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Gender Differences in Identity Development

by

© Arlene Denise Cox

B.Sc., University of Calgary, 1986

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario, Canada
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ABSTRACT

The present study explored the hypotheses that men, or individuals with a masculine sex role orientation, achieve an ideological/occupational identity prior to interpersonal identity achievement, due to a focus on career-related decisions, while women, or individuals with a feminine sex role orientation, achieve interpersonal identity first because of a greater preoccupation with intimacy issues. To test these hypotheses, 341 university students aged 18 to 25 completed the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status - 2 (EOM-EIS-2, Adams, Bennion & Huh, 1987), three behavioural measures of intimacy and the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The responses of the 31 men and 97 women with pure or mixed identity statuses on the two identity domains measured by the EOM-EIS-2 were subjected to further Chi-square analyses and analyses of covariance. Contrary to expectation, these analyses indicated no gender differences in identity development in either domain or in level of and capacity for intimacy. Masculine sex role orientation was also unrelated to identity status or intimacy levels. Significant relationships did exist between interpersonal identity status, intimacy and femininity. The more feminine the subjects' sex role orientation, the greater the level of and capacity for intimacy and higher interpersonal identity statuses were related to increased intimacy levels for three

of the five intimacy variables. Therefore, feminine sex role orientation may be a mediator for capacity for and level of intimacy and identity development in the interpersonal domain while gender per se is related only to sex role orientation. Problems with the identity status measure were also discussed.

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Chapter I
INTRODUCTION

The development of a coherent sense of self or identity is considered by many theorists to be the primary developmental task of adolescence. Most would also agree that an ability to share thoughts and feelings with others, the capacity for intimacy, is an elemental part of a mature personality. Theorists differ, however, in their perception of the way in which these two elements interact. Erikson (1968) argues that the capacity for intimacy depends on the successful resolution of the identity crisis. In contrast, Sullivan (1953) contends that the capacity for intimacy provides the basis for identity formation. An examination of the research supporting both views of development suggests that the seeming contradiction is based, in part, on definitional differences. For Erikson, intimacy refers primarily to the "fusing" of two identities in a physically and psychologically intimate heterosexual relationship, while Sullivan uses the term to refer to both same-sex and cross-sex friendships characterized by high levels of mutual self-disclosure. The recognition and resolution of this inconsistency is reflected in the work of more recent

researchers who argue that identity includes both ideological/occupational (Erikson's perspective) and relational (Sullivan's perspective) domains.

It is also possible, however, that contrasting results in the identity/intimacy literature may reflect gender differences in psychosocial development. Existing evidence suggests that, for men, ideological/occupational identity commitments may be central to identity achievement, preceding a concern with relational identity (intimacy), while, for women, the development of a capacity for intimacy (relational identity) may precede a concern with ideological/occupational identity. An exploration of this possibility is the focus of the present study.

Erikson's Theory of Personality Development

The theory of personality development proposed by Erik Erikson (1968) delineates eight stages. In his model (Figure 1), each stage of the life span involves a specific psychosocial crisis. The term crisis is used in a developmental sense to connote a turning point, a crucial period of increased vulnerability and heightened potential (1968) which leads, if successfully resolved, to a radical change in perspective. The crises are "normative" in that they are an inevitable part of being alive and growing older. Erikson describes each of the eight crises as a continuum having positive and negative poles. Resolution of these crises is not absolute but rather "a matter of tipping

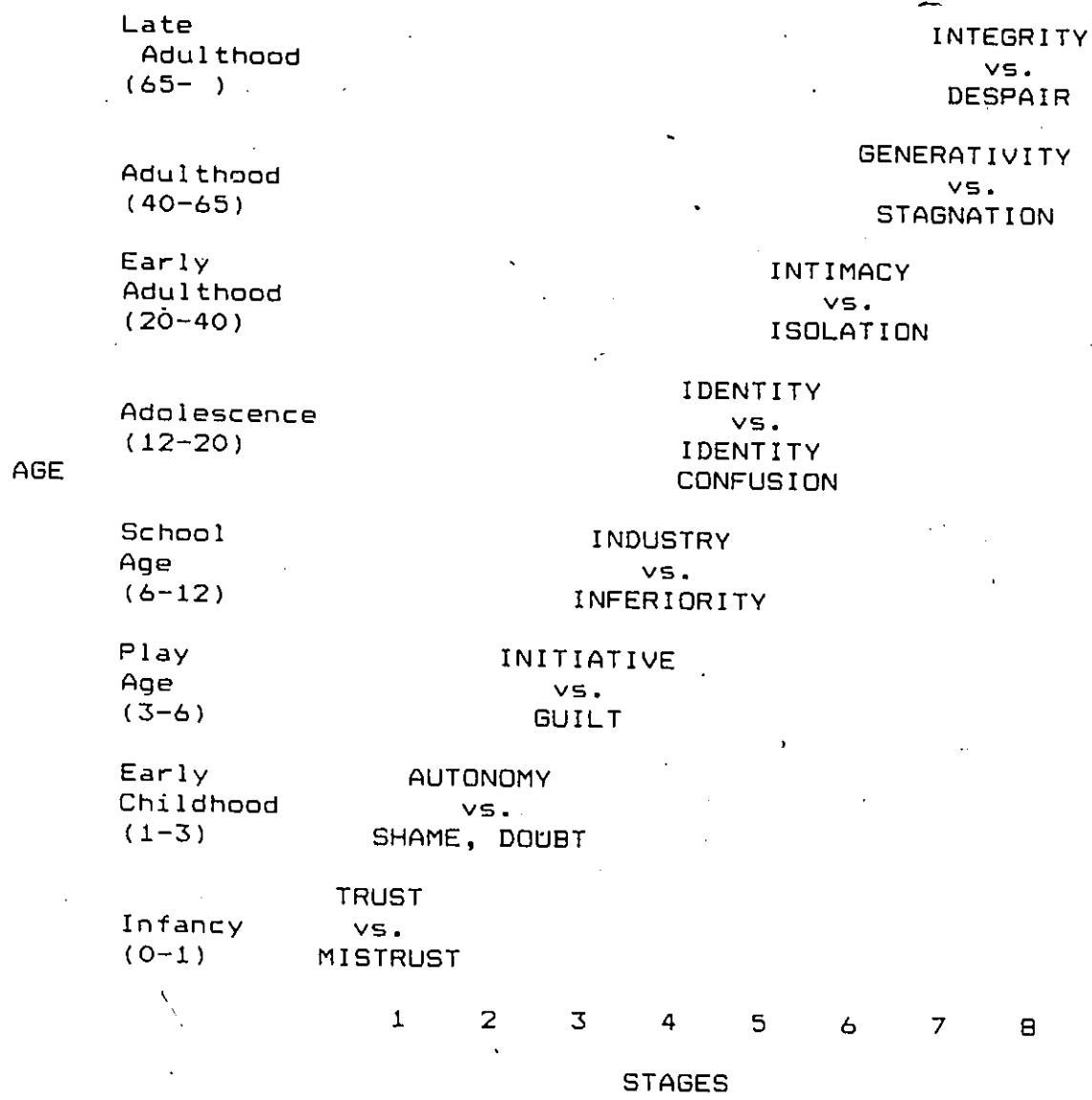


Figure 1: Stages of Psychosocial Development (Erikson, 1968).

the balance more in one direction (i.e., toward one end of the continuum) than in another" (Gallatin, 1975; p. 175).

Each crisis builds on the previous ones, with the healthy resolution of one stage depending on the resolution of the previous stage or stages. The individual's capacity to successfully resolve the identity crisis of adolescence, Erikson's fifth stage, is therefore determined to a large extent by the way in which earlier crises are resolved. The crisis of infancy is labelled **trust versus mistrust**; children must come to feel that they can depend on their caregivers for love, attention, and nurturance (Steinberg, 1985). The second crisis, **autonomy versus shame and doubt**, deals with children's efforts to emancipate themselves from their primary caregivers. Parents must provide an environment that backs up the children's desire to stand on their own. Overprotective parents do not allow children to control any part of their environment, resulting in shame and doubt (Erikson, 1968, pp. 109-110). In the third stage, **initiative versus guilt**, children establish a wide range of goals with an expanded imagination and curiosity. This increased curiosity leads to fantasies involving the parents, such as Oedipal wishes, which produce fear and guilt. The conscience is developed in part during this period of initiative, and the ability to suppress guilt ridden fantasies indicates successful resolution of this crisis. During this stage, the child also moves away from

identification with the parents, usually to identification with other adults who are considered ideal types.

Industry versus inferiority, the fourth stage, is represented by the statement, "I am what I can learn to make work" (Erikson, 1968, p. 127). Children are ready to learn quickly now and attach themselves to teachers and parents of other children as role models, watching and imitating people who represent their favoured occupations and interests. If children cannot separate from their primary caregiver and make the transition from baby to school child, they experience a sense of inferiority. Erikson considers this fourth stage to be, for the majority of people, the beginning (i.e., the first awareness of a need for career decisions), but also the limitation of identity formation.

The fifth stage, which spans the adolescent years, is **identity versus identity confusion**. During this stage, adolescents search for self-definitions and integrate these self-made images into their personality make-up. For identity formation to occur, the adolescent needs time. Erikson (1968) describes a period of **psychosocial moratorium** between childhood and adulthood. This is a time "during which the young adult through free role experimentation may find a niche in some section of his society, a niche which is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely made for him" (Erikson, 1968, p. 156). **Identity achievement** is experienced as a sense of well-being, a sense of sameness

through time -- a feeling of continuity between the past and the future.

If unable to resolve the identity crisis, the adolescent regresses into a state of identity confusion. An identity confused adolescent is unable to achieve a psychosocial self-definition and finds all decision making to be threatening and conflicting (Steinberg, 1985). An example of this type of functioning is found in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman: "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life" (Erikson, 1968, p. 131).

Erikson (1968) also describes a specific type of identity that is neither achieved nor confused. A negative identity occurs when adolescents do not search for their own identities but become the antithesis of what their parents want for them, deliberately adopting the values and commitments that their parents dislike and warn them against.

Despite the emphasis on parental relations in the four stages preceding identity versus identity confusion, Erikson did not ignore the influence of other relationships. He argued that identity developed gradually from successive childhood identifications -- with individuals, such as parents or peers, and also with groups or cultural categories, such as scouts or Jewish people (Conger, 1977). According to Erikson, an individual's sense of identity "is

the capacity to synthesize successive identifications into a coherent, consistent, and unique whole" (Conger, 1977, p. 95). Thus, identity formation begins where the usefulness of identification ends. The final identity at the end of adolescence "includes all significant identifications, but it also alters them in order to make a unique and reasonably coherent whole of them" (Erikson, 1968, p. 161).

Neither does Erikson (1968, 1983) consider identity formation to be an intra-psychic experience alone.

Accepting the fact that the human environment is social, the outerworld of the ego is made up of the egos of others significant to it. They are significant because on many levels of crude or subtle communication my whole being perceives in them a hospitality for the way in which my inner world is ordered and they order their world and include me -- a mutual affirmation, then, which can be depended upon to activate my being as I can be depended upon to activate theirs (Erikson, 1968, p. 219).

Despite the psychosocially reciprocal nature of Erikson's theory in general terms, however, it is important to recognize that Erikson does not seem to regard the development of a capacity for significant interpersonal relationships as a central component of identity formation.

In fact, according to Erikson, the capacity for intimacy, the sixth psychosocial stage, depends on the successful resolution of the identity crisis:

True "engagement" with others is the result and the test of firm self-delineation. As the young individual seeks at least tentative forms of playful intimacy in friendship and competition, in sex play and love, in argument and gossip, he is apt to experience a peculiar strain, as if such tentative engagement might turn into an interpersonal fusion amounting to a loss of identity and requiring, therefore, a tense inner reservation, a caution in commitment (Erikson, 1968, p. 167).

Erikson feels that in a truly intimate relationship, two individuals' identities become "fused" in such a way that neither person's identity is lost. From this formulation it follows that adolescents must establish a sense of identity before they are capable of real intimacy.

Adolescents who are not sure of their identity shy away from interpersonal intimacy or throw themselves into acts of intimacy which are "promiscuous" without true fusion or real self-abandon. The estrangement typical of this stage is isolation, the incapacity to take chances with one's identity by sharing true intimacy. Thus, the failure to resolve the identity crisis satisfactorily can lead to

isolation rather than intimacy, leading in turn to stagnation rather than generativity. Generativity requires one to give of oneself in order to teach and care for one's children. The final stage, integrity, is the acceptance of one's own life and of the people who have become significant to it. Without this acceptance there is despair.

Research has supported Erikson's theory and the various elements that are part of it. Block (1961) reported that achieved ego identity, defined as role stability, was related to low neuroticism. Gruen (1960) argued that a large discrepancy between real and ideal selves coinciding with a willingness to be defined by the external world would indicate a poorly developed sense of identity and found support for this hypothesis. Based on Erikson's (1968) statement that identification with the mother is essential for both early and late stage resolution, Dignan (1965) found evidence for the hypothesis that strong ego identity would relate to high maternal identification. Rasmussen (1964) found a strong relationship between the basic trust-mistrust conflict and ego diffusion, as predicted by Erikson. He also found that achieved identity subjects demonstrated the expected greater degree of self-acceptance and psychosocial adjustment.

Ochse and Plug (1986) created a scale measuring all of Erikson's stages and reported that an underlying factor was being systematically measured, which they labelled

"identity." These researchers also found positive relations between scores on the Erikson scales and on well-being and social desirability scales. Finally, using the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory, a measure of the first six stages of development, Rosenthal, Gurney, and Moore (1981) reported a moderate but significant correlation between each stage and its predecessors, as predicted by Erikson. This prediction was also supported by the finding that older students scored higher in the positive direction on each of the subscales than did younger students (Rosenthal et al., 1981).

