for myself what to believe and what not to believe in (434, female).

I believe in my parents' (political) views, until I am in a position to decide for myself (858, male).

5.2.1.6 Fanatic Foreclosed

Fanatic Foreclosed political type was found to characterise 86 Greek Cypriot young people, 9% of the sample. This group is very distinguishable amongst people in the Greek Cypriot culture. These young people were interested in politics; they were committed to a political party (the one presented to them by their parents) without exploring its political position or questioning it. Of course, they were not tolerant of any other political positions.

I am interested in what the politicians say. I believe in the ideologies of my party. I am very involved in politics (300, male).

I believe in a certain political party and I know that the things I know about my country are correct and not what others say. Because of the things I have learned I know that there is evidence to back them up (428, female).

5.2.1.7 Beginning Moratorium

Beginning Moratorium political type was found to characterise 71 Greek Cypriot young people, 7% of the sample. These young people had a low interest in politics; they were undecided on what political party to follow and towards this direction they were either starting to explore different political positions or having the intention to do this in the future. Beginning moratorium types were just making a step from diffused types (just entering moratorium), thus they are not considered as advanced as the Progress Foreclosed and Fanatic Foreclosed.

I do not take part in the political actions. I try to form a political position. (I am holding) a critical attitude (44, female).

I am not that interested in politics. I simply watch it on the news. I do not belong to any political party (581, male).

Noteworthy is that, 22 beginning moratorium young people (31%) expressed an oppositional attitude toward politicians:

I am an individual who is against fanaticism and against people who are party activists. I am not in any way moved by the meaningless speeches and fake promises of all the politicians and I believe that they only care about their interest and not about the common interest. I regard the political life of my country as a disgrace (114, female).

5.2.1.8 Advanced Diffused

Advanced Diffused political type was found to characterise 137 Greek Cypriot young people, 13% of the sample. These young people had no interest in politics and many of them justified their decision on anti-political issues; they had no political commitments, rather than being anti-politics; they were not exploring any political position but were rather avoiding politics. Their anti-political feelings were also known from the declaration of their attitudes towards politicians. Forty-four advanced diffused young people (32%) were opposing politicians.

I do not belong to any political party and **I am not interested** in the politics of my country. I do not like people who are fanatics about politics, especially young people of my age, who have not studied the history and are fanatics based on what they have been told by their parents. I do not like the politicians of my country at all because the politicians are all play-acting and they do nothing good, unless they can get a benefit out of it (46, female).

Concerning politics, I always have and always will take a neutral stance. I have never liked politicians, because they have never worked for the interest of my country. I have never liked what goes on between people because of the political parties. People split up and hate each other. I cannot imagine how adults and kids are fanatical to such extent about political parties, against each other and using it to separate their friends from their foes (200, female).

5.2.1.9 *Indifferent Diffused*

Indifferent Diffused was found to characterise 224 Greek Cypriot young people, 22% of the sample. These young people had no interest in politics, showed no political commitments; they were not exploring any political position; they were avoiding politics.

> I have never gotten involved with politics. I do not know a lot about politics. In my family environment we rarely bring up the subject of politics so that way I do not get influenced. I have a neutral stance (201, female).

> I do not believe in any political party. I am neutral. I avoid political party discussions (22, male).

5.2.2   Validation of the Nine Political Types

Concurrent validity of the nine political types from ICQ was tested across the theoretically related variable of Political Identity Statuses based on EOMEIS-2-PRO. Results showed a differentiation of the nine political types, confirmed that the nine political types were associated with theoretically and empirically related statuses, and gave interesting insights to the four identity statuses.

Table 5.22 - Political Types and Political Identity Statuses

Nine Political Types	Political Identity Statuses				
	Achievement	**Moratorium**	**Foreclosure**	**Diffusion**	**N**
True Achieved	32% 8.1*	53% 3.4*	13% -2.8*	2% -8.1*	100% 215
Achieved in Progress	30% 3.6*	62% 3.2*	6% -2.8*	2% -4.1*	100% 64
Foreclosed to Achieved	9%	33%	50% 6.3*	8% -2.9*	100% 64
True Moratorium	7% -2.3*	67% 4.9*	17%	9% -3.3*	100% 92
Progress Foreclosed	7%	21% -4*	47% 6.1*	25%	100% 72
Fanatic Foreclosed	25% 2.8*	31% -2.3*	37% 4.2*	7% -3.6*	100% 86
Beginning Moratorium	10%	62% 3.3*	11%	17%	100% 71
Advanced Diffused	4% -3.6*	40%	14%	42% 6*	100% 137
Indifferent Diffused	5% -4.8*	30% -4.6*	13% -2.7*	52% 12.1*	100% 224

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between Political Identity Statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO and the Nine Political Types from ICQ ($\chi2=426.97$, df=24, p<.01). Table 5.22 shows the observed associations between nine political types and four political identity statuses. This pattern of observations generally conformed to theoretical expectations, along with a degree of variation. Thirty percent of the two "advanced" types from ICQ (i.e., True Achieved and Achieved in Progress) were over-represented in the achievement status from EOMEIS-2-PRO but, interestingly, more than half of them were also over-represented in moratorium status group. Moreover, achievement status group from EOMEIS-2-PRO was less expected by chance to belong to foreclosed and diffused types from ICQ. The three foreclosed types from ICQ (i.e., Foreclosed to Achieved, Progress Foreclosed and Fanatic Foreclosed) were more likely to belong to foreclosure status from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Fanatic Foreclosed type was also

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significant amongst achievement status, probably due to the strong commitment. Additionally, Fanatic Foreclosed type was less likely to belong to moratorium or diffusion statuses. The two moratorium types from ICQ (i.e., True Moratorium and Beginning Moratorium) were more likely to belong to moratorium status from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Finally, the two diffused types from ICQ (i.e., Advanced Diffused and Indifferent Diffused) were more likely to belong to diffused status from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Indifferent Diffused political type was a very distinct type as it was less likely to belong to any one of the other identity statuses.

5.2.3 The Nine Political Types and Social Context

Demographic variables of gender, type of school and socioeconomic status were used to test the construct validity of the nine political types. Moreover, the distribution of the nine political types across the demographic variables showed how political groups were related to the specific context of Greek Cypriot society.

Table 5.23 - Political Types and Gender

Nine Political Types	N	Gender	
		Males (N=441)	Females (N=584)
True Achieved	215	22%	20%
Achieved in Progress	64	3%	8% 3.3*
Foreclosed to Achieved	64	6%	7%
True Moratorium	92	7%	10%
Progress Foreclosed	72	4%	10% 3.7*
Fanatic Foreclosed	86	14% 5.7*	4%
Beginning Moratorium	71	5%	8%
Advanced Diffused	137	14%	13%
Indifferent Diffused	224	25% 2.1*	20%
		100%	100%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that are significant at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

Firstly, there is a statistically significant association between gender and the Nine Political Types ($\chi2$=62.49, df=8, p<.01). Results in Table 5.23 reinforced the indications from the previous tests that young females were exploring more, and were more open to others' ideas, while young men were more traditional to their political ideas.

Accordingly, young females were more likely than expected by chance to belong to Achieved in Progress and Advanced Foreclosed types:

> Concerning politics I like to search and learn. I do not want to rely on others' opinions and neither to follow my family in the political issues (719, female, Achieved in Progress).

> I am not very sure about my beliefs. I am still trying to find out. At present though, I follow what my parents believe in (474 female, Progress Foreclosed).

Young men were more likely than expected by chance to belong to Fanatic Foreclosed and Indifferent Diffused types:

> I believe in my political views because they express my beliefs in the right way. I support AKEL. The political party that I believe in supports the working people of Cyprus (314, male, Fanatic Foreclosed).

> I have never been interested in politics; simply the subject doesn't interest me (1033, male, Indifferent Diffused).

Table 5.24 - Political Types and Type of School

Nine Political Types	N	Type of School		
		State N=804	Technical N=147	Private N=74
True Achieved	215	21%	20%	19%
Achieved in Progress	64	7% 2.1*	4%	1%
Foreclosed to Achieved	64	7%	5%	3%
True Moratorium	92	10%	4% -2.2*	12%
Progress Foreclosed	72	8% 2.5*	3% -2.2*	4%
Fanatic Foreclosed	86	7% -3.4*	11%	20% 3.8*
Beginning Moratorium	71	7%	5%	14% 2.3*
Advanced Diffused	137	13%	13%	11%
Indifferent Diffused	224	20% -2.7*	35% 4.1*	16%
		100%	100%	100%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that are significant at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between the three different types of schools and the Nine Political Types ($\chi2=54$, df=16, p<.01). Results in Table 5.24 gave

a further insight into the distribution of four of the political types. Achieved in Progress and Advanced Foreclosed types were significant types amongst young females, who were more likely to come from state schools.

> I get advice from my parents, who are more experienced than me and then I decide for myself. I listen to their advice and I follow it if it is right for me. I carefully search to find which political party I want to choose, or which of the politicians' beliefs to support (621, female, state school, Achieved in Progress).

> I do not get involved with politics. Though, I have some beliefs, which have been influenced by my family. I want to know and I search to find out whether what I believe in is right or wrong (715, female, state school, Progress Foreclosed).

Fanatic Foreclosed type was a significant type amongst young men, who were more likely to come from private schools. Two fanatics foreclosed young men from opposite parties, but from the same school, were very expressive:

> Left wing, fanatic, communist, I am against the right wing supporters and I support AKEL (the left wing party in Cyprus) (568, male, private school).

> Nationalist, capitalist, right wing, I believe that first comes country than everything else, and I admire the struggle of EOKA[5] (533, male, private school).

Indifferent Diffused, which was another significant type amongst young men, who were more likely to come from technical schools, for example:

> I do not have any special interest in politics because I gain nothing from it. One politician is worse than the other (1017, male, technical school, Indifferent Diffused).

Beginning Moratorium was a significant type amongst private school students, for example:

> I do care about politics but not as much as I would have liked to (570, male, private school, Beginning Moratorium).

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[5] National Organisation of Cypriot Combatants

Table 5.25 - Political Types and Socioeconomic Status

Nine Political Types	N	Socioeconomic Status		
		Upper Class N=225	Middle Class N=383	Working Class N=417
True Achieved	215	28% 2.9*	20%	18%
Achieved in Progress	64	6%	9% 2.4*	4% -2.1*
Foreclosed to Achieved	64	8%	5%	6%
True Moratorium	92	13% 2.6*	4% -4.2	11%
Progress Foreclosed	72	5%	9%	6%
Fanatic Foreclosed	86	8%	9%	9%
Beginning Moratorium	71	8%	6%	7%
Advanced Diffused	137	12%	14%	14%
Indifferent Diffused	224	12% -3.9*	24%	25% 2*
		100%	100%	100%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that are significant at the .05 level (equal or higher than +1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

Lastly, there is a statistically significant association between the three socioeconomic classes and the Nine Political Types ($\chi2$=48.29, df=16, p<.01). The results shown in Table 5.25 give even further insight into the distribution of two of the political types. Achieved in Progress political type was significant amongst young females from state school, who belonged to middle class:

> At first I was influenced by my parents' political beliefs. But after I learned about the different ideologies in the different political parties I discovered what my beliefs are. I am progressive, democratic and independent (729, female, state school, middle class).

On the other hand, Indifferent Diffused type was significant amongst young men from technical schools who belonged to the working class, for example, *"I have no interest in politics. I take no part in politics. I do not want to know about what goes on"* (1025, male, technical school, working class).

Two more interesting results showed that True Achieved and True Moratorium types were more likely than expected by chance alone to come from upper class participants:

I try to stay informed about what is going on politically in my country but also about the political situation worldwide because the time that I will become a Cypriot Government citizen I want to have an opinion about what is going on. I believe that an individual without beliefs does not deserve to be respected, a fact that rouses my consciousness and my interest for my country and generally the world (156, female, upper class, True Achieved).

I have researched thoroughly into politics. I have discussed with the family their political beliefs. I have not decided yet whom to support (507, male, upper class, True Moratorium).

Synopsis

Using Greek Cypriot young people's own words in defining and classifying the content of political identity revealed interesting and varied elements, which highlight the significance of identity content and its use in studying and understanding adolescent identity. Young Greek Cypriots mainly described their political identity content as a combination of different levels of political interest, political commitment, political exploration and political tolerance. Different groups of young people extended their description by referring to their parents' political input, to the sources of political knowledge, to their attitudes towards politicians and to their political party affiliation.

Moreover, the different significant relationships between political identity content elements with gender, type of school and SES demonstrated a more complex picture than the ISP presents. The tense political problem of Cyprus partition reflected on the political involvement of Greek Cypriot young people. The different patterns of political engagement of males and females reflected known bio-psychological gender differences as well as socio-contextual expectations and restrictions. Young men were more likely to have either high interest or no interest in politics, to have experienced past exploration or no exploration and to show political intolerance. Young women were more likely to show low interest in politics, to be uncommitted to political parties, to show present exploration and to have an open-minded political attitude.

Type of school played a crucial role in political identity content elements reflecting both educational level provided by each particular educational system and socioeconomic backgrounds of students. Students from private schools were politically oriented: they were more likely to have interest in politics, to be committed to a party and to show

political intolerance. In contrast, students from technical schools were politically disinterested: they were more likely to have no political interest, to show no political commitment and no exploration and to avoid politics. A different political style was followed by the students from state schools: they were more likely to show low political interest, to experience present exploration, and to show political tolerance.

Concerning, the socioeconomic status of participants, upper and working classes were in opposition. Upper class young people were more likely to take an interest in politics, to be committed to politics, to experience present exploration, and to have an open-minded political attitude. Working class young people were more likely to have no interest, to show no exploration and to avoid politics.

A strong concurrent validation between Commitment to Politics and Exploring Politics variables from ICQ and Political Identity Status from EOMEIS-2-PRO validated both measures. These tests also indicated the existence of sub-groups within some of the identity statuses, which were better identified by the cluster-analysis.

A cluster analysis of political identity elements had as a result nine meaningful and distinct political types. Political types seem like sub-categories of the four political identity statuses, which allowed a critical reconsideration of Identity Status Paradigm. Namely, the nine political types are: True Achieved (21%), Achieved in Progress (6%), Foreclosed to Achieved (6%), True Moratorium (9%), Progress Foreclosed (7%), Fanatic Foreclosed (9%), Beginning Moratorium (7%), Advanced Diffused (13%) and Indifferent Diffused (22%). Political types represent two sides of the concept of political identity: the developmental stage of political identity and a brief description of its content. Concurrent validity showed that the nine political types were associated with theoretically and empirically related political identity statuses. However, the classification of political types gave a more elaborated picture of developmental stages of political identity, which also reflected the content and the context of political identity. Identity statuses, on the other hand, seem to be restricted categories, which are not representative of all young people.

One more advantage of the study of political identity content is the location of political groups across the specific context of Greek Cypriot society. Results from the significant relationships between the nine political types and gender, type of school and SES showed that the following associations were more likely than expected by chance alone:

Achieved in Progress political type was significant amongst young females from state school, who belonged to the middle class; Indifferent Diffused type was significant amongst young men from technical schools who belonged to the working class; Advanced Foreclosed type was significant amongst young females from state schools; Fanatic Foreclosed type was significant amongst young men from private schools; Beginning Moratorium was significant amongst private school students; True Achieved and True Moratorium types were significant amongst upper class young people.

CHAPTER 6

THE CONTENT OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

This chapter presents the analysis of the content of religious identity of Greek Cypriot adolescents based on their answers to the open-ended question "Who are you in terms of your religious identity?" In the first part of this chapter, responses were coded as a function of their relevance to religious values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Also, the relationships with these categorical variables and social context were explored. In the second part, this classification system was re-analysed to explore the existence of religious types or clusters and the associations between these types and gender and context variables were examined. A construct validation of Religious Identity Statuses and Religious Identity Content was presented, as well as a validation between Religious Identity Types and Political Identity types.

6.1 Categorical Variables of Religious Identity

Nine categorical variables emerged from an inductive analysis of participants' textual data. First, the variables and their categories were conceptually and operationally defined. Frequency figures for each variable illustrated the complex picture of religious identity content. Secondly, the associations between the categorical variables (Faith in Religion; and Awareness of Religion) and social context variables (gender; type of school; and socioeconomic status) documented the heterogeneity of religious identity content. Participants' quotations were used to clarify meanings where needed.

6.1.1 Description of the Content of Religious Identity

The nine categorical variables that emerged from the data were named and defined according to their specific content. The great majority of the participants conceived religion within the Greek Christian Orthodox Faith. Participants gave three answers to the question; each participant could mention different categories. Variables for which participants provided no relevant responses were classified "not mentioned."

Two of the categorical variables (Faith in Religion and Awareness of Religion) seemed to be the most salient elements of participants' religious identity as the majority referred to them. Consequently, the bar charts that are presented for these variables, describe the whole sample. The other seven categorical variables (Religious Input, Importance of Religion, Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs, Attitudes towards Clerics,

Church Attendance, Practising Faith and Religion) seemed to be salient for different groups of participants. Thus, the bar charts that are presented for the non-salient variables describe only the participants who referred to them.

6.1.1.1 Faith in Religion

The first categorical variable, Faith in Religion, relates to strength of faith and is a value of participants' self-theory (see Table 6.1). The faith in question is almost invariably the Greek Christian Orthodox Faith.

Table 6.1 - *Operational Definitions of Faith in Religion*

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Strong Faith	Believing with dedication, being well informed in religious dogmas, being active believers and viewing faith in religion as an essential part of their identity.	3
Faith	Believing, knowing at least the basic dogmas of their religion, questioning some of the dogmas or just accepting them. Acting out some religious behaviour, and viewing faith in religion as a part of their identity.	2
Loose faith	Believing without any interest, or consideration, or relevant behaviour, and viewing faith in religion as an insignificant part of their identity.	1
No faith	Not dealing with religion at all, or being atheist. Faith in religion does not make up part of their identity.	-1
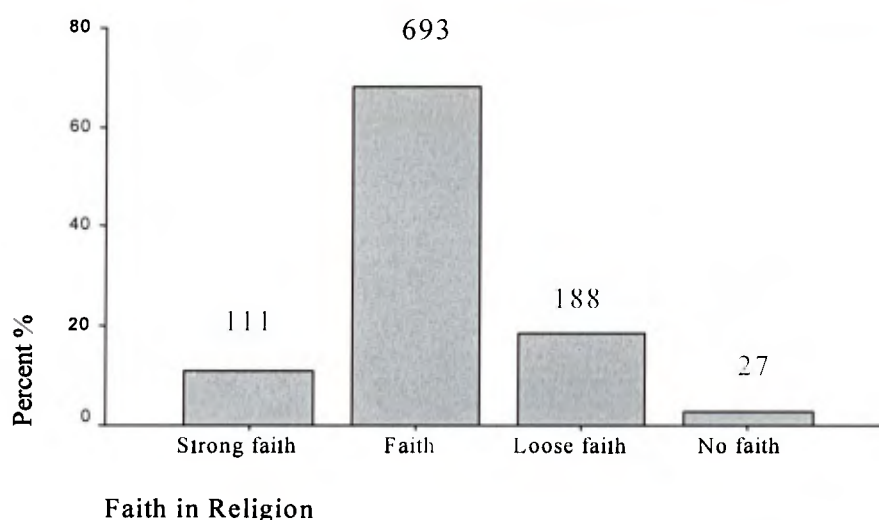
Note: N=1038, Missing=19
Figure 6.1 - *Participants' Level of Faith in Religion*

Figure 6.1 shows the participants' distribution into the four levels of faith in religion. The majority of the participants (78%) had faith or strong faith in religion, while 18% had loose faith and only 2% had no faith.

6.1.1.2 Awareness of Religion

Awareness of religion combines the belief (which equals commitment) and knowing-enquiring (which demonstrates exploration). Within Greek Christian Orthodox religion these two functions should be inseparable; however, a number of young people were committed without exploration, many adults also believe without questioning. So, awareness of religion, which is a value of participants' self-theory, classifies the level of participants' awareness-commitment and exploration to Greek Christian dogmas (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 - Operational Definitions of Awareness of Religion

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Well aware	Showing good awareness of religious dogmas after active exploration and involvement with religion. Committed to what they know and actively implementing their beliefs.	4
Believing and enquiring	Showing awareness of religious dogmas and actively exploring them. Within this exploration having questions or some disagreements. Committed to selective beliefs and implementing these beliefs.	3
Questioning a lot	Showing some awareness of religious dogmas and holding a critical stance towards them. In exploring them, having lots of questions and disagreements.	2
Believing blindly	Believing in religious dogmas without knowing them deeply and without try to explore them. Committed and religiously observant.	1
Not interested	Showing no awareness and no intention to learn about religious dogmas. Showing an indifferent stance.	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
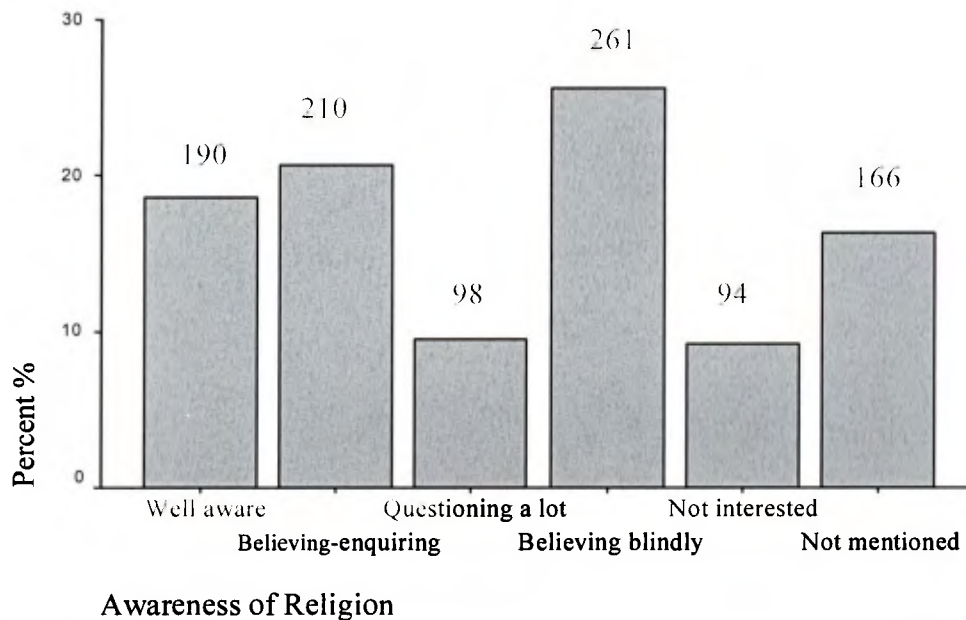
Note: N=1038, Missing=19

Figure 6.2 - Participants' Level of Awareness of Religion

Figure 6.2 shows the participants' distribution into the six levels of awareness in religion. Young people's statements of religion awareness demonstrated that 18% were well aware: "*I have studied enough my religion, so I know my faith*" (228, female); 20% were believing and enquiring: "*I believe in God but not blindly. I doubt a few beliefs. I am researching the subject and I want to learn more*" (58, female); 10% were questioning a lot: "*I have many disagreements with the beliefs of my religion*" (517, female); 25% believed blindly: "*A believer. I do not research*" (408, female); and 9% were unconcerned: "*I am not interested*" (304, male).

6.1.1.3 Religious Input

Religious Input describes whether participants based their faith and awareness of religion on their personal exploration and decision, or on other resources such as religious education and parents (see Table 6.3). In Greek Christian Orthodox tradition, a family religious input is taken for granted. For example, babies are baptised and become members of the church before they are able to decide. Moreover, bringing up children within church tradition is considered one of the parents' duties. Therefore, this belief of participants' self-theory was related to whether the participants, as adolescents, based their religious commitment on their own exploration, or on their parents' values, or on education. Religious input is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' religious content as only 36% of the participants referred to it.

Table 6.3 - Operational Definitions of Religious Input

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Self reliant	They do not rely on their parents' or on other people's religious guidance. They develop their own faith and religious commitments.	3
Influenced by RE and parents	Influenced both by their parents' religious commitments, and by what they learn from religious education at schools.	2
Follow parents	Following their parents on religious commitments.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
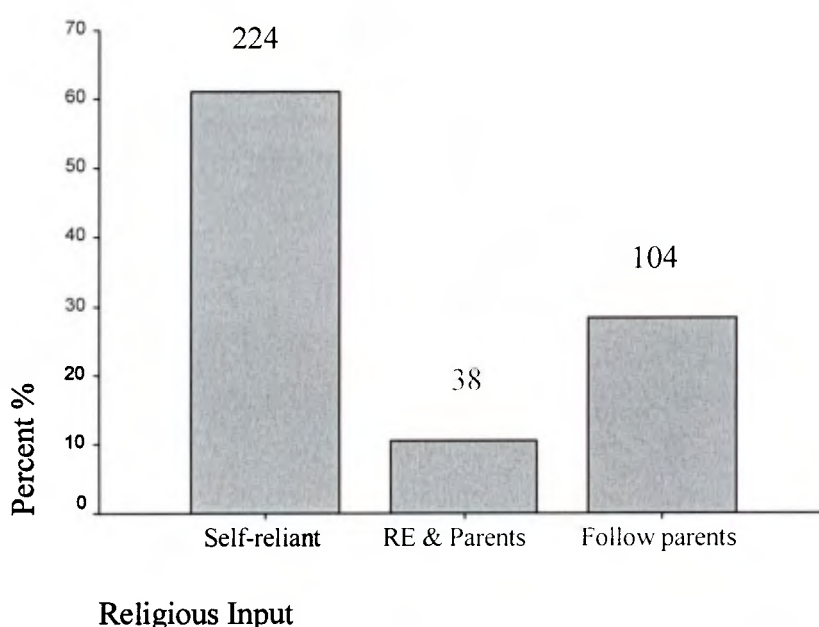
Note: N=366, Missing=19, Not mentioned=653 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.3 - *Participants' Level of Religious Input*

Figure 6.3 shows the participants' distribution into the three levels of religious input. The percentages were calculated based on the 366 young people who mentioned this variable. Sixty-one percent were self-reliant: "*I am a good Christian not because somebody else imposes it on me but because I believe it by myself*" (371, female); 10% relied on religious education and parents: "*I believe in what my parents showed me and in what my teachers taught me*" (37, female); and 29% relied on parents' guidance: "*I simply believe in my parents' religion*" (27, male).

6.1.1.4 Importance of Religion

Importance of Religion is a belief of participants' self-theory. This belief -about how important is religion in participants' lives- revealed also an emotional tie with religion; especially, for those who viewed religion as a very significant aspect in their lives. There were three different levels of importance of religion (see Table 6.4). Importance of Religion is a non-salient aspect of participants' religious content; only 25% of the participants referred to it.

Table 6.4 - Operational Definitions of Importance of Religion

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Significant	They view religion as a vital aspect in their lives. Religion is a basic refuge in their lives and activities.	2
Moderately significant	They view religion as one of the vital aspects in their lives. Religion is a refuge on special occasions.	1
Not significant	Religion is not at all vital in their lives.	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
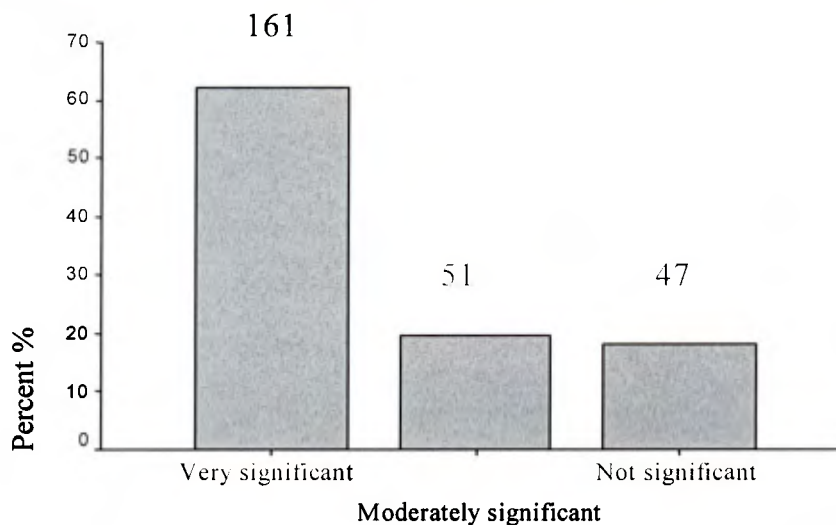
Importance of Religion

Note: N=259, Missing=19, Not mentioned=760 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.4 - *Participants' Levels of Importance of Religion*

Figure 6.4 shows the participants' distribution into the three levels of importance in religion. The percentages were calculated, based on the 259 young people who mentioned this variable. For 62%, religion was significant: "*I recognise every day the help and the magnanimity of God*" (12, female); for 20% it was moderately significant:

"Whenever I am involved with it, I like it very much" (316, male) and for 18% it was not significant: *"I do not feel that religion fulfils me or has any meaning for me"* (735, female).

6.1.1.5 Attitudes towards Clerics

The variable, Attitudes towards Clerics, refers to the respect or lack of respect towards Greek Christian Orthodox clerics. Whether people see a priest as a perfect non-sinful person or accept him with his weaknesses is always a popular issue for discussion. The position of the church is that believers should not deal with priests' mistakes or view priests in a personal way, but rather respect their sacred ordination. It seems that the great majority of participants take this position, as only 9% dealt with priests as persons. Table 6.5 shows the three different attitudes from participants' world-theory.

