

IMPLICATIONS OF THE INTERACTION BETWEEN
FULL AND PARTIAL COMPLETION OF
ERIKSON'S IDENTITY
TASK AND GENDER

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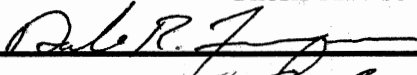
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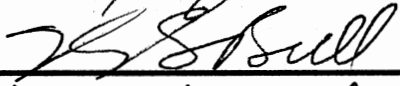
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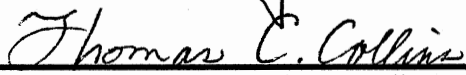


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In order for this section of the dissertation to really reflect the various input of individuals, it would be necessary for them to be called by name. It seems more judicious in this particular case not to do so. Therefore, to those who have helped, thanks. As I have indicated to you in private, I couldn't have done it without you. To those who have done otherwise, it should also be acknowledged that, given the roadblocks you placed, it is a wonder that this dissertation is finished.

My great appreciation goes to Erik Erikson. Whenever I thought this dissertation process was too stupid to pursue any further, I would read some of the creative, eloquent expressions of human development that he has written -- not that this made the process any less obtuse, but that I would be able to forget about that as I rejoiced in the communication with Erikson.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Psychoanalysis began with Sigmund Freud at the end of the nineteenth century. It attempted to shed light in areas of the psyche unknown and unacknowledged by both laity and professionals. The subsequent generation was forced to reassess some major issues concerning human nature. The educated of that first Freudian generation would finally repudiate two extremes of thinking concerning the nature of man. One such extreme was dominated by religious ideas and prevented by maxim inquiry into human nature; the other extreme was dominated by mechanics and denied there were areas of human nature that did not yield to mechanistic science. Freud was influenced by mechanics, and his theory of human nature never escaped that influence in its phraseology. Freud, however, pursued human nature by his own intuition, and eventually transcended much of the mechanistic language. As his understanding grew, so did his fame, and so did his coterie. While that was true in Europe, mechanics dominated North America. The success of mechanics was so dramatic in the United States of America that no one could refute it in the popular mind. The psychology of William James, for instance, was relatively unknown, and his moderate position concerning human nature, allowing for both the rational and irrational, the mechanical and the intuitive, was overshadowed by extravagant claims by men in

newly manufactured suits arriving in newly manufactured cars that they could make a human into anything given the right mechanics.

While focusing on constructs that arise from Erikson, the present study has its roots, as does Erikson's work, in Freudian theory. A most enigmatic statement of Freud, while trying to sum up the healthy personality (a subject given short shrift by Freud's biographers and/or critics), is that such a personality is committed to *Lieben und Arbeiten* — love and work. Those two modalities have become the primary modalities for contemporary identity formation during the adolescent identity stage, and have led to the present rift among many developmental psychologists concerning the developmental direction of males and females. Sources of identity have been many in the past, including ones that were not specific to the individual personality; and, while they have been rigid in application, they have often been more adequate in personal meaning. This study attempts both a return to the possibilities inherent in the psychoanalytic view of identity formation as outlined by Erikson, and a broad interpretation of what those possibilities are, as intended by Erikson. This was accomplished by examining the modalities of identity formation, the gender issues involved, and particularly the interaction thereof in terms of self perception of certain behaviors.

In his extensions of Freud's ideas, Erikson did two things: first, he explicitly linked each of the psychosexual stages of development discussed by Freud to the acquisition of the social attitudes and behavior patterns of the person. In effect, this resulted in relating the biological properties of oral, anal, and genital activities to the developing child's makeup. Second, Erikson enlarged Freud's number of stages from five to eight,

extending the analysis of psychological development through adulthood to death, thus laying the groundwork for analyses specific to other life periods, e.g., gerontological psychology.

Background

Before Erik H. Erikson came to the United States in the 1930's, he was raised with a step father (Homburger) in a step country (Germany). Erikson left the Gymnasium to travel in southern Europe, living penuriously as an artist. His membership in psychoanalysis was an accident, for he was initially employed by Anna Freud as an art teacher in the Kinderschule for children of members of the Vienna Circle. He continued to oscillate in his nature even as he graduated from the Freudian circle in Vienna, still feeling as much the artist as the psychoanalyst. In America, Erikson achieved his own identity, and in so doing, contributed greatly to the understanding of America's identity as well. As he wrote about the identity crisis of Martin Luther coinciding with the identity crisis of western Europe, so has it been noted that Erikson's identity crisis coincided with that of the United States (Erikson, 1970).

Freudianism had made small gains in the United States, probably because it was too European; that is, intuitive, introspective, and inclusive of the irrational. These small gains were primarily exerted by Anna Freud in the child development area. The advent of Erikson's work changed that perception. When Erikson began publishing, first magazine articles and lectures, the first book, Childhood and Society, not appearing until 1950, his approach and style de-emphasized the genetics and psychosexuality of Freud and

emphasized the environment and psychosociality. Thus, the insights of psychoanalysis became slowly available and more acceptable to Americans. Erikson was not so introspective as the European psychoanalysts, and this agreed with the citizens of his adopted country. His work was understandable and practical, earning respect while taking place on Indian reservations and in veteran's hospitals. Here was an American psychoanalyst involved with the concerns of ordinary people. Though his works are sprinkled with German vernacular and Latin, his prose is very American, almost novel-like, as befits the aspiring artisté. Erikson's identity crisis was resolved in the United States, and with it, significant contributions to the American crisis were made as well. Today there is a more balanced view of human nature, allowing both the rational and the irrational, the physical and the psychological. Indeed, the psychoanalytic theory of Erikson has a stronger following in America than it does in Europe.

Overview Of Erikson's Theory Of Development

As Erikson resolved his personal identity issues, he formed his theory of personality development which became the first psychological theory that was concerned with the entire life cycle. That is, Erikson's personal development parallels a larger development, that of a psychology of every age of human nature. The following diagram depicts the life cycle that is now so widely recognized. Erikson's constant caution was not to use this as anything other than a heuristic.

							Ego integ- rity versus despair
						Generativ- ity versus stagnation	
					Intimacy versus isolation		
				Identity versus role confusion			
			Industry versus inferiority				
		Initiative versus guilt					
	Autonomy versus shame						
Trust ver- sus Mistrust							

Figure 1. Erikson's Stages

“I hope to have indicated in the first part of this paper that a good story does not need a chart to come alive, and in the second, that a chart, and especially one with so many empty boxes, can use a good story. At any rate, I look forward to seeing this combination used for the demonstration of other conceptions detailing the epigenetic values intrinsic in the human life cycle” (Erikson, 1978, p. 30). This is an example of that combination of the intuitive and the mechanistic: the chart is there and is useful, but not to be considered a definitive statement of all that could possibly happen to a developing

human. It is designed to invite investigation into the developing human within a generally accepted, life-encompassing paradigm.

Erikson's theory has its critics. It is commonly misunderstood by some as prescribing what should happen in human development and by others as an invitation to environmental relativism. Presented as a scientific theory of human development, Erikson's theory is grounded in intuition, observation, and research. It is often noted that the constructs of psychoanalysis are difficult to research. A comprehensive survey of psychological research done in 1977 by Fisher and Greenberg underscored that, while psychoanalytic research may be difficult, there has been more of it done than for any other theory of personality. The same criticism has been made concerning research into Erikson's work, and in particular into the work on identity formation. A response to this criticism can be found in Waterman's 1984 survey of identity research. It shows how much interest has been directed toward this construct. Indeed, enough work is extant concerning identity that it has been said that Erikson's theory is an identity theory. Erikson specifically denies that his stage theory is an identity theory, noting that the earlier tasks of development had previously received much attention both from psychoanalysis and the child development researchers.

...Identity terms have been overemphasized in my writings and have subsequently been widely accepted or rejected on the assumption that in my scheme Identity was the teleological aim and end of growing up. The identity Crisis is, to say the least, pivotal; but (this) case illustrates poignantly what happens when Identity...is overdefined.... (Erikson, 1978, p. 28)

Further evidence for a life-span theory is evinced by the interest in the later tasks of development required as (1) more people live to older ages, and (2) more resources are

needed to deal with those greater numbers. Erikson believes that the later stages are just as important, noting that the successful resolution of the task of the first stage is dependent on the successful resolution of the task of the last stage by the preceding generation, thus connecting those generations in a spiraling development.

Issues In Identity Research

While much research was going on in the other stages, new perspectives on research in the identity stage were initiated in the 1960's. This research has taken two distinct pathways. Questions have been raised concerning the dynamics of identity formation, and questions have been raised concerning the universal applicability of identity formation. Erikson's student, James Marcia, began the inquiry into the dynamics of identity formation, finding that identity outcomes are several and hinge on two concepts that Erikson addressed: (1) crisis, and (2) commitment. On the basis of these two factors, Marcia proposed the now well known four possible outcomes of identity formation: (1) identity diffusion, (2) identity foreclosure, (3) moratorium, and (4) identity achievement (Marcia, 1966, 1967). All of these are foreshadowed in Erikson's work (Erikson, 1968). Though these four possibilities have been useful and have been supported in general by research, they may have also contributed to a narrow view of identity development that was not warranted by Erikson's own writings.

The other pathway of inquiry concerned the universality of identity formation. This, too, has two lines of development: (1) culture, and (2) gender. Erikson gave consideration to both areas. Certainly as a Dane growing up in Germany and maturing in the

United States, Erikson would be interested in the impact of culture on identity formation. But it was the opportunities given by studying the Sioux and the Yurok that contributed the most to Erikson's expansion of the identity construct from an intrapsychic process to a psychosocial process. For while he saw the same process of identity construction, he noted how strongly that process was molded by the culture in which it took place.

Erikson also pondered the possibility that identity formation was different for males than for females. He believed that anatomical differences have a profound effect on personality, though, unlike Freud, who saw those differences as definitive, Erikson felt that anatomy is prescriptive not proscriptive. This was first explored in the block constructions of children in Childhood and Society (1950). The gender issue in identity formation was studied in detail in the 1966 work of Douvan and Adelson, and their conclusions that males and females experience the same process but emphasize different modes of resolution will be the foundation for this study. Much has transpired since 1966 surrounding gender issues, and various researchers have proposed a more radical interpretation of the identity task. Gilligan (1982) has gained considerable exposure in her position proposing that females traverse intimacy before identity. Conversely, Marcia (1976) concluded in his survey of the research that the earlier position of Douvan and Adelson was correct.

Further, other contemporary works by females on females conclude that it is the modality of identity formation contributing to the difference between genders, not the sequence (Josselson, 1973). The present study focused on the line of research from Douvan and Adelson (1966) through Josselson (1973) to further study the differences in modality of identity formation that will manifest in gender specific behaviors. It was hypothesized

that male and female adolescents develop in the same way; that is, they progress through the same developmental process in the same order. It is important to establish this sequence, for a stage theory of human development like Erikson's cannot be considered a personality theory if it does not apply to both genders. Although the order of the developmental process may be similar, it is not implied by the hypothesis of Erikson or this study that all outcomes will be the same. Just as the biological theory of growth correctly describes common growth processes in males and females, but does not say that, for instance, the secondary sex characteristics that manifest from that process are the same, so Erikson's ideas of identity formation include the notion that there are diverse modalities of that formation.