This research provided some support for Erikson's concept of identity. However, the results were fragmented, tapping only certain components of the identity concept. A new approach to the study of identity formation or achievement focused on identity as defined by life commitments.

It has been suggested that identity is related to the establishment of one's place in the world (Bourne, 1978). Therefore, one of the most important indications of identity should be a person's basic life commitments. Erikson (1968) viewed occupational commitment as the main arena for identity decisions. In fact this was the only area he specifically discussed as a domain of identity formation.

Marcia (1966), however, argued that identity was based on commitments in two domains -- occupational and

ideological. Occupational commitment was defined as a clear knowledge of the choice of career. The ideological domain consisted of two topic areas salient to adolescents -- politics and religion. Commitment in these two areas was, again, a clear knowledge of one's position or values on politics and religion.

Marcia (1966) constructed a semistructured interview by which to assess both the clarity of personal identity and the process by which it develops. This interview was designed "to determine an individual's specific identity status, that is, which of four concentration points along a continuum of ego-identity achievement best characterized him" (1966, p. 551). These identity statuses include **identity diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and identity achievement.** The psychosocial criteria used to establish identity status consist of two variables: crisis and commitment. Crisis refers to the adolescent's period of engagement in choosing among meaningful alternatives; commitment refers to the degree of personal investment the individual exhibits.

Marcia used male university students as his sample; they are young enough to be involved in the adolescent search for identity and old enough to include a spread across the four identity statuses (Table 1).

Table 1

Identity Statuses (Marcia, 1966)

<u>Commitment</u>	<u>Crisis</u>	
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
No	Diffusion	Moratorium
Yes	Foreclosure	Achievement

Identity diffusion individuals may or may not have experienced a crisis period; their hallmark is a lack of commitment. They have neither decided upon an occupation nor are much concerned about it. They are either uninterested in ideological matters or take a smorgasbord approach in which one outlook seems as good to them as another. This stage corresponds to the role confusion end of Erikson's identity confusion/achievement continuum.

Moratorium individuals are in the crisis period with commitments rather vague; they are distinguished from identity diffusion individuals by the appearance of an active struggle to make commitments. Although parental wishes are still important, moratorium individuals are attempting a compromise among parental wishes, society's demands, and their own capabilities. Thus, Marcia's (1966) and Erikson's moratorium statuses coincide and describe a

person who is not yet identity achieved, but who is working toward achievement.

Foreclosure individuals have not experienced a crisis, yet express commitment. It is difficult to tell where parental goals leave off and individual goals begin. Foreclosed adolescents are becoming what others have prepared or intended them to become from childhood. Both their occupational and ideological choices are made by others. A certain rigidity characterizes this personality; a situation in which parental values were nonfunctional would probably be very threatening. Marcia's (1966) foreclosed individual is the obverse of Erikson's (1968) negative identity status; both types of adolescent forgo personal exploration for an identity directly related to parental wishes, either positively or negatively.

Identity achieved individuals have experienced a crisis period and are committed to both an occupation and an ideology. They have seriously considered several occupational choices and have made a decision on their own terms, even though their ultimate choice may be a variation of parental wishes. With respect to ideology, identity achieved individuals seem to have reevaluated past beliefs and achieved a resolution that leaves them free to act. Marcia's (1966) definition of identity achievement is equivalent to the identity developed end of Erikson's confusion/identity continuum.

One problem with Marcia's (1966) interview was the lack of reliability tests; only interrater reliability could be assessed with this format. In 1979, Adams, Shea, and Fitch devised a self-report scale, the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS), based on Marcia's identity status interview. With this measure, clear estimates of reliability and validity were possible, and various researchers confirmed the measure's comparability to Marcia's interview (Adams et al., 1979; Craig-Bray & Adams, 1984).

The results of studies using either the OM-EIS or the identity status interview provide support for the validity of Marcia's identity status model of Erikson's theory of identity formation in various research areas. Erikson did not predict IQ differences among individuals at various stages of identity formation, but he did expect adolescents at different stages to differ on the amount of thought and effort invested in exploring roles and making commitments. Both these expectations have been supported in studies comparing students in each of Marcia's identity statuses on these variables. The lack of ability and scholastic aptitude differences among male students with different identity statuses has been verified (Marcia, 1966; Schenkel, 1975). However, Waterman and Waterman (1972) reported that identity achieved and diffused men dropped out of school for different reasons, the former with a passing grade, the

latter with a failing grade. Similarly, Hummel and Roselli (1983) found that female low academic achievers were more likely to be foreclosed or diffused, while most female high academic achievers were identity achieved and moratorium, even though groups did not differ in IQ. Studies of cognitive style differences among both male and female students at different stages of identity formation indicate that identity achieved students are superior to identity diffused students with regard to concept attainment (Marcia, 1966), impulse expression (Matteson, 1974), information processing (Adams, Ryan, Hoffman, Dobson, & Nielsen, 1985; Read, Adams, & Dobson, 1984), and perspective integration (Read et al., 1984). Identity achieved people are also less anxious (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972) and higher in self-esteem and self-acceptance (Adams et al., 1979; LaVpie, 1976; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972) than individuals in the other three statuses.

Because foreclosed individuals obey parental wishes without question, it was assumed that they would obey all authority and have rigid and narrow concepts of the world. Research supports this assumption; foreclosed students of both sexes consistently rate higher on measures of authoritarianism, acceptance of authority, and rigid thinking (Adams et al., 1979; Marcia, 1966; Matteson, 1974, 1977; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972) than do identity achieved students. Finally, Cote and Levine (1998) found that

foreclosed people had extremely strong superegos, not the ego dominance needed for healthy identity formation according to Erikson.

Erikson proposed that positive identity formation was related to self-certainty; he also stated that undue self-consciousness would be related to identity diffusion. Adams, Abraham, and Markstrom (1987) supported Erikson's proposition by finding that identity diffused individuals were more self-focused, self-conscious and preoccupied with the impression they made on others than identity achieved subjects. Schenkel and Marcia (1972) reported that moratorium and diffused subjects were more anxious than either foreclosed or identity achieved students. Adams and Fitch (1983) reported that, as predicted by Erikson, increased age was positively associated with advanced identity status development. Waterman (1982), in a review of the identity development research, found that university seniors had a stronger sense of personal identity, measured by the number of clear commitments in both occupational and ideological domains, than their freshmen counterparts and that these commitments were more likely to have occurred after the successful resolution of identity crises. Waterman (1982) also indicated that, overall, only limited changes in identity formation occurred prior to or during the high school years; the most extensive advances in identity occurred in university, with some advances

afterwards. Further support for this finding came from Matteson (1974) who reported that few of his subjects, aged 17 to 18 years, were committed to specific roles or values. Therefore, the basic hypothesis embodied in Erikson's theory -- that movement from adolescence to adulthood involves changes in identity that can be characterized as progressive developmental shifts -- fares very well in empirical studies (Waterman, 1982).

Erikson's theory also implies that identity, once achieved, should be relatively stable. A number of researchers have reported results consistent with this expectation. Kroger and Haslett (1988) found that identity status in late adolescence was related to identity status two years later with the achieved identity status being the most stable. Waterman, Geary and Waterman (1974) assessed students' identity statuses when they were freshmen and again when they were seniors and also reported that the identity achieved status was the most stable.

However, other researchers have not found this stability. Marcia (1976) reported that identity achieved and moratorium statuses were more unstable than diffusion and foreclosure statuses. He concluded that achieving an identity in university did not guarantee continuation in this status; however, not achieving an identity in university did seem to be related to not achieving an identity six years later. Waterman and Waterman (1971) did

not find the identity achieved status to be most stable; instead, there was a general movement, over the undergraduate years, into the moratorium status. Because university students were used, this movement was attributed to the influx of new ideas and concepts in university. Fitch and Adams (1983) assessed adolescents twice, with a one year time lag. Although they found identity achievement to be second most stable, moratorium was the most stable status, contrary to Erikson's prediction. The researchers thought that their one year time lag might not have been long enough to allow their subjects to work through their crises. Finally, Whitbourne and Tesch (1985) reported that many students categorized as identity achieved in university did not remain so, but moved into moratorium after graduation.

Why this lack of stability? One possibility is based on the acceptance of the premise that identity is multidimensional, incorporating domains other than the occupational commitment emphasized in Erikson's original theory. If this premise is accepted, then it is possible that individuals may first work through identity in a specific domain before concerning themselves with identity formation in another domain. In fact this possibility is the basis for the focal model of domain resolution which has been proposed by a number of researchers (e.g., Kroger, 1988; Tesch & Whitbourne, 1982; Waterman & Waterman, 1971).

Corroborating evidence for this model is provided by research based on Marcia's definition of identity as including both occupational and ideological domains. The university experience, for example, seems to facilitate identity development and subsequent movement into identity achievement in vocational plans, but undermines traditional religious beliefs without necessarily helping students to establish alternate belief systems (movement from foreclosure to diffusion) (Waterman & Waterman, 1971; Waterman et al., 1974; Waterman & Goldman, 1976).

This research raises other questions. Does identity include domains other than the occupational and ideological? Do all individuals and groups progress through these various domains in the same sequence? Does the achievement of identity in all domains precede the development of a capacity for intimacy or does one's ability to interact with other people constitute another identity domain?

It will be recalled that Erikson argued that true intimacy, defined as the fusion of two identities into a new, couple identity, was not possible until identity had been achieved. Therefore it would be expected that only people who have achieved identity would demonstrate successful resolution of the intimacy-isolation crisis. Evidence supporting this interpretation of the identity/intimacy relationship is mixed.

In 1956, Yufit developed a scale assessing people's positions on an intimacy-isolation continuum. Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser (1973) combined Yufit's (1956) scale with the reasoning behind Marcia's identity status measure to create an intimacy status interview, which measured four statuses and one substatus of intimacy: isolated, stereotyped, (pseudointimate), preintimate, and intimate (Table 2). Briefly, isolated people do not truly interact with others, pseudointimate and stereotyped people are balked in development, preintimate individuals are somewhat developed and intimate individuals are the most developed or mature. It should be noted that ~~this~~ scale emphasizes existing relationships, the actual behavioural evidence of intimacy, rather than perceptions of what intimacy means. Also, with regard to this instrument, it is impossible to be classified as fully intimate without experiencing a cross-sex sexual relationship.

Using their measure of intimacy and Marcia's identity status interview, Orlofsky et al. (1973) reported that most identity achieved students were at the intimate stage, most moratorium students were at the preintimate stage and the diffusion status students had the highest proportion of isolates.

Other researchers have corroborated the finding that high intimacy status is related to achieved identity formation (Fitch & Adams, 1983; Kacerguis & Adams, 1980;

Table 2

Intimacy Statuses (Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973)

<u>Intimacy Status</u>	<u>Characteristics of Status</u>
Intimate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -has an intimate and sexual relationship with a member of the opposite sex. -expresses all feelings openly to lover. -may or may not have lasting commitment. -has several close friends and discusses personal matters with them. -self-aware, interested in others, significant absence of defensiveness.
Preintimate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -some dating, no intimate love relation. -has several close friends of both sexes and discusses personal matters with them. -capable of and eventually desires intimacy. -self-aware, interested in others, significant absence of defensiveness.
Stereotyped	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -dates regularly but becomes no further involved. -enjoys sex, but treats others like objects. -has several same-sex friends who are liked, but relationships lack depth. -moderate constriction, shallowness, and little self-awareness.
Pseudointimate (subtype of stereotyped)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -has several same-sex friends who are liked, but relationships lack depth. -has made more or less lasting commitment to lover, and resembles intimate here. -relationship with lover remains superficial, treat each other as a convenience.
Isolate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -marked constriction of life space. -few acquaintances and sees them infrequently. -dates less than once a month. -anxiety accompanying close personal contact forces person to withdraw and isolate self. -anxious, immature, lacking in assertiveness and social skills.

Hodgson & Fischer, 1979; Marcia, 1976; Raskin, 1986; Orlofsky, 1976, 1978). However, not all researchers have found a clear progressive relationship between identity status and intimacy. Although Tesch and Whitbourne (1982) found that identity achievement correlated positively with high intimacy status, they reported that many identity diffused or foreclosed subjects were at Orlofsky et al.'s intimate status. Raskin (1986) and Schiedel and Marcia (1985) reported that, as expected, most identity achieved males and relatively few identity diffused males were high in intimacy. Also as expected, men started out at low intimacy statuses and gradually approached higher intimacy levels. However, the picture was not as clear for women. Over one third of those women high in intimacy were identity diffused or foreclosed. Furthermore women had constant high ratings in intimacy status over time. It would appear that women attain the capacity for intimacy before men, and they can work on their intimacy formation before, during or after their identity formation.

These findings suggest, first, that the achievement of identity is not a necessary requirement before a capacity for intimacy can develop, even when both constructs are defined in Eriksonian terms. Recognizing this, it seems plausible that the use of the intimacy-isolation continuum, with its emphasis on actual involvement in strongly committed cross-sex physical and emotional relationships,

may obscure the actual formation of the capacity for intimacy. As Franz and White (1985) argue, "while Erikson emphasizes that this development [identity] occurs within an expanding network of significant persons, we believe that his theory does not account adequately for the development of various forms of interpersonal connectedness or attachments" (p. 224). Their main point is that Erikson concentrates on the antecedents and consequences of identity to the neglect of the antecedents and consequences of intimacy, thus doing an injustice to the coherence and interrelatedness of both sets of processes in both sexes (Franz & White, 1985).