Table 6.5 - Operational Definitions of Attitudes towards Clerics

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Respect	Respect the role of the church that is represented by the clerics.	2
Questioning	Respect the Christian Orthodox dogmas, but question the behaviour, or the role of clerics.	1
No respect	Do not respect clerics at all	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
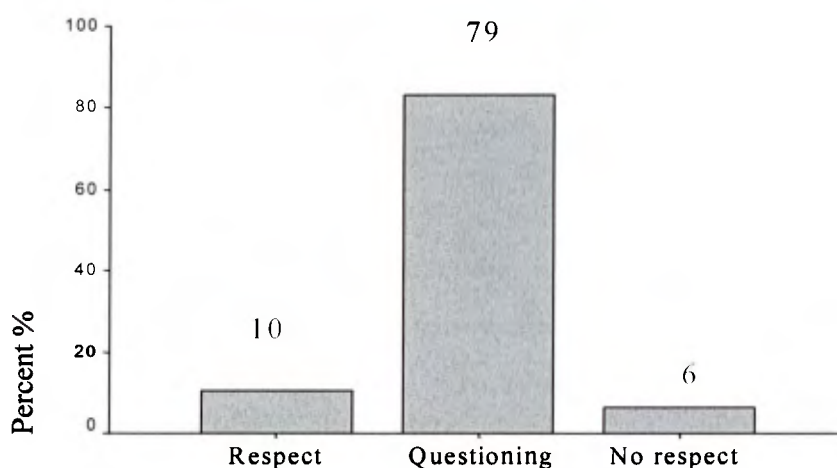
Note: N=95, Missing=19, Not mentioned=924 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.5 - Participants' Attitudes towards Clerics

Figure 6.5 shows the attitudes of 95 young people who mentioned this variable. From those, 11% showed respect for the role of church: "*I do not doubt the role of the church*" (747, female); 83% questioned them: "*I do not like all the happenings with bishops. I believe that the church needs a reformation so that people will come near the church*" (169, male); and 6% not respected the clerics: "*I believe that priests, bishops etc have to be wise men and not sinful and greedy and do God's work*" (114, female).

6.1.1.6 Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs

The variable, Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs, illustrates two different attitudes of participants' world-theory (see Table 6.6). It is a non-salient aspect of participants' religious content; only 7% of the participants referred to it.

Table 6.6 - Operational Definitions of Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Respect	Accept that other people could have different religious beliefs, which should be considered of equal value as theirs.	1
Rejection	Do not accept that different beliefs of other people could be of equal value as theirs.	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
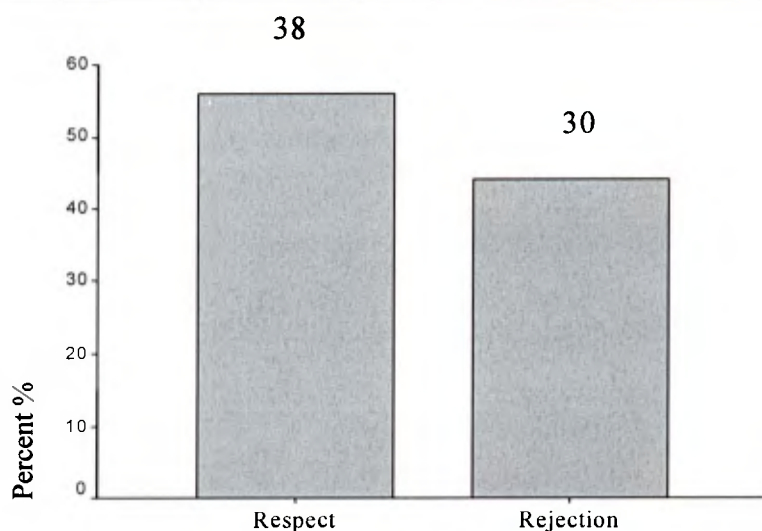
Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs

Note: N=68, Missing=19, Not mentioned=951 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.6 - Participants' Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs

Figure 6.6 illustrates the data only for 68 young people who mentioned this variable. Fifty-six percent respect the religious beliefs of others: "*I believe that anyone should*

believe in what he feels to express himself best" (1, male); 44% did not respect them: *"I oppose any other religion or heresy"* (545, male).

6.1.1.7 Church Attendance

The variable Church Attendance indicates how participants behaved in terms of attending the worship in the church. Sunday service is considered to be a vital part of a believer's life. Apart from Sunday service, there are other important points of worship throughout the ecclesiastical year, for example the services during Holy Week, or on Christmas. People who are faithful Christian Orthodox are supposed to attend church services often. Thus, participants who did not mention their church attendance did not mean that church service was not a salient part of their religious identity. Nevertheless, 22% of participants used church attendance to describe the content of their religious identity. They showed four different behaviours as Table 6.7 shows.

Table 6.7 - Operational Definitions of Church Attendance

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Regular attendance	Attend Sunday service and other important services throughout the ecclesiastical year regular.	3
Irregular attendance	Attend Sunday service and other important services throughout the ecclesiastical year often.	2
Seldom attendance	Attend Sunday service and other important services throughout the ecclesiastical year rarely.	1
Not attending	Do not go to church for any service.	-1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
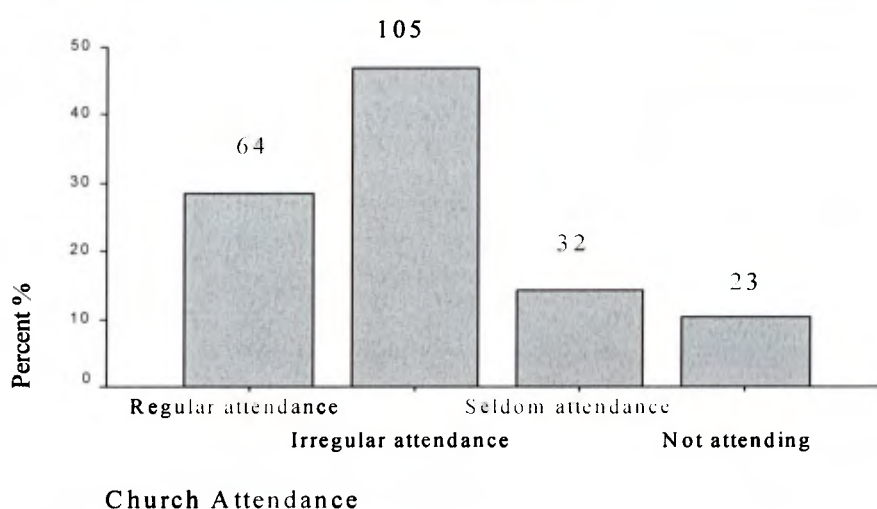
Note: N=224, Missing=19, Not mentioned=795 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.7 - Participants' Level of Church Attendance

Figure 6.7 summarises the data only for the 224 young people who mentioned their church attendance: 29% were attending church regularly, 47% were attending church irregularly, 14% seldom attended the church services and 10% were not attending church services.

6.1.1.8 Practising Faith

Practising Faith indicates various religious behaviours that were presented by the participants. Similarly to the variable Church Attendance, it should not be supposed that participants who did not mention their religious behaviours do not practise faith. Ten percent of participants described the content of their religious identity in terms of practising faith behaviour (Table 6.8). For the various religious practices were not given any values; and in few cases where more than one practise were mentioned, the "practise in every day life" was marked.

Table 6.8 - *Operational Definitions of Practising Faith*

Category name	Conceptual Definition
Sacramental life of the church	Apart from attending the church services, they also confess their trespasses to a priest and take the holy communion.
Practice in every day life	They try to follow and live every day the life that the church calls for.
Praying	They pray to the God
Loving people	They love and care for the people around them.
Fasting	They fast the certain days in the year that church defines
Reading the Holy Bible	They read the Holy Bible and other church books.
Future dedication	They will dedicate time in the future to learn and practise church life.
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.
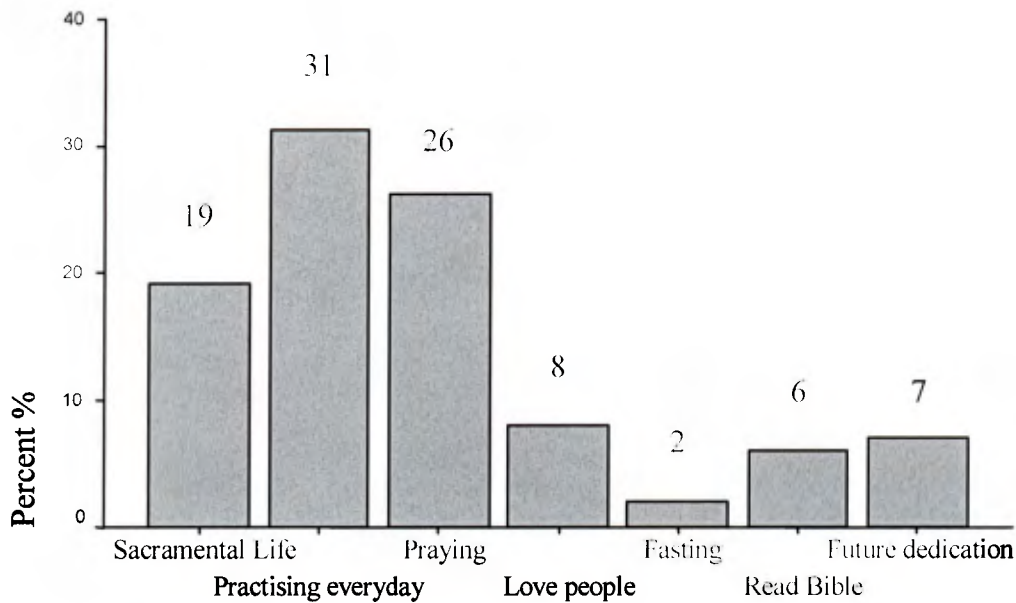
Practicing Faith

Note: N=99, Missing=19, Not mentioned=920 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.8 - *Participants' Practising of Faith*

Figure 6.8 summarises the data only for the 99 young people who mentioned their behaviour concerning religion: 19% mentioned: *"I take part in the sacraments"* (998, female); 31% mentioned: *"I put into practise the Christian values"* (67, male); 26% declared that: *"I pray,"* (701, female); 2% stated that: *"I fast often"* (7, male); 6% mentioned: *"Concerning my religious beliefs I study from the Holy Bible as much as I can"* (631, female); 9% said: *"I love my fellow people, I believe in solidarity and in mutual help"* (730, female); 7% indicated: *"I believe that, perhaps in the future and with the right search, I may arrive at my own true views about God and generally about the life style I will follow"* (831, male).

6.1.1.9 Religion

Religion is a classification of the participants' faith. Greek Christian Orthodox was the dominant religion of the participants; therefore, it did not seem necessary to the majority of them to declare it. However, 24% viewed declaration of religion as a salient element of their religious identity; thus, they declared that they were Greek Christian Orthodox. On the other hand, young people of other religions or atheists were more likely to declare their religion to distinguish themselves from the dominant religion. Less than 1% were either Christian Catholics or Jehovah Witnesses and 4% were atheists.
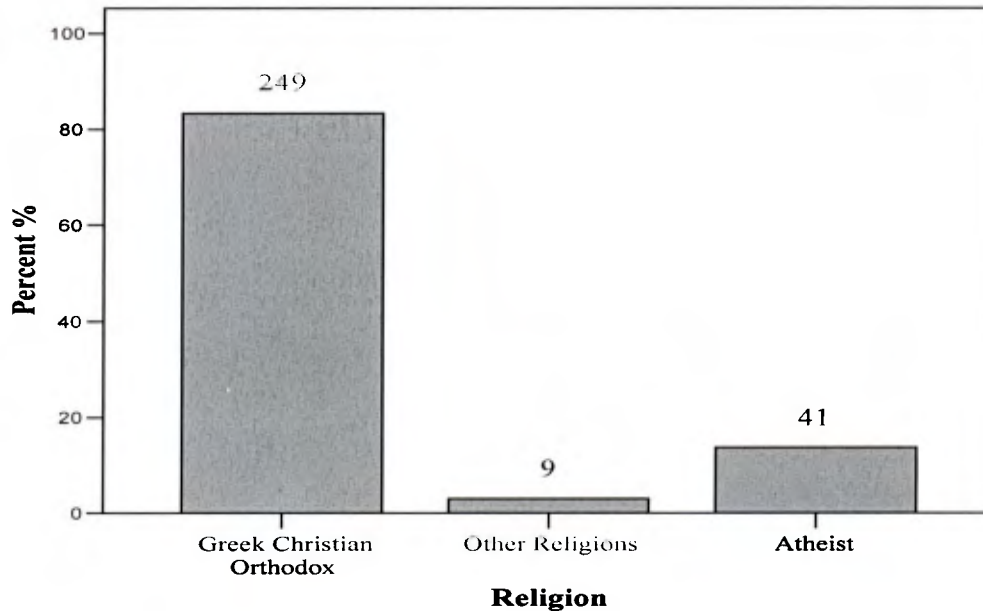
Note: N=299, Missing=19, Not mentioned=720 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 6.9 - Participants' Religion

6.1.2 Associations between Religious Identity Content and Participants' Gender and Social Context

After the description of religious values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of young people in Cyprus, the next step was to investigate the relationships between religious identity content and participants' social context. Therefore, chi-squares tests were conducted and presented between the independent (social context) variables of gender, type of secondary school and SES (socioeconomic status) of participants and two of the religious content variables[1]: Faith in Religion and Awareness of Religion. These two religious content variables were chosen because the majority of the participants referred to them. So, these variables seem to reflect social norms for this specific youth culture at this specific time.

6.1.2.1 Gender and Religious Identity Content

Statistical tests showed significant associations between gender and religious content elements. Findings are in agreement with the association between religious identity status and gender, which showed that it was more likely for females to be in moratorium status and males to be in diffusion status; however, religious identity content depicted richer information explaining gender differences. The strong contextual impact of the

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[1] Because of the number of chi-square analysis, the .01 level or lower is adopted to denote statistically significant associations.

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Christian Orthodox tradition reflected on the great majority of both young Greek Cypriot males and females who declared faith in Greek Christian Orthodox religion. Young females were more religious, reflecting cultural expectation but interestingly they more frequently reported exploring faith issues.

Table 6.9 - Gender and Faith in Religion

Gender	Levels of Faith in Religion			
	Strong Faith	**Faith**	**Loose Faith**	**No Faith**
Male (N=437)	8%	63%	25% 4.5*	4% 2.1*
Female (N=582)	13% 2.6*	71% 2.7*	14%	2%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between the gender of participants and Faith in Religion ($\chi2=28.96$, df=3, p<. 01). The great majority of young males and females had faith in religion, but females were more likely to have strong faith and faith, while a quarter of males had loose faith (see Table 6.9).

Table 6.10 - Gender and Awareness of Religion

Gender	Levels of Awareness of Religion				
	Well aware	Believing & enquiring	Questioning a lot	Believing blindly	Not interested
Male (N=350)	17%	19%	12%	33%	19% 6.5*
Female (N=503)	26% 2.8*	29% 3.3*	11%	29%	5%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (16%) were treated as missing values

Awareness of Religion has a statistically significant association with gender ($\chi2=53.12$, df=4, p<. 01). Table 6.10 shows that young women were significantly more likely to be well aware or believing and enquiring; in contrast young men were more likely to be not interested in religion.

6.1.2.2 Type of School and Religious Identity Content

Statistical tests showed a rather clear pattern concerning type of school and religious identity content: more students from state schools had faith and awareness of religion, students from private school showed less faith and less interest on religion, and students

from technical schools tended to believe without exploration. The picture given from religious identity status is indicative but very restricted, showing that it was more likely for state school students to be in achievement status, whereas private and technical school students were more likely to be in diffusion status.

Table 6.11 - Type of School and Faith in Religion

Type of School	Levels of Faith in Religion			
	Strong Faith	**Faith**	**Loose Faith**	**No Faith**
State (N=799)	13% 3.4*	70% 2.7*	15% -5*	2% -2.5*
Technical (N=146)	4% -2.8*	71%	23%	2%
Private (N=74)	5%	41% -5.3*	43% 5.7*	11% 4.5*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

The association between type of school and Interest in Politics is statistically significant ($\chi2$=70.25, df=6, p<. 01). Table 6.11 shows that students from state schools were more likely to have strong faith, and faith, where students from private schools were more likely to have loose faith, and no faith.

Table 6.12 - Type of School and Awareness of Religion

Type of School	Levels of Awareness of Religion				
	Well aware	Believing and enquiring	Questioning a lot	Believing blindly	Not interested
State (N=688)	25% 4*	25%	11%	30%	9% -4.7*
Technical (N=110)	9% -3.6*	23%	8%	39% 2.1*	21% 3.5*
Private (N=55)	12%	22%	22% 2.5*	22%	22% 2.6*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (16%) were treated as missing values

The variable Awareness of Religion has a statistically significant association with type of school ($\chi2$=43.38, df=8, p<. 01). Table 6.12 shows that a quarter of the students from state schools were well aware of religious issues. State schools provide religious education, which is not the case for technical and private schools. Technical school students were more likely to believe in religion without exploration or to have no interest in religion. This could be explained in terms of the working class background of the majority of these students and also the non-intellectually challenging environment of

their education. Private schools students were more likely to question a lot or to be indifferent. Again social class may be important here. The majority of private school students came from the upper class, and moreover, the religious backgrounds of both students and teachers were somewhat diverse.

6.1.2.3 Socioeconomic Status (SES) and Religious Identity Content

Findings explained the picture given by religious identity status association with SES, which showed that it was more likely for upper class participants to be in diffusion status and working class participants to be in foreclosure status.

Table 6.13 - Socioeconomic Status and Faith in Religion

Socioeconomic Status	Level of Faith in Religion			
	Strong Faith	Faith	Loose Faith	No Faith
Upper (N=224)	10%	55% -4.6*	30% 4.8*	5% 2.9*
Middle (N=378)	10%	71%	16%	3%
Working (N=417)	12%	72% 2.4*	15% -2.5*	1% -2.8*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

The association between socioeconomic status and Faith in Religion is statistically significant ($\chi2=37.39$, df=6, p<. 01). Table 6.13 shows that the upper class participants were more likely to have loose faith and no faith and less likely to have faith; this was consistent with the results of private school students. This picture was exactly reversed for working class participants.

Table 6.14 - Socioeconomic Status and Awareness of Religion

Socioeconomic Status	Levels of Awareness of Religion				
	Well aware	Believing & enquiring	Questioning a lot	Believing blindly	Not interested
Upper (N=191)	21%	28%	21% 4.7*	20% -3.6*	10%
Middle (N=318)	24%	23%	10%	30%	13%
Working (N=344)	21%	24%	8% -2.7*	37% 3.4*	10%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (16%) were treated as missing values

Awareness of Religion has a statistically significant association with socioeconomic status ($\chi2=36.75$, df=8, p<. 01). Table 6.14 shows another contrasting picture between

upper class and working class participants and refines the class effects: upper class participants were more likely to question much of religious issues and less likely to believed blindly, while working class participants were more likely to believe blindly and less likely to question religious issues.

6.1.2.4 Interaction between SES and Type of School

Previous chi square tests between the independent variables: type of school and SES (Socioeconomic Status) and the dependant variables: Faith in Religion and Awareness of Religion indicated some shared variance between type of school and class. A log-linear analysis was attempted to clarify the inter-relationships, however, it is not reported here as the observed and expected frequencies were too small for technical and private schools to be robust.

6.1.3   Validation of Religious Identity Content and Religious Identity Status

Awareness of Religion is related to the basis for the definition of identity statuses. This provides the opportunity to examine the convergent validity between the EOMEIS-2-PRO and ICQ questionnaires. Further, definitions of the content of low profile and transitional statuses[2] were considered, using the results of the cross tabulations. There is a statistically significant association between Awareness of Religion, and the six religious identity statuses (achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, diffusion, low profile and transition) from EOMEIS-2-PRO first level[3] of analysis ($\chi2=525.26$, df=20, p<.005) and the four religious identity statuses (achievement, moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion) from EOMEIS-2-PRO second level of analysis ($\chi2=592.38$, df=12, p<.005) (Table 6.15).

In achievement, which remains pure in both levels of analysis, people are supposed to be well aware of their choices. Hence, 72% of adolescents who were in achievement status in their religious identity declared that they knew well what they believed. In foreclosure status, people are supposed to believe in principles that are presented to them by others. Sixty-eight percent of foreclosed adolescents believed in religion without questioning. In moratorium status, people are supposed to explore religion. Sixty-two percent of pure moratorium adolescents believed in religion, but they were exploring religious issues. This kind of moratorium is reasonable within Greek Christian Orthodox tradition, as most people grow up learning to accept and respect the Christian

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[2] Low profile and transitional statuses were described in chapters 3 and 4.
[3] The two levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis were described in chapters 3 and 4.

Orthodox values. Additionally, 22% of moratorium participants questioned religious issues; this critical stance towards religion assumes ignorance and doubt. People in diffusion status are supposed not to have any interest in religious issues. Thirty eight percent of diffused adolescents declared that they had no interest in religion and 29% questioned religion a lot. In addition, ASRs show that the expected religious types concerning awareness of religion were significant amongst the equivalent identity statuses groups.

Table 6.15 - Religious Identity Statuses and Awareness of Religion

Six Religious Identity Statutes	Levels of Awareness of Religion				
	Well aware	Believing and enquiring	Questioning a lot	Believing blindly	Not interested
Achievement	72% 15.8*	13% -3.6*	2% -3.9*	13% -5.1	
Moratorium	5% -3.9*	62% 8.1*	22% 3.2*	6% -5*	5%
Foreclosure	10% -2.8*	10% -3.2*	- -3.4*	68% 7.7*	12%
Diffusion	4% -3.4*	2% -4.1*	29% 4.2*	27%	38% 6.7*
Low Profile	18% -2*	36% 5.7*	7% -2.9*	33%	6% -3.5*
Transition	7% -5.3*	11% -4.6*	22% 4.7*	37% 2*	23% 5.6*
Four Religious Identity Statuses					
Achievement	72% 15.8*	13% -3.6	2% -3.9*	13% -5.1*	
Moratorium	15% -4.4*	41% 10.6*	11%	27% -2.3*	6% -4.5*
Foreclosure	10% -3.7*	10% -4.3*	1% -4.4*	71% 11.4*	8%
Diffusion	4% -6*	6% -6*	32% 9*	21% -3*	37% 11.6*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

In the second level of analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO, ASRs gave stronger indications for the expected significant types, which were revealed from ICQ, due to the collapsing at low profile and transition statuses. That is: conscious religious types were significant amongst religious achieved adolescents; religious exploring types were significant

amongst moratorium adolescents; religious fundamentalist types were significant amongst foreclosed adolescents; and unbelievers and religious indifferent types were significant amongst diffusion adolescents.

Table 6.15 also offers the opportunity for a definition of low profile and transitional statuses. Low profile showed a similar picture to moratorium: Low profile participants were significantly more likely to believe and enquire. Transitional status participants shared amongst "questioning a lot," "believing blindly" and "not interested" types. This is a reasonable distribution as transitional status collapsed into moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion.

Generally, there is a strong concurrent validation for both measures, EOMEIS-2-PRO on religious identity and ICQ on Awareness of Religion variable. As far as the indication of the existence of sub-groups within moratorium and diffusion statuses is concerned, these are explored and explained in the following section, where a cluster-analysis differentiates more religious groups. These groups are both related to religious identity statuses and religious identity content.

6.2   Cluster Analysis of the Content of Religious Identity

In this section, a five-stage process of cluster analysis was performed within a holistic-interactionistic exploration of religious identity content. In stage one, six of the religious identity content variables were included in the cluster analysis. These are: Faith in Religion, Awareness of Religion, Religious Input, Importance of Religion, Attitudes towards Clerics and Attitudes towards Others' Religious Beliefs.

Stage two involved the empirical identification of religious subgroups or religious types. Variables were standardised at the sample level and then a cluster analysis was used (with Ward's method and squared Euclidean distance as the measure of similarity) to identify nine subgroups. A Cluster solution was used for analysis based upon considerations of within-group homogeneity, between-group heterogeneity and parsimony.

In stage three, answers to the following questions were used to examine face validity: does the pattern of variables in each cluster group look meaningful? Are these groups of people recognisable in terms of identity theory (i.e., identity status) and are there any religious types that are known in the Greek-Cypriot Christian Orthodox context, like "meaningful foreclosed – devoted religious." Also, young people's own words were

used to illustrate each religious group. Therefore, the nine religious groups of participants were ordered, named and identified.

In stage four, the concurrent validity of the cluster solutions in terms of theoretically related variables was explored. Toward this end, the variable Religious Identity Status (from EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis), was used to "validate" the nine religious types. This test also formed a concurrent validity test for the identity status paradigm and helped to clarify the strengths and weaknesses of the four identity statuses theory and measurement.

In stage five, the distribution of gender and context variables across the nine religious groups was examined. In this way, the religious types of adolescents were tested on construct validity by using demographic variables. Moreover, the gender, academic and socioeconomic composition of emergent subgroups was examined.

6.2.1 Nine Religious Types of Greek Cypriot Adolescents

N of Adolescents in each Cluster

42 125 156 178 38 28 82 263 105
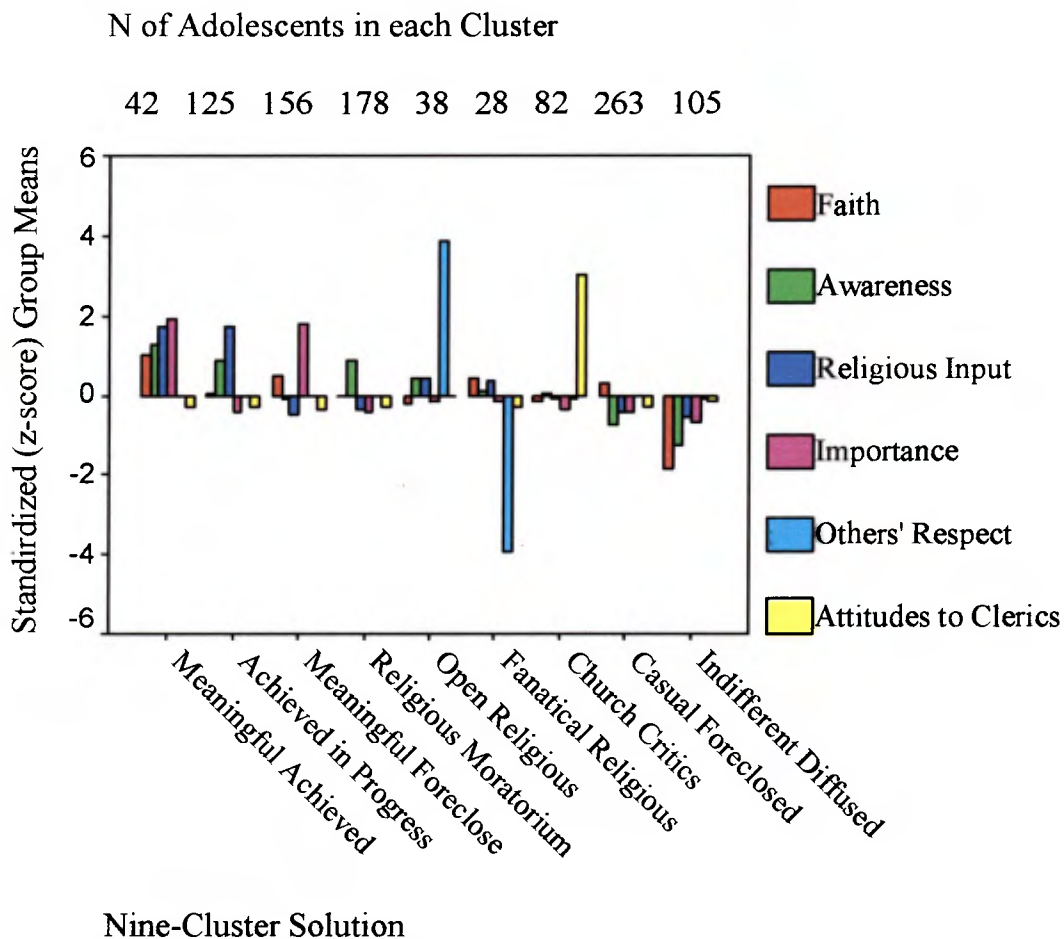
Figure 6.10 - Nine Religious Types of Greek Cypriot Adolescents

The nine-cluster solution in Figure 6.9 presents z-score means on the clustering variables by subgroup. Clusters were ordered from the most "advanced" religious type to the "least advanced" religious type. Each religious type was given a short name of identification and the number of adolescents in each group was also shown. The emphasis here is on the description and the identification of each religious type. Additionally, young people's own words were used to illustrate the meaning of each religious group and serve to show a richer complexity within each one of these groups.

6.2.1.1 Meaningful Achieved

Meaningful Achieved religious type was found to characterise 42 Greek Cypriot young people, 4% of the sample. These young people belonged to the most "advanced" religious type. They had strong faith in the Christian Orthodox religion. They were well aware of what they believed, which means they examined religious dogmas and they were committed to them after exploration. They were self-reliant through that research and dedication. Moreover, religion is an important aspect of their lives.

> Concerning religion I believe that I am well aware of religion. I am interested in religion in a great extent. I believed that religion is something unique for me (467, male).

> I have rightly chosen my religion. My religion represents what I am looking for that's why I chose it. I am proud of my religion (143, female).

6.2.1.2 Achieved in Progress

Achieved in Progress religious type was found to characterise 125 Greek Cypriot young people, 12% of the sample. These young people had faith in the Christian Orthodox religion. They were aware of religious dogmas and still some of them were questioning what they knew about Christian Orthodox religion. They were self-reliant in their search for the Christian Orthodox truths.

> I wonder many times about the existence of God. I feel strongly inside me the wish to believe absolutely in God without any doubt. I agree with the ideology our religion teaches but still I try to put them into practice in my life (77, female).

> I believe in God. I believe that I am not a good enough Christian, but I try to be. I try to learn whatever is related to my religion. In my search some times I doubt that what I believe is true (1012, male).