The modalities of identity formation that are most explicitly stated by Erikson are: (1) personal ideologies, (2) gender roles, (3) interpersonal roles, and (4) career choices. What Douvan and Adelson discovered has since been supported; that is, identity formation, being a personally active process of creation, will manifest differing completions in each of the modalities which will still be labeled an identity. Thus, the type of resolution in the various modalities has no impact on the completeness of the formative process. For example, one individual comes to a committed stance in favor of populism, another in favor of aristocracy. Both have traversed the same process, while the outcomes are very different. And further, the relative importance of that ideology in the identity as compared to the importance of the resolution of another identity modality does not legislate the degree of identity achievement. While it is necessary that one resolve ideological

considerations during identity formation, it is not necessary that these resolutions be of more importance in the life of the individual than the resolutions of gender roles.

Erikson made a special effort to keep the construct "identity" open-ended, and was frustrated by the attempts of others to turn the construct into a simple "Who am I?" question for adolescents. Erikson's construction of the developmental process included the intrapsychic and the extrapsychic. This shows his work to be in the contemporary fold concerning the nature/nurture philosophical issue; that is, the intrapsychic is the nature of the individual and the extrapsychic is the nurture of the individual. Further, Erikson's view of the identity stage grew to include not only greater space (the society, culture, etc.), but also greater time. Erikson began to speak of the space-time continua of which an individual psyche is a part, and these would include life history and cultural history. This identity partakes of psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and history. The construct of identity formation is presently validly used in all these fields.

Erikson says that identity is complex and multi-dimensional. His work shows the many areas of inquiry that he felt influenced ego psychology: personal, family, and cultural history; relationships with mother, father, peers, cohorts, generations, and alien pseudo-species. The construct of identity thus grew as Erikson's understanding grew. It became more flexible, encompassing various issues, but more philosophical, finally settling as a paradoxical enterprise whose only answer was an individual creation. Identity formation is, then, rebirth at one's own hands. Identity formation, like cosmological creation, is a sum greater than its parts, that sum issuing primarily from unconscious sources (unknown but not necessarily all unknowable).

To some, identity formation has been understood as a simple addition of identifications that have been made throughout a person's life. Erikson denies this, saying that while all previous identifications are used in identity formation, identity is not a sum thereof. Identity formation might possibly be understood as a linear process, culminating in the final addition by the individual of 'decisions' about the major issues to those identifications that have gone before. Erikson denies this, believing there are no final steps in identity formation, though there is the achievement of an identity (Erikson, 1968). For this discussion, it is necessary to distinguish between the informal use of the expression, 'achieving an identity' as commonly used and the more formal expression, 'an achieved identity', as used by Erikson, Marcia, and others. In fact, one can achieve an identity that constitutes a negative identity, but that is not what is meant by identity achievement. Identity formation may then be understood as a non-linear process, circling both forward and back to bring in past and newly experienced elements in its composition. What is missing in this final statement of identity formation is the paradox of human life, that one may be both the creator and the creation. It is in this sense that Erikson speaks of rebirthing oneself. In the moment of forming one's identity, an element is given. Erikson refers in several places to the story by William James in which James says of a person's thought that the time may come when the person can say, "...and now I feel that This is me" (Erikson, 1978). Something is grasped at the moment.

The Eriksonian concept of rebirth was demonstrated in the Kung Fu television series beginning in 1972. At the beginning of each episode, there is a recounting of the events that lead to Quai Chang Caine's development into a Shaolin monk. In the last of

these scenes, Caine is approached by the master of the temple, who, holding out his hand, reminds Caine of the condition that was set long ago for the change from adept to monk. Caine must snatch a stone from the master's hand before it can be closed. He does so, and in this moment his identity as a Shaolin monk is achieved. Like other rites of passage, this one bestows identity. Identity was being formed all along, but there is an act that has great meaning in and of itself that must be done before the identity is achieved. It is truly a ritual, as is correctly demonstrated by the grasping of the stone. And it is an act alone, as the scene also demonstrates. The paradox of creating oneself is surmounted by an action.

Significance Of The Study

A personality theory is by definition a suggestion that given certain personality configurations, there will be behavioral concomitants of those configurations. If Erikson's theory correctly states that differential identity achievement interacts with gender to form a given individual's personality at a given moment, then it should be true that there are behavioral concomitants that correlate with the interaction effects. This study will not support the possibility of predicting gender or identity achievement by observing and categorizing behaviors. This study will show that descriptions of behavior can be made by knowing the gender and identity status of individuals.

There are hundreds or thousands of behaviors that could serve as a focus as one attempts to describe the results of a given achievement/gender configuration. Some clearly will yield a greater difference between gender among achievement levels than others. In this study, three specific areas were investigated: sensation seeking, tendency toward

depression, and dogmatic thinking. Note that this comprises a more or less physical area, emotional area, and cognitive area, respectively. Thus, this study demonstrates that the various gender and achievement level configurations impact all realms of human activity.

This study examines the development of 729 adolescents in an attempt to make descriptive statements concerning how their various lives are spiraling around their respective modalities as shown by specific behaviors. Just as Josselson (1973) spends most of her book describing the behaviors of her female subjects, so must this study attempt to describe the subjects' identities by measuring their self-described behaviors. To measure their identity development directly has been the desire of many Erikson researchers, and to that end instruments like the Erikson Psychosocial Inventory (EPSI) (1981) have been developed. The Erikson Psychosocial Inventory may have the power to recognize identity development, but such prediction will be only of a second order; that is, only in a correlational sense if the act of identity has occurred and behaviors are already being manifested that correspond thereto. From the research results, readers will be able to ponder, with the heaviness implied by that word, more comprehensive theory. It will not be possible to predict, by administering the Zuckerman, the Rokeach, and the Beck, whether identity formation is proceeding. Nor will it be possible to say that females will do this and males that, for what males and females will do is not a result of identity formation but is identity formation. It will be possible to say that Erikson's theory of identity formation can encompass the differential development of males and females. And given that, it will be possible to expand the theory so that it covers the individual life in greater detail, so that it

integrates the individual life with cultural life in greater complexity, and so that it integrates the individual space-time with other space-time.

Purpose Of The Study

There has been considerable research on the identity stage, including inquiry into full and partial completion of the identity stage (La Voie, 1976). Furthermore, the literature includes a review of how gender may affect identity development. There are few, if any, investigations where the two issues are considered together. The contention of this study is that one cannot look at gender and identity or full or partial identity achievement isolated one from the other. Erikson makes it clear (Erikson, 1966) that gender interacts with other parameters to influence identity achievement. This creates a need to conduct research wherein Erikson's larger view of identity development is explored.

The purpose of this study is to describe the completion at various levels of achievement of identity development for both genders. The specific self-reported characteristics of sensation seeking, depression, and dogmatism are correlated with identity achievement and gender to determine profiles of those characteristics. Conclusions are drawn indicating that the apparent paradoxes of development (work/love) are resolved in a practical way by people who create active identities. Thus the theme of this dissertation is *Lieben und Arbeiten*, love and work. This research will demonstrate the implicit error in directing males to search for identity fulfillment in work and women in love, resulting in gender specific outcomes that circumscribe individual development. The larger picture

indicates the need for love and work to coexist in both contemporary males and females.

Otherwise, identity is incomplete and ensuing gender specific identity crises result.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The intent of this study was to describe the multifaceted identity task as proposed by Erik Erikson relative to specific behavioral responses by gender. Thus, in this chapter, a further explication of Erikson's theory and the identity stage in particular will lead to specific reviews of other research that has been done in these areas. Particular emphasis is placed on research that studied gender as a variable. While building on these studies, this endeavor seeks to explore the development of identity as it manifests itself in various behaviors, those behaviors, then, acting as descriptors of the personality in process.

Review Of Erikson's Theory

Erik Erikson's epigenetic psychology is herein reviewed with a description of the eight stages running from birth to death. Erikson (1950, 1962) conceptualized these stages as bipolar continua describing tasks that form developmental stages. The stages are as follows: Trust versus Mistrust; Autonomy versus Doubt; Initiative versus Guilt; Industry versus Inferiority; Identity versus Identity Confusion; Intimacy versus Isolation; Generativity versus Stagnation; and Ego Integrity versus Despair. Healthy development means traversing each and every stage with positive resolution of the described task.

Trust Versus Mistrust

The development of trust includes both learning to trust others and learning to trust oneself. Learning to trust others is largely determined by contact with the primary caregivers. Some examples of learning to trust others are: (1) can one rely on being fed, (2) can one rely on being touched, (3) can one expect that care will be delivered on schedule, i.e., as one requires, (4) are the smiles of others a correct indication of the kind of treatment that one may expect, and (5) is the total environment (as represented by the caregivers) consistent or inconsistent. Learning to trust oneself is primarily determined by the experiences one has with one's body. Some examples of learning to trust oneself are: (1) when one "wills" an arm to move, does it move, (2) when one attempts communication (smiles, cries), does one get appropriate and consistent responses, (3) does crawling always take one somewhere, and (4) can one know where this body ends and another body begins. Positive responses to the above issues produce an overall sense that the world is a safe and reliable place to be (as the womb had been), and that the body interacts with this world in a dependable fashion. Negative responses to the above issues produce an overall sense that the world is not dependable, that it cannot be reliably negotiated, and the tools (the body) that one possesses to interact with the world are of questionable value.

Autonomy Versus Doubt

The development of autonomy builds on the sense that the world is a safe and consistent place and that one has reliable tools for interacting with that world. What can

one do with those tools and what responses do one's caretakers make to those efforts? In realizing that one is something other than one's caretakers, one wonders what the limits of this other are. Can one run as far as one wants, and will mother approve of that use of one's feet? If one is other, can one "will" something other than one's caretakers? These and similar issues are answered by experience, by trying to flush the toilet, and seeing if the effort is successful and meets with Mom's approval; by saying no and noting Dad's physical and affective reactions. Positive resolution during this stage results in attributes of pride, control, self-assurance, and self-certainty. One ponders — are these attributes ones that the caretakers support? Negative responses to the attempts at autonomous behavior produce doubts about one's abilities (if someone else is always flushing the toilet, or putting on one's socks, then how would one know that one could do these things?) Or, it is possible that one has been allowed to try out one's powers, but that the affective response of the caretakers is that one is not competent or that such efforts are bad. If the caregivers see these attempts at exercising one's powers as a confrontation with their powers, then one will be unable to revel in the discovery, and doubt, shame, dependency, self-consciousness, and compliance may be the outcome.

Initiative Versus Guilt

If one has discovered that one has some power, new issues arise. What can one do with such powers? How do these powers penetrate the world? In experiencing these questions, one moves with exuberance and curiosity, with freedom and assertion. There are endless situations in which one asks "why" and "what". Toys are dismantled to see

how they are made, or what makes them go (what gives them power). One's body and those of one's playmates may be explored. Positive resolutions result in a child that is motivated to explore self and world. Negative resolutions result in a child whose doubt about the ability to be powerful has been refined into guilt about the legitimacy of such explorations. Such negative outcomes are likely if caretakers restrain, resist, and punish the newly developing initiative too much. For example, the child may be made to feel guilty for taking toys apart or exploring the body. Severe reprimands may produce immobilization through fear.