Second, these findings suggest that the relationship between identity formation and the development of a capacity for intimacy may be different for males and females, with women attaining the capacity for intimacy before men and either before or during their achievement of identity. On the basis of these findings, then, it might be more appropriate to regard intimacy as another identity domain rather than as a separate and subsequent stage. Theoretical and empirical support for this position is provided by researchers focusing specifically on the development of interpersonal relations.

Sullivan's Theory of Personality Development

Unlike Erikson, Sullivan's (1953) view is that the security derived from having satisfying relationships with

others is the "glue" that holds together a sense of self. Thus, identity is based on the reflected appraisals of significant others (Coleman, Butcher, & Carson, 1984). Sullivan believed that the need and capacity for intimacy developed in preadolescence with the formation of intimate same-sex relationships, where one first learns to disclose and receive intimate, private information and to build close, mutual friendships based on honesty, loyalty and trust (Steinberg, 1985). Thus, Sullivan's "intimacy" exists between two people, of same- or cross-sex, and involves a mutual, authentic relationship, high in self-disclosure.

Sullivan believed that the need and capacity for intimate relationships developed throughout adolescence. Just as Marcia and Orlofsky devised ways to assess Erikson's developmental progression, Youniss and Smollar (1985) attempted to determine if adolescent friendships also followed the progression described by Sullivan. On the basis of a number of studies using a series of questionnaires, Youniss and Smollar (1985) asked adolescents to describe the relationships they had with their friends: for example, what issues they talked about, how they talked about them, how they felt in the relationship, and what they put into the friendship. From their results, Youniss and Smollar (1985) concluded that friendship is a "principled relationship" with five major principles. Equality is the idea that friendships must be shared equally, be mutual.

Friends must also have a vested interest in each other's well-being -- mutual caring. The third principle, mutual respect, refers to the expectation that "friends not only will not hurt or demean each other, but that they will also not hurt or demean themselves" (Youniss & Smollar, 1985, p. 131). The fourth principle is mutual trust and the fifth principle is symmetrical reciprocity, the expectation that an act will be reciprocated, not necessarily immediately or in kind, but in essence. Youniss and Smollar's (1985) research suggests that adolescent friendships express all of these principles and, although violations of the principles occur often, adolescents will work to keep the relationship going, seeking ways to resolve conflict and to reaffirm and repair the relationship. This conscious awareness of the importance of friendship is very different from the isolated, stereotyped and preintimate statuses described by Orlofsky et al. (1973) as characteristic of adolescents prior to identity achievement. Unlike the researchers using the Orlofsky definition of intimacy, Youniss and Smollar (1985) reported very few people who could be classified as isolate. Over 90% of their subjects stated that they had a close friend who meant a lot to them regardless of the actual quality of intimacy in that friendship.

Sullivan's hypothesis that intimate relationships develop first within same-sex dyads and later expand to include cross-sex friendships has definite research support.

Berndt (1982, 1985), Bigelow and LaGaipa (1975) and Youniss and Smollar (1985) all asked children or adolescents to describe the important elements in friendship and found that self-disclosure and loyalty, elements of intimate relationships, occurred in early adolescence within same-sex dyads. Serafica and Blyth (1985) asked adolescents, at two separate times, who their friends were and how they felt about the friendship. They found that adolescent intimacy with same-sex friends was stable and higher than intimacy in cross-sex friendship, although the latter increased during this time. However, Sullivan's idea that same-sex friends are eventually replaced with cross-sex friends has not received research support. Rather, the number of same-sex friends seems to remain constant throughout adolescence while the number of cross-sex friends increases (Steinberg, 1985).

The idea that adolescents are capable of intimate relationships has received other research support. As DeLawyer and Foster (1986) revealed, there are definite differences in the way adolescents feel about their friends and nonfriends, even if behaviourally their responses are the same. Bukowski and Newcomb (1985) found that the recognition and appreciation for individuality necessary for intimacy increased in adolescence. Berndt (1982) reported that older students knew more intimate things about their same-sex close friends than did younger students, indicating

that intimacy develops with age. Bigelow and LaGaipa (1975) and LaGaipa (1981) found that the importance of certain elements within friendships changed and developed throughout childhood and adolescence. The more mature elements of friendship such as loyalty and intimacy did not occur until adolescence. Tesch (1983) has also reported that the importance of the intimacy function of friendship increases through late adolescence. Finally, Youniss and Smollar (1985) found that the number of adolescents concerned about having principled relationships based on equality and reciprocity increased with age.

It would appear, then, that friendship is a developmental process that starts at an early age within a same-sex context and then expands into cross-sex contexts. One of the main consequences of friendship seems to be the development of the ability or capacity to become intimate with someone of the same or opposite sex. Thus, it would appear that the assumption that intimacy can only occur after identity formation is complete ignores the importance of intimate relationships in adolescent personality development.

Research on gender differences in intimacy within friendship corroborates the hypothesis that men and women differ in the development of this capacity. As compared to males, females express greater intimacy to their friends (Fischer, 1981; Hays, 1985; Reisman, 1985; Sharabany, 1974;

Sharabany, Gershoni, & Hofman, 1981; Steinberg, 1985; Tesch, 1983; Youniss & Smollar, 1985), develop intimate relationships earlier (Hays, 1985; Serafica & Blyth, 1985; Sharabany, Gershoni, & Hofman, 1981; Steinberg, 1985; Tesch, 1983; Youniss & Smollar, 1985), and value and discuss intimate feelings and emotions more (Hays, 1985; Johnson & Aries, 1983; Reisman, 1985; Steinberg, 1985; Tesch, 1983; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Youniss and Smollar's (1985) study of early to late adolescents provides an excellent illustration of the difference between male and female intimacy profiles. Approximately two-thirds (66%) of the women described the quality of their relationships with close same-sex friends in terms which reflect Youniss and Smollar's principled friendship model and, to a certain extent, parallel Orlofsky's preintimate and intimate statuses, i.e., friends provide emotional support and are trustworthy, loyal and considerate. Slightly less than one-third (29%) had idiosyncratic responses, and only 4% of the women described their relationships in terms echoing Orlofsky's stereotyped status, i.e., an absence of intimacy and trust, lack of discussion about true feelings and self-doubts, distant behaviour, mutual nonunderstanding, lack of compromise, acceptance of behaviour harmful to the relationship, and lack of atonement for this harmful behaviour. By contrast, although 42% of the men described same-sex friendships in

principled terms, one-third (33%) clearly lacked these basic principles, using terms in their descriptions which implied Orlofsky's stereotyped intimacy status. (The remaining quarter (25%) of the men gave idiosyncratic responses.)

This research strongly suggests that most women develop the capacity for intimate relationships before most men. Some researchers have suggested that the actual process of friendship development may be different for men and women, with male friendships based initially on shared activities and female friendships based from the outset on reciprocal self-disclosure (Hays, 1985; Steinberg, 1985). Thus, men may first proceed through a stage of friendship reliant on shared activities, skills and challenges and then proceed to the sharing of intimate thoughts, the first stage for women. The hypothesized greater capacity of women for intimate relationships is supported by Fischer's (1981) results; she found that males with female friends are more intimate than males with male friends and suggested that women may in fact socialize men into an understanding of and capacity for intimacy.

An Integrative Approach

These findings suggest that intimacy does have antecedents and that the development of the capacity for intimacy is concurrent with growth in other identity domains. Given the evidence of antecedents to both intimacy and identity, the next logical step was to integrate the

Erikson and Sullivan perspectives by recognizing that identity is multidimensional and the area of interpersonal relations (intimacy) is one of several identity domains. In 1982, Grotevant, Thorbecke, and Meyer added a relational identity domain to Marcia's identity status interview, thus creating an identity measure that included three topic areas or domains: occupational, ideological and interpersonal. Unlike Orlofsky et al.'s (1973) measure of intimacy, which assesses the actual relationships a person has experienced, the interpersonal domain taps the values and roles an individual has considered in certain relational areas. These relational areas include the topics of friendship, dating, sex roles, and sexual attitudes (Grotevant et al., 1982). The previous two domains, ideological and occupational, were collapsed into one to create a new ideological domain, although some researchers still regard them as separate. Researchers using this interview place subjects in an identity status for each domain and often give them an overall status rating as well. The OM-EIS was also extended to cover relational identity (Grotevant & Adams, 1984). Adams et al. (1987) concluded that "ideological identity includes occupational, religious, political and philosophical life-style values, goals, and standards, while a social or interpersonal identity incorporates aspects of friendship, dating, sex roles, and recreational choices" (1987, p. 10). The OM-EIS thus became

the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS). Face validity was established and content, concurrent, construct and predictive validity were all judged to be acceptably high (Craig-Bray & Adams, 1986; Grotevant & Adams, 1984; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). A later version of the EOM-EIS was created to improve consistency in the interpersonal domain, the EOM-EIS-2 (Bennion & Adams, 1986).

The reliability of the EOM-EIS-2 seems adequate. Because this instrument is relatively new (Bennion & Adams, 1986), a large amount of the data on reliability and validity is from research dealing with the OM-EIS and EOM-EIS-1. This third version is considered the best of the three. Research on all three versions reveals internal consistency (Cronbach alphas ranging from .30 to .89, with a median alpha of .66). Generally, the internal consistency of the ideological domain is higher than that of the interpersonal domain. Available estimates of test-retest reliability have a median correlation of .76.

The validity of this instrument is also supported by the research. The substatures (identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion) reveal evidence of discriminant and convergent validity. Estimates of predictive and concurrent validity have been provided and are theoretically consistent. The identity statuses are related with other variables as expected according to the

theory behind the ego identity status paradigm. Research has revealed the predicted relationships between identity status, as assessed by this instrument, and the variables of authoritarianism, moral development, locus of control, social cognitive skills, and conformity behaviours (Adams, Bennion, & Huh, 1987). Construct validity has been assessed using factor analysis. Although two factors corresponded to identity achievement and foreclosure, a third factor alone corresponded to moratorium and diffusion, indicating a lack of clarity between these statuses. Finally, face validity has been assessed by trained student judges (94.6% agreement).

Results using this multidimensional definition of identity provide a richer picture of identity formation. Adams et al. (1985) found that being identity diffused in the ideological/occupational domain correlated with a willingness to conform to friends which is an immature level of interpersonal development. Both Thorbecke and Grotevant (1982) and Grotevant and Cooper (1985) found that when adolescents were rated on the variety and styles of their friendship and dating relationships, they scored in the mid range. Older males explored more in both friendship and dating than younger males, and both sexes were more committed to their values regarding friendship when older.

Thorbecke and Grotevant (1982) reported that occupational identity was unrelated to the exploration of

friendship and commitment to specific friendship values for men. In other words, a man's occupational identity was not dependent on intimacy issues. For women, on the other hand, occupational and interpersonal identity domains were interrelated. The researchers suggested that these results indicate the importance, for women, of negotiating successful identity achievement in the interpersonal domain before they can become engaged in occupational identity formation.

Further research using the complete interpersonal domain of the identity status interview and other measures of intimacy reveals the same pattern of gender differences apparent in earlier intimacy and identity studies. Craig-Bray, Adams and Dobson (1988) assessed relational identity through both the interpersonal domain of the identity status scale and other behavioural and descriptive measures. An interesting finding was that the different measures of intimacy yielded somewhat contrary results. Men with moratorium or achieved identity statuses in the ideological/occupational domain had higher relational identity ratings than ideological/occupational identity diffused or foreclosed men. Despite this evidence of a capacity for intimacy, however, these same men reported a relatively low level of quality and involvement in their existing same-sex friendships.

With regard to their female subjects, Craig-Bray et al. concluded that "women may find more fulfilment and support for their personal and social identities through their same-sex interactions than might men" (p. 186). Unlike the men, women with exploration based (moratorium and achieved) and foreclosed ideological/occupational identities had higher perceived quality of social interactions, more depth in intimacy, and greater social involvement than ideological/occupational identity diffused women.

Taken together, these findings suggest that, for men, perhaps it is as Erikson described; relational identity may develop first in opposite-sex relationships after ideological/occupational identity has developed. Gagnon and Simon (1969) have suggested that women may play an important role in teaching men how to be more open, more sensitive, and more caring, and Fischer (1981) stated that women may socialize men for heterosexual relationships on the basis of their practice with other women. As Hays (1985) proposed, for females, cross-sex relationships may provide a context for the further expression of intimacy; for males, they may provide a context for the further development of intimacy.

Possible Origins of Gender Differences

Regardless of whether the research is derived from Erikson's or Sullivan's perspective or represents an integration of both, the evidence for the existence of gender differences in identity development is overwhelming

and reveals a consistent pattern. For women, the achievement of identity in the interpersonal domain tends to precede ideological/occupational commitments. For men, however, interpersonal identity formation tends to follow ideological/occupational identity achievement.

An examination of the sex role socialization literature provides a plausible explanation for these gender differences. Traditionally, males have been socialized to be competent and self-assertive while females have been socialized to be expressive and "integrative" (e.g., Conger, 1977; Ford, 1986). Masculinity items on various sex-role measures include "acts as leader, has leadership qualities, dominant, willing to take a stand, willing to take risks, independent, forceful, competitive, strong personality, and individualistic" (Santrock, 1987, p. 442). Feminine items, on the other hand, include "sympathetic, loves children, eager to soothe hurt feelings, sensitive to the needs of others, tender, compassionate, affectionate, gentle, warm, and understanding" (Santrock, 1987, p. 442). These differences in sex-role socialization are logical, considering traditional adult sex roles. Despite the fact that an increasing number of women are employed outside the home, many as the sole financial support for their families, boys are raised to expect and plan for an occupation, and girls are raised to expect and plan for marriage and motherhood. As Conger (1977) points out, the breaking away

from parental control illustrates the different goals of males and females, with boys becoming highly independent and trying to make their own way in the world, often fighting with their parents, while girls remain dependent with less interest in standing alone (pp. 242-243). Recognizing these differences in socialization and expectations, it is not surprising that the achievement of a relational identity seems to take precedence over the achievement of an occupational identity for women, while the opposite pattern is true for men.