6.2.1.3 Meaningful Foreclosed

Meaningful Foreclosed religious type was found to characterise 156 Greek Cypriot young people, 15% of the sample. These young people had strong faith or faith in religion and this faith was very important and meaningful in their lives. They followed their parents' guidance and religious tradition. It is a very characteristic group in Greek Christian Orthodox context and its features are exactly what these young people described.

> I always believe and hope in God. I take strength from Him to live and I always thank Him for the good He offers me. I am also thankful to my religion because I learn through it to love and that love is always the happiness of people (436, female).

> I am a Christian Orthodox. I find solution through my faith. I do not doubt my faith (146, male).

Additionally, some meaningful foreclosed young people wrote about worship and practising faith. Forty-one of them (26%) mentioned that they attended Sunday worship in the church: "*I believe absolutely in the existence of God. I go almost every Sunday to the church,*" (31, male). Twenty-four of them (15%) mentioned that they practised faith in their lives: "*I feel a good servant of Him because I help other people,*" (344, male). Meaningful foreclosed religious type is a very characteristic group in the Greek Christian Orthodox context and its features are exactly what these young people described.

6.2.1.4 Religious Moratorium

Religious Moratorium type was found to characterise 178 Greek Cypriot young people, 18% of the sample. These young people were in a moratorium stage within the Greek Christian Orthodox religion. They described themselves with two basic features: they had faith in religion, not as strong as the previous three groups; but they were well into an exploration and questioned religious issues. Moreover, twenty eight of them (16%) mentioned irregular attendance of the Sunday worship.

> I am a religious person up to the point I believe is right and I am aware. I respect some things and for some other I wonder if they are really like that. I do not often go to church but I always have God in my mind (425, female).

> I sometimes go to church. I am questioning things, but I still believe (8, male).

6.2.1.5 Open-minded Religious

Open-minded Religious type was found to characterise 38 Greek Cypriot young people, 4% of the sample. These young people had loose faith, and they were researching religious issues. They formed their own religious beliefs. Nevertheless, their basic feature was their openness to listen and learn from other religions without any prejudice. They showed respect towards other religions.

> I do not believe in God very strongly. I believe that there is a Supreme Being that I cannot define. I like to learn about other religions, without following any particular one (26, male).

> Puzzled, I am exploring the good and bad in my religion. I learn about other religions and I compare them with mine (380, female).

6.2.1.6 Fanatical Religious

Fanatical Religious type was found to characterise 28 Greek Cypriot young people, 3% of the sample. These young people had faith in religion and they were exploring religious issues. They were self-reliant in their search for the Christian Orthodox truths, but they rejected any search in other religions. They had a rather prejudiced stance towards other religions and towards people who had a different religion from Christian Orthodoxy.

> I have no doubts about Orthodoxy because I believe it is the true religion. I am never influenced by heresies. Though my parents catechised me I do not believe in Orthodoxy because they imposed it on me (60, male).

> I believe in what is right. I am Christian Orthodox. I do not believe in rubbish or stupidities (i.e. Jehovah's Witnesses etc) (125, female).

6.2.1.7 Church Critics

Church Critics type was found to characterise 82 Greek Cypriot young people, 8% of the sample. These young people had faith in God, but doubted the role of the church and the role of the priests. Thus, they were questioning religious issues mostly concerning the social life of the church or indicated that scandals of the church cause a great problem to Christian Orthodox faith.

Though I am young, I have thought a lot about our religion. But as I watch what happens with our clergy (all these scandals) I do not know what to believe. That's why I am very near to becoming an atheist (352, male).

I believe in Christianity but I have lots of questions. Usually, I do not go to the church, because of the recent events where the priests accuse each other. I believe it is a waste of time (405, female).

6.2.1.8 Casual Foreclosed

Casual Foreclosed type was found to characterise the largest group of Greek Cypriot young people (263), 26% of the sample. These young people had faith in religion based on their family tradition. They believed blindly in religious dogmas without either know them very well, or researching them. Moreover, sixty-nine of them (26%) mentioned that they attended the Sunday church service; thirty of them (11%) mentioned that they were practising faith. This is the second distinctive group amongst Greek Christian Orthodox people.

Concerning my religious beliefs I consider myself as a Christian. I do not wonder where this is coming from (343, male).

I know that what I believe is right. It isn't necessary to search to be sure. There might be some gaps in our religion, but I believe that we have to believe without questioning. Anyway, most of the people in the world are Christians and the other religions simply believe in nothing (162, female).

6.2.1.9 Indifferent Diffused

Indifferent Diffused characterised 105 Greek Cypriot young people, 10% of the sample. These young people had no faith or loose faith. Some of them were atheist. Religion was clearly not significant in their lives.

I am not sure of the role of religion in our actions. I have not been persuaded of what is the meaning of religion for me. Religion does not concern me (6, male).

Atheist, I believe in a Supreme Being but not in a Christian God. There are so many questions and so much that is vague in our religion, which leads me to wonder and to conclude that God doesn't exist (141, female).

6.2.2 Validation of the Nine Religious Types

Concurrent validity of the nine religious types was tested across the theoretically related variable of Religious Identity Status from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Thus, both measures used in the present study were validated. Results showed a differentiation of the nine religious groups and proved that the nine religious types were associated to theoretically and empirically related statuses and also giving interesting insights to the four statuses. There is a statistically significant associations between Religious Identity Statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO and the Nine Religious Types from ICQ ($\chi2=272.10$, df=24, p<.01).

Table 6.16 - Religious Types and Religious Identity Statuses

Nine Religious Types	Religious Identity Statuses				N
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Meaningful Achieved	45% 4.6*	45%	5%	5% -2.4*	100 42
Achieved in Progress	27% 2.8*	59% 2.7*	3% -4.2*	11% -2.3*	100 125
Meaningful Foreclosed	22%	50%	22% 2.6*	6% -4.5*	100 156
Religious Moratorium	20%	58% 2.9*	8% -2.9	14%	100 178
Open-minded Religious	24%	50%	2% -2.2*	24%	100 38
Fanatical Religious	18%	50%	18%	14%	100 28
Church Critics	14%	43%	16%	27%	100 82
Casual Foreclosed	12% -3.1*	45%	28% 7.1*	15%	100 263
Indifferent Diffused	5% -3.8*	26% -4.8*	5% -2.8*	64% 12.4*	100 105

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Table 6.16 shows the observed association between the six religious types and four religious identity statuses. This pattern of observations generally conformed to theoretical expectations, along with a degree of variation. Meaningful Achieved type from ICQ was found to be a significant type amongst achievement status and formed an anti-type amongst diffused status from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Achieved in Progress type from ICQ was significantly positively associated with achievement and moratorium statuses and negatively associated with foreclosure and diffusion statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Religious Moratorium type was significantly positively associated

with moratorium status and negatively with foreclosure status. The two foreclosed types from ICQ (i.e., Meaningful Foreclosed and Casual Foreclosed) were more likely than expected by chance to belong to foreclosure status. Indifferent Diffused type from ICQ had the clearest pattern across statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO: it was strongly associated with diffused status and negatively associated with foreclosure, moratorium and achievement statuses. Three types from ICQ were found not to share any features from EOMEIS-2-PRO identity statuses, namely, Open-minded Religious, Fanatic Religious and Church Critics. Open-minded Religious was an anti-type to foreclosure status, which gave the type a validation.

6.2.3 The Nine Religious Types and Social Context

Using the demographic variables of gender, type of school and socioeconomic status it was possible to test the construct validity of the nine religious types. Moreover, the distribution of the nine religious types across the demographic variables gave a more complete picture of how religious groups were related to the Greek Cypriot society.

Table 6.17 - Religious Types and Gender

Nine Religious Types	N	Gender			
		Males (N=435)		Females (N=582)	
Meaningful Achieved	42	2%	-2.5*	5%	2.5*
Achieved in Progress	125	7 %	-4.5*	16%	4.5*
Meaningful Foreclosed	156	14%		16%	
Religious Moratorium	178	15%	-2.2*	20%	2.2*
Open-minded Religious	38	4%		4%	
Fanatical Religious	28	4%		2%	
Church Critics	82	9%		7%	
Casual Foreclosed	263	29%	2*	24%	-2*
Indifferent Diffused	105	16%	5.4*	6%	-5.4*
		100%		100%	

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Firstly, there is a statistically significant association between gender and the Nine Religious Types ($\chi2$=64.11, df=8, p<.01). Results in Table 6.17 reinforced the indications from the previous tests that young females were more religious, reflecting also cultural expectations, but at the same time were exploring more, while young men

were less engaged in religion. Young females were more likely to belong to Meaningful Achieved, Achieved in Progress and Religious Moratorium types:

> I believe that my religion is real after exploration. God is always near us and that has been proved to me many times. Church is a place where we can pray, feel safe, get relief and find solutions to our problems. The church supports us (625, female, Meaningful Achieved).

> "I know most of the issues around my faith but I cannot explain them. I try to be informed concerning my faith. In some issues I am less informed" (88, female, Achieved in Progress).

> From my early years I have believed in what my parents believe. Now, as I grow up and I am exploring deeply the subject of religion; in other words, (I am researching) for what I have to believe and if I have to believe. I have not reached a conclusion yet (697, female, Religious Moratorium).

In contrast, young men were more likely to belong to the religious types of Casual Foreclosed: *"(I am) a church person, who follows my faith and prays to the One in Whom I believe"* (337, male) and Indifferent Diffused: *"Concerning religion I do not believe anything"* (389, male).

Table 6.18 - Religious Types and Type of School

Nine Religious Types	N	Type of School		
		State N=799	Technical N=144	Private N=74
Meaningful Achieved	42	5% 3.1*	1% -2.2*	
Achieved in Progress	125	14% 3.2*	8%	3% -2.6*
Meaningful Foreclosed	156	17% 2.8*	11%	5% -2.5*
Religious Moratorium	178	18%	12%	20%
Open-minded Religious	38	3%		15% 5.2*
Fanatical Religious	28	3%	3%	1%
Church Critics	82	8%	11%	10%
Casual Foreclosed	263	24% -2.4*	39% 3.9*	19%
Indifferent Diffused	105	8% -4.9*	15% 2.1*	27% 4.9*
		100%	100%	100%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

Secondly, there is a statistically significant association between the three different type of schools and the Nine Religious Types ($\chi2$=103.32, df=16, p<.01). Results in Table 6.18 gave a further insight to the distribution for four of the religious types. Cultural expectations and strong RE provision in state schools were reflected in young females from state school, who were more likely to belong to Meaningful Achieved and Achieved in Progress religious types:

> I try to be near to my religion and to learn everything that concerns religion. I like my religion and I believe in it mainly because I have discovered that I have found the true religion and I feel proud of this (662, female, state school, Meaningful Achieved).

> The religion I follow satisfies me concerning various issues. I follow what I consider is right. Although, there are some questions, they are not however, obstructing me (136, female, state school, Achieved in Progress).

Casual Foreclosed religious adolescents were more likely to be males from technical schools: *"I am Orthodox Christian. I believe in God and no one else"* (302, male technical school). Indifferent Diffused religious adolescents were more likely to be males from technical schools: *"(I am) a bit unfaithful. I nearly never go to church"* (231, male) and private schools: *"Indifferent, I do not understand many of the things, I am not interested"* (553, male).

Further, the results gave insight to two more religious types. Meaningful Foreclosed religious types were more likely to be young people from state schools:

> I am a Christian Orthodox; I feel what it means God, faith and church. I entrust my hopes and my dreams to God. I take refuge in Him whenever I have problem (183, female, state school, meaningful foreclosed).

The religious diversity of private school was reflected in the private school students, who were more likely to belong to Open-minded Religious: *"I am sure of what I believe. I never doubt my religion. I respect all other religions"* (521, female, private school).

Table 6.19 - *Religious Types and Socioeconomic Status*

Nine Religious Types	N	Socioeconomic Status		
		Upper Class N=224	Middle Class N=378	Working Class N=415
Meaningful Achieved	42	4%	4%	4%
Achieved in Progress	125	13%	14%	11%
Meaningful Foreclosed	156	14%	14%	17%
Religious Moratorium	178	18%	16%	18%
Open-minded Religious	38	8% 4.2*	2% -2.4*	3%
Fanatical Religious	28	3%	2%	3%
Church Critics	82	12% 2.2*	9%	6% -2.5*
Casual Foreclosed	263	15% -4.1*	28%	30% 2.6*
Indifferent Diffused	105	13%	11%	8%
		100%	100%	100%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Lastly, there is a statistically significant association between the three socioeconomic classes and the Nine Religious Types ($\chi2$=45.85, df=16, p<.01). Results in Table 6.19 gave an even further insight to the distribution of two of the religious types. Casual Foreclosed religious types were more likely to be young working class males.

> I am a Christian Orthodox and I do not regret what I am. I have learned to be like that because all my family is like that and because I am satisfied with my religion, from our Christian tradition (332, male, technical school, working class, Casual Foreclosed).

Open-minded Religious types were more likely to be young people from private schools, who belonged to the upper class: *"I continuously study all religions. I do not believe without researching"* (535, male, private school, upper class).

Church Critics types were also more likely to be upper class:

> I do not doubt my religion. I am puzzled with the recent chaos that exists in the church. I am also puzzled by the fact that many clerics do not understand their role in the church and they see their role as a job (497, female, upper class).

6.2.4 Associations between Religious Types and Political Types

The test of association between the religious types and political types is important to the present study for three reasons. It tests for construct validity of both classifications. It identifies the significant associations between religious types and political types, which highlight the heterogeneity and complexity of identity. It evaluates the use of Identity Status Paradigm both theoretically and empirically.

Table 6.20 - Religious Types and Political Types

Religious Types	Political Types								
	True Achieved	Achieved in Progress	Foreclosed to Achieved	True Moratoriu	Progress Foreclosed	Fanatic Foreclosed	Advanced Diffused	Indifferent Diffused	% of types
Meaningful Achieved	13	2	5	9 2.9*	1	1	6	1 -3*	4%
Achieved in Progress	41 3.5*	21 5.1*	4	11	7	3 -2.6*	14	16 -2.5*	13%
Meaningful Foreclosed	32	10	12	11	9	8	25	37	16%
Religious Moratorium	36	14	17 2.1*	23 2*	11	15	19	3 -2.1*	18%
Open-minded Religious	12 2*	2	4	4	4	3	1	27	4%
Church Critics	23	6	5	9	6	5	14	9 -2.4*	8%
Casual Foreclosed	31 -4.2*	6 -3.1*	13	19	29 2.9*	30 2.2*	37	77 3.9*	26%
Indifferent Diffused	16	1 -2.4*	2 -2*	5	3	17 3*	17	39 4.1*	11%
% of types	22%	7%	7%	10%	8%	9%	14%	23%	913

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between the eight religious types[4] and eight political types ($\chi2$=168.96, df=49, p<.01), which validates the two classifications

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[4] The cross tabulation between nine religious types and nine political types is not valid because more than 20% of cells have expected count less than 5. So, Fanatical Religious type and Beginning Moratorium Political type, which have no significant ASR are excluded.

to one another. Further, the distribution of religious types across political types shows a degree of congruence in some related types, but the variability and the dissimilarity of the associations supports the separate empirical examination of religious and political identity content (see Table 6.20).

Apart from the Advanced Diffused political type and the Meaningful Foreclosed religious type, which were allocated evenly in all other types respectively, the other types showed significant associations. Meaningful Achieved religious types were more likely than expected by chance to be related with political True Moratorium and less likely to be politically Indifferent Diffused. This shows that young people who were achieved and found a meaningful refuge in religion were engaged in political exploration. In contrast, Achieved in Progress religious types were exploring at the same time their political advancement. Thus, Achieved in Progress religious types were more likely to be politically either True Achieved or Achieved in Progress, and less likely to be Fanatic Foreclosed or Indifferent Diffused.

Religious Moratorium types seemed to explore political issues at the same time. So, Religious Moratorium types were more likely to be either politically True Moratorium or Foreclosed to Achieved, and less likely to be Indifferent Diffused.

Casual Foreclosed religious types seemed to follow their parents in political beliefs as well. Therefore, Casual Foreclosed religious types were more likely to be politically either Progress Foreclosed or Fanatic Foreclosed or Indifferent Diffused, and less likely to be True Achieved or Achieved in Progress.

Religious and political Indifferent Diffused types were related: religious Indifferent Diffused types were more likely to be politically either Indifferent Diffused or Fanatic Foreclosed and less likely to be Achieved in Progress or Foreclosed to Achieved.

Finally, Open-minded Religious types were more likely to belong to True Achieved political type. Church Critics were less likely to be politically Indifferent Diffused.

Synopsis

Using Greek Cypriot young people's own words in defining and classifying the content of religious identity revealed interesting, and varying elements, which highlight the significance of identity content and its use in studying and understanding adolescents' identity. Young Greek Cypriots mainly described their religious identity content as a combination of different levels of faith in religion and awareness of religion. Different

groups of young people extended their description by referring to their parents' religious input, to the importance of religion in their lives, to their attitudes towards other religious beliefs, to their attitudes towards clerics, to church attendance, to practising faith and to declaration of their religion.

Moreover, the different significant relationships between content and religious identity with gender, type of school and SES demonstrated the significance of context in identity. The majority of Greek Cypriot young males and females engaged with religion, but females were more likely to have strong faith and faith, to be well aware of religious issues or to believe and enquire, while a quarter of males had loose faith and a fifth of them were not interested in exploring religion.

School played a decisive role in religious involvement reflecting both RE level in each school and the socio-economic backgrounds of students. Students from state schools were more likely to have strong faith, and faith, and to be well aware of religious issues. Students from private schools were more likely to have loose faith and no faith and to question religion or be disinterested. Technical school students were more likely to believe in religion without exploration or be disinterested.

SES differentiated upper and working class participants. Upper class young people were more likely to have loose faith and no faith and to question religion. Working class young people were more likely to have faith and to believe blindly.

A cluster analysis of religious identity elements produced nine meaningful and distinct religious types. Six of the religious types were associated with religious identity statuses, partially validating the ISP. These are: Meaningful Achieved (4%), Achieved in Progress (12%), Meaningful Foreclosed (15%), Religious Moratorium (18%), Casual Foreclosed (26%) and Indifferent Diffused (10%). On the other hand, the specific religious content allowed for three religious identity types to be independent from identity religious statuses. These are: Open-minded Religious (4%), Fanatical Religious (3%) and Church Critics (8%). Therefore, religious identity content was more powerful in discriminating religious identity types, which were elaborated and representative of all young people of the specific culture.

One more advantage of the study of religious identity content is the location of religious groups across the specific context of Greek Cypriot society. Results from the significant relationships between the nine religious types and gender, type of school, and SES

showed that the following associations were more likely than expected by chance alone: Meaningful Achieved and Achieved in Progress were significant amongst females from state schools, reflecting both culture and education. Meaningful Foreclosed was significant amongst young people from state schools. Religious Moratorium was significant amongst females. Open-minded was significant amongst upper class young people from private schools reflecting the religious diversity of private schools. Church Critic was significant amongst young people from the upper class. Casual Foreclosed was significant amongst working class males from technical schools. Indifferent Diffused was significant amongst males from technical and private schools.

Finally, this chapter examined the association between the religious and political types and established the construct validity of both classifications. Partly, equivalent religious and political types were associated, which gives empirical support to Identity Status Paradigm and to the use of global identity. On the other hand, totally unrelated types or incongruent relationships highlighted the heterogeneity and complexity of identity, which should not be restricted in a global identity concept that is represented by only four statuses.

CHAPTER 7

THE CONTENT OF OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITY

The chapter presents the analysis of the content of occupational identity of Greek Cypriot adolescents based on their answers to the open-ended question "Who will you be in terms of your occupational identity?" This type of identity is different from religious identity and political identity concerning the time. It refers both to present and future time. Young people explained what they thought at the time of the survey (present time) about their future occupation and occupational life (future time). In the first part of this chapter, responses were coded as a function of their relevance to occupational values and beliefs. Also, the relationship between categorical variables and social context was explored. In the second part, this classification system was re-analysed to explore the existence of occupational types and the associations between these types and gender and context variables were examined. Moreover, construct validations of Occupational Identity Statuses and Occupational Identity Content, Occupational and Political Types, and Occupational and Religious types, were critically considered.

7.1   Categorical Variables of Occupational Identity Content

Nine categorical variables emerged from an inductive analysis of participants' textual data; these variables were coded into values, beliefs and an occupational classification. First, the variables and their categories were conceptually and operationally defined. Frequency figures for each variable illustrated the complex picture of occupational identity content. Secondly, the significant associations between categorical variables of occupational identity content and social context variables (gender, type of school and socioeconomic status) documented the heterogeneity of occupational identity content. Participants' quotations were used to clarify meanings where needed.

7.1.1   Description of the Content of Occupational Identity

The nine categorical variables that emerged from the data were named and defined according to their specific content. Values were representative of the two broad groups of work values, namely: intrinsic-self-actualisation values and extrinsic-material-security values. Variables for which participants provided no relevant responses were classified "not

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mentioned." One of the categorical variables, Occupational Decision, seemed to be the most salient element of participants' occupational identity as all the participants referred to it. The other eight categorical variables (Occupational Input, Occupational Commitment, Occupational Income, Occupational Fulfilment, Occupational Success, Working Conditions, Working Environment and Future Occupation) seemed to be salient for different groups of participants.

It is important to note that the great majority of young people in Cyprus go for further higher studies after they graduate from secondary school. State school students, particularly, take entrance exams for Cyprus and Greek universities or for higher Greek schools. Private school students take their A' Levels in order to enter a UK university. There are also other options for a higher degree, either to universities in other countries such as the USA or in Cyprus colleges. Only a minority go to work, mostly students from technical school and from secretarial specialisation. Additionally, male students have two years of compulsory military service after graduation from secondary school. However, they prefer to secure a university place by the end of their secondary schooling. In case of a failure they have two more years during their military service to try again. Therefore, the majority of participants in the present study, when they referred to an occupation, meant the occupation they would like to have after their studies.

7.1.1.1 Occupational Decision

Occupational Decision is based on participants' level of decision concerning their future occupational self. Each level refers to a different degree of decision-commitment about a chosen future job or study. There is also a different degree of certainty at each level, which is based on their knowledge and their abilities. Some of these levels or some participants in each level showed a degree of exploration, which refers to a past or a present search on future careers. Occupational decision is a belief of participants' self-theory. Table 7.1 presents the six levels of occupational decision.

Table 7.1 - Operational Definitions of Occupational Decision

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Certain about a job	Certainty about future occupation or field of study. Many arrived at this decision after exploration and provided good evidence of certainty. Some just referred to their decision.	5
Certain about a sub-set of jobs	Certainty about broad area of future occupation or field of study. Most provided good evidence of exploration and certainty and waited for examination results to determine their future career. A few just referred to their choices.	4
Thinking about a job	Exploring an occupation or a field of study as yet undecided.	3
Know what they want from a job	Able to describe what they want from their future career or how they see themselves in their future occupation.	2
Thinking of different jobs	Thinking of different occupations or fields of studies. In an exploration period, as yet undecided. Some referred to their anxiety about failure in entry-exams or future unemployment.	1
No idea	No idea about future occupation.	0
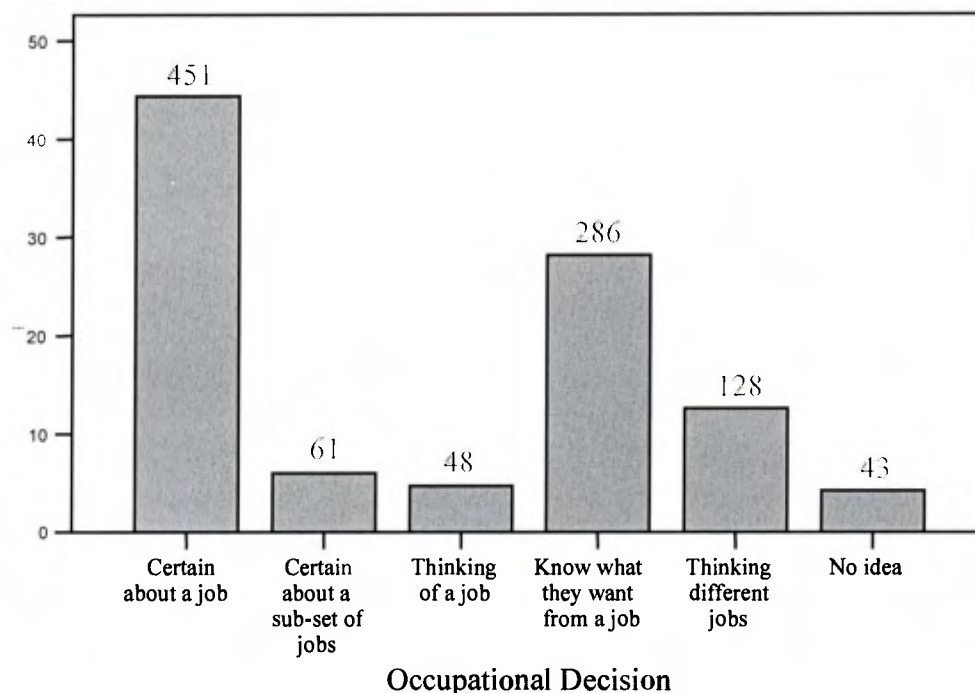
Note: N=1038, Missing=21

Figure 7.1 - Participants' Level of Occupational Decision

Figure 7.1 shows the participants' distribution into six levels of occupational decision. Forty three percent were sure about their future occupational self; 6% were thinking about a sub-set of jobs; 5% were thinking about a job; 28% described their future occupational self; 12% were thinking of different jobs; and 4% had no idea.

7.1.1.2 Occupational Input

Occupational Input describes whether participants based their decision for their future occupational self on their parents' wishes or whether they were self-reliant (see Table 7.2). Occupational Input is a belief of participants' self theory; and is a non-salient aspect of participants' occupational identity content as only 37% of them mentioned it.

Table 7.2 - Operational Definitions of Occupational Input

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Personal choice	They chose or they will choose their future occupation or field of studies based on their personal exploration and they developed their own way of thinking concerning the issue.	2
Parents' choice	They follow their parents' wishes and advice concerning their future occupation or studies.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
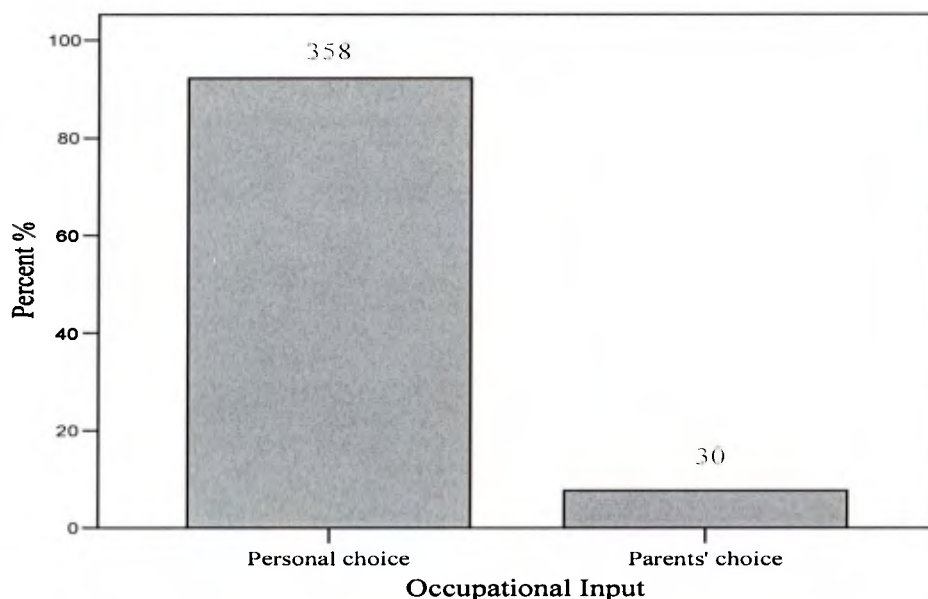
Note: N=388, Missing=21, Not mentioned=629 (were treated as missing values)

Figure 7.2 - Participants' Level of Occupational Input

The percentages in Figure 7.2 represent the 388 participants who mentioned this variable. From them 92% were self-reliant: *"I want to follow the occupation that I want personally. I am not influenced by my parents,"* (816, female). Only 8% were not self-reliant: *"The choice of my occupation has been influenced by my parents' wishes"* (70, female).

7.1.1.3 Occupational Commitment

Occupational Commitment is an intrinsic occupational value summarising motivation and a sense of responsibility (see Table 7.3). It is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' occupational identity content, as 27% of them mentioned it.

Table 7.3 - *Operational Definitions of Occupational Commitment*

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Social contribution	View their future occupation as a mission, through which they will help other people and advance society.	3
Responsible employee	Intention to be a responsible employee in their future occupation and to develop their abilities for the advancement of their job.	2
Not committed	Not bother with improvement or advancement. Intention to do the minimum.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0

Note: N=280, Missing=21, Not mentioned=737 (were treated as missing values)
Figure 7.3 - *Participants' Levels of Occupational Commitment*

Figure 7.3 shows the participants' distribution into three levels of occupational commitment. The percentages were calculated based on the 280 young people who mentioned this variable. Nineteen percent of them could be classified as socially responsible as they wanted to work for the advancement of society and to help other people. As a young man expressed it: *"Every person should be able to work for the common benefit through their occupation"* (831); or as a young woman wrote: *"I see myself working in the hospital of my town and helping people"* (628). Seventy three percent wanted to be consistent in their future occupation, for example, *"Efficient in the occupation I will follow, responsible, right"* (679, female). Eight percent declared something like *"I will not be bothered,"* (149, male).