Industry Versus Inferiority

If one and the world are experienced as reliable (trust) and one has some power over those experiences and it is possible and acceptable to use that power (autonomy), then where should one direct that power? As the cultural environment is embodied in one's immediate environment, so does one discover the important directions for one's power. If it is a hunting/gathering culture, then one's initiative is directed toward learning how to make baskets and spears. If it is an information based culture, then one's initiative is directed toward amassing and producing information. A sense of industry develops if these attempts meet with success. One learns to win approval, recognition, and a feeling of success by producing things and doing the job well. An important aspect of industry is the identification with those who know how to do culturally approved tasks. "Crucial to a sense of industry is the positive identification with those who know things and know how to do things" (Erikson, 1968, p. 158). Free play is subordinated to play that incorporates

rules. If the sense of industry is established successfully, one will need and want accomplishments and strive for completion of tasks and for recognition for work well done. If one fails in acquiring successes and recognition for those successes, there will be a sense of uselessness. One may not develop the feeling of enjoyment and pride in doing tasks. On the contrary, one may be plagued by feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

Identity Versus Identity Confusion

Of the things that one is or can do, what does one claim? Developing a sense of identity means claiming various activities and attributes as one's own. It means establishing to one's satisfaction that there is a sense of continuity between how one grew up as a child and those characteristics to which one is now laying claim. Are the sexual behaviors that one feels inclined to claim in line with those of caretakers and culture, or must one establish some new linkage in order to be so identified. Is the vocation in which one is interested a vocation of which one is capable and of which one's family approves, or does one find one's vocational lineages non-supportive. Are one's religious feelings one's own, or has one naively accepted them from the small circle in which one was raised. "Thus identity in adolescence has roots in the purposeful activities of early childhood. Out of initiative comes the ability to fantasize about and experiment with social and sexual roles of critical importance to adolescent and young adult life" (Erikson, 1968, p. 179). Since an identity is most easily found in interaction with significant other people, one may go through a period of intense peer group involvement (Kegan, 1981). One can try on the roles that others have and see if they fit. The experimentation is similar to what occurred in stage two as

one sought autonomy. Eventually, if one's identity is to be indeed one's own, one must be free from this dependency on peers. In the latter part of stage five, the experimentation becomes more individual. For instance, as one establishes that one is a Hindu, one must further decide exactly what parts of the Rig Veda one accepts and what parts one rejects.

There may be some considerable extremism at this time as one fights to make that position exclusively one's own. One who fails the construction of an identity will experience confusion. Such an individual may indulge in self-destructive, one-sided preoccupations or activities. One will continue to be morbidly preoccupied with the opinions of others or may be extreme in rejecting the importance of social ties. Ego diffusion and personality confusion, when they become a pattern, characterize the chronic delinquent and non-socialized person.

Intimacy Versus Isolation

This stage has at least three tasks. The first is to see the self as malleable. Failure here reflects either rigidity or loss of structure. One fails by not opening up, by not compromising, by trying to exert full control over one's world. The second task is to discover that dual processes have advantages over single processes. "It is the recognition of one's ultimate aloneness which gives intimacy its base, and it is one's capacity for security in that aloneness which makes genuine intimacy possible" (Erikson, 1963, p. 245). The third task is to value connection over dominance or subservience. Failure here leaves one in either the dormant or the subservient position in relation to work or people.

Generativity Versus Stagnation

Erikson seems to say that the defining quality of generativity is a connection to other generations, past and future, through diverse means, including producing work (whether material or non-material) as well as producing children (whether yours or others). Further, the production of work may be either creative (new works) or replicative (the reconstruction of a productive process). In all generativity scenarios, Erikson defines positive resolution by the motivation for one's behaviors, not by any specific behaviors themselves. The motivation that is demanded is the sense of caring founded on the acknowledgment of one's connection to past and future generations. "Generativity includes...the mature drive to generate and regenerate products and ideas... Wisdom is the virtue of the last crisis; care, for the mature stage of adulthood." (Erikson, 1978, p. 7)

This acknowledgment honors the humanistic input to life span theory, that an individual is potentially defined as a member of a larger (social) organism. Likewise, stagnation is defined by the lack of caring founded on this perspective. "Care ... is the concrete concern for what has been generated by love, necessity, or accident, thus counteracting the *Rejection*, which resists the commitment to such an obligation." (Erikson, 1978, p. 28)

Given that the central theme for generativity is motivation and not behavior, it is necessary to recognize those individuals who, while leading an industry, manufacturing golf carts, or rearing children, do so for personal acquisition, aggrandizement, or power. These are all displays of personal ego at work while healthy development would have transcended the exclusively personal. Erikson is very clear in limiting the development of the personal ego to the first five stages. Positive resolution in this seventh stage broadens the connection

that was established by a positive resolution to the development of intimacy. Another word with the same root as generative is generous. One can be generous with one's money, time, and with one's sense of equanimity. It is worth noting in this context that Erikson wrote a book about Gandhi in which a primary theme was the use by Gandhi of the centuries old feeling of connection between social groups (the "upside" to the caste system). Gandhi, according to Erikson, came to understand and then to use this cultural motivation to leave behind the feudal remnants while maintaining this spiritual value of connection (spiritual because it transcends the personal). Generativity, like all Eriksonian tasks, may be resolved over an extended period of time.

Ego Integrity Versus Despair

There are two tasks at this stage. The first is to be rid of the historical valuing of the self. One who fails here will continue to see oneself as one was when self-valued. That is, one spends one's time in the past, recounting how one did this or said that or made this. The second task is to persevere in one's efforts in the face of declining bodily functions. If one fails here, one gives in to the aches and pains and sorrows of old age to such an extent that they are the major daily focus. When this happens, there is little to anticipate. Looking back, one sees only dim visions of a life before pain — physical or psychological. When pain takes over and persistence is lost, direction is lost — one lacks integration of being. "Despair tells us that time is too short if not altogether too late for alternate roads to Integrity." (Erikson, 1978, p. 26).

Erikson's Theory As A Lifespan Stage Theory

A lifespan theory of development makes several things possible. It is useful to compare one individual with a norm to determine how development is proceeding. It is useful to know what one can expect as one develops. It is useful to place humanity in the larger context of organic development.

Psychology has non-stage theories. Behaviorism and information-processing theory, for example, have made contributions to the understanding of a human being. Stage theories, however, have been important to people because the most common experience of aging is that there is a pattern to it, and it is this pattern that is called development. With this definition, most everything develops. Knowing about these differences is understanding. Erikson's stage theory supposes that understanding of human development is possible, and that it is desirable. The present study was not designed to address the philosophical problems of that position. The present study was designed based on the presupposition that it is desirable to understand development, and that development can readily be cast in stages. Such discrimination is inherent to human cognition and makes the organization of the understanding easier. Most of the practical problems of daily life can be more easily organized if conceived in terms of developmental stages. The practical problems can be attacked in their smallness. This is true whether one is a psychological scientist or a person who, regardless of vocation, tries to understand life.

Erikson's Identity Stage

The task of the fifth developmental stage is identity formation and the bipoles are identity achievement and identity confusion. According to Erikson, it is at this stage that childhood comes to an end and youth begins (Erikson, 1963). No developmental task is ever permanently resolved.

An increasing sense of identity...is experienced preconsciously as a psycho-social well-being. Its most obvious concomitants are a feeling of being at home in one's body, a sense of 'knowing where one is going', and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count. Such a sense of identity, however, is never gained nor maintained once and for all. Like a 'good conscience', it is constantly lost and regained, although more lasting and more economical methods of maintenance and restoration are evolved and fortified in late adolescence. (Paranjpe, 1975, p.62)

Nonetheless, the focus of youth is to integrate all of one's life experiences, and culminate in an understanding of who one is, what one wants of life, and where one fits into the adult world. After the integrative development of biological and social influences combine to establish the necessary polarities of trust and mistrust, autonomy and doubt, and skills relating to cognitive ability, tools, and the command or lack of command regarding physical ability, one is called on to face rapid change, driven by a flood of hormones. The synthesis of these biological and psychosocial influences ultimately develop into a sense of identity. According to Erikson, "Identity is more than the sum of childhood identifications." (Erikson, 1963) Erikson argues that it is the ability of the ego to be able to "integrate all identifications with the vicissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with the opportunities offered in social roles." (Erikson, 1963)

The youth's liability lies in role confusion, especially if the self ideal is "based on a strong previous doubt as to one's sexual identity" (Erikson, 1963).

Erikson's writings are voluminous, and include words and phrases that have served as the foundation for the theorizing of others. The work of James Marcia (1966) focused on the possibilities for resolution of the identity stage.

Because the identity status classification scheme devised by Marcia involves categorizing individuals according to their strategy for handling the task of identity formation, a more complex set of developmental patterns can be identified. These patterns are theoretically applicable to each of the areas of developmental concern to adolescents. (Waterman, 1985, p. 14)

Research that followed Marcia indicated that the four statuses do not necessarily sequence; that is, foreclosure following diffusion, moratorium following foreclosure, achievement following moratorium. Josselson (1973), in her descriptions of the lives over a thirteen year period of 60 women, discovered that she could use the various statuses reported by Marcia, but that she must make some sub-statuses, such as foreclosed moratorium, indicating a female who appears to have experienced various crises, but reverted to earlier positions. This is an example of making a commitment on the basis of crises that have been ignored, and exemplifies nicely what was said in the last section about identity being consummated in an act. This female's act was one of rejection or refusal. But it was still an act, and resulted in what Josselson felt was a reasonably stable identity.

Debby's marriage to Brett seems to have continued two patterns apparent at the end of college. First, it may have been an effort to unite two sides of herself — the traditional family-rooted Debby of domesticity and Debby the mystical adventurer. The act of getting married and meaning it, taking it seriously, was traditional while her choice of husband was sensation seeking. (Josselson, 1973, p. 155)

The above example, and the many others that Josselson reports, shows that Marcia's attempt to circumscribe identity, like many others, fails in some respects. For it does not take into account what Erikson noted; namely, that there is a new creation in identity formation. This creation solves a paradox, but it does not necessarily imply development if by that is implied a proceeding, a going forward, a getting healthier. From this, it is concluded that it is important not to make psychology a science in the nineteenth century sense, where the sine qua non was its ability to predict. Contemporary science, in contrast, is satisfying itself more and more with the idea that the cosmos is such that a true science can be only descriptive, not predictive. If prediction's are to be made, they will be come from another quarter. That means that any attempt to predict the identity outcomes will fail to a greater or lesser degree. What this other quarter is has been explored by Erikson both in his life and in his theorizing, as they became one. For Erikson, as a majority male, theorizing was his occupation, and he developed as his life and his work became one. For a (majority) female (see below for explanation), development proceeds as her life becomes one with her kith and kin, spiraling as is its wont around interpersonal relationships.

From some of the above statements, it is obvious that there are other continua that may differentiate females and males; e.g., individuation....connection and agency....community. Douvan and Adelson note,

We find specific contrasts between boys and girls in only two areas, contrasts that reflect different identity problems in the two sexes. While in boys we found that a well-integrated concept of occupational goals was associated with a precocious thrust for autonomy and a well-developed internal control system, the feminine identity shows no comparable association in girls' development. The girl who is clearly oriented toward feminine goals is no more concerned with independence than the girl who

has little explicit interest in adult femininity; nor is she functioning any more autonomously. (Douvan and Adelson, 1966, p. 242)

One question that needs theoretical exploration is whether the differences in individuation are related to what Erikson called the autonomy stage. That is, do females and males emerge from the autonomy stage having experienced gender differences on such a scale as to influence a measure like that of individuation-connection, agency-communion. If so, and it seems reasonable, then the question must be pursued as to whether this is already (at age two) a nature/nurture issue, and it seems reasonable, and thus how this should be differentially manifested in different cultures as a result of the nurture part of the equation. That is, do we find that, for example, females in one culture exhibit more autonomy than in another and can that be traced to specific practices in stage two. Erikson's work with the Sioux and Yurok seems to support this. If one were to look at other cultures, more extreme examples could be found (such as the south seas culture where the men do the preening and the women the choosing). It is not in the purvey of this study to follow the presence of differential autonomy back to its childhood origins, but it is useful to note, and provides further glue for the entire Eriksonian theory, needing as it does, further explication as to its dynamics.