Researchers have tried to determine the effects of socialization in a number of ways. Some use inventories which assess sex typed traits and characteristics and determine the individual's sex role orientation (e.g., Bem, 1974). Others use specific questions tapping attitudes and values about gender specific roles and determine an individual's sex role values (e.g., Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; Tesch & Whitbourne, 1982). Kroger (1988) explored identity in four domains -- occupation, politics, religion and sex role values. The latter domain was created by asking individuals to describe their thoughts and commitments on the roles of men and women. She found that both men and women had dealt with occupational and political identity issues but only women were trying to work out their values relating to male and female roles in society. Tesch and Whitbourne (1982) also used Marcia's identity interview with

an added sex role values domain. They reported that women were most likely to be in moratorium in the sex role domain whereas men were likely to be foreclosed, suggesting that the sex role values element in identity development is more important for women than for men or, at least, that they are concerned with it first. Schenkel and Marcia (1972) added a sexual attitudes topic to the identity status interview by asking women their attitudes toward premarital sex. They reported that women who were classified as identity achieved in this domain had higher self-esteem and less anxiety than women classified as identity achieved using the ideological/occupational domain (occupational, political and religious areas combined). This finding implies that when women are defined using their attitudes about sexual behaviour, it is more comfortable and realistic for them than when they are defined by their occupational or political choices. Matteson (1974) replicated Schenkel and Marcia's (1972) finding that the content area of values about sex roles was more important to female identity than those of the ideological domain.

It is important to remember, however, that these findings may occur, not because people are female or male per se, but rather because of their underlying sex role orientation. Therefore, it might be the case that both men and women with relatively high feminine and relatively low masculine sex role orientations would be more concerned with

and advanced in interpersonal identity formation, while those with low feminine and high masculine sex role orientations would be more concerned with and advanced in ideological/occupational identity formation. Androgynous men and women, those with high feminine and masculine sex role orientations, would presumably be concerned with and advanced in both domains.

Schiedel and Marcia's (1985) study provides evidence supporting all three components of this proposition. The authors used the Bem Sex Role Inventory along with the original identity status interview and reported that ideological/occupational identity achieved men and women had higher masculinity scores than subjects in the other statuses. Schiedel and Marcia also used the intimacy status interview and reported that men who scored high on feminine sex role traits had high intimacy statuses. Finally, these researchers reported that one-third (33%) of the high identity (achieved and moratorium) and high intimacy subjects were androgynous whereas only 11% of the low identity (foreclosed and diffused) and low intimacy subjects were.

Further research on the different approaches to identity development displayed by men and women provides a more complex view of the relationship between identity and sex role orientation. Using the expanded version of Marcia's interview, which contains both the

ideological/occupational and interpersonal domains, Thorbecke and Grotevant (1982) found that, of the male subjects, only men high in expressiveness, measured using the sex role component of the interpersonal domain, were concerned with exploring friendship. For the women in the study, however, expressiveness was unrelated to exploration in friendship, a contradictory finding if the sex role orientation hypothesis is true. Thorbecke and Grotevant (1987) suggest that all women consider it important to explore friendship and value it regardless of their level of expressiveness.

Proposed Research

An analysis of gender differences in identity development requires the consideration of a number of elements. Past studies have dealt with some but not all of these elements. Schiedel and Marcia (1985), for example, looked at the relationship between sex role orientation, ideological/occupational identity and intimacy. Their measure of intimacy was Orlofsky et al.'s (1973) interview on the intimacy-isolation continuum which assesses behavioural evidence of intimacy and is primarily concerned with cross-sex lover rather than same- or cross-sex friend relationships. Their results suggest that intimacy and ideological/occupational identity development do seem to be related to one's sex role orientation. However, this measure of intimacy fails to tap the abstract capacity for

intimacy (relational identity), the understanding of interpersonal skills and relationships, or the actual quality of behaviour in same- and cross-sex intimate friendships. Craig-Bray et al. (1988) expanded the intimacy/relational identity concept by assessing both the abstract capacity for intimacy, i.e., interpersonal identity domain development, and actual behaviour within same-sex intimate relationships. However, this study included neither a measure of sex role orientation nor a measure of cross-sex friendships.

The proposed study combines the important elements of the previous research by assessing sex role orientation, ideological/occupational identity statuses and relational identity, with the latter assessed in terms of the abstract capacity for intimacy, interpersonal identity statuses, and behavioural evidence of intimacy within same- and cross-sex friendships.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses cluster into four areas of interest. The first consideration is with identity development in the ideological/occupational and interpersonal domains. It was expected that:

Hypothesis 1: A greater proportion of men than women will be in the moratorium and achieved ideological/occupational identity statuses.

Hypothesis 2: A greater proportion of women than men will be in the moratorium and achieved interpersonal identity statuses.

Hypothesis 3: The domain of central importance to men will be ideological/occupational identity; the domain of central importance to women will be interpersonal identity.

The second area of interest concerns gender differences in behavioural evidence of intimacy and its expression in same- and cross-sex relationships. It was expected that:

Hypothesis 4: Within both same- and cross-sex friendships women will score higher overall on behavioural intimacy than men.

Hypothesis 5: Women will not differ in their behavioural intimacy between same- and cross-sex friendships whereas men will reveal a greater level of behavioural intimacy within cross-sex friendships as compared to same-sex friendships.

The third area of interest concerns the role of sex role orientation in identity formation. It was expected that:

Hypothesis 6: Individuals with high masculine and low feminine sex role orientation scores will be in the moratorium and achieved identity statuses for ideological/occupational identity.

Hypothesis 7: Individuals with low masculine and high feminine sex role orientation scores will be in the moratorium and achieved identity statuses for interpersonal identity.

Hypothesis 8: Individuals with high masculine and high feminine sex role orientation scores will be in the moratorium and achieved identity statuses for both ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity domains.

The fourth and final area of consideration is the relationship between sex role orientation and behavioural evidence of intimacy.

Hypothesis 9: Individuals with high masculine and low feminine sex role orientation scores will have low behavioural intimacy scores.

Hypothesis 10: Individuals with high feminine and low masculine sex role orientation scores will have high behavioural intimacy scores.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 341 students enrolled in introductory psychology sections who received credit points toward their final grade for their participation. There were 248 women and 93 men. All subjects were treated as required by the ethical standards of the American Psychological Association.

Procedure

Subjects were tested in groups of approximately 30 at prearranged times in a testing room. At the beginning of the session, the researcher provided each subject with a copy of the questionnaire package (Appendices A and B), including an introductory statement, an informed consent form (Appendix A) and the dependent measures (Appendix B). Subjects then completed the questionnaire package, at their own speed, taking approximately 45 minutes, and then returned it to the researcher. Subjects then received a debriefing statement (Appendix A) which they read at that time. This statement was returned to the researcher when completed. Subjects then received their credit point card with thanks for their participation.

Dependent Measures

Dependent measures (Appendix B) included:

1) background information questions and 2) Friendship Survey. A series of measures dealing with same-sex and opposite-sex close friends included: 3) background information and characteristics, 4) Conversation Surveys, 5) Comparison Survey. Lastly, measures dealing with identity and sex role included: 6) Life Goals Question, 7) Ego Identity Status Scale, and 8) Bem Sex Role Inventory.

Background Information

Background information questions ascertained subject gender, age, marital status and living situation. The determination of subject gender was obviously critical in a study designed to assess male/female differences in identity development. Subject age was important because the literature suggests that certain developmental tasks associated with identity formation and intimacy development occur sometime during the 18 to 25 age range. Also, comparison of the results of this study with those of other studies was possible only if the age range of subjects in the present study was comparable. Subjects over 25 were to be eliminated from subsequent data analyses on the basis of this question.

The question on marital status was included in order to eliminate legally or common-law married subjects from subsequent data analyses. There were two reasons for this

elimination. First, it was believed that being part of a couple might influence the quality of other relationships and second, the spouse/lover might be considered to be the best same- or opposite-sex friend. Previous researchers have also considered these individuals to be unsuitable. Separated, divorced or widowed subjects no longer have a long-term commitment to a spouse/lover, and therefore the decision was made to include their data in the various analyses. The living situation question was included because past research suggests that university students' living situations are related to both the quality and quantity of social support networks.

Friendship Survey

The Friendship Survey consisted of the 23 true-false items used by Youniss and Smollar (1985) in their studies. These items were designed to assess the individual's capacity for intimate friendship (e.g., "I have always had some difficulty making friends"). Although the response format of this survey does not allow for specific reliability tests, the general format and presentation of the questions was found to be clear and understandable by Youniss and Smollar (1985). Also, the replication of the original 23 items used by these researchers allows for a possible reliability check.

Close Friend Characteristics

The questions on the same- and opposite-sex close friend characteristics section of the dependent measure package were adapted from the questions used by Pipp and Robinson (1985) in their study of adolescents' parent, peer and self constructs. Pipp and Robinson did not specify the gender of the close friend subjects were asked to describe. The specification of both same-sex and opposite-sex friend categories was created for the present study. This clarification of gender was necessary in order to determine possible gender differences in the perception of same-sex and opposite-sex friend characteristics. Thus, this section had two parts, one consisting of questions about the same-sex close friend, placed just before the same-sex conversation questions and one consisting of questions about the opposite-sex close friend, placed just before the opposite-sex conversation questions. The questions about the friend's age, duration and location of acquaintance could potentially make a difference to the type of intimacy expressed by the individual and the relationships he or she is involved in. For example, a different level of intimacy might be found for longer relationships or relationships based on family involvement. However, the questions concerning age of friend and duration and location of friendship were asked for use and analysis in a later study.

Conversation Survey

The Conversation Survey consisted of two sections, one after the same-sex close friend questions and one after the opposite-sex close friend questions. Each part presented seven topics of conversation generated and used by Youniss and Smollar (1985) in their research. Their format was modified for the present study in that two forms were used, one for same-sex friend and one for opposite-sex friend. After each topic, two possible descriptions of how this topic is dealt with were presented: (a) the friend explains his/her reasoning (friend talking) and (b) the friend tries to understand the individual (friend listening). The subject was asked to describe the frequency with which this topic was dealt with, for both friend talking and friend listening, on four-point scales: Not Often (1), Sometimes (2), Often (3), and We Don't Discuss This (0). The questions were designed to determine the amount of work adolescents put into their relationships, i.e., the level of intimacy of discussion in the relationship, the topics discussed at this level, and the symmetry or balance of this intimacy. The original Youniss and Smollar (1985) ~~Instructions~~ and presentation were changed slightly in order to make them clearer.

The reliability of this type of questionnaire is difficult to establish, but Youniss and Smollar's (1985) research seems to indicate that these are valid areas of

concern and discussion for adolescents, who tend to answer the questions truthfully.

Intimacy Comparison Survey

This survey included 13 true-false items created for the present study. The items were adapted from those designed by Youniss and Smollar (1985), except for item 13, which explicitly asked for an intimacy comparison between same- and opposite-sex friends. These items were directed at assessing possible differences in intimacy between same- and opposite-sex friendships. As with the other friendship survey, reliability is hard to establish, but the format of the questions has been shown to be successful and consistency of response should indicate some level of reliability.

Life Goals Question

The Life Goals Question, developed by the experimenter, was designed to assess subjects' own perceptions of the most important life-goal areas for their self-definition. The question listed the following life-goal areas: career, friendship, lifestyle, marriage roles, politics, and religion. Subjects were asked to rank these life-goal areas from 1 to 6 with 1 indicating the area most important and 6 indicating the area least important to their identity.

Ego Identity Scale

The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Scale-2 (EOM-EIS-2, Bennion & Adams, 1986) is a self-report scale

designed to assess ego identity status in two domains: ideological (occupation, politics, religion and philosophical lifestyle) and interpersonal (friendship, dating, sex roles and recreation). The scale includes 64 items answered on six point Likert type scales ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Each of the eight areas is tapped by eight items; thus, each of the two domains has a total of 32 items. This scale is the only well tested and used self-report scale of ego identity status and was chosen for that reason.

Bem Sex Role Inventory

The third section of the questionnaire package is the Bem Sex Role Inventory. This measure includes 20 masculine, 20 feminine and 20 neutral independent personality characteristics. Subjects indicated the extent to which they believed each of these characteristics described them on seven point Likert type scales.

The BSRI was used because it is the most popular measure of sex role orientation in the ego identity status literature; thus, the results of this study can be compared with those reported in previous research. The reliability of the inventory appears adequate with a mean test-retest correlation of .91 and Cronbach alpha scores revealing internal consistency to be .86 for masculinity and .80 for femininity (Bem, 1974).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Subject Attrition

Although 341 students completed the questionnaire package, data analyses were conducted on only 128 subjects, 31 males and 97 females. Sixteen subjects were excluded from subsequent analysis because they were older than 25. Another 14 were excluded because they were married, and three were excluded because of missing data, leaving 308 subjects who were eligible for further analyses.

However, only those subjects who fell into the appropriate identity status categories (diffused, foreclosed, moratorium, achieved) could be used further in this study. On the basis of the EOM-EIS-2, each subject received a raw subscale score for each identity status (diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achievement) within each of the two identity-status domains: ideological/occupational and interpersonal, resulting in a total of eight raw subscale scores. These raw subscale scores were calculated using the SPSSX program presented in the EOM-EIS-2 reference manual (Adams et al., 1987). For each identity status category, in each domain, cutoff scores were calculated by adding one standard deviation to the mean

for that sample. Thus, a cutoff score was created for diffusion in the interpersonal domain, for foreclosure in the interpersonal domain and so on. These cutoff scores were used to place subjects into one of three possible categories within each domain: pure identity status, low-moratorium status, and transition status. The pure identity status group contained those subjects who scored higher than one standard deviation above the mean for one identity status (the cutoff score) and below this cutoff point on the remaining statuses. For example, subjects who scored above the specific cutoff score for achieved identity in the ideological/occupational domain, and below each cutoff score for moratorium, foreclosed and diffused identity in this domain, were classified as "pure-status" achieved identity individuals in the ideological/occupational domain.