7.1.1.4 Occupational Income

Occupational Income is an extrinsic materialistic occupational value, which shows roughly the amount of earnings that participants would like to get from their future jobs (see Table 7.4). It is also a motivation towards future occupational self, which comes from their self-theory. Occupational Income is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' occupational identity content; only 33% of the participants referred to it.

Table 7.4 - Operational Definitions of Occupational Income

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
High profit	Wish to earn high income either by working in a well-paid professional job or by the ownership of a business.	3
A good living	Wish to earn a good income from their future job, which will allow them to live a comfortable life.	2
Do not mind	Earnings have no special meanings for their future occupational self.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above categories.	0
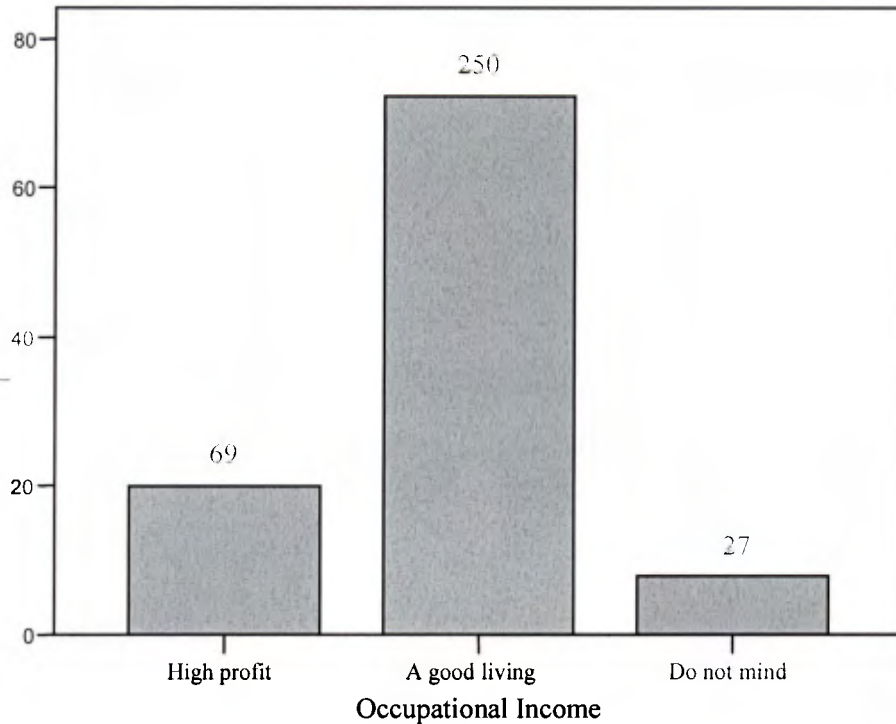
Figure 7.4 - Participants' Reference of Occupational Income

In Figure 7.4 the percentages were calculated based on the 346 young people who mentioned this variable. Twenty percent declared that they wanted *"to have a high profit from my job,"* (397, male); half of them wanted to get the profit from their own business, as a young man explained: *"I see myself as a successful businessman,"* (352). Seventy-two percent wanted to get a profit for a good living, for example, *"I want to find a job that offers good wages,"* (977, female). Eight percent minded about other occupational values rather than an income, like *"...I want to do something that interests me and inspires me and not because is profitable"* (735, female).

7.1.1.5 Occupational Fulfilment

Occupational Fulfilment is an intrinsic-self-actualisation work value, which refers to participants wish to feel accomplished from their future jobs (see Table 7.5). It is also a self-motivation, which comes from their self-theory. Occupational Fulfilment is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' occupational identity content as only 316 of the participants referred to it.

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Table 7.5 - Operational Definitions of Occupational Fulfilment

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Personal fulfilment	Wish to get satisfaction from their future job, enjoy it and feel fulfilled.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of the above category.	0
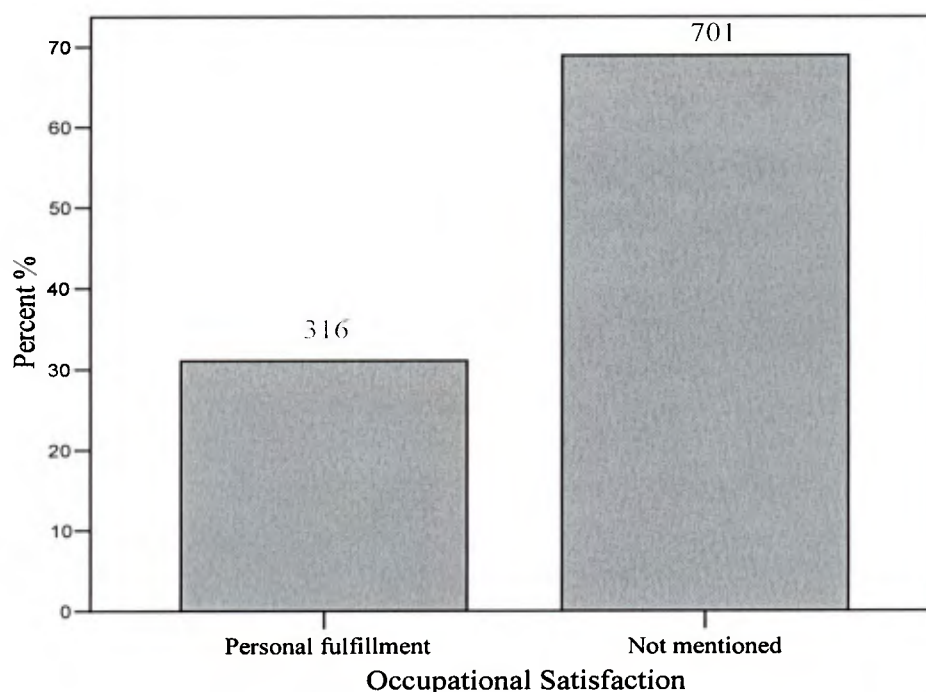
Note: Note=1038, Missing=21

Figure 7.5 - *Participants' Reference of Occupational Fulfilment*

Figure 7.5 shows all the participants, who were distributed into two categories: those who did not mention the variable and the 30% that mentioned Occupational Fulfilment like this young woman: *"I will feel pleased with the job I am doing,"* (977).

7.1.1.6 Occupational Success

Occupational Success is an extrinsic work value, which declares the wish of the participants to be successful in their future career (see Table 7.6). It is a motivation, which comes from their self-theory. Occupational Success is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' occupational identity content as only 294 of the participants mentioned it.

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Table 7.6 - Operational Definitions of Occupational Success

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Success and promotion	Wish to make a successful career in their future jobs or/and get promoted to their jobs' hierarchy.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of the above category.	0
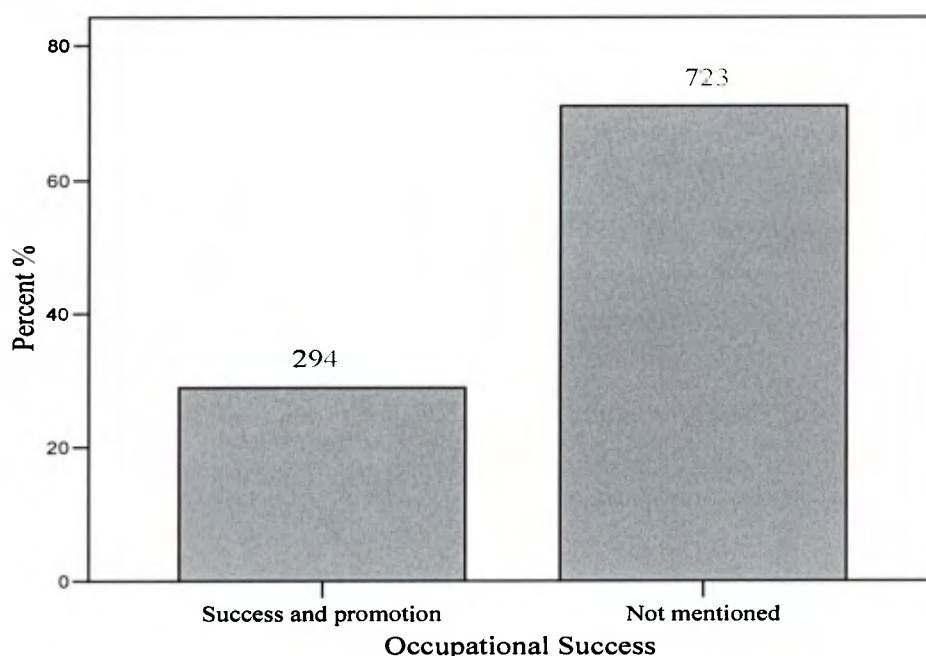
Note: Note=1038, Missing=21

Figure 7.6 - Participants' Reference of Occupational Success

Figure 7.6 shows all the participants, 70% who did not mention the variable, and 28% that did; as a young man wrote "*successful, a well settled professional,*" (707) or as a young woman expressed "*I will make huge efforts to climb high,*" (729).

7.1.1.7 Working Conditions

Working Conditions belongs to extrinsic-security values and it is also a belief of the participants' world theory. It refers to participants concern about the working condition of their future job (see Table 7.7). It is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' occupational identity content as only 45 of the participants referred to it.

Table 7.7 - Operational Definitions of Working Conditions

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Good conditions	Wish to have good working conditions regarding good working hours and easy work.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of the above category.	0
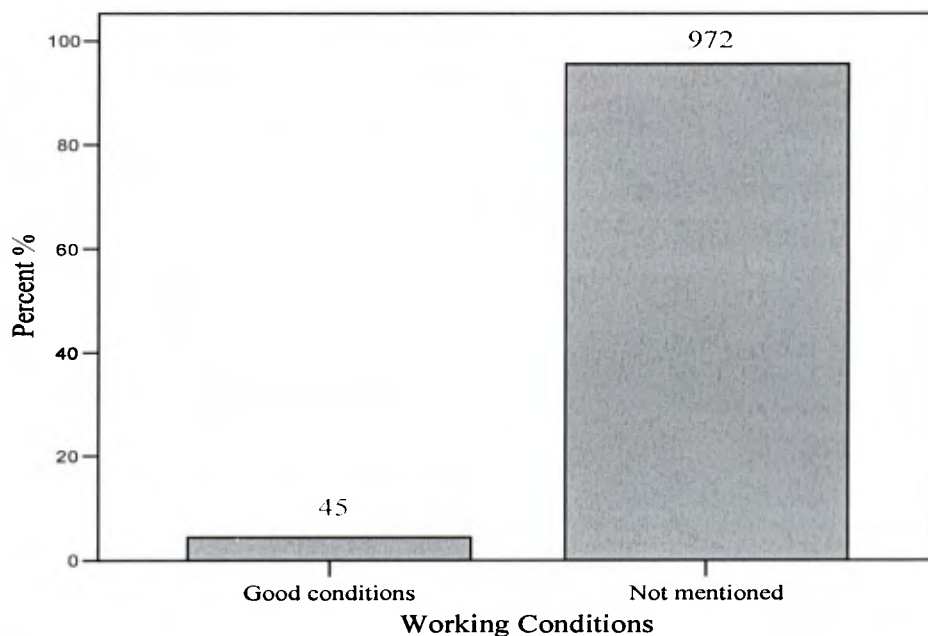
Note: N=1038, Missing=21

Figure 7.7 - *Participants' Reference on Working Conditions*

Figure 7.7 shows all the participants, the 94% who did not mention the variable and 4% that did. As a young woman explained "...*good working hours so it will be convenient in the future, when I have my children*" (654).

7.1.1.8 Working Environment

The variable Working Environment belongs to extrinsic-relational values and it is also a belief of the participants' world theory. It refers to participants' concern about the human environment of their future job (see Table 7.8). It is one of the non-salient aspects of participants' occupational identity content as only 42 of the participants referred to it.

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Table 7.8 - Operational Definitions of Working Environment

Category name	Conceptual Definition	Value
Good environment	Wish to work in a nice working environment, where people have good relationships and where they feel happy.	1
Not mentioned	No mention of the above category.	0

Note: N=1038, Missing=21

Figure 7.8 *- Participants' Reference of Working Environment*

Figure 7.8 shows all the participants, the 94% who did not mention the variable and 4% that did; like this young woman expressed *"... to be pleased with the environment and to socialise with the people there"* (647).

7.1.1.9 Future Occupation

Future Occupation is a classification of the occupations that the participants either chose or were thinking about (see Table 7.9). Where more than one occupation was mentioned, only the first was taken into account. Around half of the participants (510) described their future occupational identity by referring to a future occupation.

Table 7.9 – Classification of Participants' Future Occupation

Occupational Category	Occupations referred
Business/Managers	Factory-owners, Hotel-owners, Managers, Business
Professionals	Doctor, Lawyer, Architecture, Accountant, Economist, Psychologist, Computer Engineer, Journalist
Teachers[1]	Nursery, Primary, Secondary, Special Needs' Teacher
Artists	Artist, Actor, Singer, Dancer, Director
Army/Police	Army, Police, Fireman
Office clerks	Clerk in Bank, in Private Sector, in Public Sector
Beauticians/Fashion	Beautician, Hairdresser, Fashion Designer
Athletes	Athlete, Footballer
Technicians/Crafts	Automobile Mechanic, Carpenter, Electrician, Constructor
Not mentioned	No mention of any of the above category.
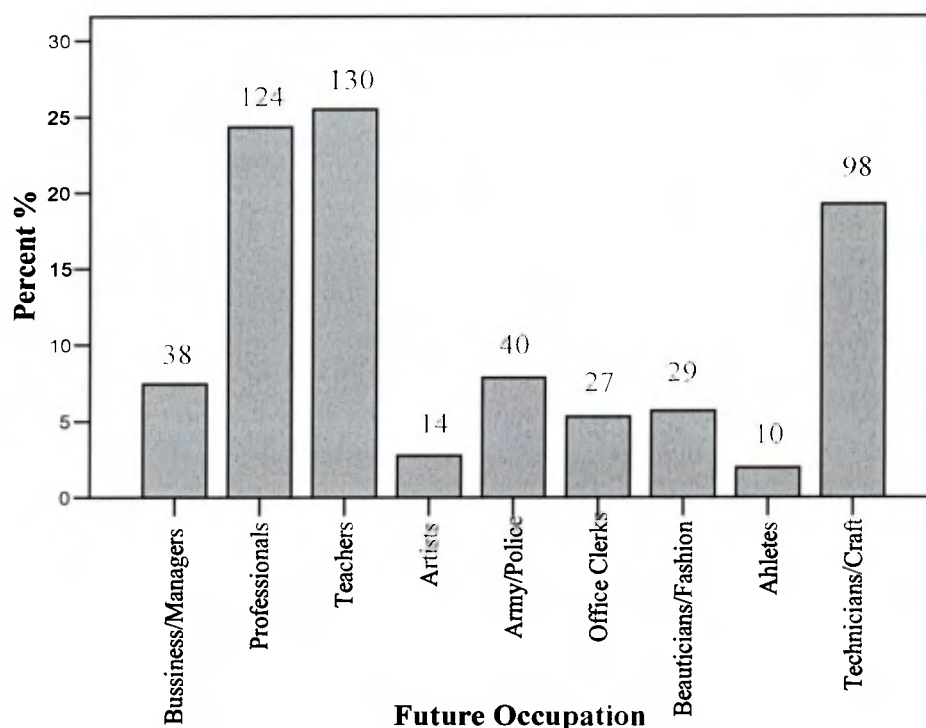
Note: N=510, Missing=21, Not mentioned=507 (were treated as missing values)
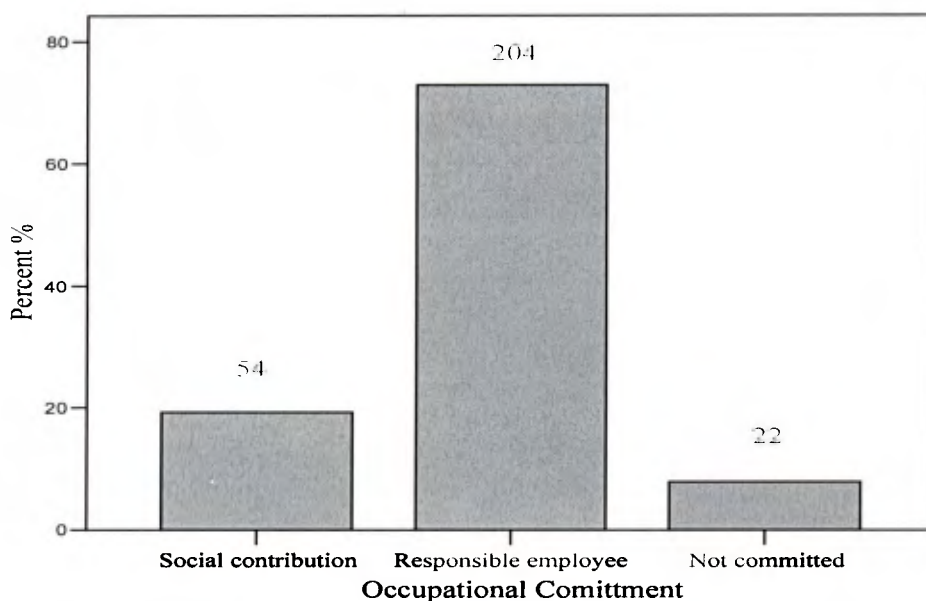
Figure 7.9 - Participants' Future Occupation

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[1] The occupation of teacher was considered separately from the category of professionals because it was frequently mentioned, especially by females.

Figure 7.9 shows the allocation of occupation for 49% of the participants who mentioned a future occupation. Half of them were looking for a professional career and only 19% were looking for technical jobs. Although this picture is not compatible with the labour market in Cyprus, it illustrates the values of Greek Cypriot society, especially parents and young people, who valued university degrees highly.

7.1.2 Associations between Occupational Identity Content and Participants' Gender and Social Context

After the description of occupational values and beliefs of young people in Cyprus, the next step was to investigate the relationships between occupational identity content and participants' social context. Therefore, chi-squares tests were conducted and presented between the independent (social context) variables of gender, type of secondary school and socioeconomic status and the dependant occupational content variables[2]. Apart from the Occupational Decision variable, which was salient to all participants, five other variables had a sufficient number of participants to be included in the analysis. Occupational Income, Occupational Commitment, Occupational Fulfilment, Occupational Success and Future Occupation were used to give indications for the association between work values and social context variables.

7.1.2.1 Gender and Occupational Identity Content

Statistical tests shed light in the association between occupational identity status and gender, which showed that it was more likely for young women to belong to achievement and moratorium statuses and young men to belong to diffusion status. This was explained in terms for contextual situations where young men postponed career development because they had to serve in the army for two years. However, associations between gender and occupational content elements, especially work values, revealed rich knowledge on young men's and women's occupational identities.

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[2] Because of the number of chi-square analysis, the .01 level or lower is adopted to denote statistically significant associations. Associations significant at the .05 level will be considered to suggest a trend.

Table 7.10 - Gender and Occupational Decision

Gender	Levels of Occupational Decision					
	Certain about a job	Certain about a sub-set of jobs	Thinking about a job	Know what they want from a job	Thinking of different jobs	No idea
Male (N=430)	42%	6%	5%	27%	13%	7% 4.4*
Female (N=587)	46%	6%	5%	29%	12%	2%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The association between gender and Occupational Decision is statistically significant ($\chi 2$=20.14, df=5, p<. 01). Table 7.10 shows that the significance is entirely due to the "no idea" value, which was more likely to characterise males, though the percentage was very small. The interesting feature of Table 7.10 is that around 45% of both genders had a clear idea about their future occupational self, and another 30% of them knew what they wanted from a job. Although occupational identity was significant for both genders, there were marked and meaningful gender differences in occupational values.

Table 7.11 - Gender and Occupational Commitment

Gender	Levels of Occupational Commitment		
	Social responsibility	Responsible employee	Not committed
Male (N=110)	9%	76%	15% 3.3*
Female (N=170)	26% 3.5*	71%	3%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (71%) were treated as missing values, missing values=2%

The association between gender and Occupational Commitment is statistically significant ($\chi 2$=20.38, df=2, p<. 01). Table 7.11 shows that from the 27% of the participants who referred to occupational commitment, a high percentage of both males and females wanted to be committed in their future jobs. However, males were more likely to declare "not committed," i.e., *"...relax (in a job) and not be bothered"* (239, male); while females were more likely to declare "social responsibility," e.g., *"help my fellow people,"* (750, female).

Table 7.12 - Gender and Occupational Income

Gender	Levels of Occupational Income		
	High profit	**A good living**	**Do not mind**
Male (N=148)	27% 2.9*	68%	5%
Female (N=198)	15%	75%	10%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (65%) were treated as missing values, missing values=2%

The association between gender and Occupational Income is statistically significant ($\chi2$=10.21, df=2, p<. 01). Table 7.12 shows that from the 33% of the participants who referred to their desired future earnings, a high percentage of both males and females wanted to get good wages from their future occupation. However, males were more likely to want to be *"millionaire, rich, very rich,"* (507, male).

Table 7.13 - Gender and Occupational Fulfilment

Gender	Levels of Occupational Fulfilment	
	Personal fulfilment	**Not mentioned**
Male (N=430)	19%	81% **7.4***
Female (N=587)	40% 7.4*	60%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The association between gender and Occupational Fulfilment is statistically significant ($\chi2$=54.06, df=1, p<. 01). Table 7.13 shows that young women were more likely to look for *"(a) job to satisfy me fully..., go with pleasure and appetite for work,"* (983).

Table 7.14 - Gender and Occupational Success

Gender	Levels of Occupational Success	
	Success and Promotion	Not mentioned
Male (N=430)	23%	77% 3.7*
Female (N=587)	33% 3.7*	67%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The association between gender and Occupational Success is statistically significant ($\chi2=13.57$, df=1, p<. 01). Table 7.14 shows that young women were more likely to want to be *"...successful in my job,"* (614).

Table 7.15 – Gender and Future Occupation

Future Occupation	Gender			
	Male (N=256)		Female (N=254)	
Business/Managers	11%	3*	4%	
Professionals	23%		26%	
Teachers	7%		44%	9.6*
Artists			5%	3.3*
Army/Police	13%	4.3*	3%	
Office Clerks	4%		7%	
Beauticians/Fashion	2%		9%	3.3*
Athletes	4%	3.2*		
Technicians/Craft	36%	9.6*	2%	

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (49%) were treated as missing values, missing values=2%

The association between gender and Future Occupation for 49% of participants is statistically significant ($\chi2=204.14$, df=8, p<. 01). Table 7.15 shows that professional and clerical occupations were equally desired by the two genders; while young men were more likely to wish for an occupation in business or in the army/police or they would like to become athletes, technicians and craftsmen; in contrast young women were more likely to be oriented towards the occupation of teacher, artist, beautician and fashion designer.

7.1.2.2   Type of School and Occupational Identity Content

Findings enlighten the restricted picture given by the association between occupational identity status with gender, which showed that it was more likely for private school students to be in moratorium and technical school students to be in diffusion. Statistical analysis of levels of occupational decision gave more focused indications to the differences between students from the three different types of school in the Greek Cypriot educational system. Occupational values seemed to be related to the ethos of each school.

Table 7.16 - Type of School and Occupational Decision

Type of School	Levels of Occupational Decision					
	Certain about a job	Certain about a sub-set of jobs	Thinking about a job	Know what they want from a job	Thinking of different jobs	No idea
State (N=802)	42% -2.4*	6%	5%	32% 5.5*	12%	3% -3.8*
Technical (N=142)	64% 5.1*	3%	4%	8% -5.6*	10%	11% 4*
Private (N=73)	27% -3*	15% 3.4*	8%	22%	22% 2.5*	6%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

The association between type of school and Occupational Decision is statistically significant ($\chi2$=80.28, df=10, p<. 01). Table 7.15 shows that type of school played a crucial role in the levels of occupational decision. Students from state schools were more likely than expected by chance to know what they want from a job, which was related to their humanistic education. Technical school students were more likely to belong to two extreme types: those who were certain about a job and those who had no idea. About two thirds of technical school students knew their future jobs, which was to be expected as they specialised in certain technical or craft jobs. However, 10%, even though they had specialised, had no idea about their future job. Private school students were more likely to belong to two exploration types: certain about a sub-set of jobs related to their A' Level studies or considering different jobs.

Table 7.17 – Type of School and Occupational Fulfilment

Type of School	Levels of Occupational Fulfilment	
	Personal fulfilment	Not mentioned
State (N=802)	35%　　4.8*	65%
Technical (N=142)	13%	87%　　4.9*
Private (N=73)	26%	74%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The association between type of school and Occupational Fulfilment is statistically significant ($\chi2=26.45$, df=2, p<. 01). Table 7.17 shows that state school students were more likely to write "...*choose first of all something that completes me as a person,*" (70, female). Technical school students were less likely to mention occupational fulfilment.

Table 7.18 – Type of School and Occupational Success

Type of School	Levels of Occupational Success	
	Success and Promotion	Not mentioned
State (N=802)	31% 2.4*	69%
Technical (N=142)	18%	82% 3.2*
Private (N=73)	32%	68%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96) are presented.

The association between type of school and Occupational Success is statistically significant ($\chi2=10.28$, df=2, p<. 01). Table 7.18 shows that technical school students were less likely to mention occupational success; while state school students were more likely to look for success. A young female from state school explained: "*I want to work in an occupational domain where there are opportunities for promotions. I believe that we ought to struggle for the highest position in our career path,*" (225).

Table 7.19 – Type of School and Future Occupation

Future Occupation	Type of School		
	State (N=254)	Technical (N=117)	Private (N=37)
Professionals	36% 3.3*	3% -7.5*	76% 6.3*
Teachers	48% 9*	2% -8.3*	16% -2.1
Office Clerks	10% 3.8*	-3.4*	3%
Beauticians/Fashion	5% -2.4*	13% 2.8*	5%
Technicians/Craft	1% -14.1*	82% 17.4*	- -3.6*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.
Note: N=47%

The association between type of school and Future Occupation[3] is statistically significant (χ2=364.06, df=8, p<. 01). Table 7.19 shows that the great majority of students from state (84%) and private schools (92%) were oriented towards a professional career. However, nearly half of the state school students would like to become teachers; while private school students were less likely to choose this occupation. State school students (most probably from the secretarial specialisation) were more likely to choose a clerical job. Eighty-two percent of technical school male students planned to work as technicians and female students from technical school were more likely to work as beauticians or fashion designers.

7.1.2.3 Socioeconomic Status (SES) and Occupational Identity Content

Socioeconomic Status seemed not to influence Occupational Decision or any of the occupational values, but was associated with participants' future occupation. The association between socioeconomic status and Future Occupation is statistically significant (χ2=53.58, df=16, p<. 01).

Table 7.20 – *Socioeconomic Status and Future Occupation*

Future Occupation	Socioeconomic Status		
	Upper (N=113)	Middle (N=190)	Working (N=207)
Business/Managers	8%	10%	5%
Professionals	38% 3.9*	24%	17% -3.2*
Teachers	29%	27%	22%
Artists	4%	2%	3%
Army/Police	6%	4% -2.7*	13% 3.3*
Office Clerks		7%	6%
Beauticians/Fashion	6%	6%	5%
Athletes	1%	1%	3%
Technicians/Craft	8% -3.4*	19%	26% 3*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.
Note: The not-mentioned responses (50%) were treated as missing values

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[3] The cross-tabulation between 9 occupational categories and type of school is not valid as the cells that have an expected count of less than 5 are exceeding the 20%.

Table 7.20 shows the 49% of the participants who declared their desired future occupation. Upper class participants were more likely to choose a professional career; while working class participants were more likely to mention the army, the police service or technical jobs. Around quarter of the participants of each class wished to become teachers.

7.1.3 Validation of Occupational Identity Content and Occupational Identity Status

Occupational Decision is related to the definition of identity status, as its different levels are related to exploration and commitment. This provides the opportunity to examine the convergent validity between the EOMEIS-2-PRO and ICQ questionnaires (see Table 7.21).

Table 7.21 - Occupational Identity Statuses and Occupational Decision

Six Occupational Identity Statuses	Levels of Occupational Decision					
	Certain about a job	Certain about a sub-set of jobs	Thinking about a job	Know what they want from a job	Thinking of different jobs	No idea
Achievement	71% 9.1*	3% -2.1*	2% -2.4*	19% -3.4*	4% -4.3*	1% -2.9*
Moratorium	19% -6.2*	7%	10% 2.8*	36% 2.2*	26% 4.7*	2%
Foreclosure	51%		16% 3.4*	27%	3%	3%
Diffusion	39%	5%	2%	24%	18%	12% 3.5*
Low Profile	40%	9% 2.8*	4%	35% 3.1*	10%	2% -2.9*
Transition	38% -2.1*	6%	5%	25%	16%	10% 4.8*
Four Occupational Identity Statuses						
Achievement	71% 9.1*	3% -2.1*	2% -2.4*	19% -3.4*	4% -4.3*	1% -2.9*
Moratorium	35% -5.4*	8% 3*	5%	35% 4.3*	15%	2% -3.3*
Foreclosure	47%	6%	8%	25%	8%	6%
Diffusion	36% -3*	4%	5%	25%	19% 3.2*	11% 6.1*

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between Occupational Decision from ICQ and the six occupational identity statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO first level of analysis ($\chi2$=186.59, df=25, p<.005) and the four occupational identity statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO second level of analysis ($\chi2$=140.48, df=15, p<.005).

In achievement, which remains pure in both levels of EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis, people are supposed to be certain about a future job. Seventy-one percent of adolescents, who were in achievement status in their occupational identity, declared that they knew well what occupation they wanted to have in the future. Moreover, all the other levels of decision, which are not theoretically related to achievement status, formed anti-types for occupational achievement status. In moratorium status, people are supposed to explore occupational options. Seventy-two percent of moratorium participants belonged to three types of occupational decision, which suggests exploration. In diffused status people are supposed not to have any idea about their future career. Diffused participants were more likely to belong to the "no idea" type. Foreclosure status has not a clear theoretical relation with any of the decision levels. Fifty one percent of foreclosed young people knew what job they would like to do. This relates to the commitment part of this decision level.