Douvan and Adelsen have stated very strongly that females identify themselves around the modality of interpersonal relationships. "Our findings in the area of interpersonal skills fit the modern conception of feminine integration, and are supported by other data from the study. The measure of an effective and feminine woman in our culture is skill and grace in relating to other people, in forming and maintaining satisfactory relationships." This is noted many times in their research. However, they consider that the

intimacy stage may be to some degree negotiated before identity resolution in females.

They seem here to miss the import of their own work; namely, that intimacy —called interpersonal relationships — is the modality around which females create their identities.

Identity has been treated primarily as a global, process variable. What has been of concern is only how identity decisions are made, without regard to the specific goals, values, and beliefs that constitute the individual's actual sense of identity. Researchers have been content to categorize individuals as identity achievers, foreclosures, moratoriums, or diffusions across all areas of concern to adolescents. They have chosen not to deal with the differences in processes employed in different content domains. ...It is recognized that identity development can proceed separately, if not always independently, in many content domains. It is assumed that identity processes within particular domains may predict to specific sets of variables while no relationship would obtain for the same processes employed in other domains. (Waterman, 1985, p. 95)

As already stated, this seems to have caused much confusion and resulted in unnecessary criticism of Erikson's theory. "A major difficulty in resolving this conundrum is that no one has yet looked seriously at how identity is organized in women. Recent work seems to suggest that the question of whether identity precedes, follows, or commingles with developmental issues of intimacy may itself be a poorly conceived one" (Josselson, 1973).

Research into identity formation has taken place in several academic fields since the development of the concept by Erik Erikson. Erikson's work is now well founded and widely read and used. It is based upon Freud's work — also well founded and widely read and used. Statements concerning the difficulty of research on psychoanalysis have been superseded by research. Erikson's theory covers the life cycle, but the present study attends only to the stage best represented in the research — identity versus identity confusion. Though Erikson spent more time and effort on identity, he did not like his theory

being described as centered around identity. Wright (1982) makes an interesting case that Erikson's personal search for identity consumed most of his life, and, like Martin Luther and Mohandas Gandhi, Erikson worked out his personal identity on a macro level, creating a full blown life cycle theory along the way. The identity stage is very confusing to many theorists because they want to pin Erikson's definition of identity down too tightly. Erikson intends to keep identity complex and colorful, including much more than an answer to the "Who am I?" question; for this statement is mostly intrapsychic and Erikson's vision encompasses both self and other, and the larger time frames of both self and other — life history and cultural history. This identity partakes of psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and history. The concept is validly used in all these fields. It is not intended to explore but a small part of those possibilities. The present thesis is that differential completion of the multifaceted task of identity will describe the development of both genders, at various levels of achievement, and will do so such that specific behavioral characteristics can be correlated with achievement and gender. Conclusions will be drawn indicating that the apparent paradoxes of development (work/love) are resolved in a practical way by people who create active identities. It is the active nature of development that handles theoretical paradoxes, and both Freud and Erikson maintained intuitive understanding of this active resolution. For Freud it was summed up as *Arbeiten und Lieben*. Freud was right about the modern day need for both of these activities. This research implies that contemporary American society has erred by directing males to look for identity fulfillment in work and females in love, resulting in particular behavioral outcomes. The larger picture indicates the need for love and work to coexist in both contemporary males

and females. Otherwise, identity is incomplete and ensuing gender specific identity crises result.

The Measurement Of Identity

As is true with any psychological theory, it becomes necessary to operationalize its constructs for research and measurement purposes. Bourne (1978) stated that the attempts to operationalize Erikson's theory have resulted in three different procedures: (1) self-descriptive Q-sorts, (2) self-report questionnaires, and (3) interviews. The interview has been the most used method. The well known work of James Marcia conceptualizing the four identity statuses was developed using the interview method. Speisman (1983) noted that Marcia's interview technique is limited by being quantifiable only at the nominal level. In an effort to remedy that, an objective instrument was developed by Speisman that includes seven subscales that reflect the first four stages of Erikson's theory, stage six, and stage eight, but not stages five or seven. Although Speisman achieved acceptable results from his research, this instrument lacks the subscale needed for this research (stage five). Further, it appears that Speisman never published the instrument.

A self-report instrument developed by McClain in 1975 measured the ratio of success to failure on the first six of Erikson's stages. This instrument, composed of 70 items divided into 14 scales of 5 statements each, was used with success by Arredondo-Dowd (1980) to study immigrant identity issues. The McClain scale is scored in Likert fashion.

The Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OMEIS) was developed in 1979 by Adams, Shea, and Fitch into a valid and reliable questionnaire (Fregeau, 1986). The

OMEIS lends itself to a qualitative approach rather than to a quantitative one (Adams et al., 1979). Cote and Levine (1989) developed an instrument to measure Erikson's identity formation, but the factors are different from those suggested by Eriksonian theory. Further, this measure did not account for the stages before and after identity. While reliability and validity were acceptable (Cote & Levine, 1989), it seems impossible to use an instrument that has not established its connection to the other stages in the theory. The dynamic nature of the theory requires adequate description of the stages related to development.

There have been numerous other attempts to measure development according to Erikson's theory. Prelinger and Zimet (1964) attempted to fit ratings of qualitative clinical material into an Eriksonian framework of stage development, but reliability and validity are questionable for such approaches. Wessman and Ricks (1966) used a Q-sort technique. Rasmussen and Constantino (1969) developed a questionnaire for young adults, and its applicability to the broad scope of Eriksonian development is questionable. Ciacco (1971) used a clinical interview technique resulting in similar problems as the Prelinger and Zimet study. Boyd and Koskela (1970) developed a self description questionnaire that measures all eight stages of Eriksonian development. The instrument arose from interviews which were Q-sorted on particular parts of interviewees' responses. The Q-sort items became the questionnaire. These techniques and methodologies in measurement appear to lack internal reliability and the necessary technical and applied research to substantiate use for a detailed description of the identify stage of development.

The Erikson Psychosocial Inventory was developed by Rosenthal, Guernsey, and Moore (1981). They recognized a need for an instrument that was capable of large scale

administration. Additionally, they felt that the internal reliabilities of other instruments were not sufficient. Erikson's theory is dynamic, allowing for movement forward and backward, and a measuring instrument must deal with all stages and recognize the processes that promote movement between the stages. Rosenthal selected key Eriksonian phrases, turned them into statements requiring Likert type responses, and balanced the number of statements denoting success with those denoting failure at each stage. The number of statements for each stage was the same.

Gray, Ispa, and Thornburg (1986) factor analyzed the EPSI with a group of 534 university students. They identified seven factors, three of which corresponded to the appropriate Eriksonian stages. The principal components analysis retained 60 of the 72 items. Of interest was the dispersion across several factors in this college population of items referring to trust and autonomy. Given the age of the population and their relative success in their society as indicated by their presence in college, it is in line with Erikson's theory that the issues of trust and autonomy would no longer be of special import.

Erikson's Position On Differential Development By Gender

It seems inevitable that once Erikson proposed that there was a developmental path followed by all humans that this would be a focal point for criticism. During the latter half of this century, issues of discrimination have arisen concerning gender, race, culture, and social class. In 1964, Gruen collected data about gender and social class, and concluded that, to the degree that he was able to operationalize Erikson's descriptors, males

identity formations usually dealt with career issues and females identity formations usually dealt with interpersonal issues.

As indicated previously, Erikson clearly supports a division of labor in which males identify themselves as the primary breadwinner and females as wives and mothers. Others have supported this distinction of roles (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Katz, 1979; Rosenberg and Simmons, 1975) designating males as career oriented and females as interpersonal. (Waterman, 1985)

The impact of feminism in the post-Viet Nam era brought more research. O'Connell (1976) studied identity development and concluded that both men and women exhibit complex identity development. She used the Sense of Identity Inventory and hypothesized that identity development is related to one's primary source of satisfaction. For men, this was most often career. For women, this was most often family. As with others, O'Connell thought that Erikson meant that men and women should have the same primary source of satisfaction during adolescence and that it was identity formation. Her research proposed and supported different identity patterns for (her terms) career males, family males, career females, and family females. The present study proposes something similar, but does not see the need to suggest that Erikson didn't have such complex identity development in mind.

In 1985, Franz and White at Boston University presented research suggesting that the formation of identity must include knowledge of gender but again concluded that Erikson believed that such development did not involve interpersonal issues with which both males and females are concerned. The authors describe Erikson's notion of identity formations as a single developmental pathway. Perhaps while Franz and White propose a single developmental pathway, the term is a theoretical one, and not a descriptive one.

Experimental Literature On Differential Development By Gender

A justifiable start to a review of the gender literature may begin with Plato and Lao Tzu and slowly recap all that has been said about how males and females differ. Even if one restricts the review to writings more scientific than philosophical, the literature is replete. One way to restrict the review is to report the relevant contemporary sources and that is what follows. The intent of this restriction is to include research since the 1960s when physical gender differences were obviated by bra burning.

An early paper surveying gender differences across cultures (Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1957) chose to focus on the impact of socialization. Specifically, they questioned whether socialization practices themselves are responsible for all differences. The implication is an “arbitrary imposition on an infinitely plastic biological base” (p. 327). Or are socialization practices a collage of cultural/environmental responses to real biological differences between the sexes? The authors examined 110 cultures, concluding that parenting practices began differentiation somewhere after infancy in 92% of the cultures. It was concluded overall that the differences in socialization between the sexes in American society are reflective of similar widespread adaptations of many cultures to the biological differences. Noting that the economy of the United States demands fewer dependencies than any other economy upon physical gender differences, movement is toward smaller socialization differences. The authors repudiate the contention of some researchers at the time of the study that all gender differences in socialization should be eliminated, saying that such a practice would be dysfunctional, especially for females, as they continue to be

caretakers of children, and thus require such differential socialization to be adequately prepared.

During the 1960s, much research focused on gender differences in various abilities, prompted by a large influx of funds from the Federal government. An example is the 1967 study by Droege. This study found that average increases in aptitude scores attributable to maturation were about the same for males and females and that correlations between test and retest scores (from ninth grades to twelfth grades) were about the same for both genders. Other research of the period isolated gender differences in mathematics, spatial abilities, verbal abilities, and aggression. These are the four gender differences considered “well established” by Macoby and Jacklin (1974) in their literature review. Already, however, others were looking at the research very closely and proclaiming that the differences that were there were very small. Zanna and Park (1975) found that gender differences in conformity were significantly related to the nature of the conformity task that was employed in the research.

Meta-analytic techniques surfacing in the 1970s further cast doubt on research showing gender differences. Performing such analyses on twenty-six gender studies of the 1960s and 1970s, Hyde (1981) recommended that research be required to report other statistics so that readers could decide for themselves whether a significant difference was large enough to merit attention.