The low-moratorium category contained those subjects whose scores fell below the cutoff scores for all four identity statuses in the domain of interest. These subjects were classified as low-moratorium because their low scores suggested a searching for values and choices similar to that of "pure status" moratorium individuals. Adams et al. (1987) also found pure moratorium and low-moratorium status individuals to be very similar in their attitudes, values, behaviours, and developmental trajectories.

The transition status category included subjects with scores above the cutoff for more than one identity status.

Thus, for example, some subjects were classifiable as diffused-foreclosed, while some could be labelled moratorium-achieved. Some categories, such as achieved-diffused, were clearly illogical, and subjects in these transition status categories were dropped from further analyses because their responses were interpreted as indicating a failure to discriminate appropriately among items. Other categories such as, for example, diffused-moratorium, were logically plausible. However, such subjects had been discarded in previous studies because of the difficulty in interpreting their status. These subjects were excluded from subsequent analyses in the present study for the same reason.

Ideally, subsequent analyses would have been conducted only on those individuals with pure identity statuses in both ideological/occupational and interpersonal domains. However, only 43 of the original 308 eligible subjects fulfilled these dual criteria. Therefore, the decision was made to also include subjects with a pure identity status in one domain and a low-moratorium status in the other. When both pure and pure/low-moratorium subjects were included in the analyses, 128 subjects could be used. The internal consistency of the subjects' identity status responses was calculated using Cronbach's alpha. Alpha scores were generated for each status in each domain and they ranged

from .53 to .77, with a mean of .63. These alpha scores are consistent with those reported in previous studies.

Gender and Identity Status

Preliminary statistical analyses were conducted to determine the accuracy of the assumption that ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity domains are independent. An examination of the correlation between subjects' ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity statuses supported this assumption. In fact, ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity status were significantly negatively correlated overall ($r(128)=-0.53, p<.001$) and for both women ($r(97)=-0.55, p<.001$) and men ($r(31)=-0.42, p<.05$). In other words, the more developed one's identity status was in one domain, the less developed it was in the other domain.

The first three hypotheses in the present study dealt with the possibility of gender differences in identity development. The first hypothesis, which predicted that a greater proportion of men than women would be in moratorium and achieved ideological/occupational identity statuses, was not supported. The Chi Square analysis comparing males and females according to their classification as diffused, foreclosed, low-moratorium, moratorium or achieved was nonsignificant ($\chi^2(3, N=128)=3.8, p=.43$). An examination of Table 3 indicates that, as predicted, most men (77%) had low-moratorium, moratorium and achieved statuses. Contrary

to expectations, however, 74% of the women were also classifiable as low-moratorium, moratorium or achieved.

The second hypothesis, that more women than men would be in the higher interpersonal identity categories, also was not supported ($\chi^2(3, N=128)=4.24, p=.37$).

Table 3

Ideological/Occupational Identity Status by Gender

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Measure</u>	<u>Diff</u>	<u>Identity Status</u>			
			<u>Fore</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mor</u>	<u>Ach</u>
Male	Frequency	4	3	13	1	10
	Percentage	13	10	42	3	32
Female	Frequency	14	11	32	15	25
	Percentage	14	11	33	15	26

As indicated in Table 4, the distribution of individuals over the five statuses in this domain was wider than in the ideological/occupational domain. However, as predicted, the majority of women (68%) were in the higher statuses: low-moratorium, moratorium and achieved. Contrary to expectations, the majority of men were also to be found in these higher statuses, although this majority only constituted 58%.

The third hypothesis dealt with the Life Goal question. The predictions related to this question were based on the assumption that the identity status categories and the life goal areas included in the Life Goal question constructed by the author would correlate. Preliminary analyses revealed that, in fact, correlations between ideological/occupational status and the supposedly ideological life goals of career, politics and religion were nonsignificant. Examination of

Table 4

Interpersonal Identity Status by Gender

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Measure</u>	<u>Diff</u>	<u>Identity Status</u>			
			<u>Fore</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mor</u>	<u>Ach</u>
Male	Frequency	7	6	6	4	8
	Percentage	23	19	19	13	26
Female	Frequency	17	14	34	17	15
	Percentage	18	14	35	18	15

the relationship between ideological/occupational status and interpersonal life goal areas indicated that higher ideological/occupational status was associated with a perception that marriage roles were relatively less central ($r(127)=-0.22, p<.05$).

When women were considered alone, the negative correlation between ideological/occupational identity status and marriage roles was found again ($r(96)=-0.20, p<.05$). When men were examined separately, this correlation was nonsignificant, but as predicted, ideological/occupational identity status and one of the ideological areas, politics, was positively correlated ($r(31)=0.37, p<.05$).

Contrary to predictions, there were no significant correlations between interpersonal life goal areas and interpersonal identity status and only one significant negative correlation, between interpersonal identity status and the ideological area of religion ($r(127)=-0.18, p<.05$). For males alone, even this correlation was nonsignificant. For women, the only correlation close to significance supported the prediction. Interpersonal identity status was positively correlated with the value of friendship as a central life goal ($r(96)=0.19, p<.07$).

The third hypothesis predicted that men would rank life goal areas associated with the ideological/occupational domain (career, politics, religion) as more important to their central identity while women would rank life goal areas associated with the interpersonal identity domain (friend, lifestyle, marriage) as more important to their central identity. Individuals ranked the area most central to their identity as 1 and the area least central to their identity as 6. Because of the small sample size, a

distribution of six ranks created too many cells for analysis; therefore, the ranks were collapsed into three choices. Ranks 1 and 2 became first choice, ranks 3 and 4 became second choice and ranks 5 and 6 became third choice. Table 5 presents the frequencies of the lifestyle areas by gender and choice.

Of the six possible identity topic areas, only two revealed a nonrandom pattern between choice and gender. There was a tendency for both men and women to consider the political topic least important ($\chi^2(5, N=127)=5.31, p<.10$) with 81% of men and 94% of the women placing it third. Contrary to expectations, gender did not appear to influence this decision since both men and women regarded this area as unimportant.

The only life goal area which revealed a significant difference between men and women was marriage roles ($\chi^2(5, N=127)=18.01, p<.001$). The majority of men placed marriage roles as a third choice, while the majority of women placed marriage roles second. Therefore, more women than men considered this interpersonal identity area as relatively more important to their central identity.

Further evidence refuting the hypothesis was that, although the majority of men picked career (55%) as a first choice, 48% picked friendship as second in importance to their central identity. The majority of women chose friendship (66%) as their most important identity area, but

Table 5

Life Goal Choices by Gender

<u>Life goal</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Measure</u>	<u>Choices</u>		
			<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Politics	Male	Frequency	2	4	25
		Percentage	6.5	12.9	80.6
	Female	Frequency	1	5	90
		Percentage	1.0	5.2	93.8
Religion	Male	Frequency	7	7	17
		Percentage	22.6	22.6	54.8
	Female	Frequency	21	20	55
		Percentage	21.9	20.8	57.3
Career	Male	Frequency	17	13	1
		Percentage	54.8	41.9	3.2
	Female	Frequency	46	41	9
		Percentage	47.9	42.7	9.4
Marriage	Male	Frequency	4	10	17
		Percentage	12.9	32.3	54.8
	Female	Frequency	17	63	16
		Percentage	17.7	65.6	16.7
Friend	Male	Frequency	15	14	2
		Percentage	48.4	45.2	6.5
	Female	Frequency	63	25	8
		Percentage	65.6	26.0	8.3
Lifestyle	Male	Frequency	17	14	0
		Percentage	54.8	45.2	0.0
	Female	Frequency	45	39	12
		Percentage	46.9	40.6	12.5

a close runner up was career (48%). Thus, as predicted, the identity area chosen first most often was an ideological one for men and an interpersonal one for women. However, the second most popular choice for both was an area in the domain that should have been less important.

Gender and Intimacy

Evidence for the reliability of the behavioural intimacy measures is discussed in detail in Appendix C; overall, the instruments appear reliable. It was assumed that the behavioural intimacy measures would be related to interpersonal identity status, but not to ideological/occupational identity status. This assumption was confirmed with analyses of variance which indicated significant or marginally significant positive relationships between interpersonal identity status and some of the behavioural intimacy measures and no significant or marginally significant relationships between these measures and ideological/occupational identity. These analyses of variance were conducted using the five intimacy measures as dependent variables and the two identity domain statuses as independent variables. Intimacy measures included: the summed score of the Friendship Survey (friendsum), the summed score of the same-sex conversation responses referring to the subject listening (sslisten), the summed score of the same-sex conversation responses referring to the subject talking (sstalk), and the summed scores of the

conversation responses for the opposite-sex measure for subject listening (oslisten) and subject talking (ostalk). The summed Friendship Survey score, which provided a measure of the individual's current capacity for intimacy in friendships, included 15 of the original 23 items; eight were excluded from further analysis because the items compared friends to parents and were considered irrelevant to this study.

As indicated in Table 6, interpersonal identity status

Table 6

Analyses of Variance: Identity and Intimacy

<u>Intimacy</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>Identity Domain</u>			
		<u>Interpersonal</u>		<u>Ideological</u>	
		<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Friendsum (n=128)	4,123	6.33	.00	1.65	.17
Sslisten (n=124)	4,119	2.60	.04	0.44	.78
Sstalk (n=124)	4,119	2.14	.08	0.56	.70
Oslisten (n=75)	4,70	0.42	.79	0.60	.67
Ostalk (n=75)	4,70	0.62	.54	0.62	.65

was significantly related to two of the intimacy variables, friendsum and sslisten and marginally related to sstalk. The means of friendsum, sslisten and sstalk for the five

interpersonal identity statuses were examined in order to determine the direction of the relationship (Table 7).

Table 7

Significant Intimacy Variable Means.

<u>Dependent variable</u>	<u>Interpersonal Identity Status</u>				
	<u>Diff</u>	<u>Fore</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mor</u>	<u>Ach</u>
Friendsum (n=128)	11.38	13.35	13.83	13.33	13.91
Sslisten (n=124)	14.43	16.05	14.05	16.00	17.04
Sstalk (n=124)	16.05	16.42	14.60	17.38	17.39

Scores on friendsum could range from 0 to 15 and those on the other intimacy measures could range from 0 to 21. There was a gradual increase in the means of the two intimacy variables over the identity statuses from diffused to achieved, indicating a relationship in the hoped for direction, with higher levels of interpersonal identity status coinciding with higher behavioural intimacy scores.

The assumption that ideological/occupational identity status would not be related to behavioural intimacy was also supported by the results. This identity domain was not significantly related to any of the behavioural intimacy measures.

In order to test the fourth hypothesis, that women will score higher than men on intimacy in both same- and opposite-sex friendships, an analysis of variance was conducted using gender as the independent variable and the summed Friendship Survey score (friendsum), as the dependent variable. Contrary to expectations, results of this analysis ($F(1,126) < 1$, $p = .73$) indicated that men and women did not differ significantly in their capacity for intimacy. Further evidence against the fourth hypothesis was provided by an examination of the results of analysis of the conversation questions (Table 8): how much subjects listen and how much subjects talk to their friends about a topic. When the discussion was between same-sex friends, men and women differed significantly, or marginally significantly, on only two of the seven topics presented. Women listened significantly more than men to their same-sex friends' discussions of family issues ($t(122) = 2.42$, $p < .05$). They also had a strong tendency to talk more about this issue ($t(122) = 1.78$, $p < .10$). Finally, women talked more to their same-sex friends about social issues than did men ($t(122) = 2.37$, $p < .05$). With regard to the prediction that women would be more intimate with their cross-sex friends than men, no significant differences were found. The fifth hypothesis, that women will be equally intimate with same- and cross-sex friends while men will be more intimate with cross-sex than with same-sex friends, was

Table 8

Percent of Subjects who Often Discuss Topics with Friends

<u>Subject listens to friend about:</u>	<u>Subject gender - Friend gender</u>			
	<u>F - F</u>	<u>M - M</u>	<u>F - M</u>	<u>M - F</u>
School Work	51.6	51.7	51.9	52.4
Friendships	64.2	62.1	66.7	66.7
Future	58.9	75.9	61.1	66.7
Dating	55.8 ^a	69.0	44.4 ^b	42.9
Family	60.0 ^a	48.3	46.3 ^b	61.9
Religion	30.5	20.7	20.4	23.8
Social Issues	38.9	34.5	35.2	28.6
<u>Subject talks to friend about:</u>				
School Work	76.8	55.2	59.3	66.7
Friendships	73.7	48.3	72.2	71.4
Future	73.7	58.6	70.4	76.2
Dating	64.2 ^a	62.1	40.7 ^b	42.9
Family	69.5 ^a	41.4	55.6 ^b	57.1
Religion	35.8	24.1	22.2	23.8
Social Issues	42.1*	24.1*	38.9	33.3

Note = Means with different superscripts differ significantly at the $p < .05$ level; * = $p < .10$.

also not supported. The t-test analyses of the conversation question data revealed that, contrary to expectations, women talked and listened more to same-sex than to cross-sex friends, but only on two issues, dating (talk $t(53)=2.68$, $p<.01$; listen $t(53)=3.22$, $p<.01$) and family (talk $t(53)=2.20$, $p<.05$; listen $t(53)=2.50$, $p<.05$). For men, no difference was found between same- and cross-sex friend discussion frequency. ✓

Analysis of the Intimacy Comparison Survey also suggested that men and women did not differ significantly in their relative levels of intimacy with same- and cross-sex friends. The Comparison Survey was recoded so that all responses indicating a preference for the same-sex friend were scored 1, all responses showing no preference were scored 2 and all responses indicating a preference for the cross-sex friend were scored 3. The scores were then summed to provide a single score indicating whether subjects were more intimate with same- or cross-sex friends. A score in the 31 to 36 range indicates greater intimacy with the cross-sex friend, a score in the 20 to 30 range indicates approximately equal intimacy with same- and cross-sex friends, and a score in the 12 to 19 range indicates greater intimacy with same-sex friends. The mean score for the women was 23.7 and the mean score for the men was 24.8, supporting the prediction that women would be as intimate with same- and cross-sex friends, but not supporting the

prediction that men would be more intimate with cross-sex friends.