In the second level of analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO, the collapsing of low profile and transition statuses partly changed the picture of moratorium and diffused statuses. Moratorium participants were more likely to know what they wanted from a job (as previously) or to be certain about a sub-set of jobs, which is a more advanced level as it suggests commitment. Diffused participants were more likely to have no idea (as previously) or to think of different jobs, which is a more advanced level as it suggests exploration.

A definition of low profile and transition statuses was also attempted. Low profile participants were more likely to be certain about a sub-set of jobs or to know what they wanted from a job. Both these decision levels have the dimensions of exploration and commitment. Thus, low-profile participants were at a more advanced level than moratorium. Transition status participants were more likely to have no idea, which is related to pure diffusion status.

Generally, there is a good concurrent validation for both measures, EOMEIS-2-PRO on occupational identity and ICQ on Occupational Decision variable. The existence of sub-groups within moratorium and diffusion statuses are explored and explained in the following section, where a cluster-analysis differentiates more occupational groups. These groups are both related to occupational identity status and occupational identity content.

7.2   Cluster Analysis of the Content of Occupational Identity

In this section, a five-stage process of cluster analysis was performed within a holistic-interactionistic exploration of occupational identity content. In stage one eight of the occupational identity content variables were included in the cluster analysis. These are: Occupational Decision, Occupational Income, Occupational Commitment, Occupational Input, Occupational Fulfilment, Occupational Success, Working Environment and Working Conditions.

Stage two involved the empirical identification of occupational subgroups or occupational types. Variables were standardised at the sample level and then a cluster analysis was used (with Ward's method and squared Euclidean distance as the measure of similarity) to identify subgroups. A Cluster solution was used for analysis based upon considerations of within-group homogeneity, and between-group heterogeneity and parsimony.

In stage three, answers to the following questions were used to examine face validity: does the pattern of variables in each cluster group look meaningful? Are these groups of people recognisable in terms of identity theory, work-value theory and the Greek Cypriot context? Young people's own words were used to illustrate each occupational group. The ten occupational groups of participants were ordered, named and identified.

In stage four, the concurrent validity of the cluster solutions in terms of theoretically related variables were explored. Toward this end, the variable Occupational Identity Status (from EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis), was used to "validate" the ten occupational types. This test also formed a concurrent validity test for the identity status paradigm and helped to clarify the strengths and weaknesses of the four identity statuses theory and measurements.

In stage five, the distribution of gender and context variables across the ten occupational groups was examined. In this way, the occupational types of adolescents were tested on

construct validity by using demographic variables. Moreover, the genders, academic and socioeconomic composition of emergent subgroups were examined.

7.2.1 Ten Occupational Types of Greek Cypriot Adolescents
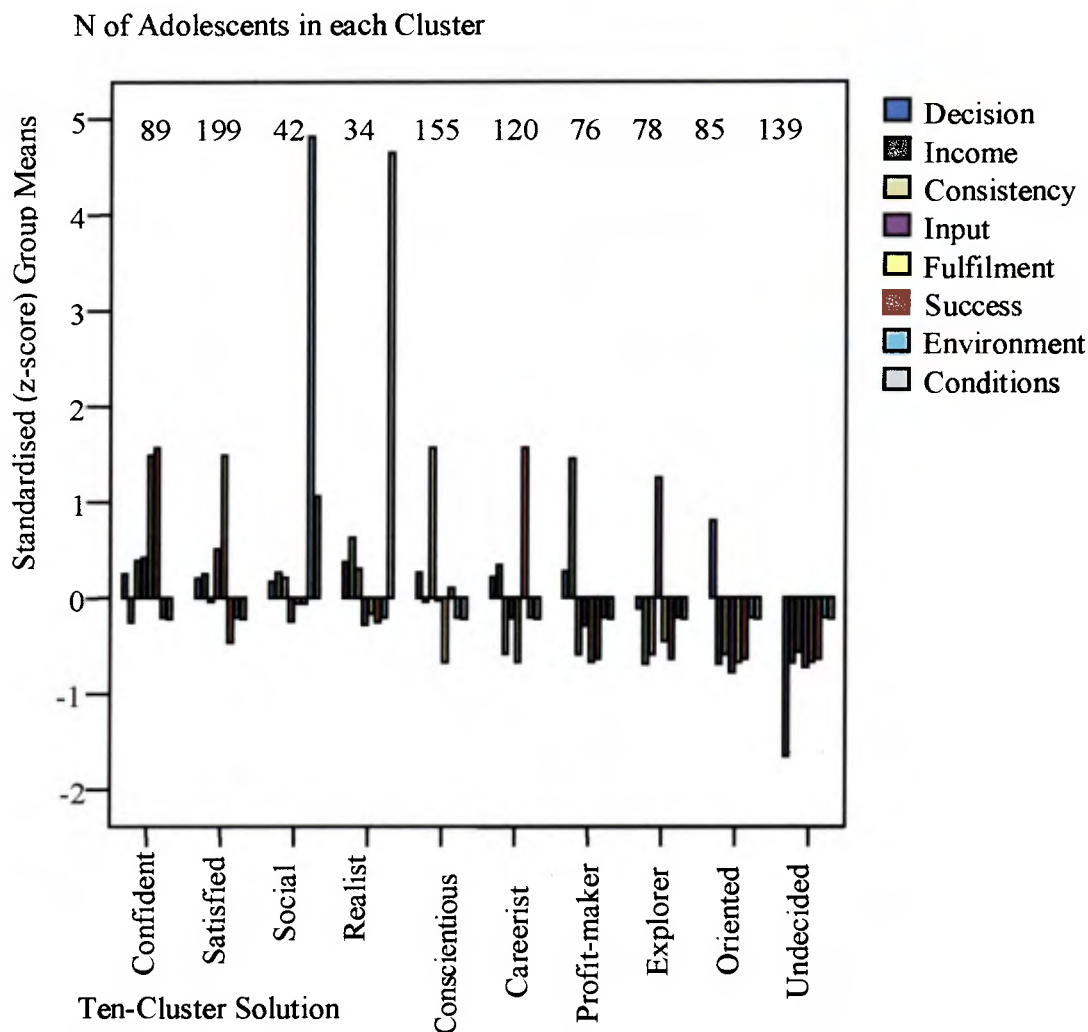
Figure 7.10 - Ten Occupational Types of Greek Cypriot Adolescents

The ten-cluster solution in Figure 7.10 presents z-score means on the clustering variables by subgroup. Clusters were ordered from those that were related to most categorical variables to those that were related to least categorical variables. Each occupational type was named and the number of adolescents in each group was also shown. The emphasis here is on the description and the identification of each occupational type, which should be considered as future occupational selves. The differentiation amongst the ten occupational

types is based mainly on the seven non-salient variables, rather than on the levels of Occupational Decision, which was mentioned by all the participants. Additionally, young people's own words were used to illustrate and clarify the meaning of each occupational group.

7.2.1.1 Confident

Confident occupational type characterised 9% of the sample (N=89). These young people were confident about their future occupational self. They were looking for an occupation, which would offer them both success and personal fulfillment. In addition many of them intended to be committed in their future jobs. Young people of this type either were certain about a future job or about a job description. They were self-reliant in their decision. Their descriptions of their future occupational selves gave a flavour of optimism and idealism.

> I believe that I have taken the right decisions for what I will do in the future (I have been advised by my parents and by some professional advisors) and have made a judgment about the occupation I want to follow. I will love this occupation and it will fulfil me, that's why I will be successful (712, female).

> I want to be settled occupationally, in other words to get a job that pleases me and that has prospects. I want to make a career in my occupation (217, male).

7.2.1.2 Satisfied

Satisfied occupational type characterised 20% of the sample (N=199). These young people were looking for an occupation that would primarily offer them personal fulfilment. Some of them were looking for personal satisfaction to such an extent that they did not mind about wages, while others would like an income not for profit, but for a good living. Satisfied young people had different decision levels ranging across a certain future job, sub-set of jobs, thinking of a job or different jobs, and a job-description. In their decision they were self-reliant. They were optimistic and idealistic too.

> I see myself as working in a job, which I will like fully and it will help me develop myself psychologically and spiritually. I want firstly to have a job that I like personally and then I will think of the income it brings. I want a job that is creative (926, female).

Fully satisfied with what I will do. Enough benefits to fulfill various material aims. (I will be) professional in my work (6, male).

7.2.1.3 Social

Social occupational type characterised 4% of the sample (N=42). These young people were looking for a pleasant work environment, combined with some other expectations. Thus, they valued interaction and good social relations in a future occupational environment. Apart from this common feature, many of them also wanted good wages, a few mentioned good working conditions, commitment and occupational fulfilment. Social young people had different decision levels ranging across a certain future job or sub-set of jobs or a job-description.

I would like to become teacher (primary, secondary or nursery). I would like my occupation to offer me economical independence and social relationships (958, female).

From my job I would like to have good colleagues, as well as a good salary, to be satisfied with my occupation and that it will offer me good working conditions (10, male).

7.2.1.4 Realist

Realist occupational type characterised 3% of the sample (N=34). These young people gave importance to tangible work expectations. Therefore, they were looking for a job, which assured good working conditions and good wages. Similar to the previous occupational type, Realist young people probably had different decision levels ranging across a certain future job or sub-set of jobs or a job-description. Additionally, few mentioned that they would be responsible in their future jobs.

(I see myself) working in a job with good working conditions. I want to become teacher or nursery teacher; the work is until 2.30 and I will have with interaction with children (928, female).

I chose my future job, three years ago. I am going to work in a bank, good wages and good working hours (989, male).

7.2.1.5 Conscientious

Conscientious occupational type characterised 15% of the sample (155). These young people focused on the intrinsic value of commitment. They wanted to be consistent in their future jobs. Many of them showed the highest level of responsibility, which is the advancement of society and caring for other people. Only a few of them wanted to be responsible in order to attain success. Similar to the previous occupational types, Conscientious young people probably had different decision levels ranging across a certain future job or sub-set of jobs or a job-description.

> Good in my job. Responsible, understand and do my duties. To be near people, I do something for the social benefit (737, female).

> I want to be in position where, despite the material benefits, I can make a social contribution because I believe that what fulfills you more is to see your work recognised and to have a good reputation for what you are doing (619, male).

7.2.1.6 Careerist

Careerist occupational type characterised 12% of the sample (120). These young people were motivated towards a career that would offer them success along with a good income. Similar to the previous occupational types, Careerist young people probably had different decision levels ranging across a certain future job or sub-set of jobs or a job-description.

> Even though I am in a professional ambiguity, what I certainly know is that I want a rich professional future, a career with high targets and role-models. I would say that a lawyer's career, aiming even to becoming a judge, suits me better (964, female).

> As soon as I graduate from the university I would like to find a job relevant to my studies. One day I will achieve an important position (268, male).

7.2.1.7 Profit-maker

Profit-maker occupational type characterised 7% of the sample (N=76). These young people were motivated towards an entrepreneur career where they would earn high profits or wanted a job that would be profitable. This materialistic value seemed to be their main concern for their future occupational self. Concerning decision, they had either selected a particular job, or a sub-set of jobs or a job-description.

(I want to be) a university graduate. (I want to get) a good job with a high income. Have economical convenience for everything (1004, female).

I think with the studies I am planning to do I will find a good job with a very good salary and probably in the future I will run my own business (245, male).

7.2.1.8 Explorer

Explorer occupational type characterised 8% of the sample (N=78). The basic characteristic of this occupational type was their determination to choose their future by themselves. Most of them were exploring different possibilities.

I have not oriented fully about what I want. I believe that what I will choose must suit me absolutely in order to do it with pleasure (853, male).

I want to follow the occupation that I want personally. I am not influenced by my parents. I try to figure out where I have more abilities (816, female).

7.2.1.9 Oriented

Oriented occupational type characterised 8% of the sample (N=85). These young people were committed to a certain future occupation or sub-set of jobs without any reference to any work values. Some of them expressed the fear of unemployment; as a young man wrote: *"There are lots of chances of unemployment in Cyprus, even though you have a university certificate. I would like to work in a foreign country"* (66, male). Most of them referred to their choices:

Be either an IT Technician, or owner of a Computer shop (803, male).

In the future I see myself occupationally as a primary, secondary, or special needs teacher (726, female).

7.2.1.10 Undecided

Undecided occupational type characterised 14% of the sample (N=139). These young people were the least "advanced" occupational group as they were rather confused concerning their future occupational self. They were either thinking of different jobs or they had no idea about what they would do. Consequently, they did not make reference to any work values.

I have not decided yet what I will become. I leave everything to luck. I do not think much about occupation (639, female).

I have not decided yet what I want to follow occupationally. I do not know what I like or what will be more appropriate for me. I think the two most possible is either doctor or IT (825, male).

7.2.2 Validation of the Ten Occupational Types

Concurrent validity of the nine occupational types fro ICQ was tested across the theoretically related variable of Occupational Identity Status from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Results showed a moderate differentiation of the ten occupational groups across the four identity statuses; six of the occupational types were associated with three of the statuses. Thus, a limitation of the ISP in relation to occupational identity content was evident.

Table 7.22 - Occupational Types and Occupational Identity Statuses

Ten Occupational Types	Occupational Identity Statuses				N
	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Confident	29%	51%	7%	13% -2.4*	100 89
Satisfied	22%	57% 3.5*	5%	16% -3.1*	100 199
Social	31%	43%	5%	21%	100 42
Realist	21%	29%	12%	38% 2*	100 34
Conscientious	28%	45%	7%	20%	100 155
Careerist	31% 2.3*	45%	10%	14% -2.7*	100 120
Profit-maker	17%	33% -2.3*	12%	38% 3*	100 76
Explorer	14%	58% 2.2*	9%	19%	100 78
Oriented	28%	37%	9%	26%	100 85
Undecided	8% -4.4*	38%	7%	47% 6.8*	100 139

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

The association between Occupational Identity Statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO and the Ten Occupational Types from ICQ is statistically significant ($\chi2$=104.56, df=27, p<.01). However, Table 7.22 shows that three of the occupational types, namely Social, Conscientious and Oriented were not related to any of the identity statuses. Additionally, foreclosure status from EOMEIS-2-PRO had no significant relation with any one of the occupational types from ICQ. Only three out of ten of the occupational types from ICQ seemed to have a theoretical connection with three of the identity statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO: Careerist type with achievement status, Explorer type with moratorium status, and Undecided type with diffusion status. The relation of Realist and Profit-maker types with diffusion, and Satisfied type with moratorium seemed to be rather context specific. That is, diffusion for Profit-makers and Realists was on the level of process (no exploration and commitment) and not on the level of content (materialistic value of profit or by tangible realistic values). Thus, occupational types from the cluster analysis of ICQ showed a different picture than the four statuses from Identity Status Paradigm from the EOMEIS-2-PRO. They represent the content of occupational identity in terms of values and beliefs, which could not be predicted from identity statuses. While the four identity statuses represent the developmental stage of occupational identity in terms of exploration and commitment, they again, could not be precisely connected with occupational types. In consequence, ten occupational identity types and four identity statuses could be complimentary to each other.

7.2.3   The Ten Occupational Types and Social Context

Using the demographic variables of gender and type of school it was possible to test the construct validity of the ten occupational types[4]. Moreover, the distribution of the ten occupational types across the demographic variables gave a more complete picture of how occupational groups were related to the specific context of Greek Cypriot society.

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[4]Association between SES (socioeconomic status) of participants and Ten Occupational Types is not significant.

Table 7.23 - Occupational Types and Gender

Ten Occupational Types	N	Gender			
		Males (N=430)		Females (N=587)	
Confident	89	4%	-4.2*	12%	4.2*
Satisfied	199	12%	-5*	25%	5*
Social	42	2%	-3.1*	6%	3.1*
Realist	34	3%		3%	
Conscientious	155	17%		14%	
Careerist	120	12%		12%	
Profit-maker	76	12%	4.3*	4%	-4.3*
Explorer	78	8%		8%	
Oriented	85	11%	2.5*	6%	-2.5*
Undecided	139	19%	4.3*	10%	-4.3*
		100%		100%	

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Firstly, there is a statistically significant association between gender and the Ten Occupational Types ($\chi2=85.41$, df=9, p<.01). Results in Table 7.23 showed that young females tended towards the optimistic, idealistic types, while young men tended towards the materialistic type or they were oriented or undecided. Accordingly, young females were more likely than expected by chance alone to belong to Confident, Satisfied and Social occupational types:

> Occupationally in the future I see myself proud of what I love and being successful and independent from anybody else, satisfied with my abilities and this make me happy and self-sufficient (631, female, Confident).

> I have found what satisfies me. I chose an occupation that I like and not because my parents, relatives or friends like it. I believe if I study what I like I will get satisfaction from my job and I will help many people (887, female, Satisfied).

(I see myself) in a job that satisfies me economically, in a job where I will enjoy doing it, mostly in a pleasant social environment where I will be happy (984, female, Social).

Young men were more likely than expected by chance alone to belong to Profit-maker type: *"Entrepreneur, running my factory"* (917, male), Oriented type: *"I would like to become a policeman or a fireman"* (31, male) and Undecided type: *"I have no idea, whatever comes... undecided. Nobody knows what will happen in the future"* (922, male).

Table 7.24 - Occupational Types and Type of School

Ten Occupational Types	N	Type of School		
		State N=802	Technical N=142	Private N=73
Confident	89	10% 2.4*	4% -2.4*	7%
Satisfied	199	22% 3.5*	8% -3.6*	17%
Social	42	5%	1%	3%
Realist	34	4%	1%	1%
Conscientious	155	15%	16%	12%
Careerist	120	12%	11%	12%
Profit-maker	76	6% -3.8	18% 5*	6%
Explorer	78	8%	5%	11%
Oriented	85	7% -2*	13% 2.3*	8%
Undecided	139	11% -4.4*	23% 3.3*	23% 2.5*
		100%	100%	100%

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or –1.96) are presented.

Secondly, there is a statistically significant association between the three different types of schools and the Ten Occupational Types ($\chi2=71.47$, df=18, p<.01). Results in Table 7.24 give further insight into the distribution of five of the occupational types. Confident and Satisfied occupational types were significant types amongst young women, who were more likely to come from state schools. The humanistic education of state schools seemed to have an impact, especially on young women:

(I would like to be) occupationally, a successful person. To do what I like, and though which, I can express myself as a person. My work benefits myself and society (76, female, state school, Confident).

I plan to study the occupation I like without any pressures from others. What I choose reflect me and satisfy me fully. I will follow a job that is stable and I will peruse my other interests in parallel (629, female, state school, Satisfied).

Profit-maker, Oriented and Undecided occupational types were significant types amongst young men, who were more likely to come from technical schools. Even though technical schools offer a clear vocational orientation, only oriented technical school students reported that they would follow their specialisation: *"Automobile Mechanic"* (246, male, technical school, Oriented). Profit-makers planned to make the most out of their manual specialisation by either: *"I want to follow my father's occupation, that is industry and I think I will be very well settled economically"* (317, male, technical school, Profit-maker), or: *"I will work at my occupation until I am in the economical situation to start my own business. I will work very hard in my own business"* (318, male, technical school, Profit-maker). Undecided technical school students planned to escape from their specialisation, probably these young people were "forced" to go to technical school because of their low grades in combination with the family SES and they were not happy with it. So, some of them were thinking of another option: *"I may become a carpenter or a policeman,"* (311, male, technical school, Undecided); while others were indeed in confusion: *"I do not know I have not thought of it,"* (751, male, technical school, Undecided).

Undecided type was also significant amongst males from private schools, not because of the restriction of options as was the case with technical schools males, but because of the affluence of options: *"I have not decided yet, the options are huge, nevertheless I believe that young people in Cyprus are asked to take this decision very soon"* (544, male, private school, Undecided).

7.2.4 Teacher's Occupation - A Special Case

It is revealed from the analysis of the content of occupational identity that teacher's occupation is a special case. The results have already showed that teaching was favoured by females, who were more likely to come from state school, but who were equally belonging

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to all socioeconomic classes. Interestingly, though, teaching was not related to any particular occupational type. Therefore, young women who wanted to become teachers belong to ten different occupational types and viewed their future occupational selves from different perspectives:

(I want to be a) successful secondary school teacher. Offer my knowledge to the young people. With this occupation I feel pleased and it fulfils me (753, female, Confident).

I want to have an occupation that express me and what I want and not because somebody else imposes it on me (i.e. parents). In an occupation that satisfies me and I love it that is to be a teacher. Get satisfying wages (714, female, Satisfied).

I see myself as a primary school teacher or literature teacher. I will have friendly relationships with my students and good relationships with my colleagues (613, female, Social).

I want to be a secondary school teacher. Good wages. Good working conditions (716, female, Realist).

I would like to become a teacher. To have a stable income. Be able through my occupation to contribute to the social benefit of people and to their psychological development (730, female, Conscientious).

A music teacher, developing an international career abroad (female, Careerist)

Practice the occupation I have chosen, English teacher. Economically settled. Very well off (female, Profit-maker).

I believe that if I try hard I will manage to pass the exams in the area I am interested in Pedagogical Studies. Though it took me some time to decide about my studies, on one hand I am sure about what I want, but on the other hand I do not know if my decision is right (954, female, Explorer).

History teacher (623, female, Oriented).

IT teacher, primary school teacher, bank clerk (992, female, Undecided).

7.2.5 Associations between Occupational Types and Political and Religious Types

The tests of associations between the occupational types and political and religious types are very important to the present study. The construct validity of three classifications was tested; the significant associations between occupational types and political types, and occupational types and religious types showed the heterogeneity and complexity of identity. Moreover, the two cross tabulations shed light on the core argument of the present study: whether identity could be conceptualised as a global concept or should be examined independently in each identity domain.

Table 7.25 - Occupational Types and Political Types

Occupational Types	Political Types									
	True Achieved	Achieved in Progress	Foreclosed to Achieved	True Moratorium	Progress Foreclosed	Fanatic Foreclosed	Beginning Moratorium	Advanced Diffused	Indifferent Diffused	% of types
Confident	23	10 2*	6	8	13 2.9*	4	5	9	11 -2.2*	9%
Satisfied	42	19 2.1*	17	22	19	9 -2*	10	29	32 -2.1*	20%
Social	10	1	1	5	1	3	4	5	12	4%
Realist	7	2	3	6	1	3	2	4	6	3%
Conscientious	39	9	11	12	6	12	19 2.9*	23	23 -2.2*	15%
Careerist	26	6	5	16	9	12	3 -2*	17	24	12%
Profit-maker	17	1	6	5	6	7	5	13	16	8%
Explorer	14	7	6	6	6	2	7	8	22	8%
Oriented	11	4	7	5	6	8	5	10	26 2.3*	8%
Undecided	25	4	2 -2.5*	6 -2*	5	21 3.4*	10	17	46 3.7*	13%
% of types	21%	6%	6%	9%	7%	8%	7%	14%	22%	1008

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

There is a statistically significant association between the ten occupational types and nine political types ($\chi 2$=116.09, df=72, p<.01), which validates the two classifications to one another. Further, the distribution of occupational types across political types shows some degree of congruence, but the variability and the dissimilarity is greater.

Table 7.25 provides evidence to support both arguments. On one hand, it strongly supports the separate empirical examination of occupational and political identities. Two of the polarised political types True Achievers (21%) and Advanced Diffusers (14%) and four of the occupational types: Socials, Realists, Profit-makers and Explorers were distributed equally across all the other types, showing their total independence from each other. The degree of shared variance across the other political and occupational types does not make them identical, thus, they should be treated separately. Additionally, the associations between different types, for example, Confident (achieved type) is associated with Foreclosed in Progress; Oriented type is associated with indifferent diffused, show that some young people were at different developmental levels in different identity domains. On the other hand, the shared variance between the types with the same status supports the existence of a global dimension across domains. The two more "sophisticated" occupational types (i.e., Confident and Satisfied) were more likely to be politically Achieved in Progress and less likely to be Indifferent Diffused. Also, the least advanced occupational type (i.e., Undecided) was more likely to be politically Indifferent Diffused and less likely to be Foreclosed to Achieved or True Moratorium. However, no such global dimension was evidence for moratorium and foreclosure types.

There is a statistically significant association between six[5] occupational types and nine religious types ($\chi 2$=108.29, df=40, p<.01), which validates the two classifications to one another. Further, the distribution of occupational types across religious types show a degree of congruence in some related types, but the variability and the dissimilarity of the associations is greater than before.

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[5] The cross tabulation between ten occupational and nine religious types is not valid because more than 20% of cells have expected count less than 5. So, Social, Realist, Careerist, and Oriented occupational types, which have no significant ASR, are excluded.

Table 7.26 - Occupational Types and Religious Types

Occupational Types	Religious Types									
	Meaningful Achieved	Achieved in Progress	Meaningful Foreclosed	Religious Moratoriu	Open-minded Religious	Fanatical Religious	Church Critics	Casual Foreclosed	Indifferent Diffused	% of types
Confident	6	17	10	20	2	2	5	18	7	12%
Satisfied	11	34	32	40	11	4	16	43	7 -3.7*	27%
Conscientious	12 2*	16	31	28	8	6	13	32	9 -2.1*	21%
Profit-maker	2	8	10	8	2	1	9	22	13 2.1*	10%
Explorer	2	12	14	12	5	5 2.2*	6	15	7	11%
Undecided	1 -2.4*	11 -2*	16	17	1 -2.1*	1	3 -2.5*	53 4.2*	32 5.7*	19%
% of types	5%	14%	15%	17%	4%	3%	7%	25%	10%	728

* Only those Adjusted Standardised Residuals that that indicate significant types at the .05 level (equal or higher than 1.96 or −1.96) are presented.

Evidence from Table 7.26 supports the existence of a global dimension across religious and occupational domains only for diffusion: Undecided occupational type was more likely to belong to Indifferent Diffused and less likely to belong to Meaningful Achieved, Achieved in Progress and Open-minded religious types. However, a group of occupationally undecided young people were in a different developmental stage: They were belonging to Casual Foreclosed religious type. This indicates the separate empirical examination of occupational and religious identities. Confident, Meaningful Foreclosed, Religious Moratorium and Fanatical Religious types were distributed equally across all the other types. Also, the degree of share variance across the other religious and occupational types does not make them identical, thus, they should be treated separately. Finally, two other associations could be explained on the basis of the present research findings: Profit-maker type is associated with Indifferent Diffused religious type; both types were significant amongst technical school males. Conscientious occupational type (those who wanted to make a social contribution) is associated with Meaningful Achieved (those with strong Christian faith).

Synopsis

Young Greek Cypriots mainly described their occupational identity content as a combination of different levels of occupational decision. Different groups of young people extended their description by referring to their parent's occupational input, to their future occupation and to the following occupational values: commitment, fulfilment, success, income, working conditions and working environment.

The relationships between occupational identity content and gender, type of school and SES demonstrated the complexity of identity. Around 75% of both males and females knew what they wanted for their future occupational self. However, males were more likely to look for profit and females were more likely to look for fulfillment, success and social contribution. Although, 30% of males and 70% of females planned to go to university suggesting female emancipation, preferred future occupations were quite traditional. Males were more likely to want to become businessmen, technicians, policemen or footballers and females were more likely to see themselves as teachers, artists or beauticians.

School played a decisive role in future occupational self. Students from state schools were more likely to know what they wanted from a job. Typically they wanted fulfilment and success. Their preferred occupation was professional, teacher and office clerk. Students from private schools tended to be more undecided about their future careers, but where they did identify a choice, the majority wanted to become professionals. Technical school students were more likely to either be certain about their future job or to have no idea; their preferred future occupations were technicians and beauticians.

SES differentiated upper and working class participants only in their preferred future occupations. Upper class young people were more likely to want to become professionals, while working class young people were more likely to become policemen or technicians.

A strong concurrent validation between Occupational Decision variable from ICQ and occupational identity from EOMEIS-2-PRO validated both measures. These tests also indicated the existence of sub-groups within some of the identity statuses, which were better identified by the cluster-analysis.

A cluster analysis of occupational identity elements produced ten meaningful and distinct occupational types, based on occupational values rather than identity statuses: Confident

(9%), Satisfied (20%), Social (4%), Realist (3%), Conscientious (15%), Careerist (12%), Profit-maker (7%), Explorer (8%), Oriented (8%) and Undecided (14%). Unlike all political types, and the majority of religious types, occupational types were distanced from the four identity statuses. Concurrent validity showed that only three of the ten occupational types seemed to have theoretical connection with three of the identity statuses: Careerist type with achievement status, Explorer type with moratorium status and Undecided type with diffusion status. Thus, occupational types resulting from cluster analysis showed a different picture than the four statuses from Identity Status Paradigm. They represent the content of occupational identity in terms of values and beliefs; while the four identity statuses represent the developmental stage of occupational identity in terms of exploration and commitment. It seems that the ten occupational identity types and four identity statuses could complement each other.

One more advantage of the study of occupational identity content is the location of occupational groups across gender and type of school. Confident and Satisfied occupational types were significant amongst young women from state schools due to humanistic education of state schools and young Greek Cypriot women's readiness to enter a career path. The three significant occupational types (i.e., Profit-maker, Oriented and Undecided) amongst young men from technical schools, showed three different ways of adaptation/reaction to the "harsh" work reality, which these young people faced too early. In contrast, indecision amongst males from private school showed their advantage of choice. Interestingly, teacher occupation, which was very desirable amongst young women, had no significant relationship with any one occupational type. Thus, young women would like to become teachers for different reasons.