Another line of thought was developing in gender research in the 1960s and 70s, one that focused not on gender differences in abilities, but on fundamental differences in humans that exhibit bipolarity (such that they could be correlated with another bipolar

dimension — gender). Bakan (1966) postulated two modalities: agency and communion, and Block (1973) saw these as being primarily male and female, respectively. She noted that “concepts of the masculine and feminine ideals are distinguished by their differential emphasis on agency and communion” (p. 520), and noted that Carlson (1971) had found similar differences along a continuum. For Carlson it was from impersonal, individualistic (males) to interpersonal (females). For Hyde this suggested that greater integration of self lead to fewer sex-typed definitions. Erikson (1966) stated specifically that the modalities of inner and outer space corresponded to female and male. The BEM was designed to measure outcomes of this line of thought. Bem originally viewed this as a bipolarity of male/female (more of one meant less of the other), but later changed that conception to a bipolar discontinuum of masculine and feminine. Gough and Heilbrun (1965) and Spence, Helmrich, and Stapp (1975) modified Bem’s construct to conceptualize the individual as containing both continua (masculine and feminine) in varying degrees (a quadripolar topology). These researchers were primarily focusing on a description of which topology was “healthier”, proposing that high levels of both masculine and feminine characteristics were the best adjusted individuals. Many of the researchers did not delve into the issue of whether adjustment is healthy.

Deauz (1984) reviewed the gender literature entitling her article, “From Individual Differences to Social Categories”. The title reflects the two lines of development herein reviewed. This review reported the following three conclusions:

1. The variance accounted for by main effects of sex is quite limited on any specific task. Consideration of sex by task interactions may provide some additional explanatory power.
2. The unique contribution of androgyny, in the sense of a construct with emergent properties, has yet to be demonstrated. Individual dimensions of masculinity and

femininity predict behavior in instrumental and expressive domains, respectively, but probably are not very useful in accounting for the wider range of sex-related behaviors.

3. Gender stereotypes are pervasive. Although additional work is needed to understand the precise content and structure of these stereotypes, there is ample evidence that they exist and that they relate to a variety of judgments and evaluations of males and females. (p. 113)

Deaux concludes by calling for attention to “active interaction” (as in 1. above) between gender and other variables. More recent articles (Jacklin, 1989; Peterson, 1988) have followed one of the two lines as explicated above, some searching for and finding individual differences by gender. A larger perspective, however, was taken by Hare-Mustin & Marecek (1988). Responding to the philosophical challenge to positivism called constructivism/deconstructivism, they noted that gender research is such a constructivist line in which the definition of gender is based upon difference and thus tends to exaggerate differences (alpha bias) as in Gilligan (1982) with her view of man as instrumental and women as relational. But the definition of gender may also be based upon unisexuality and thus tend to exaggerate sameness, as in Bem (1974) (beta bias). The concept of psychological androgyny obscures differences in power and social value (Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988). Deaux summarizes her opinion of the alpha/beta perspective on gender research as follows: alpha bias has allowed some (traditionally feminine) human qualities to be valued (e.g., caring); beta bias has provided the possibility for legislation beneficial to women. But both alpha and beta bias also have down sides. In her discussion of the down sides, Deaux focuses on women’s special needs (physically, psychologically, and politically) as child bearers and rearers. She contends that both alpha and beta bias take the male as the standard of comparison and support the status quo. She does not offer an alternate perspective.

The Dependent Variables

Identity achievement and gender are variables that may affect an individual's behavior across the full spectrum of the personality. Therefore, dependent variables were selected that measured distinctly different parts of human personality. Sensation seeking, as defined by Zuckerman, is a physical measure. Depression, as defined by Beck, is an emotional variable. Dogmatism, as defined by Rokeach, is a cognitive variable. Each of these constructs has considerable history as a variable in psychological experimentation.

Dogmatism

Dogmatism means neurotically committed to an authoritarian position. It is devoid of any content specific to any particular ideological orientation. Dogmatic persons are over identified with a group. For adolescents, being strongly identified with a group is normal, marking a phase of early adolescence described by Neo-Eriksonians as mutuality. This identification defends against the unknown self. It provides a "framework for rationalizing and justifying morally egocentric attitudes toward the self and rejecting attitudes toward others" (Rokeach, 1960, p. 6). The tighter this framework is, the more it attempts to defend against anxiety about the unknown self. Measuring dogmatism is a matter of discovering how tight the framework is, not what the framework is about. To the extent that persons are inadequate, fearful of the future, egotistical, misanthropic, guilty should they also have dogmatic defenses.

Rokeach originally developed 89 items, pared them to 59, 43, and 36 until such paring proved to lose important information, then settled on 66 items. The final edition (E)

used in this study, consists of 44 items taken from the preceding 66 on the basis of an item analysis done by Rokeach. This final form (E) posted reliabilities of .81 and .78. Validity was established by using the instrument with known dogmatic groups (e.g., KKK, German Bund) comparing the instrument's results to other scales purporting to measure the same or similar variables, and by testing hypotheses stemming from the theory. D. Stein of the University of California at Berkeley completed a test of the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale (RDS) with 630 subjects in 1965. These were mixed by gender, race, and religion. Stein notes preliminary studies done by Byrne & Wong, 1962; Rokeach & Mezic, 1965; Stein, Handyck, & Smith, 1965; Triandis, 1961; and Triandis & Davis, 1965 that lend general support to the Rokeach theory. The results of Stein's 1965 study are strongly supportive also. New interest in the 1980's led to further research with the RDS. D. Raden found the RDS scores to correlate significantly with scores on a conventionality measure, as expected (1982). Sabuendo & Mendez (1987) and Sabuendo & Mendez (1984) subjected the RDS to various factorial analyses. Subjects in the two studies were both Chilean and foreigners, males and females, adolescents and adults. Results indicated consistent factors that correspond with the theoretical structure proposed by Rokeach. Research in 1985 by Schmitz in Germany showed no differences between males and females in RDS scores. The RDS scores were significant by age and education. The use of the RDS by Cote & Levine in 1983 to investigate the role played by dogmatism, neuroticism, and sense of purpose lends credence to the present study's use of the RDS in developmental work. The Cote & Levine study used the RDS to debunk the theory of Erikson's identity

development occurring in the continuum they say was proposed by James Marcia. While this author does not read Marcia the same way, the use of the RDS in the field has precedent.

Sensation Seeking

Interest in sensation began with the Greeks. In the nineteenth century, W. Wundt suggested that there was an optimal level of stimulation. The construct was widened in the twentieth century and the term optimal level of arousal substituted therefor. An instrument for measuring sensation seeking was developed by Zuckerman in 1964. It had only one scale that was heavily loaded with risk-taking items. The second form of the Sensation Seeking Scale (SSS) appeared in the late 1960's, and was shown to have "considerable validity for a variety of phenomena." (Zuckerman, Eysenck, & Eysenck, 1978, p. 139) By the early 1970's, a third form with 113 items in five different scales was developed. Four of the scales were subscales based on factor analyses of several samples. These four subscales were Thrill and Adventure Seeking (TAS), Experience Seeking (ES), Disinhibition (DIS), and Boredom Susceptibility (BS). The fourth form of the SSS became available in 1975 and was factor analyzed by others to confirm three of the four subscales. In 1978, Zuckerman revised the SSS to its present 40 item form (Form V). It has ten items per subscale, included because of factor loadings of .30 or higher. Form V thus contains no General Scale as did the previous four. Scale reliability of Form V was shown to be .79 (TAS), .63 (ES), .76 (DIS), and .59 (BS) by Zuckerman, Eysenck, and Eysenck (1978). As with previous forms, gender differences were found for the total SSS; i.e., all males regardless

of nationality scored higher than females of the same nationality. The same study found that sensation seeking decreased in both genders with age (16 to 60).

A study of the reliability and validity of the SSS was done in Canada by D. Ridgeway and J. A. Russell (1980). The SSS total score reliability was .75, but less on each of the subscales. In relation to the present study, an interesting trend was found. "...the behavior of females is influenced by their affective states more than is the behavior of males." (p. 663) This suggests the need to include gender and development in any study using the SSS, and the present study does just that.

The Sensation Seeking Scale has been shown valid and reliable in short form by Madsen, Sas, Bogen, and Grossmen (1987). They found a subset of the SSS to show males scoring higher than females just as is true of the long form (Form V). The SSS also gives consistent results across cultural lines, as noted by Birenbaum and Montag in their 1987 study. They used a Hebrew version of the SSS and found results consistent with Canadian and Australian administrations of the SSS. Another group translated the SSS into a Spanish version and it also proved consistent. (Perez, Ortet, Pla, and Simo, 1986). Earlier research by Canadians Rowland and Franken (1986) indicated that both males and females scored as expected. The factor analysis approach yielded the same results by gender as did another factor analysis by Ball, Farnhill, and Wangeman in Australia (1983).

Depression

The term depression is very ambiguous. It is used to describe a number of moods or emotions (hopelessness, sadness, loneliness, guilt, etc.) and to describe the associated

behaviors (weight loss, loss of sleep, negative self thought, decreased socialization, etc.) (Barrett, 1977; Beck, 1967; Clayton, 1983) The current trend in the diagnosis of depression can be found in a more descriptive system. There is a lack of agreement on which symptoms are associated with depression and what treatment should correspond with the advent of each behavior. Even though depression is so ambiguous, it accounts for approximately 75 percent of all psychiatric hospitalizations.

The Beck depression Inventory was designed in 1961 by Aaron T. Beck. Beck emphasized four reasons for the use of his Depression Inventory. First, since there is a good deal of inconsistency in diagnosing depression, there is a need for a standardized, consistent measure of depression that would prevent any judgment or bias by the interviewer. Second, the administration of the test could be done by easily trained interviewers, and this would be much more cost effective than a psychiatric interview. Third, since the results of the Depression Inventory are numerical, statistical analysis may be applied to them. This would allow for comparisons to be made with other quantitative measures. Fourth, since the Depression Inventory is quantitative, it allows for the depth of depression to be measured, unlike a psychiatric interview.

The primary objective of the Beck Depression Inventory is to separate the depressed from the non-depressed. To do this, Beck chose 21 symptom-attitude categories that were consistent with descriptions found in psychiatric literature. To alleviate any biases, each patient was asked the same questions in the same manner. These categories cover affective, cognitive, motivational, and physiological areas of depressive symptomatology. Each symptom would be directly related to the severity of the depressed

person. As the severity of the depression increased so did the number and intensity of each symptom. Symptom expression is placed into one of four categories: non-depressed, mildly depressed, moderately depressed, and severely depressed. Each stage is then given a numerical value ranging from zero to three with zero being considered non-depressed and 3 being considered severely depressed. The final score is achieved by adding all the response answers together. The range of possible scores is: 0-9 is categorized as not depressed, 10-15 is mildly depressed, 16-23 is moderately depressed, and 24-63 is severely depressed (Beck, 1967; Bumbery, 1978).