Sex Role Orientation, Identity and Intimacy

The last area of concern in this study was the possible contribution of sex role orientation to identity and intimacy development. Each subject received both a masculine and a feminine sex role orientation raw score on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The internal consistency of these scores was assessed using the Cronbach alpha approach. The scores were .85 for the masculinity scale and .79 for the femininity scale. These alpha scores are comparable to those reported in previous studies. Correlational analyses supported the assumption that sex role orientation would be related to gender. The significant negative correlation between masculine sex role orientation score and gender ($r(128) = -0.36, p < .001$) revealed that men scored higher than women on this orientation, while the significant positive correlation between feminine sex role orientation and gender ($r(128) = 0.31, p < .001$) indicated that women scored higher than men on this orientation.

The next stage in the analysis was the separation of subjects into four groups according to their scores: a) high masculine, high feminine (androgynous), b) low masculine, low feminine (undifferentiated), c) high masculine, low feminine (masculine), and d) low masculine, high feminine (feminine). In order to test hypotheses six

and seven, Chi Square analyses were conducted on these sex role orientation groups, one for ideological/occupational identity status and the other for interpersonal identity status (Table 9). The prediction that high masculine-low feminine individuals would be in the moratorium and achieved ideological/occupational identity statuses (hypothesis six) while the high feminine-low masculine group would have the most individuals in moratorium and achievement within the interpersonal identity domain (hypothesis seven) was weakly supported. Although the Chi Square analyses did not yield results at conventional levels of significance, these analyses suggested strong tendencies in the expected directions (ideological/occupational $\chi^2(4, N=128)=20.05$, $p<.07$; interpersonal $\chi^2(4, N=128)=19.74$, $p<.08$). However, the validity of these statistics is questionable, given the fact that, in the former case, 12 of the 20 cells had n's less than 5 and, in the latter case, two cells had n's less than 5.

Because of the small n's created by separating individuals by both their masculine and feminine sex role orientation scores, Chi Squares were then performed comparing the high and low masculine and high and low feminine median split groups separately. High and low masculine individuals differed marginally on ideological/occupational identity status ($\chi^2(4, N=128)=7.88$, $p<.10$) and did not differ on interpersonal identity

Table 9

Sex Role Orientation within Identity Status

<u>Sex Role Orientation</u>	<u>Measure</u>	<u>Ideological Identity</u>					
		<u>Diff</u>	<u>Fore</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mor</u>	<u>Ach</u>	<u>Tot.</u>
Low masc.	Frequency	1	5	13	8	3	30
Low fem.	Percentage	3	17	43	27	10	100
Hi masc.	Frequency	6	1	13	1	12	33
Low fem.	Percentage	18	3	40	3	36	100
Low masc.	Frequency	5	4	11	3	10	33
Hi fem.	Percentage	15	12	34	9	30	100
Hi masc.	Frequency	6	4	8	4	10	32
Hi fem.	Percentage	19	12.5	25	12.5	31	100
		<u>Interpersonal Identity</u>					
		<u>Diff</u>	<u>Fore</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mor</u>	<u>Ach</u>	<u>Tot.</u>
Low masc.	Frequency	8	7	9	6	0	30
Low fem.	Percentage	27	23	30	20	0	100
Hi masc.	Frequency	8	6	10	4	5	33
Low fem.	Percentage	25	18	30	12	15	100
Low masc.	Frequency	5	3	12	7	6	33
Hi fem.	Percentage	15	9	36	22	18	100
Hi masc.	Frequency	3	4	9	4	12	32
Hi fem.	Percentage	9	12.5	28	12.5	38	100

status ($\chi^2(4, N=128)=6.69, p=.15$): High and low feminine individuals did not differ significantly on ideological/occupational status ($\chi^2(4, N=128)=3.19, p=.52$). On the other hand, interpersonal identity status was significantly affected by feminine sex role orientation ($\chi^2(4, N=128)=11.93, p<.05$) with high feminine subjects appearing in the higher identity statuses. The nonsignificant tendency for high masculine individuals to have more advanced ideological/occupational identities only provided weak support for hypothesis six. On the other hand, hypothesis seven, the expectation that high feminine individuals would have more advanced interpersonal identity statuses than less feminine individuals, received strong support.

Hypothesis eight predicted a relationship between androgynous individuals (high masculine-high feminine), and the two identity domains, such that androgynous individuals would be advanced in both ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity domains. In the present study, the t ratio was used to provide a continuous measure of androgyny. Bem (1974) originally converted the masculine and feminine raw scores into a t ratio which was derived by subtracting the feminine score from the masculine score and dividing by the pooled variance. Because this method subtracts one score from the other, it treats as equivalent those individuals with two high scores and those individuals with

two low scores. However, androgyny was intended as a measure of individuals who possess clearly recognizable feminine and masculine characteristics, not a measure of undifferentiated individuals who do not exhibit either masculine or feminine characteristics. Therefore, in the present study, the 30 undifferentiated individuals were excluded from the analyses.

Hypothesis eight was not supported. Analyses of variance revealed no significant relationship between androgyny and ideological/occupational status ($F(4,93)=0.71$, $p=.59$) or interpersonal status ($F(4,93)=1.34$, $p=.26$).

In order to test hypotheses nine and ten, the influence of sex role orientation on the capacity for and level of intimacy, analyses of covariance were conducted using the five intimacy measures as dependent variables.

Interpersonal identity was the independent variable and masculinity and femininity scores were used as covariates (Table 10). Masculine sex role orientation was associated with neither low nor high intimacy levels. Thus, the prediction of a lack of relationship between intimacy and masculine sex role orientation was supported (hypothesis nine). Also, as predicted by hypothesis ten, feminine sex role orientation scores were related to the friendsum variable, the measure of capacity for intimacy, the slisten and stalk variables, measures of same-sex friend intimacy,

Table 10

Analyses of Covariance: Sex Role Orientation, Identity and Intimacy

<u>Intimacy</u>	<u>Covariates</u>					
	<u>Feminine</u>		<u>Masculine</u>		<u>Interpersonal</u>	
	<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>d.f. prob.</u>
Friendsum	8.86	.00	2.23	.14	4.17	4,123 .00
Sslisten	14.44	.00	1.07	.30	2.78	4,119 .03
Sstalk	15.55	.00	0.18	.67	3.44	4,119 .01
Oslisten	6.93	.01	2.14	.15	0.77	4,70 .55
Ostalk	4.83	.03	3.61	.06	0.52	4,70 .72

and the oslisten and ostalk variables, measures of opposite-sex friend intimacy. Finally, even with the effects of masculine and feminine sex role orientation scores removed, interpersonal identity status was still significantly related to three of the five intimacy variables. The removal of the covariance actually increased the expected relationship between interpersonal identity and sstalk.

Examination of the correlations between these variables indicates that, as expected, masculine sex role orientation was not significantly correlated with any of the intimacy variables. A marginally significant positive correlation between ostalk and masculine sex role orientation

($r(75)=0.20$, $p<.09$) suggested, contrary to expectations, that the "masculine" subjects, both male and female, tended to talk more to opposite-sex friends than did less masculine subjects. As predicted, the feminine sex role score was significantly and positively correlated with all five intimacy variables (friendsum $r(128)=0.24$, $p<.01$; slisten $r(124)=0.31$, $p<.001$; sstalk $r(124)=0.33$, $p<.001$; oslisten $r(75)=0.29$, $p<.05$; ostalk $r(75)=0.24$, $p<.05$). Thus, greater "femininity" was associated with greater intimacy.

To clarify the relationship between interpersonal identity, intimacy and feminine sex role orientation, the means of the intimacy variables in each of the five interpersonal identity statuses were adjusted for the covariates (Table 11). The adjustment flattened out the means in the statuses slightly, increasing the diffused, foreclosed and low-moratorium status means and decreasing the moratorium and achieved status means.

Finally, post hoc analyses were performed to determine if the combination of high masculine-high feminine sex role orientation was linked with the development of intimacy. To test this possibility, a series of analyses of covariance were conducted with androgyny as the covariate, the two identity domains as independent variables and the five intimacy measures as dependent variables (Table 12).

— Androgyny showed a tendency to affect only one intimacy

Table 11

Intimacy Means: Adjusted and Nonadjusted for Covariate Influence

<u>Intimacy</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Diff</u>	<u>Interpersonal Identity Status</u>			
			<u>Fore</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mor</u>	<u>Ach</u>
Friendsum	Unadj.	11.38	13.35	13.83	13.33	13.91
	Adj.	11.55	13.43	13.82	13.27	13.73
Sslisten	Unadj.	14.43	16.05	14.05	16.00	17.04
	Adj.	14.72	16.31	14.08	15.86	16.61
Sstalk	Unadj.	16.05	16.42	14.60	17.38	17.39
	Adj.	16.35	16.69	14.63	17.24	16.94
Oslisten	Unadj.	14.00	15.64	14.08	13.29	15.63
	Adj.	14.02	16.29	14.24	13.17	14.91
Ostalk	Unadj.	14.00	15.64	14.08	14.64	16.44
	Adj.	14.01	16.09	14.19	14.56	15.95

to affect only one intimacy measure, sstalk. Unexpectedly, after the effect of androgyny was removed, the relationship between the intimacy measures and interpersonal identity status declined, from three of five intimacy variables revealing a significant relationship to one of five being significant.

Table 12

Identity, Intimacy, and Androgyny

<u>Intimacy</u>	<u>d.f.</u>	<u>Covariate</u>		<u>Independent Variables</u>			
		<u>Androgyny</u>		<u>Interpersonal</u>		<u>Ideological</u>	
		<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>prob.</u>
Friendsum	4,123	1.13	.29	3.33	.01	0.66	.62
Sslisten	4,119	1.81	.18	1.67	.17	0.91	.46
Sstalk	4,119	3.31	.07	1.72	.16	1.27	.29
Oslisten	4,70	0.23	.63	0.63	.65	1.03	.40
Ostalk	4,70	0.03	.86	0.55	.70	0.65	.63

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

Previous research suggests that men and women differ in their ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity statuses, with men developing earlier in the ideological/occupational domain and women developing earlier in the interpersonal domain. It was expected that this study would replicate that finding. It was also expected that the previously reported result of higher intimacy levels for women than for men would be replicated. Lastly, the prediction was made that sex role orientation would play a role in the resulting gender differences; highly masculine and highly feminine individuals would display the most extreme differences in identity development and intimacy levels. The results told a somewhat different but no less interesting story.

Gender and Identity Status

The negative correlation between subjects' ideological/occupational and interpersonal identity status scores supported the assumption of the independence of these two domains. This finding does not imply that one kind of identity is the "opposite" of the other. However, it does suggest that adolescents tend to achieve identity in one

domain before identity development occurs in the other. Contrary to previous results, however, men were not more advanced in ideological/occupational identity status, and women were not more advanced in interpersonal identity status. Taken together, these results imply that men and women do not necessarily follow the sequence of development suggested by previous theory and research. In fact, some men seem to follow the "female" sequence, from interpersonal to ideological/occupational identity achievement, while some women seem to follow the reverse, "male" sequence. Thus, gender per se may not be a particularly useful way to identify those individuals who have achieved higher identity statuses in either domain.

The Life Goal question was created to help clarify the specific areas of identity most central to an individual's definition of self. However, analyses using the life goal measure of identity did not provide convincing evidence of gender differences in identity areas of central importance. There was a tendency for men and women to differ in the expected direction in some areas; men considered marriage roles as less central to their identity than did women. However, the second most popular choice for both men and women was an identity area supposedly in the other gender's domain. While men chose career first they chose the value of friendship second and, conversely, while women chose friendship first they chose career second.

It was also assumed that there would be a positive relationship between ideological life goals (politics, career and religion) and ideological/occupational identity status and between interpersonal life goals (marriage roles, friendship and lifestyle) and interpersonal identity status. However, there were few significant correlations in the expected direction. It is possible that the combination of politics, religion and career in the EOM-EIS-2 may obscure the relationships between these individual areas and other assessments of identity. It is also possible that the Life Goal question was not well presented or the life goal areas were poorly defined so that subjects did not interpret the question as the experimenter had intended. For whatever reason, the identity status measure and the life goal measure did not seem to be assessing the same information.

Gender and Intimacy

As expected, ideological/occupational identity status was unrelated to intimacy levels while more advanced interpersonal identity statuses were clearly related to an increased capacity for and level of intimacy, at least toward same-sex friends. The lack of a relationship between interpersonal identity status and cross-sex behavioural intimacy levels is somewhat puzzling. Subjects were clearly instructed not to consider cross-sex friends they were romantically interested in, but it is possible that some element of sexual attraction always exists in cross-sex

friendships, an element which obscures the intimacy-
interpersonal identity relationship. It is also possible
that cross-sex intimacy is learned in a different way or
relies on different characteristics.