Finally, this chapter completed the examination of the associations between the occupational and political types and occupational and religious types. Construct validity of three classifications were established. The existence of global identity status across identity domains was evident amongst some young people who were either achieved or diffused in both their occupational and political identities or diffused in both their occupational and religious identities. The variability and heterogeneity amongst occupational, religious and political types support the independent examination of each identity.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

This chapter crystallises the critique of key theoretical issues in the study of identity that have been the focus of this thesis. At the core of this critique is the value of two opposing positions in identity research: the grand theories which attempt to produce an overarching model, functional in all contexts and providing a unified construct of identity; and local, context specific treatments of a multi-facetted concept of identity. The grand theories have the advantage of generalisabilty, the context specific theories the advantage of individual fit. In this chapter the evidence is reviewed to assess the goodness of fit of these opposing theoretical perspectives.

8.1 Global Identity versus Domain Specific Identities

Overall results and tests from EOMEIS-2-PRO questionnaire show that identity does not develop entirely synchronously across its domains. Therefore, global identity can not be used to represent the identity status in each identity domain. This conclusion is in agreement with De Haan & Schulenberg (1997) and Goossens (2001) who proposed the separate study of each identity domain. Although other studies investigating adolescent identity have used different methodologies and different samples from different countries from the present study (De Haan & Schulenberg, 1997; Goossens, 2001; Kroger, 1986; Pastorino, Dunham, Kidwell, Bacho, & Lamborn, 1997; Rogow, Marcia, & Slugoski, 1983) it can be clearly generalised that the transition of identity is not synchronous across its domains.

The separate examination of identity domains is also strongly advocated by the tests of construct validity for global and domain specific identities. In the present study the factor analysis for global identity gave a blurred picture with only foreclosure status emerging as a distinct factor. Factor analyses of other studies has never given four distinct factors; the maximum factors that emerged were three (Bennion & Adams, 1986; Grotevant & Adams, 1984). However, factor analyses conducted on the three identity domains produced four separate factors representing the four identity statuses for occupational and political identity and three factors for religious identity. Melgosa (1987) also found four separate factors for occupational identity and based on that suggested the separate examination of occupational identity.

In order to re-examine the synchronicity of identity transition and to triangulate the results from EOMEIS-2-PRO, the results from the Identity Content Questionnaire (ICQ) were used. There were significant associations in political, religious and occupational identities as measured by the two different techniques, EOMEIS-2-PRO and ICQ demonstrating convergent validity. Tests of association across political, religious and occupational identity types showed significant covariance between identity equivalent types across domains. However, the existence of totally independent types and the associations of non equivalent types provided strong evidence for the non synchronous identity transitions e.g., Meaningful Achieved religious type was associated with True Moratorium political type etc. De Haan and Schulenberg (1997) and Goossens (2001) did not find correlations between beliefs in different domains suggesting that each belief system is independent.

Some identities are treated as if they are independent constructs with growing bodies of literature and research. For example, ethnic identity (Phinney, 1989) with roots in Erikson's theory, stands as an autonomous research area. Gender and sex-role identity has a long history in developmental psychology (Butler, 1990) as has occupational identity (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1983). The deconstruction of ISP into domain-specific identities gains theoretical support from symbolic interactionists and social psychologists' who propose the existence of multiple identities within the individual, which are gender and context specific (Hewitt, 1979; Turner, 1982). Additionally, self-concept theory and research have a long tradition of utilising separately the specific self-concepts that are considered as distinguishable entities (Eccles, Adler, & Meece, 1984; Rosenberg, 1979).

Even the evidence from the present study, and from the studies referred to above, concerning the degree of congruence between identity domains cannot be taken as supporting global identity. The results from the present study that show a significant number of young people to belong to the same status or to equivalent identity types in two or three identity domains are not eligible to imply global identity. Moreover, the variability and the dissimilarity of these associations support the separate empirical examination of identity domains. Nonetheless, Cote and Levin (1988) and Van Hoof (1999) are right in questioning ISP as a valid operationalisation of an entirely unified sense of self.

However, the multilevel conceptualisation of self as originally envisaged by James, helping to clarify the confusion between the "I" and "Me" parts of the self, and whether self is a unified or a multiple entity should not be abandoned as there are other ways to operationalise this unity. It seems that Berzonsky's (1989; 1990; 1993) cognitive identity styles manage to capture the unified sense of identity across domains. This is because Berzonsky focused on the implicit cognitive and personality characteristics of the individuals, which are not dependant on any specific content. Whereas, in the present study, both EOMEIS-2-PRO and ICQ measured the "Me" part of the selves of Greek Cypriot young people. The study captures a snapshot of the "symbolic" explicit level of "Me," specific to domain areas (Peck, 2004). This level reveals the multiplicity, heterogeneity and complexity of identity, thus, it is a fruitful area of research.

Although the examination of the unitary sense of self, proposed by Erikson, has been promoted as important in understanding the healthy development of young people, cumulative evidence shows that ISP does not validly measure global identity. Rather domain specific identities are more validly measured and more functional. As Meeus (1996) concludes, domain specific statuses are accurate about what they represent. Thus, the present study focused on the separate examination of each identity domain because each identity construct comes with its own particulars in regard to content and contexts.

8.1.1 Identity Sub-statuses or Identity Types

A significant finding from the examination of the content of each identity domain is the existence of identity sub-statuses or identity types, which are sensitive to individual differences and to particular contexts. A first indication for the existence of meaningful sub-statuses was given by the results of EOMEIS-2-PRO. Less than 50% of young Greek Cypriots were classified in one of the four pure identity statuses; over 30% were classified as low profile and over 20% were classified as transitional in their political, religious and occupational identities. This is a known feature in EOMEIS studies (Adams, 1999) that shows both a methodological weakness and the restriction of the four identity categories in their application to all participants.

Adams (1999) justified the collapsing of low-profile status into moratorium on a test of equivalence on independent variables, however, he did not justify the collapsing of transitional individuals into the other three statuses. In the present study, the composition of both low profile and transition statuses was examined at length.

Association tests between social context variables and both levels of the EOMEIS-2-PRO analysis (both four and six statuses solutions) showed that some characteristics of low profile and transitional individuals were found to be the same as the statuses into which they were collapsed. For example, young Greek Cypriot men were more likely to be in diffusion and transition statuses in their religious and occupational identities suggesting that diffusion and transitional statuses share some variance. Females, on the other hand, were more likely to be in moratorium and low profile statuses in their religious and occupational identities. However, association tests between ICQ and EOMEIS-2-PRO also provided evidence for the different composition of low profile and transition statuses from the pure statuses into which they were collapsed, and these varied across identity domains. For example, in political identity, low profile young Greek Cypriots formed two significant groups: those who were committed and those who were undecided. Theoretically, only the undecided group related to moratorium, however, following EOMEIS coding rules, the committed group were also categorised as moratorium.

Additionally, evidence was provided for variations in the dimensions of exploration and commitment, which explain the existence of sub-statuses within even the pure statuses of achievement, moratorium, diffusion. For example, political achieved individuals formed two significant sub-groups: those committed to politics and those committed to a party; politically diffused individuals formed two significant groups: anti-politics and those having no political commitment; religious moratorium individuals were more likely to belonged to those "believe and enquire" and those "questioning a lot."

The evidence for the variation of the dimensions of exploration and commitment is consistent with recent empirical findings, which identify four rather than two identity dimensions (Luyckx, Goossens, Soenens, Beyers, & Vansteenkiste, 2005). Luyckx et al (2005) used cluster analysis on data from two identity measures to identify empirically Commitment Making (the decision taken), Identification with Commitment (showing relevant behaviour), Exploration in Breadth (exploring different options) and Exploration in Depth (exploring the particular choice). It seems that political achieved Greek Cypriots who were committed to politics as a duty exemplified the identification with their commitment to civic participation. The same can be applied to those who were committed to a party and also discussed their involvement; however, those who just had a party preference could only be seen as satisfying the criteria for Commitment

Making. Two religious moratorium sub-groups represent the two exploration dimensions. "Questioning a lot" represents Exploration in Breadth and "believe and enquire" represents Exploration in Depth. In occupational moratorium, the sub-group who were "thinking of different jobs" was exploring in-breadth, while the sub-group who were "thinking about a job" were exploring in-depth.

Evidence, from the present study and other recent identity research, points to the conclusion that the four identity statuses of ISP are restrictive and narrow categories, which can not be applied to all individuals, and are not efficient at capturing the variation of identity. As an alternative, a person-centered approach is proposed, such as cluster analysis, which produces meaningful identity types that are sensitive to individual differences. Further, identity types vary across domains because they reflect the specific content and context of each identity; however, many of them resemble identity sub-statuses or dimensions that have been found in other studies.

Analysis of political identity content elements produced nine political types that showed significant associations with the four identity statuses of EOMEIS-2-PRO. Specifically, Advanced Diffused and Indifferent Diffused are related to diffusion status. Advanced Diffused Greek Cypriots avoided exploring or being committed to politics because of their anti-political attitudes. Archer and Waterman (1990) identified a similar type, the "alienated diffusion" individuals who did not have any commitments because of their anger towards society. Cote and Levin's (2002) "drifter" is a similar type who exhibits more personal resources (i.e., in the present study, the ability for extended anti-political arguments) but lacks integration into a community. Indifferent Diffused type is similar to "apathetic diffusion" (Archer & Waterman, 1990) where commitments is avoided because of a sense of hopelessness; or to the "refuser" (Cote & Levine, 2002) who refuses the entry to adulthood.

Foreclosed to Achieved, Progress Foreclosed and Fanatic Foreclosed were associated with foreclosure status. Foreclosed to Achieved type is similar to open foreclosed (Archer and Waterman, 1990). These individuals have commitments but are tolerant to others' positions. Progress Foreclosed is similar to Kroger's (1995) "developmental" foreclosure, individuals who are willing to enter into a moratorium. Fanatic Foreclosed is similar to "closed foreclosed" (Archer and Waterman, 1990), or "firm" foreclosure (Kroger, 1995), individuals who are dogmatic about their commitments. True

Moratorium and Beginning Moratorium types were sub-statuses of moratorium. Both types showed Exploration in Breadth but True Moratorium showed commitment to an interest in politics.

Finally, True Achieved and Achieved in Progress types were related to both achievement and moratorium statuses. Here they reflect the "achieving commitment" status that has been defined and utilised by Meeus (1996). In "achieving commitment," present exploration is high, while this is not the case for achievement. The two achieved political types also reflected a different combination of identity dimensions (Luyckx et al., 2005). True Achieved showed Identification with Commitment and Exploration in Depth, while Achieved in Progress showed Commitment Making and Exploration in Depth.

Therefore, the classification of young people into nine meaningful and distinct political types provides a differentiated perspective on identity statuses allowing for a critical re-consideration of ISP. This classification practically identified all participants, while the four identity statuses were not representative of all young people. So, identity statuses seem restricted categories, which were insufficient to capture the meaningful complexity of adolescent identity structures. On the other hand, political identity classification partly supports the ISP as these political types related to identity statuses; they are rather sub-categories of the four statuses.

Religious identity elements also produced nine types. Six of them showed significant associations with the four identity statuses from EOMEIS-2-PRO. Specifically, Indifferent Diffused type was associated with diffusion status and exhibits features of pure diffusion as described by Marcia (1980). Meaningful Foreclosed and Casual Foreclosed types were associated with foreclosure status. Meaningful Foreclosed type is somewhat similar to "appropriated foreclosed" (Archer & Waterman, 1990) that refers to individuals who are dedicated entirely to a particular life style; these young people showed identification with their commitments (Luyckx et al., 2005). Casual Foreclosed type even though related to the specific context of Greek Orthodox Christians could be parallel to "carefree diffusion" (Luyckx et al., 2005). This type is characterised by low Exploration in Breadth and in Depth, moderate Commitment Making, and low to moderate Identification with Commitment.

Religious Moratorium type is modified by the specific context of Christian Orthodox religion. Although it was associated with moratorium status, it can be characterised as an active "developmental" foreclosure (Kroger, 1995). Individuals were committed to options presented to them by their parents but they were exploring them in depth; however, they did not experience Exploration in Breadth of other religious options.

Achieved in Progress was related to both achievement and moratorium statuses, providing evidence for the "achieving commitment" status of Meeus (1996). Meaningful Achieved was related to achievement status and provided evidence for the Identification with Commitments dimension (Luyckx et al., 2005). These individuals seemed more likely to maintain their religious commitments. If they followed this path, then according to Stephens et al (1992) they would regress to foreclosure status.

The analysis of the content of religious identity partially validates ISP. However, three religious identity types, which emerged did not fit within the ISP framework. Even less validation of ISP is provided by the association between occupational identity from EOMEIS-2-PRO and the ten occupational types from ICQ. Only three types proved to have theoretical and statistical connection with three of the ISP identity statuses: Careerist type with achievement status, Explorer type with moratorium status and Undecided type with diffusion status. Seven occupational types were unrelated to the four identity statuses. These findings lead to the conclusion that the reductionism of Marcia and ISP researchers, especially when they used the rich interview data, is parallel to Day's (2001) characterisation of Kohlberg's and Fowler's approach as "reductionist hermeneutic of reading narrative texts in an overwhelming concern with the hunt for stage and structural features of participants' discourse" (Day, 2001: 179). Such an approach prevented the recognition that occupational identity is closely related to work values, as the present study evidenced and occupational psychologists have shown (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999; Super, 1980).

Generally, evidence from the cluster analyses of the content of three domains of identity showed differences in the "meaning" of identity statuses and identity types that are related to contents and contexts. These findings reflect the neo-Eriksonian views of Schwartz (2005) that identity evidence should present and explain the interaction between assigned identity elements (e.g., gender, religion, nationality) and the meanings that individuals give to those assigned identity elements. The present study is consistent

with this recommendation to move the study of identity beyond the "narrow and limiting theoretical approach" of ISP "using a more multidimensional model of identity that integrates personal and social aspects of self... to make identity useful in the applied arena" (Schwartz, 2005: 296).

8.1.2   Identity Development of Greek Cypriot Adolescents

Identity development or identity transitions could be best understood and explained by the use of longitudinal designs. A cross-sectional survey as in the case of this study, allows for a snapshot of the identity statuses of young people. This snapshot is not appropriate to detect identity transition (the move from one status to another) but it can identify the various statuses in each identity domain that young people of the same age belong to. More importantly the present study facilitates the understanding of the way that context relates to identity status and offers an insight to identity transition because it showed that identity statuses are not global, but rather domain specific, and identity status within domain is associated with context. These findings dispute developmental stage model of identity as identity status is rather reactive to context. Therefore, as Meeus et al (1999) claimed, ISP is not a developmental theory but a descriptive system for transitions in identity status. These transitions seem to be triggered by context and young people's various statuses in various domains reflect contextual influences.

The existence of various identity statuses in that age does contradict Erikson's (1963) theory that young people will normally establish a coherent identity by the end of adolescence, that is to belong to the same identity status. It is also contrary to Waterman's developmental hypothesis, which claims that identity progress (i.e., identification of moratorium and achievement) is limited in high school years. The variability and complexity of identity statuses and identity types among the same age cohort of adolescents reflect Harter's (1999) empirical assumption that adolescents develop more complex and multilevel self-concepts and parallels to Loevinger's (1987) findings that show enormous variability of ego stages within adolescence. It agrees also with the findings of Meeus (1996) and Meeus et al (1999) that identity transitions can be detected in high school age.

This snapshot also identified Greek Cypriot adolescents who were in different statuses and different types in the identity domains of politics, religion and occupation. For example, young people who were in diffusion status in their political identity were more

than likely to be in foreclosure status in their religious identity, suggesting that very dedicated religious young people were not interested in politics. Another religiously dedicated group, the Meaningful Achieved type was associated with True Moratorium political type. Perhaps young people who had thought carefully about their religious identity and made a firm commitment now had the opportunity to explore their political identity.

This spacing out of the resolution of different domains of identity is in accordance with Coleman's focal theory, which proposes that young people choose to space out the handling of different issues (Coleman & Hendry, 1990). In this way they may proceed normally, without any identity crisis, into adulthood over a span of years, with different (identity) issues coming into focus at different times. It is individually sensitive to look at young people as having various identities in various statuses instead of trying to categorise a young person with, for example, a global diffused identity. Likewise, self-concept theorists (Bolognini, Plancherel, Bettschart, & Halfon, 1996; Eccles, Lord, & Midgley, 1991; Young & Mroczek, 2003) focused on young people's domain-specific self-concepts and found that the rate of change differed across domains.

Concerning the developmental and psychological quality of each status, the analysis of identity content supported with caution Waterman's (1999a) claim that achievement is the most developmentally sophisticated status, diffusion is the least sophisticated status and moratorium and foreclosure are intermediate in developmental sophistication. This claim is based on the evidence that achievement related types exhibit the richest identity capital concerning values, beliefs and the demonstration of exploration and commitment (Cote, 1996b); diffusion related types exhibit the poorest identity capital; while foreclosure and moratorium related types exhibit an intermediate identity capital. However, these assumptions should be treated with extra caution as the developmental and psychological quality of each status should be considered in relation to the specific context. For example, foreclosure status is developmentally more sophisticated (i.e., Progress Foreclosed exhibits richer identity capital than True Moratorium) and psychologically adaptive in the context of Orthodox tradition. Similarly, Meeus et al (1999) found that foreclosure status is more advanced than moratorium in their Dutch sample. However, these findings can not be generalised. Especially, in the contemporary post-modern era, moratorium and diffusion statuses are considered more adaptive (Cote & Levine, 2002).

Concerning the debate, whether identity statuses (or sub-statuses) rank ordered along a developmental continuum: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement or form a typology of qualitatively different approaches to the task of identity formation, the findings of the present study are qualified to support the typology side. In other words, identity statuses and sub-statuses seem to be types that consist of specific content elements and have the potentiality to transit in any other status, rather than to be developmental stages that progress along the specific continuum.

The potentiality of a type to transit in another type (flexibility) or to remain stable (stability) seems to depend on the specific content elements as well as contextual challenges or restrictions. For example, some types such as Progress Foreclosed, Achieved in Progress, True Moratorium have the potentiality for transition (i.e., open-mind, intolerance, exploration); while other types such as Indifferent Diffused, Fanatic Foreclosed, True Achieved exhibit elements that provide stability (i.e., closed-mind, intolerance, commitment).

However, as identity statuses are responsive to context, contextual influences can prompt both "flexible" and "inflexible" types to transit or remain stable. For example, the new economical prospects of the European Union membership of Cyprus will encourage occupational exploration and challenge any identity type to achieve an occupational identity. In opposition, the pressure to maintain the family's party affiliation can stabilise foreclosure and conform the other identity types.

Finally, this snapshot allows for comparison with similar studies. The classification of Greek Cypriot adolescents in each identity domain is now compared with Skorikou and Vondracek's (1998) results on identity statuses of American adolescents. Both studies used EOMEIS with the same age of adolescents. Although Skorikou and Vondracek (1998) used continuous scores and the present study used categorical scores, comparisons are still possible (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 – *EOMEIS Results from Skorikou & Vondracek's (1998) and Present Study*

Statuses	Occupational identity		Religious Identity		Political identity	
	Skorikou & Vondracek* (1998)	Present study**	Skorikou & Vondracek* (1998)	Present study**	Skorikou & Vondracek* (1998)	Present study**
Achievement	20%	22%	5%	18%	7%	14%
Moratorium	42%	46%	20%	48%	11%	44%
Foreclosure	6%	8%	40%	15%	10%	20%
Diffusion	32%	24%	35%	19%	72%	22%

*continuous scores were used, **categorical scores were used

In occupational identity results are very similar, showing Greek Cypriots to be slightly more "advanced." This evidence agrees with other findings (Bosma, 1992; Bynner, 1998; Kroger, 1993; Schulenberg, Goldstein, & Vondracek, 1991; Silbereisen, Vondracek, & Berg, 1997) in the conclusion that a major developmental task of adolescence is the formation an occupational identity. Greek Cypriot adolescents were in more "advanced" statuses in political and religious identities than their American and European counterparts, who were more likely to be in foreclosure (Jackson, Dunham, & Kidwell, 1990; Meilman, 1979; Skorikou & Vondracek, 1998) or in diffusion statuses (Goossens, 2001) in their religious identity and in diffusion status in their political identities (Archer, 1982; Goossens, 2001; Jackson, Dunham, & Kidwell, 1990; Meilman, 1979). The Western utilitarianism was not predominant in Greek Cypriot adolescents who were equally concerned with their religious and political identities as with their occupational identity.

Identity context seems to be the underlying factor of this identity advancement of Greek Cypriot adolescents. The tense political problem, the strong Christian Orthodox tradition, the affluent economical situation not only encouraged young Greek Cypriots to explore and to form commitments on the specific domains of identity but provide them with rich identity content. In other words, identity content as it is presented in the following sections reflects the macro-context of the particular society.

8.2 Political Identity in Cyprus' Cultural Historical Context

The analysis of the content of the political identity of young Greek Cypriots revealed the particular political values, beliefs and attitudes of Greek Cypriot society. The Cypriot political context, where the issues of partition give rise to much debate and

media coverage, the controversies between left and right-wind parties, turbulence history pressurise young people to form a political position and to adopt the relevant political values of the society. Studies in countries characterised by similar political instabilities and conflicts have found that young people's political socialisation is highly developed. For example, the Catholic and Protestant adolescents in Northern Ireland, growing up in political tensions, social inequality and terrorism, showed clear political choices (Whyte, 1999).

Youniss and Yates (1999) reported that in those contexts of political conflict, young people have to choose whether to sustain the historical conditions on which the tensions are based, to seek a resolution that will lead to a peaceful future or to become apolitical. In the first two categories belong the young people who are politically involved. In the present study, around half of young Greek Cypriots showed interest in politics (54%), had a political commitment (48%) and declared political exploration (50%). Their political attitudes showed whether they supported or rejected the internal political tension between the right and left wing parties that is grounded in historical conflict, especially the overthrow of Archbishop Makarios in 1974 by right wing extremists, which was used as an excuse for Turkish troops to occupy the northern part of Cyprus. Only 6% of the new generation of Greek Cypriots maintained this fanatical political attitude, while 37% showed political tolerance. It seems that time and the succession of the opposing political parties in government has reduced polarisation in home politics.

The apolitical category represents less than half of the participants: 45% showed either a low interest or an indifference to politics; 49% were not committed to politics; 40% showed an absence of exploration; 38% showed an avoidant political attitude. These young Greek Cypriots might reflect the Western utilitarian style (Jackson, Dunham, & Kidwell, 1990) where individualism and self-interest prevails (Yates & Youniss, 1999). The affluent economic situation of Cyprus and the widespread Western life-style of Greek Cypriots may promote the apolitical position. Probably these young people would be interested in other forms of participation in society, reflecting a wider notion of politics (Roker, Player, & Coleman, 1999). Another reason for avoiding political involvement was the disappointment from the long and unsuccessful talks between the two communities and the inefficiency of politicians. Clearly the 11%, who declared anti-political views, justified it on these grounds.

Two opposite political types emerged, those who are politically engaged and those who are apolitical. These findings correspond to evidence from other key political studies. Nie et al's (1996) study of American adults and Bynner et al's (2003) analysis of study of young British in "16-19 Initiative" identified a factor called "political engagement" that includes interest in politics and other forms of political participation. Fiske et al (1990) used the term "political expertise" to describe the politically involved citizens who were also distinguished by their political knowledge. On the other end of the spectrum, a significant proportion of British youth showed political alienation such as lack of interest in politics, ignorance of political process, had no party identification (Banks et al., 1992). These opposite aspects of "political engagement" are treated as one broad dimension:

> That represented at one end by people who express a high level of interest in politics, have coherently organised attitudes, and have a political identity that is relatively stable and intelligible to others, and at the other by people who express little interest, who have unstable, unrelated attitudes, and who lack any strongly held political identity that can be coherently communicated to or recognised by others (Frazer & Emler, 1997: 177).

The person-centered approach used in the present study was able to classify precise political types across the spectrum of this dimension that corresponds to existing findings as well as the local reality. Thus, "political expertise" was represented by three advanced political types: True Achieved (21%), Achieved in Progress (6%) and Foreclosed to Achieved (6%). Although these types were characterised by interest in politics, political commitment, political exploration and political tolerance, some distinct features made each type unique. Foreclosed to Achieved type showed the highest degree of political tolerance, similar to that observed in other studies from very different contexts. In Nie et al's (1996) study this set of attitudes is named democratic "enlightenment" and is defined by commitment to democratic principles, equality of rights and tolerance for cultural diversity. In Bynner et al's (2003) study "egalitarianism" is identified and is defined by beliefs in sexual and racial equality, etc. Achieved in Progress type is distinguished by the high degree of independence from family's political position. The struggle for independence from the family is one of key adolescence issue (Coleman & Hendry, 1990).

True Achieved young Greek Cypriots showed the qualities of "polities" (citizens) valued by the ancient Greek democracy. In the 5th century BC Athenian society, each citizen (man) had the duty to care for the common good; "We regard the man who takes no part in public affairs, not as one who minds his own business, but as good for nothing" (Thucydides, 1966: 37). This political responsibility is still alive in the words of the most advanced political type: *"I am interested in the political developments in my country, I worry about my country; I believe that everybody should be interested in the political happening...,"* (955, male). It seems that Greek civilisation, which is embedded in history and political tradition, influences the political identity of young Greek Cypriots today.

On the other end, political estrangement was represented by three different types: Beginning Moratorium (7%), Advanced Diffused (13%) and Indifferent Diffused (22%). These young people had little or no interest in politics, showed no political commitments and were not exploring any political position. However, some other features made them distinct. Beginning Moratorium type showed the potential to become politically engaged. Indifferent Diffused types showed a total political apathy; whereas Advanced Diffused types were characterised by strong anti-political attitude. Bank et al (1992), in ESRC 16-19 study, found the same attitude amongst British youth and named it "political cynicism." Bynner and Ashford's (1994) analysis from the same data showed that British young people who were politically indifferent were more likely to show "political cynicism." However, the present analysis distinguishes those who declared anti-political views as more advanced than those who were totally indifferent. Those of the Advanced Diffused type chose to stay out of politics and justified this "anti-political" position in several reasonable ways, such as the self-serving character of politicians, the inability of Greek Cypriot parties and politicians to solve the "Cyprus problem" and the hatred that is generated by political conflicts.

In between three other political types True Moratorium (9%), Progress Foreclosed (7%) and Fanatic Foreclosed (9%) represent the central variations of political engagement dimension. As already mentioned, True Moratorium and Progress Foreclosed corresponded to Marcia's statuses. The Fanatic Foreclosed type is distinguished by strong dedication to a political party or ideology accompanied by political intolerance. It represents a recognisable political type in Greek Cypriot political context, which has been identified and studied in other contexts. Bernstein (1996) identified in the current

era, nationalism or/and populism identities, sub-divisions of fundamentalist identity, that reflect traditional values and beliefs. The adoption of fundamentalist position seems to be an interaction between personality and culture. Rokeach (1960) found that people who have a "closed belief system" (not keen to change) are more likely to embrace ideologies that are based on authoritarianism and intolerance. Social identity studies found that the behaviours, such as ethnocentrism, in-group favouritism, group solidarity and prejudice are associated with the membership of social groups (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002).

8.3 Religious Identity in Cyprus' Orthodox Christian Context

The strong Christian Orthodox tradition in Cyprus exerted an immense influence in young Greek Cypriots religious identity content. The participants, in their majority, described, religious values, beliefs and attitudes, which reflect the Greek Christian Orthodox Faith and differ from the Catholic Church and from Fowler's conceptualisation of faith. The faith of the Greek Orthodox Church is not to be objectively questioned by the individual but is, rather, to be accepted as a doctrine that "is neither conditioned nor shaped by each one's personal experience, but is handed down and is received in the Church" (Alevisopoulos, 1994: 58). The measure of Orthodox faith was defined by Jesus Christ; when St. Thomas asked for a "sign" to believe in His resurrection, Jesus said that "blessed are those who do not see and yet have believed" (John, 1993: 266). Another, more essential meaning of Christian Orthodoxy is that faith is a living experience, an everyday trustful relationship with God (Yannaras, 1983). This specific content and context of Orthodoxy created different meaning of identity statuses.

Markstrom et al (1994) claimed that religious identity is one form of assigned identity, especially in communities characterised by the absence of self-selection. Goffman (1955) explained that a "persona" (in this case Christian Orthodox persona) is a product of social learning and is acted out in accordance with the norms of the society. Within this conceptualisation the strong religious involvement of young Greek Cypriots does not sound strange; the majority (78%) had faith or strong faith, while 18% had loose faith in Christian Orthodox religion. Nearly all participants were supposed to be baptised in infanthood and brought up in Greek Christian Orthodox tradition in order to adopt the standpoint of the "generalised other" (Mead, 1934).

Orthodox tradition is reflected by Durkheim's (1947) concept of the collective conscience that has to exist above the wishes and choices of individuals in order to bind them together. For the Orthodox Church, collective conscience is the essence of Christian life. Self-knowledge and self-exploration concerning religion should take place in the context of communication with other people in order to facilitate choice and commitment to collective values. Self has to be conceptualised collectively through living in a community where its members live not for themselves, but in a unity of love with others and with God. Turner (1984) called this a depersonalisation of the self from unique attributes. He explained that the depersonalisation process transforms individual behaviour into collective behaviour as people perceive and act in terms of a shared collective conception of self.

However, the different levels of religious awareness showed that individual's cognitive style played a role in differentiating collective conscience: 18% young Greek Cypriots were religiously informed; 20% though informed had still some enquiries; 10% were exploring with disbelief; 25% believed blindly and 9% were unconcerned. Berzonsky (1994) and Berzonsky, Macek & Nurmi (2003) in examining the relation between identity processing styles and identity content showed that young people who used an informational cognitive style (exploration and awareness) relied on personal attributes such as personal values, self-knowledge, unique psychological state; those who used a normative cognitive style (believing blindly) relied on collective self attributes such as standards of significant others and referent groups such as family, community, country and religion; and those who used diffused/avoidant cognitive style (indifferent) relied on social self attributes such as one's reputation, popularity and impressions managed for others.