Early work done with the Beck Depression Inventory was only applicable to psychiatric populations. It was shown that it was a very useful and reliable tool for the measurement of depression. (Beck, 1967; Bumbery, 1978) Two early validation studies conducted on the depth of depression and reported by Beck in 1961 dealt with the comparison between the reliability of Depression Inventory with that of a psychiatric assessment. It was found that biserial correlations of .65 and .67 were found (Beck, 1967; Bumbery, 1978). Beck has also demonstrated the high discriminate validity of the Depression Inventory, finding a correlation of .72 between clinical ratings of depression and the Depression Inventory, and a correlation of .14 between the Depression Inventory and clinical ratings of anxiety (Clarkin and Glazer, 1981). Since these earlier tests over 100 published studies have been conducted with the Beck Depression Inventory. This demonstrates that the Depression Inventory is an acceptable measure. Until 1978 the Depression Inventory had only been accepted as a measure in a psychiatric population. After the work

of Bumbery et al. in 1978, it was concluded that the Depression Inventory was a valid measure of depression in university populations and other non-specific populations.

The Depression Inventory is not good in all aspects of its design. It has been shown that depressed persons will downgrade themselves when answering any type of question. This could create a higher score on the scale indicating the interviewer a much more severe state of depression. There can also be a problem with the more educated in that they may understand the underlying purpose and manipulate their answers to demonstrate non-depression. Emotional states with emphasis on depression fluctuate daily, indicating that there can be no permanent determination of depth of depression. This evidence demonstrated the need for an effective and economical measure such as the self-reporting Beck Depression Inventory.

There is a general consensus that the Depression Inventory is a very reliable method for measuring depression in patients. "For a therapist, the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) (Beck et. al., 1961) appears to be one of the best self report instruments available for measurement of depression severity proving itself useful as a pre-therapy and post-therapy measure" (Clarkin and Glazer, 1981).

Problem Statement

The format of Erikson's stages is one of bipolar opposites describing a task that forms a developmental stage. The task of the fifth developmental stage is identity formation and the bipoles are identity confusion.....identity achievement. James Marcia has extended Erikson's work on the fifth stage by suggesting that there are four possible

outcomes of the task. The achieved identity is still so labeled. An achieved identity has experienced the crisis of confusion, explored meaningful alternatives, and made personal choices. The confused identity is labeled identity diffusion. In identity diffusion, individuals have not experienced the crisis of confusion, nor have they made personal choices based upon the exploration of meaningful alternatives. Two other possibilities are also noted; they are: (1) foreclosure, and (2) moratorium. In identity foreclosure, though individuals have not experienced the crisis of confusion, they have made choices, but based upon others' experience (probably parents), not their own. In identity moratorium, individuals are in the midst of the confusion, and any commitments made are only on an exploratory basis. These individuals are actively searching for personal answers. Marcia suggests that these outcomes may be either stable over time or identity positions (along the bipolar continuum) that an individual may take as the identity crisis is being addressed. Gilligan's work has been to suggest that the sequencing of the stage may apply differentially to the sexes, and that the qualities associated with the poles of the stage may be gender specific. This study will propose that the outcomes of the task may be qualitatively different as well as quantitatively different. An example graphic of those qualitative branches follows:

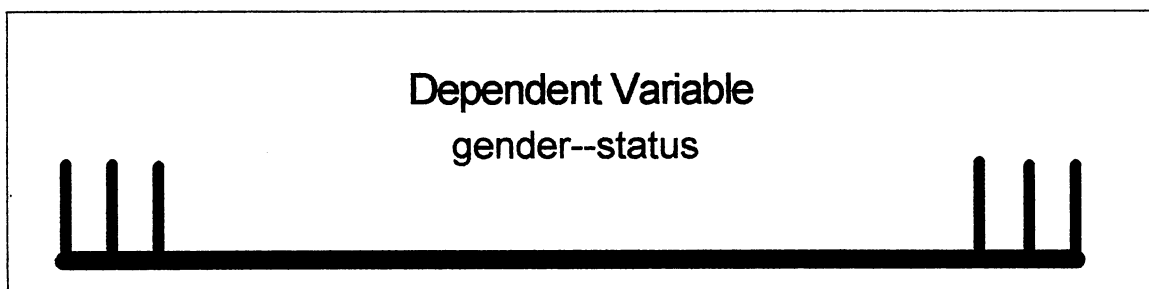


Figure 2. Example Graphic of the Dependent Variables

Affective qualities that should be associated with each branch will be noted, thus providing a ready source of experimental possibilities for verification. The number of vertical bars in the graphic represent the ratio of persons at each position and the position of the vertical bars on the horizontal represents how extreme the quality is.

Erikson considers the identity formation stage to be synonymous with adolescence. This means that it is the primary task between puberty and maturity and an ongoing secondary task thereafter. This study proposes that, at the end of the task (that is, as another task governed by maturational/experiential forces comes into primacy), there will be four general outcomes: (1) unachieved males, (2) unachieved females, (3) achieved males, and (4) achieved females. The following qualities will be considered — dogmatism, mood, and arousal orientation — and proposals made concerning how they should fit with these four possible outcomes. Thus, there are three research questions that guide the study:

1. What is the impact of high and low identity achievement on dogmatism, depression, and sensation seeking?
2. What is the impact of gender on dogmatism, depression, and sensation seeking?
3. What is the impact of the interaction of high and low identity achievement and gender on dogmatism, depression, and sensation seeking?

A quick perusal of the figures shows that there is a pattern. For each quality (see Appendix C, Figures 3, 4, and 5) unachieved males and females congregate at opposite ends with minority members (those whose pattern is uncharacteristic) inhabiting the polar end of the other gender. Achieved males and females are even more heavily congregated, and have moved toward the center of the dimension, with a smaller minority still inhabiting

the other side of the dimension. That is the general trans-domain pattern. The following three paragraphs give particulars of each quality.

Concerning the affective quality of dogmatism, the majority of unachieved males will be generally very foreclosed (holding strongly to opinions they do not own but have unquestioningly accepted) with a minority being very diffused. The majority of unachieved females will be very diffused (having no opinions of their own and adopting opinions of others when with those others) and the minority foreclosed. Achieved males will be a greater majority of less foreclosed individuals, and a smaller minority of less diffused individuals. (The number of marks on the dimensions is meaningful.) Achieved females will be a greater majority of less diffused individuals, and a smaller minority of less foreclosed individuals. All achieved individuals will be less rigid, less diffused, and have more perspective (as is defined by the center position of dogmatism).

Concerning the affective quality of sensation seeking, the majority of unachieved males will be strongly seeking sensation (vandalism, drinking, drugs, fighting) with a minority withdrawing. The majority of unachieved females will be very withdrawn (wallflowers) with a minority seeking sensation (promiscuity, fighting). Achieved males will be a greater majority of less sensation seeking individuals (sensation sought within socially acceptable parameters), and a smaller minority of less withdrawn individuals. Achieved females will be a greater majority of less withdrawn individuals (more open to new experience, but still careful) with a smaller minority of less sensation seeking females (experimenting within socially acceptable parameters). The center of this dimension is "open to new experience."

Concerning the affective quality of depression, the majority of unachieved males will be angry (delinquent, unruly) with a minority depressed (underachieving, unmotivated). The majority of unachieved females will be depressed (few friends, no boyfriend) with a minority being angry (acting out). Achieved males will be a greater majority of less angry individuals (only moderately rebellious, probably against conservative male figures) with a smaller minority of less depressed individuals (interested in an occasional date, some school and work motivation). Achieved females will be a greater majority of less depressed individuals with a smaller minority of less angry individuals (anger mostly directed at conservative females figures). The center of this dimension is “stable.”

Note, however, that these qualitative gender differences represent a symmetry in toto, but an asymmetry by gender. Why is there an asymmetry in both achieved and unachieved individuals? Gilligan's work (1982) yields substantiating information. Of the four areas of importance to identity achievement as noted by Erikson (career, sex roles, beliefs, and relationships), one area is male specific in our culture (career) and one is female specific (relationships). A majority of achieved males will have positively resolved the identity crisis in beliefs, sex roles, and in careers, but not in relationships. A majority of achieved females will have resolved the identity crisis in beliefs, sex roles, and relationships, but not in careers. The minority achieved member of each gender will occupy the same niche on the stage as the achieved majority of the other gender. That is, the minority achieved male will have done so in beliefs, sex roles, and relationships, but not in careers. This makes him psychologically parallel to the majority of achieved females. The minority

achieved female will have done so in beliefs, sex roles, and careers, but not in relationships. This makes her psychologically parallel to the majority of achieved males.

This pattern is replicated in each quality of the affective domain. The majority female achieved members are labeled identity achieved with a care perspective; the majority male achieved members are labeled identity achieved with a justice perspective; the unachieved members of both genders have all been erroneously lumped together (as identity confused by Erikson and identity diffused by Marcia), and the minority members of all groups have been undescribed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether gender and identity achievement interact in order to produce specific patterns. This chapter will outline the particular means by which this intent was accomplished.

Participants

The sample consisted of 729 students (450 women, 279 men) enrolled in a variety of undergraduate social sciences courses at two midwestern universities. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 29, with a mean age of 21. For research concerning Erikson's identity stage, this age range is quite satisfactory. The sample was predominantly white. It should be possible to generalize to a large population of individuals in western cultures where established educational systems are the norm.

Instruments

Along with various demographic information (see Appendix B), four instruments were used to collect data: the Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory (EPSI) was used to measure identity achievement, and three instruments, the Beck depression Scale, the Zuckerman Sensation Seeking Scale, and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale were used to measure

the dependent behavioral variables of depression, sensation seeking, and dogmatism, respectively.

Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory

The EPSI (Rosenthal, Guerney, and Moore, 1981) was developed to examine the first six stages of Erikson's psychosocial theory. It is suitable for large-scale administration to individuals approximately age thirteen or greater. It has six subscales based on the first six of Erikson's stages. Each subscale has twelve items, half of which reflect successful and half unsuccessful resolution of the crisis of the stage. The items are randomly ordered. Subjects are asked to mark one of five positions (Likert-like) ranging from almost always true to hardly ever true. Alpha reliability coefficients for each of the subscales were moderate but acceptable for a research instrument (ranging from 0.57 to 0.75 with an average of 0.65). The construct validity was examined in two ways. Subscale scores were correlated with another developmental instrument, the Greenberger and Sorensen's PSM, Form D. Relevant subscales of one proved moderately correlated with subscales of the other. Rosenthal et. al. also compared nine and eleven year old groups and found that, as would be predicted, the older students scored higher in the positive direction on all subscales.

Beck Depression Inventory

The Beck Depression Inventory, developed in 1961, is a measure of depression and the depth of that depression. The inventory provides consistency of measurement as opposed to self reports or observational diagnoses. It can be easily administered, and is cost effective. The results are numerical with all that implies. Affective, cognitive,

motivational, and physiological symptomology is measured. The Beck was compared on two different occasions in 1961 by Beck with psychiatric assessments. Biserial correlations of .65 and .67 were found. In 1972, Beck found a correlation of .72 between his inventory and personal assessments. Over 100 different instances of the reliability and validity of the Beck were found. A study by Bumberry et. al. in 1978 extended the tested value of the Beck to university populations.