Despite general support for the hypothesized
relationship between interpersonal identity status and
levels of behavioural intimacy, men and women revealed less
differentiation than expected. Significant gender
differences were limited to the discussion of two topics
within same-sex friendships -- family and social issues --
on both of which women were more intimate than men.

Both men and women had similar levels of cross-sex
intimacy. However, women revealed a greater level of
intimacy discussing family and dating with same-sex as
compared to cross-sex friends. Thus, it is women rather
than men who seem somewhat selective in their intimacy,
preferring same-sex to cross-sex friends for certain topics.
Therefore, the suggestion that women draw men into more
intimate relationships or teach them to be concerned with
interpersonal issues was not supported in the present study.

Sex Role Orientation, Identity and Intimacy

Given that gender per se does not seem to be
significantly related to identity status or friendship
intimacy levels, the findings with regard to sex role
orientation are enlightening. Evidence of strong
correlations between gender and sex role orientation and

between sex role orientation, interpersonal identity status and intimacy strongly suggests its critical role as a mediator.

Significant, but not overly large, correlations were found between gender and sex role orientation, indicating a less than perfect correspondence between gender and sex role orientation. Analyses using masculine sex role orientation scores alone indicated a weak relationship between these scores and ideological/occupational status and no relationship with interpersonal identity status. It would appear then, that the strength of the individual's stereotypical masculine characteristics exerts a relatively minor influence on identity development in either domain. This result is not surprising for the interpersonal domain, given the relational quality of this identity construct. On the other hand, one would expect development in the "male" oriented ideological/occupational identity domain to have a stronger tie to the strength of one's masculine characteristics.

Examination of relationships using the feminine sex role orientation score alone provided a much clearer story, with femininity unrelated to ideological/occupational status and closely related to interpersonal identity status. Thus, a relatively strong stereotypical feminine sex role orientation does seem to accelerate interpersonal identity status development, regardless of gender per se.

Two possible reasons for these findings come to mind. First, the ideological/occupational identity status construct may not be a meaningful or valid classification. Second, values and choices dealing with politics, religion and career may no longer be specifically male or female oriented decisions. While socialization may still tie relational concerns to feminine characteristics, there may have been a transition concerning the issues related to ideological/occupational identity. The most identifiable topic area of this domain, career, was of central concern to both women and men.

Thus, the results imply that our understanding of the ideological/occupational identity domain is limited and not particularly clarified by the variables assessed in this study. On the other hand, we do know that feminine sex role orientation is related to interpersonal identity status. It appears that the strength of one's feminine characteristics influences concern with and interest in relational issues. It is possible that previous studies did not find this sex role orientation influence because the large difference between men and women on their intimacy measures coincided with sex role orientation differences. That is, the correlation between gender and sex role orientation may have been much stronger in previous studies or on other variables. Because this study reveals less gender and sex role orientation similarity on the identity and intimacy

variables, the difference between masculine and feminine sex role orientations is not obscured by parallel gender differences.

Given the finding that feminine sex role orientation influenced interpersonal identity status, the strong relationship between feminine sex role orientation and capacity for and level of intimacy was not surprising and further highlighted and clarified the mediating role of this variable.

The significant main effects for feminine sex role orientation and both same- and cross-sex intimacy levels is interesting. Unlike interpersonal identity status, which was significantly related only to same-sex intimacy, the feminine sex role orientation score tapped something in both types of friendship. This finding suggests that in order to predict an individual's same-sex intimacy level, it is necessary to know the individual's feminine sex role orientation and interpersonal identity status scores, whereas to ascertain an individual's cross-sex intimacy level, one only needs to know the individual's feminine sex role orientation score. The implication is that there is a difference between intimacy within same-sex friendships compared to cross-sex friendships. It is possible that the tie between same- and cross-sex intimacy levels is feminine sex role orientation while same-sex intimacy alone, possibly

a more general type of intimacy, is as closely related to interpersonal identity status.

The final hypothesis sought to clarify the relative effects of feminine and masculine sex role orientations. Based on previous research, it was presumed that a balance of masculine and feminine characteristics would be the best of both worlds, so that being high on both dimensions would facilitate identity development in both ideological/occupational and interpersonal domains. The present study did not support this assumption. The analyses revealed that androgyny was unrelated to either identity domain. These results could be explained by a balancing out of the two sex role orientations. Previous results indicated that feminine sex role orientation was related to interpersonal identity status, but the addition of masculine sex role orientation scores to the androgyny measure may have masked the feminine-interpersonal relationship instead of enhancing it.

Post hoc analyses with the androgyny index also indicated a lack of relationship between androgyny and the intimacy variables. Again, the addition of masculine sex role orientation possibly masked the effect of feminine sex role orientation. A puzzling finding was the effect of adding androgyny as a covariate; it reduced the relationship between interpersonal identity status and the intimacy measures to nonsignificance. This reduction implies that

interpersonal identity status and androgyny share variance. It is possible that the type of characteristics needed to develop one's interpersonal identity status are similar to the combination of rational and sensitive characteristics indicative of androgynous individuals.

Strengths and Weaknesses

A number of issues related to this type of research became apparent in this study. The major issue is the usefulness of a measure of identity that eliminates approximately half of one's original sample. The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-2 (EOM-EIS-2) creates many groups that are excluded from analysis. However closer examination of these groups might provide useful information about the actual identity development process. Since only 43 of the 308 individuals (14%) obtained pure statuses in both interpersonal and ideological/occupational identity, and supposedly all one's predictions and expectations should be based on this small percentage, one questions the generalizability of these individuals' responses, not only to the rest of the world, but also to the remaining 86% of the sample. This study expanded the sample by including subjects with mixed pure and low-moratorium statuses. Even with their inclusion, however, more than half of the original subjects were excluded from subsequent analyses. Because other studies using this self-report measure (Craig-Bray et al., 1988)

have based their analyses on a similarly limited number of individuals, the small sample in this study was treated as acceptable with the proviso that the overall usefulness of this measure must be questioned.

A major strength of this study was the inclusion of different types of intimacy measures. Having an assessment of both capacity for and level of intimacy enabled the examination of a broader spectrum of this construct. Also, differing results on the two types of intimacy measures allowed for a greater understanding of the relationships or at least a recognition that intimacy is a complex construct. Future research needs to clarify and assess these measures. Although the concept of different intimacy measures is useful, the actual measures chosen were questionable, and the lack of measures available a handicap.

Lastly, the desire for a second type of identity measure was a good one, but the Life Goal question may not have been the best way to fulfil this goal. A multiple choice format, with more questions focusing on central identity issues, might have clarified this area more. The measure used called into question the actual value and choice areas individuals were dealing with when they completed the identity status measure, especially for the ideological/occupational domain. Perhaps the life goal questions's greatest contribution to this study was the

challenge to the meaning and worth of the ideological/occupational identity domain.

Future Research

In future research the relationship between intimacy and feminine sex role orientation should be considered more fully. The current belief that women are almost invariably more intimate than men may be untrue; rather, those individuals, male or female, with strong stereotypical feminine characteristics may be the most able to establish intimate relationships. Also, research should be conducted to clarify the differences between same- and cross-sex intimacy and to explore the possibility that feminine sex role orientation taps something in both types of intimacy while interpersonal identity status does not.

Secondly, the current approach to measuring the identity construct must be questioned, not only because so few individuals can be studied, but also because the domains that have been identified, ideological/occupational and interpersonal, may be less meaningful than previously assumed. Future research should consider either the inclusion of the other identity status groups created by the EOM-EIS-2 or the discontinuation of the use of this measure. One cannot, in all conscience, drop 50 to 86% of the sample without wondering about the generalizability of a study. Until a better method of identity classification is

developed, research using limited "pure-status" populations must be clearly placed within the context of the type of individuals used and their unique characteristics.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE INTRODUCTION, CONSENT FORM,
AND DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

Friendship Study

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore how people feel about themselves and their friends. You will be answering a number of questions that deal with your perceptions of yourself, your personality, and your friendships.

The accuracy and usefulness of this study will depend on your thoughtful, truthful answers. The questions you are answering may seem personal but I hope you will answer as truthfully as possible. You may be assured that your responses will remain ANONYMOUS. In order to ensure this, please do NOT put your name on any part of this questionnaire package except the consent form.

Remember that your participation is voluntary, and thus, if for some reason you would rather not take part in this research after all, you are free to leave at any time without any consequences other than the loss of credit for your participation.

Inside the questionnaire package there are a number of sections each with its own instructions. Please read the instructions carefully. If you have ANY questions about a section or a specific question, please feel free to ask me for clarification. This is not a test; I want you to know exactly what I am asking so you can answer as honestly and accurately as possible.

When you have completed the questionnaire package please put all materials in the envelope except the consent form and bring both the envelope and consent form to me. You will then receive a handout explaining the study in more detail. Please feel free to stay until everyone is finished if you would like to talk directly to me.

Thank you very much for your help.
Your participation is valued and appreciated.

Arlene D. Cox, B.Sc.
Department of Psychology

Friendship StudyConsent Form

I realize that I will be answering questions about my perceptions of myself and my friendships. I also understand that my signature on this form gives Arlene D. Cox the right to use my responses for her research.

I am aware that this form will not be attached to my questionnaire so that my answers will not be tied to my name in any way.

I fully understand and accept these conditions and by signing below give my full and informed consent to be a part of this research with the proviso that my answers remain strictly anonymous.

Signature _____

Date _____

Research Explanation

Research has suggested that men and women may not develop their identities in the same way. Men appear to consider occupational choices first, defining who they are by what they do or want to do. Women, on the other hand, are concerned about relating to others first and define themselves by how others relate to them.

Consistent with these differences, women seem to value emotional intimacy in their friendships while male friendships tend to be based on shared activities. One possible reason for these gender differences is that boys and girls are socialized differently in our society, with the emphasis on personal accomplishments for boys and personal characteristics for girls.

My research was designed to determine if male and female friendship patterns are in fact different and also, to see if the development of a sense of identity, a sense of who you are, is based on different issues for men and women. I suspect that men first develop a self-definition by choosing a career and making vocational choices. Later men concern themselves with interpersonal issues and develop intimacy in friendships. On the other hand, I believe women first build their identity on their interpersonal functioning, developing intimate relationships with others. Later, they concern themselves with career choices and vocational issues.

When the results are determined they will be posted on the Psychology Department bulletin board in Windsor Hall South. Your Psychology 115 sections will be notified of the posting so you can look at the results. If you would like to discuss any of your ideas or talk about the purpose of this study or the results, please feel free to contact me or my advisor, Dr. Shelagh Towson, at the Psychology Department.

NOTE

If the complete purpose of this research was known before students completed the questionnaire package it would seriously influence their responses and thus the usefulness and honesty of their answers. Therefore, please do not inform anyone of the purpose of the study or tell them about the questions. Once all the questionnaires have been completed feel free to discuss your experiences, but until then, please do not talk about this study with your friends, who may be participating at a later session.

Thank you for your help
Arlene D. Cox, B.Sc.

APPENDIX B
DEPENDENT MEASURES

Background Information

1. Age: _____(years)
2. Sex: ____ male ____ female
3. Marital Status:
 - _____ single
 - _____ married or common-law
 - _____ separated, divorced or widowed
4. Living situation (check one).
 - _____ live in University residence
 - _____ live in a sorority or fraternity
 - _____ live off campus with friends
 - _____ live with boyfriend/girlfriend
 - _____ live with spouse
 - _____ live at home with family
 - _____ other (please describe) _____

Friendship Survey

Below is a list of statements about your friendships. If the statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE about your friendships, please put a I in the blank in front of the statement. If it is FALSE or MOSTLY FALSE, please put an E in front of the statement.

IMPORTANT: Please answer each statement with either a T or an F.
DO NOT use both T and F for one statement.

- ____1. I have always had some difficulty making friends.
- ____2. I have at least one very close friend who means a lot to me.
- ____3. Most of the time, I would rather be by myself than with other people.
- ____4. Right now in my life, I feel my close friends understand me better than my parents do.
- ____5. I believe that my friends value my friendship.
- ____6. I usually spend more of my "free time" with my parents than with my friends.
- ____7. I have always had a lot of problems in my friendships.
- ____8. Friends are nice to have but they are not really important to me.
- ____9. If I have a personal problem, I am as likely to go to my parents for help as to my close friend.
- ____10. Once I become friends with someone, we usually stay friends a long time.

- ___11. I think it's nice to have people to do things with, but I don't like to get too close to my friends.
- ___12. I feel I am more my real "self," more myself, when I'm with my close friend than when I am with my parents.
- ___13. Even when I was younger, my friendships never seemed to last very long.
- ___14. I usually spend about the same amount of "out-of-school" time with my friends as with my parents.
- ___15. I don't really care whether other people want to be friends with me or not.
- ___16. At my age now, I feel I learn more important things from my relationship with close friends than I do from my relationships with my parents.
- ___17. I usually make friends easily.
- ___18. I have never had a relationship I would describe as a really close friendship, even when I was younger.
- ___19. I feel that at this stage of my life, my parents understand me as well as my close friends do.
- ___20. For as long as I can remember, friendships have never really been that important to me.
- ___21. I don't have a lot of problems in my friendships, they usually run pretty smooth.
- ___22. I feel that I am my real "self" when I am with both my parents and my close friend.
- ___23. I don't like to have really close friendships because when they break up, it hurts too much.

Same-Sex Close Friend

Your same-sex close friend is the person of the same sex who is closest to you emotionally at the present time, the friend of the same sex who is most important to you. This person should not be a brother or sister or someone you are romantically interested in.

1. According to this definition, do you have a same-sex close friend at the present time:
 ___ yes
 ___ no

If your answer is no, go to the section of the questionnaire labelled Opposite-sex Close Friend.