Further, the heterogeneity amongst the nine religious identity types reflected the general social reality of Cyprus. This reality is not solely influenced by the Greek Christian Orthodox collective tradition. Other institutions with an individualistic orientation make their impact on religious identity; i.e., the Western life style, the tourist industry, the rational state system inherited by the British colonial government.

In the contemporary Cypriot context, though all nine types can be identified, only two of them are encouraged by the Christian Orthodox tradition: the Meaningful Achieved (4%) and the Meaningful Foreclosed (15%). Apart from the faith and dedication to Christian Orthodox religion, the basic common feature of these two types is the high

significance of religion in their life and identity. This significance corresponds to Allport and Ross' (1967) intrinsic religiosity that has been internalised and that is an end in itself. The meaning, the fulfilment, the happiness that religion brought to the lives of these two meaningful types resonates with Epstein's (1991) experiential system. Christian Orthodox teaches that only the "experiencing self" (especially by loving) is able to reach God and live a complete Christian life (Alevisopoulos, 1994). Meaningful Foreclosed young people seem to receive orthodoxy only through the experiential system as they also mentioned high involvement in religious attendance and practices. On the contrary, Meaningful Achieved young people seem to use both rational and experiential systems to reach God and live a Christian life, as they explored in depth religion in order to make and then identify with religious commitments.

These two types resemble two of Fowler's types. Meaningful Achieved type is similar to Fowler's "rational critical type," "who seek critically to correlate religious and ideological claims and commitments with reflective experience and with other sources of authority" (Fowler, 2001: 170). Meaningful Foreclosed is in some respect similar to Fowler's "totalising type." Fowler (2001) explained that these fundamentalist and authoritarian people internalised a set of rigid beliefs, taboos and prescribe patterns of thought and action either as a substitute for the struggles of normal ego development, or as a response to trauma or as a condition of membership in an ideologically defined group. Streib (1999) named them fundamentalists governed by tradition. However, in the Greek Cypriot context, Meaningful Foreclosed try to accomplish the basic Christian Orthodox values of love, acceptance and forgiveness, thus they are not characterised by the intolerance of fundamentalists. In other words, the content and context of this foreclosed type provide a different meaning and a more advanced position than a foreclosed type is assumed to exhibit. Instead Fanatical Religious type (3%) exemplified fundamentalism by rejecting other religions and showed a prejudiced stance towards people who had a different religion from Christian Orthodoxy. It seems that the content of Christian Orthodoxy limited the intolerance of fundamentalist to only a tiny proportion.

Achieved in Progress (12%) and Religious Moratorium (18%) types were making in depth exploration of the Christian Orthodox religion, without the breadth of exploration of other religions, as this is considered heretic in the Orthodox tradition. Yoder (2000) viewed such a religious position as an identity barrier, which is imposed externally and

limits the individual's exploration in the specific domain. In this case, although exploration is evident and is considered as an individualisation process (Achieved in Progress declared also high self-reliance) both their childhood and adolescent religious socialisation, dominated by Orthodoxy, limited their selection of religious belief.

In comparison, Arnett and Jensen (2002) in a study with American young people found that their childhood religious socialisation had little influence, because as adolescents they were exposed to diverse influences, which let them choose, combine and form their unique, individualised set of beliefs. It seems though that this individualised style can be identified in a small proportion of the present sample, the Open-minded Religious type (4%). These young Greek Cypriots were characterised by religious tolerance, openness to hear and learn from other religions in the extent to form their own religious beliefs. Western life in Cyprus and the effects of globalisation have started to have an influence.

Church Critics and Casual Foreclosed type are both identifiable religious types in Greek Orthodox culture. They are both characterised by extrinsic religiosity, a self-serving orientation (Allport & Ross, 1967). Church Critics (8%) showed another kind of individualised conception of religion. They were concerned about the social life of the church and the clergy and projected church scandals in order to justify their own behaviour. Casual Foreclosed type (26%) is the polarised type of the sample and a very distinctive group amongst Greek Christian Orthodox people. They reflected Marcia's (1993) conferred identities in combination with extrinsic religiosity. That is they realised that they belonged to a certain social group and had to live up to some prearranged set of ideals, without any intention of questioning them or even finding them meaningful. On the other hand their religious affiliation served the personal, utilitarian aim of giving them a sense of security that they were within their society "norm." It also resembles Hendry and Kloep's (2002) happy stagnation where individuals are happy with their lifestyle (in the present case religious lifestyle) and do not want to meet challenges (concerning the domain of religion).

Finally, Indifferent Diffused (10%) seemed to correspond to two groups: those who showed a religious apathy and the atheist. Fowler (2001) in his studies found that the diffused type has fragmented, incoherent faith, which correlates with limited capacities for intimacy and commitment. Allport and Ross (1967) in their Religious Orientation Scale, named non-religious or antireligious those who showed low intrinsic and low

extrinsic religiosity. Atheist (4%) that seems to be a "norm" in many contemporary cultures is still a foreign type amongst Greek Cypriots. Due to the specific context, the atheist Greek Cypriots might not exhibit the qualities of healthy development and functioning of the atheist of other cultures.

The high level of religiosity of young Greek Cypriots may be associated with healthy functioning according to the evidence from religious research (reviewed by Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1989; Donelson, 1999). Baumeister and Muraver (1996) considered religion as one of the major value bases, which support adolescents in developing their identities, justifying certain ways of doing things and providing criteria for everyday choices. Hendry and Kloep's (2002) theory can be used to explain the potentials of religious young Greek Cypriot to exhibit healthy functioning. Their resource "pool" has a richer (identity) capital; concerning structural resources, they live in a collective Greek Christian Orthodox culture; concerning social resources, they have interaction within a large and trustful network of extended family and community; concerning their skills, they are encouraged to talk out and find support from "good" priests.

The context of Greek Christian Orthodox religion provides a specific identity content that differentiates the meaning of each identity status. What's more in the specific context each identity status is perceived differently. This evidence supports the post-modern view concerning the local specific character of identity. Hall (2000) explains that because identities are constructed within discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices.

8.4   Occupational Identity in Cyprus' European Economy

Young Greek Cypriots were in similar identity statuses in occupational identity as Western samples. Occupational Decision, a categorical variable emerging from ICQ, showed that 43% were sure about their future occupational self; 11% were thinking for a job or a sub-set of jobs; 12% were thinking of different jobs; 28% described their future occupational self; and only 4% had no idea about their future self. Further, both the affluent European standards of living and the traditional values played a significant role in forming occupational identity content that revealed work values, which are well

documented and established in other studies (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999; Super, 1980).

More specifically, when asked by a non-directive, open-ended question to describe their future occupational self, young Greek Cypriots mentioned the following work values: commitment (25%) and fulfilment (30%), which are classified as intrinsic, self-actualisation work values; success (28%), income (31%), working conditions (4%) and working environment (4%), which are classified as extrinsic, materialistic or security work values (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999). The percentages showed that young Greek Cypriots gave almost equal importance to intrinsic and to extrinsic values. This corresponds to findings that showed an increase in importance in utilitarian and individualistic values among young people in Western countries (Sverko, 1999).

Nevertheless, Sinisalo (2002) suggested that work values should be interpreted within the economic and social context of each country as they reflect broader cultural patterns and historical developments. Therefore, the extrinsic, utilitarian values of young Greek Cypriots can be interpreted in terms of the 2000 flourishing Cyprus economy. Although, there was an intensive preparatory period to adapt into European Union standards, prices and taxes did not increase, the tourist industry flourished and new economic prospects were opening. On the other hand, intrinsic values can be interpreted in terms of the traditional values of Cypriot society and the strong humanitarian state education.

What is important is that the findings concerning work values provide generalisability to occupational research that focuses on work values as a fruitful research area. Moreover, the present study has contributed to occupational identity research by using identity content variables to classify distinct and meaningful occupational types. These types resemble the definition of vocational identity, that is:

> …the possession of a clear and stable picture of one's goals, interests and talents. These characteristics lead to relatively untroubled decision-making and confidence in one's ability to make good decisions in the face of some inevitable environmental ambiguities (Holland, Johnston, & Asama, 1993: 1).

They also reflect part of Cote's (1996b) identity capital, as they were based on personal and contextual resources. The ten occupational types reflect the Cypriot context and correspond to other research findings.

The first two occupational types, Confident (9%) and Satisfied (20%) types were characterised by optimism and idealism about their future occupational self. Confident young people were mainly looking for an occupation, which would offer them both success and personal fulfillment. Satisfied young people were looking for an occupation that would primarily offer them personal fulfilment. Relevant optimism for a future career characterised the "six-formers" described by Bank et al (1992). The idealism of young people was described by Piaget's (1970) cognitive theory: Adolescents often think about what is possible and about ideal characteristics of themselves, others and the world. The optimism might be related to the lack of opportunities to engage in realistic work activities. In modern society adolescents do not have adequate opportunities to explore various occupations and match their skills and abilities against specific job requirements. Instead, most of the exploration occurs in schools (Vondracek & Skorikov, 1997).

A smaller proportion of Realist (3%) and Social (4%) occupational types were looking for more tangible work expectations. Realist young people considered good working conditions and good wages. Social young people considered a pleasant working environment with opportunities for good social relationships.

Ros, Schwartz and Surkis (1999) proposed that contribution to society should form a separate work value category of social or relational values. Part of the next group exhibited "contribution to society" social value. Conscientious occupational type (15%) focused on the intrinsic value of commitment. These young people wanted to be committed; many wanted to make a contribution to society and the care for other people in their future jobs. The first relates to the highest moral value in Kohlberg (1981) moral hierarchy, which is rather male-oriented and the latter reflects Gilligan's (1982) highest moral value, which is more women-oriented. Males and females were equally represented in this type. Interestingly, Conscientious young people were more likely to be Meaningful Achieved in religion, an association that validates both types. This association also shows that Conscientious type reflects broader cultural values and expectations.

Careerist (12%) young people were motivated by the extrinsic utilitarian values of success along with a good income. Careerist type is associated with achievement status, showing that these young people have thought things through carefully and come to a

secure decision. Vondracek et al (1995) showed that global-identity-achieved high school students scored significantly lower than any other status individuals on career uncertainty.

Profit-maker (7%) young people were motivated by the materialistic value of high profit either by following an entrepreneur career or taking up a profitable job. The significant association of Profit-makers to Indifferent Diffused religious type validates a commitment to materialistic values. Schmitt-Rodermund and Vondracek (2002) studied entrepreneurial prospects amongst young Germans and found that adolescents who displayed interest, self-efficacy and willingness to expend significant effort predicted the highest level of becoming self-employed in the future.

Explorer (8%), Oriented (8%) and Undecided (14%) occupational types displayed the least identity capital as they did not refer to any work values. Explorer type is associated with moratorium status and Undecided type is associated with diffusion status. Moreover, Undecided type is associated with both political and religious Indifferent Diffused types showing that a global identity dimension characterised these young people in all three identity domains. Undecided young people were the least "advanced" occupational group as they were rather confused concerning their future occupational self. Erikson confirmed that "it is primarily the inability to settle on an occupational identity, which disturbs young people" (Erikson, 1980: 97). Vondracek & Skorikov (1997) showed that global-identity-diffused high school students scored significantly lower than the other identity status groups in occupational aspirations, work interests differentiation and self-efficacy of occupational choice.

Most young people showed a positive future occupational self view. This contradicts Coleman et al's (1977) finding that showed negative future self-concept increasing in British adolescents up to the age of sixteen, which they assumed was a universal trend. The developmental-contextual approach (Vondracek, Lerner, & Schulenberg, 1983) can explain this difference as a result of the complex interrelationships between the developing person and the specific context.

Many of these types exhibited work values, which revealed a "rich" identity capital or a clear sense of occupational identity. These young people according to Vondracek (1995) are able to function effectively within a given context and to establish a competent self-realisation with positive outcomes for their lives. However, we should be cautious of

such generalisation because occupational identity is also related to employability in the labour market. Bynner (1998) showed that identity capital has a complex relationship with employment, influenced by contexts and historical moment.

8.5   Gender: Young Men and Young Women

The present study examined gender comprehensively in order to contribute to the discussion of whether men and women differ in the formation of their identity. First, it should to be stated that in all three identity domains there are several similarities in both identity statuses and contents of young Greek Cypriots men's and women's identities. On the other hand, there are remarkable differences, which reflect known bio-psychological gender differences as well as socio-contextual expectations and restrictions. Some of these patterns are particular to the Greek Cypriot context, while others correspond to wider research findings.

Concerning political identity, young men were more likely to have either high interest or no interest in politics, to have experienced past exploration or no exploration and to show political intolerance. These characteristics classified them to either Fanatic Foreclosed or Indifferent Diffused political types, which were significant amongst young men. Young women were more likely to show low interest in politics, to be uncommitted to political parties, to show present exploration and to have an open-minded political attitude. Accordingly, young females were more likely to be Achieved in Progress and Advanced Foreclosed political types.

Other studies of political identity present a similar picture. For example, Goossens (2001) in a Dutch sample showed that females were more likely to be in diffusion status where males were more likely to be in achievement status. Bynner et al (2003) in a British sample showed that young women were less engaged politically and less politically conservative; but they had more tolerant attitudes than the young men. Although both young Greek Cypriot women and men grew up in a traditional political context, where party affiliation is a family tradition, females due to their relational self (Gilligan, 1982) were more open to explore others' option and consequently were more tolerant; whereas males' foreclosure and intolerance reflected their dispositional agency and separateness (Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). The Greek Cypriot context reinforced males' agency by social expectations of politically involvement, long army service and the responsibility for defending Cyprus.

Concerning religious identity, young men were more likely to have loose faith or no faith and show no interest in examining religion. These characteristics classified them to either Casual Foreclosed or Indifferent Diffused religious types. Young women were more likely to have strong faith and faith and to be well aware or believing and questioning on religious issues. Accordingly, young females were more likely to be Meaningful Achieved, Achieved in Progress and Religious Moratorium religious types.

Donelson's (1999) review of religious identity finds that females are generally at least somewhat more religious than males on a wide range of dimensions such as attending religious services and activities more often, reporting more intensive religious experience, feeling closer to God, and being more involved in religious social activities. The evidence suggests that young Greek Cypriot women were more likely to be religious, as religion parallels with women's relational identity. Context reinforces religiosity by expecting women to be concerned with keeping the religious customs and traditionally practising philanthropy within the community.

Despite the strong conservative context of Orthodoxy, Greek Cypriot women were more open to explore religious issues as they were with political issues. Males on the other hand showed conservatism in both domains. Schwartz's (1992) analysis of conservatism in three basic values: security, conformity and tradition reflect the style of a significant number of Greek Cypriot young men. Females' capacity to be open and explorative, even in traditional societies and males' conservatism have been identified in other domains. Kloep and Hendry (1997) found that Albanian university female students moved significantly from patriarchal values towards sexual permissiveness, while males remained more traditionally oriented.

Concerning occupational identity, around 75% of both young Greek Cypriot males and females knew what they wanted for their future occupational self, however, there were some notable differences. Young women were more likely to be in achievement or moratorium statuses, to look for fulfilment, success and social contribution; the majority (70%) planned to go to higher education where they looked for traditional occupations such as teachers, artists or beauticians. They were also more likely to belong to Confident, Satisfied and Social occupational types. Young men were more likely to be in diffusion status, to look for profit, to belong to Profit-makers, Oriented and Undecided occupational types and preferred to become businessmen, technicians,

policemen or footballers. The less advanced males' occupational identity partly reflects the postponement of their occupational plans due to the two years of compulsory army service immediately after the secondary school.

Although women were in more advanced statuses and exerted "richer" identity capital, their career decisions reflected both social expectations and personal prioritising of family plans. An interesting example is the teacher's occupation, which was favoured amongst females who were more likely to come from state school but who were from all socioeconomic classes and occupational types. Although they identified different qualities of being a teacher, they all valued the good working hours (teachers in Cyprus work until 1.00 pm and have long holidays) that would enable them to make a family and raise children.

These findings replicated the robust evidence on gender differences in career interests, which has been found to be consistent with traditional gender role stereotypes. Similarly, Eccles et al (1984) showed that gender differences in career interests are likely to be due to value expectancies regarding the rewards and costs of future occupations. In the ESRC 16-19 study, gender-stereotype career choices were apparent especially in those young people who attained vocational training (Banks et al., 1992). Vondracek (2003) explained that occupational gender-typing has been shown to precede gender-typing of personality characteristics and other social behaviours and it is likely to contribute to the persistence of occupational gender segregation because it represents a mechanism through which boys and girls develop preconceptions about the gender-appropriateness of occupations.

Overall the evidence can support several conclusions on gender issues. Firstly, it supports ISP confirmation that identity development is more complex for females than for males (Archer, 1985; 1989; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Waterman, 1993a) as females were in more "advanced" statuses and exerted "richer" identity capital. Females also engage in identity issues in both private and public spheres (Cote, 1996a). Secondly, it supports the conclusion that: "young women appeared to act as catalysts towards attitudinal shifts...by challenging traditional expectations and behaviours more willingly than their male peers" (Kloep & Hendry, 1997: 18). Thirdly, gender similarities and differences of this study advocate a flexible conceptualisation of men's and women's identities, a mid position between stereotyping

and post-modern deconstruction (Bradley, 1996; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). Simply, gender is an important factor in identity construction, which varies across domains and contexts. Nevertheless, gender differences are greater when coupled with differences in education and social class.

8.6   Education: State, Vocational and Private

Education has been identified by sociologists as a key institution that exerts influence on identity formation (Bernstein, 1996; Bourdieu, 1986; Durkheim, 1947; Foucault, 1982). Erikson (1968) considered higher education as an important type of moratorium that enables adolescents to explore identity options. Indeed Adams and Fitch (1983) showed that educational environments promoted thought expanding, analytical and critical awareness of societal issues and facilitated identity development. Reitzle and Vondracek (2000) found that education and gender are the main factors accounting for most variability in the timing of career. However, empirical investigation on the impact of different types of education in identity formation is limited. There is also a need to study secondary education students (Schwartz, 2005). The present study contributes to this research area by examining how the three different types of secondary education in Cyprus influence identity statuses and content in the domains of politics, religion and occupation.

Political identity status is not associated with type of education. This reflects rather the strong political context of Greek Cypriot society that is also evident in the most "advanced" political type, the True Achieved, which is adopted by around 20% of students of each type of education. Political identity content, though, revealed that the type of education had a certain impact on specific groups of students. Male students from private schools were more likely to be Fanatic Foreclosed, reporting interest in politics, commitment to a political party and political intolerance. In contrast, male students from technical schools were more likely to be Indifferent Diffused, showing no political interest, no political commitment or exploration and political avoidance. Alternatively, female state school students were more likely to be Achieved in Progress or Advanced Foreclosed, showing present exploration and political tolerance.

The above three patterns are related to the particularities of the Cypriot context but they also corresponded to evidence from other studies. Roker and Banks (1993) found that private school students were significantly more politically involved than state school

students. Although their sample only included female students, their interpretation can be equally applied to the present study. The private school promotes a sense of personal confidence, competitiveness and articulation. A complimentary explanation for the difference between the politically engaged male private school students and politically alienated male technical school students is their educational attainment. The students of the particular private school show high educational achievements, while students of technical schools are usually those with the poorest grades. In the ESRC 16-19 study, interest in politics was substantially higher in those in the higher attainment groups and substantially lower to those in the lower attainment groups (Banks et al., 1992). Frazer and Emler (1997) in a review on the same issue concluded that education and the range of educational experiences and accomplishments in adolescence has been shown to be strongly linked in a variety of ways to political outcomes. Similarly, the humanistic education of state schools seems to reinforce female's characteristics of exploration and tolerance.

Religious identity seems to be influenced by the religious education (RE) offered in each type of school. State school students, who received more hours of RE, combined with a Christian Orthodox and humanistic school ethos, were more likely to be in achievement status, to have strong faith or faith and to be well aware of religious issues. Both males and females from state school were more likely to belong to the Meaningful Foreclosed type, while female state school students were more likely to belong to the Meaningful Achieved and Achieved in Progress religious types. Technical school students, who received less hours of RE combined with a non-academic environment, were more likely to be in diffusion status, to believe in religion without exploration or to be disinterested. These characteristics seem to represent the two significant religious types amongst male technical school students, the Casual Foreclosed and the Indifferent Diffused. Students from private schools who received less hours of RE combined with a religiously diverse environment, were more likely to be in diffusion status, to have loose faith or no faith, to question religion or be disinterested. Both male and female private school students were more likely to be Open-minded Religious type, while male private school students were also more likely to be Indifferent Diffused.

Although, religious identity research is limited, there are a few relevant findings and these are consistent with the present findings. Benson et al (1989) reported that 1,000 hours of classroom instruction in religion had a long term impact on adolescent

religiousness. State education in Cyprus (primary and secondary) offers this amount of RE. On the other hand, Arnett and Jensen (2002) found that adolescents' exposure to diverse religious influences allowed them to form individualised religious beliefs. Private schools are quite diverse in terms of students' and teachers' religious backgrounds. However, the strong role of family influence on religious identity formation should not be ignored (Benson, Donahue, & Erickson, 1989). Students from very religious families are reinforced in state schools to become one of the three advanced religious types, while in the non-intellectually challenging environment of technical schools are reinforced to become Casual Foreclosed.

The type of education showed a straightforward impact on occupational identity. Private school students were more likely to be in moratorium status; they tended to be more undecided about their future careers, but where they did identify a choice, the majority wanted to become professionals. Thus, Undecided type was significant amongst males from private schools because "... *options are huge*" (544, male, private school, Undecided). Private school students combined high academic abilities with high aspirations that were coupled with family economic and cultural capital. Bynner (1998) suggested that children from affluent homes who acquire both the cognitive and non-cognitive elements of identity capital, are more likely to be assured of future employment.

The humanistic education of state schools seemed to have an impact, especially on young women, who were more likely to look for fulfilment and success and their preferred occupation was teacher. Likewise, Sinisalo (2002) found that gymnasium females from three cohorts scored consistently lower in extrinsic values and higher in intrinsic values.

Unexpectedly, technical school students were more likely to be in diffusion status. This finding was explained by the investigation of identity content. The significant number of male technical school students who were Undecided, explained that they had no idea about their future occupational self or they were thinking of another option (most commonly policemen or army officers). Probably these young men were "forced" to go to technical school because of their low grades in combination with the family SES. The expected significant type amongst male technical school students is the Oriented, these young men were certain about their future job declaring their technical specialisation;

they were similar to Schulenberg et al's (1991) category of male students who had low educational aspirations, high career certainty and were attracted to technology and outdoor activities. Another significant type amongst technical school students was the Profit-maker, who planned to make the most of their manual specialisation by opening their own enterprise. However, interest is not enough for assuring entrepreneurial prospects, self-efficacy and willingness to expend significant effort are also needed (Schmitt-Rodermund & Vondracek, 2002).

Banks et al (1992) in ESRC 16-19 study, described a very similar group to technical school male students, who had poor educational attainment either entering dead end jobs or becoming unemployed. Nevertheless, the tourist industry in Cyprus produces a high demand for manual jobs such as builders, plumbers, carpenters, etc. Therefore, the career trajectory of Greek Cypriot young technical school males would be somewhat more prosperous than the "building operative lads."

The present study contributes to an under-investigated area, namely the impact of different secondary educational systems on political, religious and occupational identities. The results show that these three educational systems in combination with gender foster some distinct identity types, which are also influenced by educational attainment and family background.

8.7   Socioeconomic Status: Upper, Middle and Working Class

Although socioeconomic status is considered as one of the contextual factors that influences identity, ISP research has generally ignored the study of economically disadvantaged adolescents (Phillips & Pittman, 2003; Schwartz, 2005). In contrast, studies on political socialisation and occupational identity examined the SES impact on identity. The present study contributes to this research area by examining the relationship of the socioeconomic status of the participants to the statuses and content of political, religious and occupational identities.

Concerning political identity content, there was a significant distinction between upper and working classes. Upper class young people were the most politically engaged group characterised by interest in politics, commitment to politics, present exploration and open-minded political attitude. These characteristics classified them into the most advanced political type, the True Achieved and also to True Moratorium. On the other end of the "political engagement" continuum, young working class men from technical

school were more likely to have no interest, to show no exploration, and to avoid politics, which classified them in Indifferent Diffused type.

A similar diversity in levels of political engagement has been found among British young people in the ESRC 16-19 study. Political engagement was highest among the young people from upper (professional families) (Bynner, Romney, & Emler, 2003); while "building operative lads" were rather apolitical (Banks et al., 1992). This finding for technical school working class students echoes the notion that the educational system contributes to social reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Alternatively, Frazer and Emler (1997) propose that social class mediates the relationship between educational attainment and political participation.

In religious identity, upper class participants were more likely to be in diffusion status and classified into Open-minded and Church Critics religious types. Working class men from technical schools were more likely to be in foreclosure status and classified as Casual Foreclosed. These findings reflect broader family values and lifestyles, where upper class exhibits materialistic values and open, progressive styles and working class holds tradition and normative style.

In occupational identity, upper class participants were more likely to be in moratorium status and wanted to become professionals. In an empirical test of identity capital, Cote (1997) was able to show that those from the upper social class had the affluence to afford a longer moratorium period. Working class participants were more likely to be diffused. Yoder (2000) explained that socioeconomic status, educational opportunities and gender limit the individual's exploration or/and commitment in all or some domains.

The social class showed less discriminatory power than the combination of education and gender variables, probably because Cypriot social class structure has a short history and parents invest in education to ensure the social mobility of their children. Although it is difficult to disentangle the effects of social class and education, there is a sharp discrimination between participants from the upper and the working classes that raises the issue of structure versus agency.

8.8   Identity Agency and Identity Structure

An essential issue of identity is whether agency as prescribed by ISP researchers is possible. The ISP viewed individuals as autonomous agents in charge of their identity

formation (Adams & Marshall, 1996). Cote (1996b) extended this by proposing that individuals' investment in their personal and social assets assists them in negotiating their "identity capital" in demanding contemporary conditions. In the same vein, Baumeister and Muraver (1996) and Giddens (1991) proposed that individuals have to create and sustain individuated, self-actualised identities in order to adapt to the changing global realities.

In general, findings showed a high degree of variability amongst individuals, even those from similar educational and social economic backgrounds, suggesting agency in identity development. On the other hand, social structure exerted its impact on identity. For example, the individualism of Achieved in Progress and Religious Moratorium young people was restricted by the Christian Orthodox context to an in depth exploration of only one religion. Socioeconomic status played a crucial role in identity formation for specific groups of people. A significant group of young, working class men from technical school were politically indifferent, where a significant group of upper class participants were highly politically engaged. This relationship between social class and political identity is replicated, even in the strong political environment of Cyprus.

Therefore, social structural inequalities, such as social class, restricted personal agency. In such cases, it is unfair to assume that the disadvantaged young people exert the same degree of agency as the more privileged young people. A few researchers have sensitised the research community to the unjust pressure put on young people with poorer identity capital who fail to achieve an identity (Brannen, Lewis, Nilsen, & Smithson, 2002; Foddy & Kashima, 2002; Yoder, 2000).

Nevertheless, Cote & Levine (2002) suggested that agency and structure should not be treated as bipolar alternatives, but should be treated as a relationship between agency and structure that varies with historical and cultural context. For example, the pre-modern societies encourage foreclosure, modern societies encourage achievement and post-modern societies encourage diffusion and moratorium.

The present study develops this idea by proposing that the relationship of agency and structure can apply simultaneously to the same society in the same historical time but across different institutions in the exo-and macro-contexts. In the Greek Cypriot society of the end of 20th century, the Greek Orthodox Church encouraged Meaningful

Foreclosed religious type, the political situation encouraged True Achieved political type and the affluent economical situation in combination with tradition encouraged Conscientious and Careerist occupational types and gender-stereotypical occupational choices. However, these relationships would not be representative unless other layers of structural inequalities, such as gender, educational system and social class, mediate the agency of individual in each identity domain.

8.9   Universal as opposed to Local Specific Identity Theories

Post-modern theorists (Bauman 1992; 1996; Gergen, 1991; Hall, 1992; Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997) attack the universalism of grand theories such as Erikson's identity theory and Marcia's ISP. Erikson sacrificed attention to the diversity of human experience in service of abstract, universal principles and for nomothetic knowledge. Likewise, Marcia's heavy conceptual investment in the four category typology creates difficulties in establishing a model of identity formation that fully applies in all cultures (Cote, 1996b).

The present study contributes to this debate by empirical investigation, using a two-step procedure. In the first step, identity statuses were examined within the paradigm of intrapersonal, de-contextualised universal theory. In the second step, this universal theory had been deconstructed by the use of an inductive method, which provided new categories. These categories were analysed by a person-centered approach that is sensitive to individual differences and the role of context thoughtfully considered. Interestingly, the results revealed identity types that are both contextually and theoretically meaningful. In opposition to post-modernists' assumptions, these identity types are not solely relative and specific to the Cypriot context of 2000. Most of them are applicable in other contexts as they corresponded to Marcia's statuses as well as to domain specific findings across other studies. The attention to local specific identities and to the role of context revealed the variability, heterogeneity, complexity and multiplicity of identity that is obscured by the universalistic view of identity. This evidence is in accordance with a post-modern view of identity as being dynamic, multiple, context specific and relativistic (Rattansi & Phoenix, 1997).

Therefore the answer to this debate is the mid-position between universalistic and local-specific theories. The person-centered approach adopts the mid-path between nomothetic and idiographic knowledge. The mid-position captures the important details

of identity that can be explained by context but at the same time monitors the universal features of the individual identity.