Rokeach Dogmatism Scale

The Rokeach Dogmatism Scale was chosen to measure degrees of dogmatic thinking. The scale was developed by Rokeach et.al. in the early 1960s, and has been in consistent use since. Rokeach's aim was to devise a measuring instrument devoid of content specific to any particular ideological orientation in order to have dogmatic individuals of all sorts score at one end of a continuum. The dogmatism scale makes possible the identification of persons high or low in dogmatism regardless of their ethnocentrism and/or their authoritarianism. There were 89 items in the first edition (Form A). This number was cut to 66, 57, and 36 items in editions B, C, and D. The latest edition, Form E, has 44 items which significantly differentiate between high and low dogmatism. As with any measuring instrument, the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale has been subject to criticism for various kinds of bias, but of available dogmatism scales, appears the most free of content bias (Kreml, 1977). Rokeach established the validity of the Dogmatism Scale in four different ways: (1) comparing to external behavioral criteria, (2) comparing to the philosophies of known groups, (3) comparing with other instruments, and (4) theoretical

validation by testing hypotheses stemming from a set of considerations. A well known scale of authoritarianism is the F Scale. There is a correlation of .54 to .77 between the F Scale and the Rokeach Scale. Rokeach considered this range to be good inasmuch as the F Scale measures right-wing authoritarianism, and a very positive correlation would indicate that the Rokeach scale would also measure right-wing authoritarianism, and this was not what Rokeach intended. The Rokeach Scale also does not correlate highly with measures of liberalism-conservatism. That was also Rokeach's intention. Using outside raters, Rokeach found that the Dogmatism Scale correctly differentiated between college professors and graduate students in their observed variations in dogmatism. This finding was positively replicated with various political and religious groups from both the "left" and the "right". Raden (1982) at Purdue found that the scores of 68 undergraduates on the Rokeach Scale correlated significantly with their responses on a conventionality measure, as dogmatism theory would predict. Mendez, Sabucedo, et.al. (1984, 1987) conducted two studies analyzing the results of factorial analyses of the Rokeach scale with a total S of 1526 students of university age in Santiago, Chile. It was concluded that the factorial structure obtained corresponded well enough with the theoretical structure proposed by Rokeach. At the University of Bonn, West Germany, Schmitz used the Rokeach Scale and three other instruments to determine the relationship of educational level, sex, age, perceived parental attitudes and family background to dogmatism. This study involved 1262 males and females ranging in age from 16 to 77 years, and found significant differences on the named variables. Form E of the Rokeach Scale had a reliability of .78. The Rokeach Scale has been used to examine the relationship between dogmatism and personality

characteristics. Sexton (1983) at the University of Massachusetts Medical School, Worcester, Mass., found alienation and dogmatism to be positively related concepts. The factors that best predicted alienation from dogmatic responses were intolerance expressed for opposing beliefs and compulsivity in the belief system. Alienation and dogmatism were also associated with several commonly held personality traits that centered around anxiety, low self-esteem, and social estrangement manifested in feelings of hostility, aggression, loneliness, rejecting, and isolation. One other investigation of relevance was conducted by Cote and Levine at York University in Downsview, Canada in 1983. The Rokeach Scale was part of the effort to determine whether Marcia's identity resolutions were developmentally grounded. Cote and Levine concluded they were not.

Zuckerman Sensation Seeking Scale

Zuckerman began developing the scale in the early 60s, and it has gone through five revisions. Besides revising the scale to make it statistically better, Zuckerman has recognized the need to periodically revise the content of the questions to match the ethos of the times in which it will be administered. Zuckerman says that sensation seeking is not well explained by the older optimal level of arousal theory. Newer research indicates perhaps three distinct neurological systems in the midbrain which impact sensation seeking. Sensation seeking is best described as the incentive to experience novel and complex situations based on the expectation of the individual that the experience will be pleasurable. This is distinctly different than a theory that says that high sensation seekers are just out for stimulation, given that the subjective experience of such stimulation could be either

positive or negative. Zuckerman states clearly that high sensation seekers are not the same as the impulsives, who do “need” stimulation. Of the three neurological systems, mentioned above, one is a reward system, and Zuckerman believes that this system is directly supportive of sensation seeking, allowing the individual pleasure for engaging in certain experiences. These experiences might be seen by others as marginally risky (average sensation seekers), or very risky (low sensation seekers), but by the high sensation seeker as not particularly risky. That is, the high sensation seeker is not necessarily daring from his own point of view, but hedonistic — going after pleasure in areas where he expects to find it, and being a person whose past experiences have lead him to expect pleasure out of such experiences. It is also instructive that there are consistent sex differences on three of the four subscales. Males are consistently higher in sensation seeking than females. This supports the argument that males are the “experimental gender” of the species, inasmuch as Zuckerman states that the gender differences appear biologically based to a considerable degree. Various studies about sensation seeking indicate correlations between it and traditionally gender-defined characteristics (Tobacyk & Thomas, 1980). This supports the concept of the majority male and majority female in this study. The Tobacyk and Thomas study hypothesized a correlation between sensation seeking and gender, but without regard for identity development, which has an Erikson defined element of gender role. Their hypotheses were only partially supported by their data, which may be interpreted as caused by the absence of an identity variable. Indeed, the use of the expressions “stereotypically masculine” and “stereotypically feminine” and the study’s findings regarding the sensation seeking behaviors of individuals in these categories support the present

hypothesis about “majority members”. The use of the SSS in the present research becomes almost mandatory.

Design Of The Study

The two independent variables were gender and identity achievement. Identity achievement was measured using the EPSI. In order to assure that the EPSI results would be meaningful, the middle of the distribution was not used. That is, low achievement had to be below -1 standard deviations, and high achievement had to be above +.6 standard deviations. This figure was chosen as the highest positive figure that still included sufficient numbers to reach the desired power of 0.8. Power is defined as the ability of an instrument to detect what differences do exist, and mathematically is related to the chosen alphas and the number of subjects. The EPSI is a norm-referenced instrument with a theoretical distribution of scores within the bell curve. The extreme scores of the distribution were used in order to have a clear sample. A study of humans has an infinite number of possibilities of achievement. What was necessary to isolate was a group of individuals relatively achieved, and a group of individuals who relatively had not achieved. These two groups are the extremes of the distribution. Though the sample for the study was fairly large (729), it was not considered large enough to eliminate, for instance, two standard deviations across the board. In order to have the power necessary for the study, it was necessary to include a minimal number of males and females in both the achieved and unachieved groups. Thus, the cutoff point on the negative end of the distribution was different than the cutoff point on the positive end; i.e., the point was dictated by the need to

have enough males and females left to yield the required power. On the negative end, the cutoff was one standard deviation. On the positive end, the cutoff was .6 standard deviation. Given the particular population of the research, this is credible. According to Erikson's theory, this population should be intensely engaged in identity issues, and one would not expect the majority to have achieved that identity. The need to include a greater percentage at the positive end in order to maintain numbers reflects that ongoing crisis.

There were three dependent variables: (1) depression (Depress) as measured by the Beck Depression Inventory, (2) rigidity of thought (Dogmat) as measured by the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale, and (3) sensation seeking (Zucker) as measured by the Zuckerman Sensation Seeking Scale. This yielded a 2 X 2 factorial design (MANOVA) with three null hypotheses:

1. There will be no significant differences between high and low identity achieving groups on a combination of dogmatism, depression, and sensation seeking.
2. There will be no significant differences between male and female groups on a combination of dogmatism, depression, and sensation seeking.
3. There will be no significant interaction between high and low identity achieving groups and male and female groups on a combination of dogmatism, depression, and sensation seeking.

Procedures

During the Fall semester of 1990, subjects in university classes were recruited for this study. They were provided information and directions by instructors in completing

each of the four instruments that were merged to create the 154 item questionnaire. All subjects received the same questionnaire with the four instruments in the following order: (1) EPSI, (2) Beck, (3) Rokeach, and (4) Zuckerman. Subjects were allowed to decline to participate. Instructors read a standard set of administration instructions (see Appendix B) that assured the subjects of the confidentiality of their responses. It was noted that it was unnecessary to put either name or any other form of identification on the questionnaire. Students were allowed as much time as necessary to complete the questionnaire (averaging thirty to forty-five minutes), and apprised of their right to withdraw should they feel unable to finish or constrained by the procedure. The gathered data was scanned by machine and uploaded to a mainframe computer where the SPSS statistical package was used to perform the necessary analyses.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Design Of The Study

The design of the study was a 2 x 2 factorial MANOVA with three dependent variables. The Achievement factor had two conditions, High Achievement and Low Achievement, as defined by the scores on the EPSI. The Gender factor had two conditions, male and female. Scores from the Zuckerman Sensation Seeking Scale, the Beck Depression Inventory, and the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale served as the dependent variables. The means and standard deviations for the ratings on all three variables are presented in Table 1 on the following page, cross-tabulated for the two independent variables.

TABLE 1
MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR THREE
DEPENDENT VARIABLES BY GENDER
AND ACHIEVEMENT

Gender	Dependent Variables	Achievement			
		High Achievement		Low Achievement	
		\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
Males	Depress	25.09	3.23	42.44	17.19
n=63	Zucker	82.58	13	84.11	24.68
	Dogmat	63.28	10.76	58.07	13
Females	Depress	25.42	4.68	37.5	10.6
n=264	Zucker	97.65	17.13	93.42	18.55
	Dogmat	62.64	7.49	60.8	7

The results of the MANOVA for the design depicted in Table 1 are summarized in Table 2 on the following page. As can be seen in Table 2, both main effects and the interaction were found to be statistically significant ($p < .05$). Thus, the three null hypotheses are rejected with alpha set at .05. Given that interest in main effects is usually lost in the presence of a significant interaction, simple main effects tests were performed.

TABLE 2
MANOVA SUMMARY FOR GENDER AND ACHIEVEMENT

Source of Variance	Exact F Ratio	Hypothesis DF	Error DF	Sig of F
Gender	9.01	3	321	0
Achievement	56.97	3	321	0
Gender by Achievement	3	3	321	0.03

Table 3 summarizes the simple main effects. An examination of the table reveals that: (a) high achieving females are significantly different from high achieving males; (b) low achieving females are significantly different from low achieving males; (c) females vary significantly by level of achievement; that is, a female who has achieved Eriksonian identity has a different profile than a female who has not; and (d) males vary significantly by level of achievement; that is, a male who has achieved Eriksonian identity has a different profile than a male who has not.

TABLE 3
SIMPLE MAIN EFFECTS FOR GENDER AND ACHIEVEMENT

Source of Variance	Exact F Ratio	Hypothesis DF	Error DF	Sig of F
Between Genders				
Sex within High Achievement	8.33	3	321	0
Sex within Low Achievement	4.54	3	321	0
Within Genders				
Achievement within Females	49.14	3	321	0
Achievement within Males	25.89	3	321	0

Table 4 summarizes the standardized discriminant function coefficients, and Table 5 the correlations between dependent and canonical variables. These coefficients are useful in determining which of the dependent variables contributed to the significant comparisons.

TABLE 4
STANDARDIZED DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

Variable	Sex w\Ach (high)	Sex w\Ach (low)	Ach w\Sex (high)	Ach w\Sex (low)
Depress	0	-0.76	-0.95	-0.97
Dogmat	-0.37	0.17	0.24	0.01
Zucker	1.04	0.6	-0.14	0.27

TABLE 5
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEPENDENT AND CANONICAL VARIABLES

Variable	Sex w/Ach (high)	Sex w/Ach (low)	Ach w/Sex (high)	Ach w/sex (low)
Depress	0.05	-0.75	-0.97	-0.96
Dogmat	-0.08	0.38	0.27	0.15
Zucker	0.93	0.62	-0.11	-0.24

Note the relative agreement of the coefficients between Tables 4 and 5. Thus, the structure coefficients in table 5, which are the correlations of the dependent variables with

the discriminant functions, show that (a) differences in sensation seeking account for most of the variance in Sex w/Ach (high), (b) differences in depression account for most of the variance in the other three instances. Additionally, sensation seeking accounts for considerable variance (38%) in Sex w\Ach(low).