2. My same-sex close friend is _____ years old.
3. I have been close friends with this person for _____ (approximate length of time).
4. My same-sex close friend is:
 ___ an old friend from home
 ___ a person I met in grade school
 ___ a person I met in high school
 ___ a person I met on the job
 ___ a person I met in University/College
 ___ a relative other than a brother or sister (specify) _____
 ___ other (specify) _____

Seven topics of conversation are listed and underlined below. What happens when you and your same-sex close friend talk about these topics? Remember to answer all questions.

	Not Often	Some- times	Often	We don't Discuss This
In conversations				
<u>about the way I handle my school work or what I should do to make better grades,</u>				
1. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
2. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about the way I behave toward my friends or problems I may have with my friends,</u>				
3. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
4. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0

In conversations	Not Often	Some- times	Often	We don't Discuss This
<u>about my future school and job plans,</u>				
5. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
6. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about what I should, or should not, do on dates,</u>				
7. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
8. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about the way I behave toward my family or problems I may have with my family,</u>				
9. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
10. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about religious beliefs such as what I think about God and other religious teachings,</u>				
11. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
12. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about social issues such as racial and sexual discrimination, and welfare programs,</u>				
13. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
14. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0

Opposite-Sex Close Friend

Your opposite-sex close friend is the person of the opposite sex who is closest to you emotionally at the present time, the friend of the opposite sex who is most important to you. This person should not be a brother or sister or someone you are romantically interested in.

1. According to this definition, do you have an opposite-sex close friend at the present time:
- yes
 no

If your answer is no, go to the section of the questionnaire labelled Identity Scale.

2. My opposite-sex close friend is _____ years old.
3. I have been close friends with this person for _____ (approximate length of time).
4. My opposite-sex close friend is:
- an old friend from home
 a person I met in grade school
 a person I met in high school
 a person I met on the job
 a person I met in University/College
 a relative other than a brother or sister (specify) _____
 other (specify) _____

Seven topics of conversation are listed and underlined below. What happens when you and your opposite-sex close friend talk about these topics? Remember to answer all questions.

In conversations	Not <u>Often</u>	Some- <u>times</u>	Often	We don't Discuss <u>This</u>
<u>about the way I handle my school work or what I should do to make better grades,</u>				
1. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
2. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about the way I behave toward my friends or problems I may have with my friends,</u>				
3. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
4. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0

In conversations	Not Often	Some- times	Often	We don't Discuss This
<u>about my future school and job plans,</u>				
5. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
6. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about what I should, or should not, -do on dates,</u>				
7. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
8. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about the way I behave toward my family or problems I may have with my family,</u>				
9. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
10. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about religious beliefs such as what I think about God and other religious teachings,</u>				
11. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
12. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0
<u>about social issues such as racial and sexual discrimination, and welfare programs,</u>				
13. my friend explains the reasons for his(her) ideas.	1	2	3	0
14. my friend really tries to understand my ideas.	1	2	3	0

Close Friends Survey

Complete this survey only if you have a same-sex close friend and an opposite-sex close friend. Below is a list of statements about your close friends of the same or opposite sex. If the statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE about your friendship, please put a T in the blank in front of the statement. If it is FALSE or MOSTLY FALSE, please put an F in front of the statement. If you feel that your friendship with your same-sex and opposite-sex close friends is the SAME put an S in front of the statement.

IMPORTANT: Please answer each statement with a T or an F or an S.

- ___ 1. Right now in my life, I feel my same-sex close friend understands me better than my opposite-sex close friend.
- ___ 2. I usually spend more of my "free time" with my opposite-sex close friend than with my same-sex close friend.
- ___ 3. If I have a personal problem, I am most likely to go to my same-sex close friend for help rather than my opposite-sex friend.
- ___ 4. I feel I am more my real "self," more myself, when I am with my same-sex close friend rather than my opposite-sex close friend.
- ___ 5. I usually spend more "out-of-school" time with my same-sex close friend than with my opposite-sex close friend.
- ___ 6. At my age now, I feel I learn more important things from my relationship with my opposite-sex close friend than I do from my relationship with my same-sex close friend.
- ___ 7. I feel that at this stage of my life, my opposite-sex close friend understands me better than my same-sex close friend.
- ___ 8. I feel that I am more my real "self" when I am with my opposite-sex close friend than when I am with my same-sex close friend.
- ___ 9. I usually spend more "out-of-school" time with my opposite-sex close friend than with my same-sex close friend.
- ___ 10. I usually spend more of my "free time" with my same-sex close friend than with my opposite-sex close friend.
- ___ 11. At my age now, I feel I learn more important things from my relationship with my same-sex close friend than I do from my relationship with my opposite-sex close friend.
- ___ 12. If I have a personal problem, I am more likely to go to my opposite-sex close friend for help than to my same-sex close friend.
- ___ 13. I am as close to my same-sex close friend as to my opposite-sex close friend.

Identity Scale

Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, please indicate your reaction to the statement as a whole. Indicate your answer on the answer sheet by choosing one of the following responses. Do not write on the questionnaire itself.

- A = strongly agree
 B = moderately agree
 C = agree
 D = disagree
 E = moderately disagree
 F = strongly disagree

1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at whatever is available until something better comes along.
2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look.
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.
4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another.
5. There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me.
6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own.
7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned whether I date or not.
8. 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.
9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs will be right for me.
10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other.
11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me.
12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style" view, but haven't really found it yet.
13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on.
14. While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets to identify one I can truly enjoy.
15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now.

For all the questions on this page, choose from the following responses.

- A = strongly agree
- B = moderately agree
- C = agree
- D = disagree
- E = moderately disagree
- F = strongly disagree

16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much.
17. 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.
18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe.
19. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me.
20. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective.
21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to choose my friends.
22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices.
23. I don't think about dating such. I just kind of take it as it comes.
24. 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.
25. I'm really not interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available.
26. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.
27. My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further.
28. My own views on a desirable life style were taught to me by my parents and I don't see any need to question what they taught me.
29. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now.
30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly.
31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me.

For all the questions on this page, choose from the following responses.

- A = strongly agree
- B = moderately agree
- C = agree
- D = disagree
- E = moderately disagree
- F = strongly disagree

32. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.
33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career.
34. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong for me.
35. 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.
36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self exploration.
37. I only pick friends my parents would approve of.
38. I've always liked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else.
39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date.
40. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe.
41. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans.
42. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.
43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision.
44. My parents' views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else.
45. I've had many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend.
46. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends.
47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet.

For all the questions on this page, choose from the following responses.

- A = strongly agree
- B = moderately agree
- C = agree
- D = disagree
- E = moderately disagree
- F = strongly disagree

48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.
49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career.
50. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why.
51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me.
52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life.
53. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd.
54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational activities in hopes of finding one or more I can really enjoy for some time to come.
55. I've dated different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date.
56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other.
57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many that have possibilities.
58. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me.
59. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it.
60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own life style will be.
61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me.
62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else.
63. I date only people my parents would approve of.
64. 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.

Life Goals

A person's sense of self is developed from many different areas and elements. For example, a person is a man or a woman, a student or a teacher, or possibly a brother or a cousin. The different elements that contribute to one's self-definition or identity vary in their importance for different people.

Below are listed various elements or areas that may contribute to your sense of self or self-definition. Please rank them in their order of importance to your sense of self. Put a 1 next to the most important element, a 2 next to the second most important, and so on.

- ___ political views and choices
- ___ religious views and choices
- ___ career choice
- ___ views on marriage and the roles in it
- ___ type of friend you are and your views on friendship
- ___ basic life style desired

Personality Questions

On the next page you will be shown a large number of personality characteristics. We would like you to use those characteristics in order to describe yourself. That is, we would like you to indicate, on a scale from A to G, how true of you these various characteristics are. Please do not leave any characteristics unmarked. Example:

Sly

- Mark A if it is NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE that you are sly.
 Mark B if it is USUALLY NOT TRUE that you are sly.
 Mark C if it is SOMETIMES BUT INFREQUENTLY TRUE that you are sly.
 Mark D if it is OCCASIONALLY TRUE that you are sly.
 Mark E if it is OFTEN TRUE that you are sly.
 Mark F if it is USUALLY TRUE that you are sly.
 Mark G if it is ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE that you are sly.

Thus, if you feel it is sometimes but infrequently true that you are "sly", never or almost never true that you are "malicious", always or almost always true that you are "irresponsible", and often true that you are "carefree", then you would rate these characteristics as follows:

Sly	C	Irresponsible	G
Malicious	A	Carefree	E

When you have decided on the letter that indicates how similar you are to the characteristic, fill in that letter on the computer answer sheet. Do not mark on the actual characteristic sheet. Also, PLEASE do not skip any items!

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Never or almost never true	Usually not true	Sometimes but infrequently true	Occasionally true	Often true	Usually true	Always or almost always true
1. Self reliant		21. Reliable		41. Warm		
2. Yielding		22. Analytical		42. Solemn		
3. Helpful		23. Sympathetic		43. Willing to take a stand		
4. Defends own beliefs		24. Jealous		44. Tender		
5. Cheerful		25. Has leadership abilities		45. Friendly		
6. Independent		26. Sensitive to the needs of others		46. Aggressive		
7. Shy		27. Truthful		47. Inefficient		
8. Conscientious		28. Willing to take risks		48. Acts as a leader		
9. Athletic		29. Understanding		49. Childlike		
10. Affectionate		30. Secretive		50. Adaptable		
11. Theatrical		31. Makes decisions easily		51. Individualistic		
12. Assertive		32. Compassionate		52. Does not use harsh language		
13. Flatterable		33. Sincere		53. Unsystematic		
14. Happy		34. Self-sufficient		54. Competitive		
15. Strong personality		35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings		55. Loves children		
16. Loyal		36. Conceited		56. Tactful		
17. Unpredictable		37. Dominant		57. Ambitious		
18. Forceful		38. Soft-spoken		58. Gentle		
19. Feminine		39. Likeable		59. Conventional		
20. Moody		40. Masculine		60. Gullible		

APPENDIX C

RELIABILITY OF INTIMACY MEASURES

Three intimacy measures were used, each derived in some way from Youniss and Smollar's (1985) work with adolescent friendships. The Friendship Survey was a direct replication so reliability was checked by the similarity of response between Youniss and Smollar's sample of high school students and the current sample of university students. Youniss and Smollar described the percentage of individuals who answered "true" to nine of the questions in this survey. Of these nine questions, seven were answered similarly by the present sample (Cox). Table 13 presents the percentage of subjects who answered "true" to the nine items in the Youniss and Smollar and Cox samples and the difference between these two samples. The two items which show a large difference (12 and 16) refer to a comparison between friends and parents.

The second measure of intimacy examined communication on different topics of conversation. Unlike the Youniss and Smollar sample which used same-sex friends only, this study considered both same- and opposite-sex friend conversations. Table 14 shows the percent of subjects who discussed the topic for each sample group. A comparison among all three groups, Youniss and Smollar same-sex, Cox same-sex and Cox opposite-sex, on the five topics of discussion described in detail by Youniss and Smollar (1985), reveals an increase in subjects discussing these topics in both Cox samples.

Table 13

Item Response Comparison of the Youniss and Smollar and
Cox Samples

<u>Item Number</u>	<u>Youniss and Smollar</u>	<u>Cox</u>	<u>Difference</u>
2	94	93.8	0.2
4	70	66.4	3.6
5	92	95.3	3.3
8	5	5.5	0.5
10	92	89.8	2.2
12	68	49.2	18.8*
13	9	10.2	1.2
16	70	53.9	16.1*
20	5	4.7	0.3

Table 14

Comparison of Percent Discussion in the Youniss and Smollar
and Cox Samples

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Youniss and Smollar</u>		<u>Cox</u>
	<u>Same-Sex</u>	<u>Same-Sex</u>	<u>Opposite-Sex</u>
Religion	56	69	61.3
Social	65	80.7	81.3
Family	67	96.8	89.3
Dating	73	92.8	80
Friend	90	94	96.7
	(n=180)	(n=124)	(n=75)

However, the ranking of topic is similar for the three groups.

Another reliability measure of this second instrument was the symmetry of conversation, whether the amount individuals listen and talk is the same. Asymmetry is apparent when subjects talk more than they listen or vice versa. Table 15 shows the comparison between the Youniss and Smollar findings of symmetry in conversation across gender compared to the Cox findings. The females in the same-sex categories have very similar symmetry levels; thus the instrument seems to be tapping similar variables.

Table 15
Percent of Symmetrical Discussions in the Youniss and Smollar and Cox Samples

<u>Amount of Symmetry</u>	<u>Youniss and Smollar</u>		<u>Cox</u>			
	<u>Same-Sex</u>		<u>Same-Sex</u>		<u>Opposite-Sex</u>	
	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
All	21.0	*	22.1	20.7	35.2	57.1
Half	45.0	*	59.0	58.6	50.0	28.6
None	4.0	25.0	1.1	0.0	3.7	4.8
n.=	*	*	95	29	54	21

* unavailable information

The third instrument was an Intimacy Comparison Survey created from questions used by Youniss and Smollar and changed to compare same- and opposite-sex friendships. The reliability measure for this test was consistency over responses, i.e., a true to one question automatically makes a true to another question logically impossible. There were six combinations of questions which were logically impossible (item 1 with item 7, 2 with 10, 3 with 12, 4 with 8, 5 with 9, and 6 with 11). Table 16 shows the percent of answers that were reliable for each gender.

Table 16

Reliability of Intimacy Comparison Survey Responses by
Gender

<u>Gender</u>	<u>All responses</u> <u>Reliable</u>	<u>Half of responses</u> <u>Reliable</u>	<u>No responses</u> <u>Reliable</u>
Female (n=54)	46.3%	48.1%	1.9%
Male (n=21)	52.4%	47.6%	0.0%

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VITA AUCTORIS

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