8.10   Evaluation of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

The present study exhibits some weaknesses concerning the research methods used that need to be addressed. Apart from the discussed weaknesses of EOMEIS-2 (e.g., measuring only half of the participants into the four pure statuses, collapsing low-profile and transitional individuals, the different composition of statuses in each domain) there is also a problem with whether some items of the instrument measure the assigned identity statuses within the specific culture. Especially, the items relating to religion, were interpreted by young Greek Cypriots as referring only to Christian Orthodoxy. This interpretation affected mostly the reliability of the two achievement items: *"I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe,"* and *"I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual."* The respondents understood exploration as occurring within Christian Orthodox religion and not between different religions. Such an interpretation does not qualify the two items as reflecting achievement status, but rather as reflecting an advanced form of foreclosure status. Most probably this is the reason why in the factor analysis of EOMEIS-2-PRO, achievement factor did not emerge in religious identity, which highlighting a weakness in religious identity domain of the instrument. Additionally, an ambiguous item related to political identity achievement status loaded a very weak factor in EOMEIS-2-PRO factor analysis for political identity. The item: *"Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in,"* declares rather a belief than a behaviour.

The analysis of ICQ exhibited also some weak points that must be addressed. ICQ was scored by the researcher, who is a member of the Greek Cypriot community and thus positioning some of her judgments, particularly concerning religious identity. Two examples of "subjective" judgments, which may be contested by researchers from more secular cultures, are the categorisation of the very religious groups as Meaningful Achieved and Achieved in Progress and the categorisation of atheists as Indifferent Diffused. These judgments were guided by the religious socialisation of young people in the specific culture, the "amount" of identity capital that each group accrued and the significance that the Greek Christian Orthodox society gives to these two groups.

Meaningful Achieved and Achieved in Progress young people restricted in exploring religion within Orthodoxy because is not realistic in a religious society to explore other religions. Even this exploration is limited and guided by the element of faith, which moves beyond rational thinking. As a result these groups exhibited rich identity capital based on religious beliefs and values, which are appreciated by the religious community and facilitated them to act in this community. Thus, in their specific religious context, these young people can be characterised as achieved. However, in a secular context these young people may be considered foreclosed. On the other hand, the small group of atheists within the present study, who did not exhibit any religious values and beliefs, form a kind of marginal group. Thus, in the specific religious context, these young people can be characterised as diffused. However, in a secular context they could be classified as achieved. In these cases it is difficult to disentangle subjectivity and context dependent coding.

The decision to analyse the inductive qualitative data of ICQ by the use of cluster analysis has been justified in term of producing authentic identity types that can be also qualified in validity tests and can be compared with dimensions found in other studies. However, it must be acknowledged that such open data collection methods have weaknesses. In particular it is not possible to be confident that a respondent does not act in a certain way or believe things merely because they do not mention it. For example, the answers of young people vary in length, choice of words and expressions, etc., according to their school and specialisation. Students from classical studies gave essay type answers, using varied and rich expressions and an elaborative argumentation, whereas students from technical school answered by using words or short phrases and their vocabulary were restricted. This indicates that a richer complexity of young people's identity can be revealed from a thematic approach. However, the same variables can be extracted from a short and a long answer, and it is possible for the less articulate respondents to belong to types that have richer identity capital. For example, in the polarised and "advanced" political type of True Achieved belonged equal percentages (around 20%) of students from the three types of education.

Finally, the main weakness of this study is its cross-sectional design. A longitudinal design, one that could follow participants in early adulthood and beyond would offer more complete knowledge of the transitions of participants' identity types and life pathways and what influence flexibility or stability. It is essential to test the

assumptions that have already been made about flexibility and stability depends on the interaction of identity content elements and contextual and situational influences. So questions that need to be tested are: What identity types do remain stable and what types do transit? What is the direction of transition? How do identity content elements, context and situational events influence stability and transition? Additionally, it would assist a better understanding of how social processes within natural contexts influence identity formation, and whether agency is differentiated by age.

Another important area for future research with the use of longitudinal design, which reveals from the present study, is the utility of identity content in relation to specific identity decisions and life choices. The implication of adolescent identity search is the important "self" choices of this period. Society needs to understand the content of these choices rather than merely to know that young people are committed to "unknown" values. Identity status only informs about exploration and commitment, which are rather abstract terms. Identity content is a more powerful in informing about specific commitments and choices. Thus, it is worthwhile to test whether early decisions and commitments, especially in the domain of career will be maintained or changed. What does influence the stability or change? Probably context and situational events play an important role in this process. This association will contribute to a better understanding of the impact of social inequalities such as type of education and social class.

The present study focused on examining the influence of the macro-context on both identity statuses and identity content. It showed that macro-contextual systems such as political and economical situations, dominant religion, cultural values and tradition played an important role in the amount of exploration and commitment that young people exercised and mostly explained an enormous amount of their identity content. However, two other significant factors that are found to play a crucial role on identity formation are personality and micro-context such as parents. Therefore, our knowledge will be completed if future research examines how, on one hand, personality (i.e., five factors, self-efficacy) and on the other, father's and mother's expectations in each identity domain, influence specific identity content and in extension identity types.

Finally, the present study advocates to the use of specific identity domains, rather than a global identity. In order for this research area to become robust, future research should extend the examination of interpersonal domains of identity such as gender roles,

relational identity, life-style etc. within the framework of the present research using identity content and person-centered approach to identify identity types in context. As the present study places primary emphasis on the influence of macro-context on identity content, future research should extend this framework in various cultures. It will be interesting to test whether interpersonal domains exhibit more universal features due to the globalisation of life styles.

An Epilogue

The present thesis proposes an alternative theoretical and empirical framework to ISP, which maintains that the transition, the content and the context of identity should be treated as inseparable. A person-centered approach, by the use of cluster analysis, brings these three features together producing identity types in context. This framework is more sensitive to individual differences, practically applies to all young people, reflects their gender and their historical, cultural and social contexts but at the same time corresponds to some universal features.

The fruitfulness of this framework based on the utilisation of domain specific identities. The present study dynamically supports that the global identity research by the use of ISP should be abundant as global identity does not give accurate information about individuals' identity and moreover conceal the richness of identity. Domain specific identities reveal the multiplicity, heterogeneity and complexity of identity, give accurate information on how young people conceptualise who they are in these domains, and can distinguish gender and contextual influences.

The vitality of this framework is the assumption that cultural context and gender are integral parts of identity. The crucial merit of this study is the demonstration of the powerful influence of gender and cultural context on identity formation in the extent that identity cannot be conceptualised out of its context. Providing gender and cultural context is crucial to portraying that young people's identities are not formed in a-contextual, gender-neutral and empty universe, but in a specific, dynamic, culturally-rich, gender-bound, and historically-defined local contexts. Such fruitful and vital framework shows real, lively and interesting young people and not mere, dry categories.

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Appendix A
Trust for the Study of Adolescence (TSA) Ethics Guidelines

The general aim of these guidelines is to inform ethical judgments and decisions, rather than to impose a set of restrictions or specific rules. The guidelines are set out under six separate headings, namely risks to participants, informed consent, confidentiality and the use of information, feedback, disclosure, payment and organizational matters.

RISK TO PARTICIPANTS

The intention here is to protect participants in any research project without making research impossible. While it is not possible to foresee all the consequences of a participant's engagement with research, it is incumbent upon researchers to be aware of, and to think though the effects of their work on young people who become involved in our research.

Researchers have a responsibility to ensure that the physical, social and psychological well-being of participants is not adversely affected by their engagement in a research project. Researchers should attempt to anticipate and guard against consequences of research that can be predicted to be harmful. The granting of informed consent by participants does not absolve researchers from this responsibility.

Researchers should follow the following action checklist when embarking on any research project in which young people are involved:

1. Consider the possible risks and costs to participants, such as time, inconvenience, intrusions on privacy, a sense of failure or coercion and fear of admitting anxiety. Piloting methods in advance is not only essential for methodological reasons, but is also a useful way to explore the effects o f the research on young people. Consultation with young people when planning research is also strongly advised. Where difficulties become apparent it is up to you to device ways of minimising them.

2. Decide in advance ways of responding to participants who wish to query aspects of the research, who become distressed, or who wish to withdraw from the research at any stage.

3. Be aware of the inevitable imbalance in power and status between researches and young people. Consider how a research relation of trust and relative equality may be established.

4. Ensure that you follow procedures outlined under sections on Informed Consent and Feedback.

5. In order to protect younger adolescents TSA will undertake police checks in all new/unknown researchers who are to have unsupervised access to young people under the age of 18. Procedures established by the police will be followed in such cases.

INFORMED CONSENT

Participants must be informed of the purposes of the research in a much detail as is necessary for them to be able to make an informed decision as to whether they wish to play a part or not. They should be briefed beforehand in as much detail as is appropriate

to meet this criterion. Such a briefing may not necessarily include technical details (since in some cases this may prime participants and prejudice results), but neither should such a briefing be in any way misleading.

Where there is any doubt about the balance between informed consent and the prejudicing of results researchers should consult senior colleagues.

Researchers need to recognise and uphold the rights of those under sixteen who may not fully comprehend the stated aims of the research, and who might be over-awed by a professional adult. Researchers must make clear to a young person that he/she can refuse to participate at any time, and can consult with others before making a decision about participation. Young people should also be told that if they choose not to participate this will not be held against then in any way. Where the participant is under sixteen the parent, guardian, or carer should also be informed of the research. In some cases it may be that schools will be able to act in loco parents in relation to participation in research.

The researcher should inform the participant that he/she may withdraw at any stage of the research. The researcher has a duty to uphold the right of a young person to terminate participation in a research project without needing to give a reason or explanation.

CONFIDENTIALITY AND THE USE OF INFORMATION

Young people who participate in TSA research projects will be told that all information they provide will be treated in confidence, and that their anonymity will be protected. It will be explained that this means that the information will not be revealed to other people, such as parents, teachers or other professionals, without the young person's express consent.

Participants will, however, be told that there is one exception to this rule. Where a participant discloses that either they or others are at risk of significant harm then the researcher has a duty to inform another professional. Further details are given in the section on Disclosure.

Participants will be told at the beginning of the research how the information will be used, for example as statistical information, individual quotes, or group interview extracts. They will be told that the information will eventually be used in a variety of forms, including reports, book chapters and conference presentations. Reassurance will be given that this will always be done in a manner that ensures that no individual can be personally identified.

FEEDBACK

Young people who participate in TSA research projects will, wherever possible, be given feedback about the results of the research. This will be done in a way that ensures anonymity for individuals. The participants will be informed at the beginning of the project the nature of the feedback they will receive. At times it may be more appropriate to feedback to organisations rather than to individuals, but if this is the case participants should be informed of this at the outset.

It may be that an organisation, such as a school, will experience the effect of a research project after the research has left. For example pupils may seek further information about the research topic, or they may become distressed and in need of specialised advice or counseling. It is incumbent on the researcher to ensure that the organisation is provided with a means of accessing the necessary information, and that both

professional and pupils are aware of local resources that provide specialised help should this be necessary.

DISCLOSURE

If, in the course of a research project, a young person discloses that either they or someone else (adolescent of adult) is at risk of significant harm then the researcher has as obligation to inform appropriate professional who is in a position to take steps to protect the individual at risk.

This action must take place if by intervening the researcher risks losing access to, or the trust of, the participant concerned. Wherever possible the researcher should discuss with the young person the options about what route this intervention may take, and describe the consequences that this will have for them.

It is essential that this procedure is spelled out at the beginning of any participation in a research project, and will form part of the information provided to a young person before he/she becomes involved.

Where such an intervention becomes necessary, or where the possibility is considered by the researcher, it is obligatory that the matter is discussed with the researcher's supervisor at the earliest opportunity.

PAYMENT

Where appropriate participants any be given a modest payment in cash or kind for taking part in the research, especially when it involves their daily routine being disrupted, and where they contribute both time and effort. Research proposals should therefore take payment of participants into account when submitting grand proposals. Care should be taken, however, to avoid the payment being the only inducement to taking part in the study.

ORGANASATIONAL MATTERS

As a research organisation TSA had responsibilities in relation to the ethics of research. In the first place the organisation is committed to the employment of trained and competent researchers. In addition all researchers have regular supervision, so as to ensure that appropriate decisions may be taken on any ethical issues intrinsic to current projects.

TSA will act to ensure that researchers are protected, both in terms of personal safety, though, for example, the use of mobile phones and identity cards, as well as by having comprehensive professionals indemnity insurance.

Finally TSA will work to bring ethical issues to the attention of all its staff, and will provide a forum where such issues can be regularly discussed and reviewed.

Appendix B

Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status-2-Politics, Religious, Occupation, Gender-roles

Read each item carefully. Be sure to respond to the total item and not just a certain part of it. Using the range of responses from strongly disagree to strongly agree, indicate to what degree it fits your own impressions about yourself. You may begin by thinking about whether you agree or disagree. Then you can decide how strongly you feel about it. Remember, we are interested in how these items either reflect or don't reflect how you perceive your own situations. Please answer all items by circling the number.

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Moderately disagree (3)	Moderately agree (4)	Agree (5)	Strongly agree (6)
1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at what is available until something better comes along.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously work for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what work will be right for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one-way or the other.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Moderately disagree (3)	Moderately agree (4)	Agree (5)	Strongly agree (6)
9. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but there's never really been any question since my parents said what they wanted.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. I'm not really interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right for my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Moderately disagree (3)	Moderately agree (4)	Agree (5)	Strongly agree (6)
21. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. I've been thinking about the role that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and not I know exactly how I want it to happen for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. I really have never been involved in politics enough to make a firm stand one way or the other.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many possibilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. My folks have always had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they have.	1	2	3	4	5	6

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΡΙΩΝ ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ

ΜΕΡΟΣ Α΄

Παρακαλώ διαβάστε κάθε δήλωση προσεκτικά. Σιγουρευτείτε ότι απαντάτε σε ολόκληρη τη δήλωση και όχι μόνο σε ένα μέρος της. Χρησιμοποιείστε όλο το φάσμα της κλίμακας: *Διαφωνώ απόλυτα (1), Διαφωνώ (2), Διαφωνώ λίγο (3), Συμφωνώ λίγο (4), Συμφωνώ (5), Συμφωνώ απόλυτα (6)* για να δείξετε σε ποιο βαθμό αντιπροσωπεύει καλύτερα την εντύπωση που έχετε για τον εαυτό σας. Πρώτα σκεφτείτε αν συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με τη δήλωση. Μετά αποφασίστε πόσο πολύ σας αντιπροσωπεύει. Να θυμάστε ότι ενδιαφερόμαστε αν αυτές οι δηλώσεις αντανακλούν ή δεν αντανακλούν το πώς αντιλαμβάνεστε καλύτερα τον εαυτό σας. Παρακαλώ να απαντήσετε σε όλες τις δηλώσεις βάζοντας τον αριθμό σε κύκλο.

	Διαφωνώ απόλυτα (1)	*Διαφωνώ (2)*	*Διαφωνώ λίγο (3)*	*Συμφωνώ λίγο (4)*	*Συμφωνώ (5)*	*Συμφωνώ απόλυτα (6)*
1. Δε διάλεξα το επάγγελμα που θέλω πραγματικά να ακολουθήσω και απλά θα δουλέψω σε ό,τι βρω μέχρι να βρεθεί κάτι καλύτερο.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2. Όσον αφορά τη θρησκεία δε βρήκα τίποτα που να έχει απήχηση σε μένα και ούτε νιώθω ότι χρειάζεται να το ψάξω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3. Οι ιδέες μου για το ρόλο του άντρα και της γυναίκας είναι ίδιες με των γονιών μου. Ό,τι ίσχυσε γι' αυτούς είναι φανερό ότι θα ισχύσει και για μένα.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4. Η πολιτική είναι κάτι για το οποίο ποτέ δεν μπορώ να είμαι τόσο σίγουρος/η, επειδή τα πράγματα αλλάζουν γρήγορα. Όμως είναι σημαντικό για μένα να γνωρίζω τι υποστηρίζω και τι πιστεύω πολιτικά.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Ακόμα προσπαθώ να καταλάβω τις ικανότητές μου και ποιο επάγγελμα είναι κατάλληλο για μένα.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Δεν σκέφτομαι πολύ για τη θρησκεία και δε με απασχολεί.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Υπάρχουν πολλοί τρόποι για να διαχωριστούν οι ευθύνες μέσα στο γάμο. Με απασχολεί να αποφασίσω ποιες θα είναι οι ευθύνες μου.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Δεν έχω στην πραγματικότητα ασχοληθεί με την πολιτική. Απλά δε με ενδιαφέρει.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Διαφωνώ απόλυτα (1)	Διαφωνώ (2)	Διαφωνώ λίγο (3)	Συμφωνώ λίγο (4)	Συμφωνώ (5)	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα (6)
9. Θα μπορούσα να είχα σκεφτεί ένα σωρό διαφορετικές δουλειές, αλλά δεν τίθεται θέμα από τη στιγμή που οι γονείς μου μού είπαν τι ήθελαν να ακολουθήσω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Η πίστη ενός ανθρώπου είναι μοναδική για τον καθένα. Το έχω σκεφτεί πολύ και είμαι σίγουρος/η για το τι πιστεύω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11. Δεν έχω ποτέ εξετάσει σοβαρά το ρόλο του άντρα και της γυναίκας μέσα στο γάμο. Απλά δε με απασχολεί.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12. Υποθέτω ότι είμαι περίπου σαν τους δικούς μου όσον αφορά την πολιτική. Ακολουθώ ότι κάνουν εκείνοι σε ζητήματα όπως οι εκλογές και παρόμοια.	1	2	3	4	5	6
13. Δε με ενδιαφέρει πραγματικά να βρω το κατάλληλο επάγγελμα. Απλά θα πάω σε ό,τι δουλειά προσφέρεται.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14. Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η τι σημαίνει η θρησκεία για μένα. Θα ήθελα να αποφασίσω, αλλά ακόμα ψάχνω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. Οι ιδέες μου για το ρόλο του άντρα και της γυναίκας προέρχονται απευθείας από την οικογένειά μου. Δεν βλέπω το λόγο να ψάξω περισσότερο.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16. Υπάρχουν τόσα διαφορετικά πολιτικά κόμματα και ιδεολογίες. Δεν μπορώ να αποφασίσω ποιο να ακολουθήσω μέχρι να τα γνωρίσω όλα καλύτερα.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17. Χρειάστηκα κάποιο χρόνο να αποφασίσω, μα τώρα γνωρίζω τι καριέρα θέλω να ακολουθήσω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18. Η θρησκεία προς το παρόν μού προκαλεί σύγχυση. Συνεχώς αλλάζω τις ιδέες μου ως προς το τι είναι σωστό ή λάθος για μένα.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19. Έχω αφιερώσει κάποιο χρόνο για να σκεφτώ το ρόλο του άντρα και της γυναίκας στο γάμο, και έχω αποφασίσει τι θα είναι καλύτερο για μένα.	1	2	3	4	´5	6
20. Σκέφτηκα προσεκτικά τις πολιτικές μου πεποιθήσεις και έχω συνειδητοποιήσει ότι μπορώ να συμφωνήσω με μερικές απόψεις και να διαφωνήσω με άλλες από αυτές που πιστεύουν οι γονείς μου.	1	2	3	4	5	6

	Διαφωνώ απόλυτα (1)	Διαφωνώ (2)	Διαφωνώ λίγο (3)	Συμφωνώ λίγο (4)	Συμφωνώ (5)	Συμφωνώ απόλυτα (6)
21. Οι γονείς μου έχουν αποφασίσει εδώ και πολύ καιρό πού θα έπρεπε να προσανατολιστώ επαγγελματικά και εγώ ακολουθώ τα δικά τους σχέδια.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22. Έχω περάσει μια περίοδο σοβαρών αναζητήσεων σχετικά με την πίστη και μπορώ να πω ότι αντιλαμβάνομαι τι πιστεύω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23. Έχω σκεφτεί πολύ για το ποιος πρέπει να είναι ο ρόλος του άντρα και της γυναίκας μέσα στο γάμο και προσπαθώ να καταλήξω σε μια οριστική απόφαση.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24. Δεν είμαι σίγουρος/η για τις πολιτικές μου πεποιθήσεις, αλλά προσπαθώ να ξεκαθαρίσω σε τι μπορώ αληθινά να πιστέψω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25. Μου πήρε πολύ καιρό να αποφασίσω για την καριέρα μου, μα τώρα ξέρω σίγουρα σε ποια κατεύθυνση να κινηθώ.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26. Ακολουθώ τις θρησκευτικές πεποιθήσεις της οικογένειάς μου χωρίς να αναρωτηθώ γιατί.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27. Υπάρχουν πολλοί τρόποι με τους οποίους τα ζευγάρια μπορούν να διαχωρίσουν τις οικογενειακές ευθύνες. Εγώ το έχω σκεφτεί και γνωρίζω ακριβώς τι θα ήθελα να κάνω.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28. Δεν έχω ποτέ ασχοληθεί με την πολιτική αρκετά, ώστε να έχω καταλήξει κάπου.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29. Δεν μπορώ έτσι απλά να αποφασίσω ποιο επάγγελμα θα ακολουθήσω. Υπάρχουν τόσες πιθανότητες.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30. Δεν έχω ποτέ αμφισβητήσει ουσιαστικά τη θρησκεία μου. Αφού είναι σωστή για τους γονείς μου πρέπει να είναι σωστή και για μένα.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31. Οι απόψεις για το ρόλο του άντρα και της γυναίκας φαίνονται τόσο ποικίλες που δε με απασχολούν.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32. Οι δικοί μου είχαν πάντα τις δικές τους πολιτικές πεποιθήσεις και εγώ συμφωνούσα πάντα αποδεχόμενος/η τη γνώμη τους.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Appendix C: Identity Content Questionnaire

I would like you to write three answers to the following questions. Your answers may be anything you wish: words, phrases, sentences and so long as you feel satisfied that you have answered the questions. Remember you are to give three answers for each question.

1. Who are you in terms of your religious beliefs?

2. Who are you in terms of your political beliefs?

3. Who will you be in terms of your occupation?

4. Who will you be in terms of your role as a man/woman?

ΜΕΡΟΣ Β΄

Θα ήθελα να γράψεις τρεις απαντήσεις στις ακόλουθες ερωτήσεις. Οι απαντήσεις σου μπορεί να είναι όπως εσύ θέλεις: λέξεις, φράσεις, ή προτάσεις, φτάνει να σε ικανοποιεί ότι περιγράφεις τον εαυτό σου. Να θυμάσαι ότι αναμένεται να δώσεις τρεις απαντήσεις για την κάθε ερώτηση.

Πώς θα περιέγραφες τον εαυτό σου όσον αφορά τις θρησκευτικές σου πεποιθήσεις;

Πώς θα περιέγραφες τον εαυτό σου όσον αφορά τις πολιτικές σου πεποιθήσεις;

Πώς βλέπεις τον εαυτό σου, επαγγελματικά, στο μέλλον;

Πώς θα ήθελες να είσαι όσον αφορά το ρόλο σου ως άντρας/γυναίκα;

Appendix D: Personal Questions

Date of birth:	
Sex:	
Name of the School - Province:	
Type of school:	
Specialisation:	
General grade:	

Father's job:	
Mother's job:	
Father's origin:	
Mother's origin:	
Place of present residence:	
Are your parents living together?	

ΜΕΡΟΣ Γ΄

Προσωπικές πληροφορίες

Ημερομηνία γέννησης:	
Φύλο:	
Όνομα Σχολείου - Επαρχία:	
Ποιο συνδυασμό ακολουθείς ή (στην περίπτωση Ενιαίου Λυκείου) ποια μαθήματα επιλογής παρακολουθείς; *ή* *Ποια κατεύθυνση ακολουθείς (τεχνική / επαγγελματική);* *ή* *Ποια μαθήματα παρακολουθείς στο A-Level;*	
Ποια είναι η γενική σου βαθμολογία;	

Επάγγελμα πατέρα:	
Επάγγελμα μητέρας:	
Από πού κατάγεται ο πατέρας σου;	
Από πού κατάγεται η μητέρα σου;	
Πού ζεις τώρα;	
Οι γονείς σου ζουν μαζί;	

Appendix E

Rotated Factor Matrix for Global Identity

Rotated Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor		
	1	2	3
Occupation-Diffusion 1	5.795E-03	.439	.256
Occupation-Diffusion 2	-1.76E-02	.311	.266
Politics-Diffusion 1	2.719E-02	.112	-1.04E-03
Politics-Diffusion 2	.110	.155	-9.85E-02
Gender Roles-Diffusion 1	-.535	6.681E-02	.160
Gender Roles-Diffusion 2	-.450	3.620E-02	.167
Religion-Diffusion 1	-.186	.226	7.839E-02
Religion-Diffusion 2	-.237	.261	-8.03E-03
Occupation-Foreclosure 1	6.662E-02	.221	.285
Occupation-Foreclosure 2	6.775E-02	.217	.375
Politics-Foreclosure 1	-2.17E-02	-2.53E-02	.628
Politics-Foreclosure 2	-4.89E-02	-3.07E-02	.690
Gender Roles-Foreclosure 1	-2.75E-02	8.839E-03	.408
Gender Roles-Foreclosure 2	-4.89E-02	1.990E-02	.443
Religion-Foreclosure 1	-.101	3.600E-02	.426
Religion-Foreclosure 2	1.929E-02	-3.99E-02	.454
Occupation-Moratorium 1	3.669E-02	.524	8.402E-02
Occupation-Moratorium 2	7.358E-03	.524	9.110E-02
Politics-Moratorium 1	.157	6.296E-02	-.235
Politics-Moratorium 2	.240	5.992E-02	-.166
Gender Roles-Moratorium 1	.470	.121	3.926E-02
Gender Roles-Moratorium 2	.731	5.196E-02	2.151E-02
Religion-Moratorium 1	-.184	.259	-.126
Religion-Moratorium 2	-.115	.240	-.110
Occupation-Achievement 1	6.280E-02	-.712	-7.90E-02
Occupation-Acheivement 2	.102	-.667	-8.47E-02
Politics-Achievement 1	8.994E-02	-8.68E-02	3.686E-02
Politics-Achievement 2	.113	-8.07E-02	-.247
Gender Roles-Acheivement 1	.667	-.136	-5.07E-03
Gender Roles-Acheivement 2	.638	-6.52E-02	1.742E-02
Religion-Achievement 1	.161	-.201	5.326E-02
Religion-Acheivement 2	.291	-.102	-.107

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.

The 3 factors count for 30% of variance.

Appendix F
Inter Rater Reliability for Identity Content Variables

Variables for Political Identity	Inter-rater agreement	Total
Interest in Politics	84%	
Commitment to Politics	78%	
Exporting Politics	76%	
Political Tolerance	77%	
Political Input	92%	
Attitudes towards politicians	82%	**81%**
Variables for Religious Identity		
Faith in Religion	86%	
Awareness of Religion	80%	
Religious Input	82%	
Church Attendance	94%	
Practicing Faith	92%	
Importance of Religion	80%	
Attitudes towards Other Religious Beliefs	94%	
Attitudes towards Clerics	95%	**88%**
Variables for Occupational Identity		
Occupational Decision	78%	
Occupational Income	90%	
Occupational Commitment	86%	
Occupational Input	88%	
Occupational Fulfilment	100%	
Occupational Success	99%	
Working Environment	100%	
Working Conditions	100%	**93%**

APPENDIX G

Chi-Square of Homogeneity Calculations

The first investigation is a test of homogeneity; that is used to examine whether the distribution across statuses is the same for each domain identity and global identity. Three Null Hypotheses were tested and rejected.

Ho1: The distribution across status categories is the same for Occupation and Global identity.

Testing Ho 1

Observed Frequencies

	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Occupation	232	471	86	249	1038
Global	127	600	134	177	1038
	359	1071	220	426	2076

Expected Frequencies (If Ho 1 true)

359/2=179.5	1071/2=535.5	220/2=110	426/2=213
179.5	535.5	110	213
359	1071	220	426

Calculation $\chi2 = \Sigma \frac{(O-E)2}{E} = \frac{(232-179.5)2}{179.5} + \frac{(471-535.5)2}{535.5} + \frac{(86-110)2}{110} + \frac{(249-213)2}{213}$

=15.35 + 7.77 + 5.24 + 6.08= 34.44

DF=3 X2 = 11.3

Ho2: The distribution across status categories is the same for Politics and Global identity.

Testing Ho 2

Observed Frequencies

	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Politics	149	453	204	232	1038
Global	127	600	134	177	1038
	276	1053	338	409	2076

Expected Frequencies (If Ho 2 true)

276/2=138	1053/2=526.5	338/2=169	409/2=204.5
138	526.5	169	204.5
276	1053	338	409

Calculation $\chi2 = \Sigma \frac{(O-E)2}{E} = \frac{(149-138)2}{138} + \frac{(453-526.5)2}{526.5} + \frac{(204-169)2}{169} + \frac{(232-204.5)2}{204.5}$

=0.88 + 10.26 + 7.25 + 3.7 = 22.09

DF=3 X2 = 11.3

Ho3: The distribution across status categories is the same for Religion and Global identity.

Testing Ho 3

Observed Frequencies

	Achievement	Moratorium	Foreclosure	Diffusion	
Religion	187	496	159	196	1038
Global	127	600	134	177	1038
	314	1096	293	373	2076

Expected Frequencies (If Ho 3 true)

314/2=157	1096/2=548	293/2=146.5	373/2=186.5
157	548	146.5	186.5
314	1096	293	373

Calculation $\chi2 = \Sigma \frac{(O-E)2}{E} = \frac{(187-157)2}{157} + \frac{(496-548)2}{548} + \frac{(159-146.5)2}{146.5} + \frac{(196-186.5)2}{186.5}$

=5.73 + 4.93 + 1.07 + 0.54 = 12.27

DF=3 X2 = 11.3