Due to the significant interaction reported in Table 2, one must know both the gender of the individual and the achievement level of that individual to correctly describe an individual's profile on the three dependent variables. For example, Figure 6, topmost pair, shows that to describe an individual's probable level of sensation seeking, knowing the gender is female would not be sufficient, for the level of sensation seeking changes for females by virtue of their achievement level. Again, describing an individual's level of dogmatism would require knowing the gender (let us say male in this example), and then the achievement level, as males vary significantly in their level of dogmatism. Finally, using a female again, describing an individual female's level of depression would necessitate knowing the achievement level as it varies by that level. This is the sort of interaction between gender and Eriksonian achievement that was predicted by the experimental hypotheses, and this provides the statistical information around which the discussion section will hinge.

Assumptions Of The Anova/Manova Model:

Because in ANOVA/MANOVA, we set up a mathematical model, and all such models are approximations to reality, it is not surprising that some of the assumptions of those models are violated. The salient question becomes, "How radically must a given

assumption be violated before it has a serious effect on Type I (and so Type II) error rates?". ANOVA/MANOVA have two similar assumptions that are relevant here; they are (1) normality of distribution, and (2) homogeneity of variance. This distribution meets the normality assumption as interpreted by stem and leaf plots of the three dependent variables. Lastly is the assumption of homogeneity of variance. The usual procedure for determining this is to use Cochran's M, but in this study, that is not useful, as Cochran's M does not provide valid information with unequal n's. Box's M is another statistical measure of the homogeneity of variance. Box's M is violated in this study (for Dogmat, $F=9.04297$, $P=.000$; for Depress, $F=60.31186$, $P=.000$; for Zucker, $F=4.44038$, $P=.004$). This is also not helpful as Box's M is regarded as much too stringent (Stevens, 1986). Therefore, given that the multivariate case (MANOVA) is similar to the univariate case (ANOVA), it is necessary to look to that literature for guidance. As Stein shows, if the n's are equal, a violation of homogeneity is not a problem. But if the n's are unequal, the actual alpha may be seriously affected. The size of the n's is considered unequal when one group contains more than half again as many subjects as the second group. The actual alpha is greater than the nominal alpha (liberal) when the small n is associated with the more variable population; actual alpha is less than the nominal alpha (conservative) when the small n is associated with the less variable population. The smaller n in this study is the male group, and it is the group with greater variability. If the actual alpha is less than the nominal alpha, and there is still enough power to reject the null hypothesis, then there is no practical problem. If the actual alpha exceeds the nominal alpha, and the null hypothesis is rejected, then the question becomes whether one should have really done so, given that the

probability of making an error in doing so (the actual alpha) is larger than is usually acceptable (.05). One interesting point now surfaces; namely, though the assumptions for ANOVA and MANOVA are the same, are they really asking for the same thing? They are not in the case of homogeneity of variance. In ANOVA, only the single variance of one group must equal the single variance of another group. In this MANOVA, the variance of one group is a matrix of nine numbers (3 x 3 matrix), and the variance of the second group is also a matrix of nine numbers. The assumption is that all nine values in one matrix must, equal, respectively, the nine values in the second matrix. It is very unlikely that these values will ever be equal in a real situation. Two Monte Carlo studies speak to this issue: (1) Holloway and Dunn (1967), and (2) Hakstian, Roed, and Linn (1979). Table 6.6 in Stevens shows instances from Holloway and Dunn with three variables, unequal n 's, and moderate and large differences in homogeneity for those unequal n 's. Table 6.7 in Stevens shows instances from Hakstian, Roed, and Linn with six variables, unequal n 's of 5 to 1, and differences in heterogeneity of (a) 1.44 to 1, (b) 2.25 to 1, and (c) 2.25 to 1 for half of the dependent variables. This last instance is most like the present case where the variance of Dogmat = 71.58, of Depress=99.34, and of Zucker=343.32. This case is about as severe as letter (c), above, because while there are three variables instead of six (which helps), Dogmat/Depress=1.39, Dogmat/Zucker=4.80, Depress/Zucker=3.46, and that average is 3.22. A degree of heterogeneity of about 3 is what appears in letter (c) above from Stevens, with three dependent variables, $n_1:n_2=35:15$, and the nominal alpha of .05 yields an actual alpha of .12. These both represent worse case scenarios in which the greatest degree of heterogeneity is associated with the smaller group. The present case is

this worst case scenario; i.e., the variances of the males on each dependent variable are greater than the variances of the females on each dependent variable. It appears that a change of the nominal alpha to a value of .01 would yield an actual alpha in this case of slightly less than .05. In fact, the probability of the significance of F for the two main effects is 0, and for the interaction is .03. Thus, the null hypotheses may be considered rejected at a value close to an actual alpha of .05

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study intended to explore if, given Eriksonian theory, it is possible to suggest behavioral outcomes for majority and minority males and females as they face the identity crisis. Statistical results indicate that the null hypotheses are rejected. There is a significant impact on behaviors due to the interaction of gender and identity achievement. The behaviors of majority males are less sensation seeking, less depressed, and less dogmatic. The behaviors of majority females are more sensation seeking, less depressed, and less dogmatic. The behaviors of minority females are less sensation seeking, more depressed, and more dogmatic. The behaviors of minority males are more sensation seeking, more depressed, and more dogmatic (see Appendix C, figure 6). The behaviors of both minority males and females are complementary to those of the opposite gendered majority. Thus the hypotheses account for the observed behaviors of all males and females. Given this observation, it is reasonable to suggest that other behavior patterns of later ages may also be so predicated. The positive results of this research indicate that the overall line of thought should be further pursued. There are direct implications for all of the subsequent Eriksonian stages. The gender issues need to be specifically explored in intimacy and generativity. "Hanging out with the boys" (or with the girls?) impacts marriage success and

parenting (intimacy issues). Both the empty nest syndrome and middle age crisis syndrome are waiting for an analysis analogous to the present one.

Investigative Framework

The most important purpose for the MANOVA was to demonstrate the necessity to consider more than one parameter in discussions of identity formation. It is not surprising that other researchers have derived conflicting ideas, for they appear to have focused on some single part of Eriksonian theory. By reading Erikson too closely, too technically, they have created their own inability to understand identity formation. This would include those who focused only on gender, or those who focused only on sexual roles. It also includes another group who might focus on single or multiple parameters, but do so without seeing that identity formation reaches back into the individual and cultural past and stretches forward to the individual and cultural future. In practice, this means identity formation for many may be a twenty to fifty year project, the resolution of certain modalities occurring at different times than that of other modalities. This certainly leaves room for incomplete identity (and correlate behaviors) at every age including elderly. It is possible to misunderstand Erikson and define identity too narrowly, perhaps focusing on several parameters but only intrapsychically or only extrapsychically. Identity, however, has many levels, and one must identity oneself vis a vis the world, the culture, the family, the mate, and the self. Each of these is a different combination of intra and extrapsychic.

This study allows for the creative power of the individual being. While one may see identity formation as intra/extrapsychic and multiparametered, it is still possible to

interpret the actual formation as being primarily a compilation or summation of possibilities; that is, not as an act of creation. This act is always very peculiar, particular, and specific. Like a Zen koan, there is no right answer that can be deduced by factoring in all the parameters. The right answer is unknown until it happens. In particular, this happening may or may not be in a moment of activity (as exemplified in the Kung Fu story), but may be in a series of activities. “Series” is used here purposively to denote that the activities hold together. They hold together by a common theme, one possibly unknown at the time, but felt to be tantamount.

This study allows for further research looking at identity achievement in numerous other ways. One could focus more specifically on the extrapsychic and intrapsychic components of identity formation by gender. Besides the usual demographic constraints imposed by the sample (age, racial mix, geographic location, SES), the present focus attempted to follow Erikson in being flexible concerning the possibilities of identity and identity achievement.

The use of the EPSI has proved beneficial. An instrument extrapolated from theory loops back to that theory, either confirming by its successful use or disconfirming by its unsuccessful use, the theory itself. According to Einstein, this process is the correct role for research. Given the results of this study, construct validity for the EPSI is enhanced.

Implications Of The Study

Beyond the stage specific meaning of this research, it is possible to reach back or stretch forward in applying the present results. We may hypothesize that other psychosocial difficulties may also be connected to the identity process.

Due to one's experience, the end of the first decade after the initial challenge of identity formation brings new opportunity. This follows Erikson's notion that identity has become a secondary but still motive force. Intimacy (for females with people, for males with work) has brought this opportunity; that is, achievement has made possible a positive entry into the next task, intimacy versus isolation. As the numbers show (see Tables 1-5 in Chapter 4), identity resolution was never totally fulfilled. Achieved males lack the care perspective; achieved females lack the justice perspective. That is, males are not particularly sensitive to relationships and females are not autonomous. The possibility for a new integration is at hand. In order to accomplish it, achieved males must shuck the culturally dominant sex role identity and reintegrate by incorporating the feminine part of their nature. Achieved females must shuck their culturally dominant sex role identity and reintegrate by incorporating the masculine part of their nature. Each is empowered anew, empowered now by the totality of their sexuality, males gaining the power that comes from sensitivity and females gaining the power that comes from autonomy. Males become more receptive; females become more assertive. Erikson would like that. The symbolization of gender differences through genital geometry was a construct supported by Erikson. To become whole is to integrate the genital geometry of the other.

Impact Of Differential Achievement On Later Stages

There are many achieved members who do not reintegrate; that is, this first opportunity to renegotiate the unfulfilled, gender-specific area of concern is bypassed. The temporary reemergence of identity concerns brings into sharper focus the incompatibility of spouses. Many are divorced. Achieved males would likely have chosen achieved females and visa versa (correct mate selection relies heavily on identity achievement — how can one select an appropriate match if one's own identity configuration remains unsettled?). These marriages would likely have lasted the decade. The unachieved females would likely have chosen the unachieved males and visa versa. Their marriages would likely have failed due to incompatibility, and given us the statistic that the greatest number of divorces are in the first year of marriage. The next greatest number of divorces are in the twelfth year. These will be those who have achieved identity but who have failed to reintegrate given the experiences of the first decade of marriage. That is, they will have failed to reachieve based on incorporation of the opposite gender's powers as noted above. Some of these failures will go on with their marriages to another opportunity to reachieve in their forties. Non-reachieved males will experience the mid-life crisis. Non-reachieved females will experience the empty nest syndrome. Note how perfectly the syndromes fit that part of the identity which was neither originally achieved (in the 20's) nor later achieved (into the 30's). The empty nest syndrome is an identity crisis brought on by the failure of the identity predicated on relationships. This identity has been warranted and fulfilled by the demands of raising children. It was predicated on self-sacrifice. Focusing on self (autonomy) had not been achieved and a "career" that is about self (not about relating to others and

raising others) has not been explored. The male mid-life crisis is brought on by the failure of an identity predicated on one's own career to provide relational satisfaction. After a number of years on the job, it has become apparent that there is more to a fulfilled life than work; few make such a mark in their field that the continued focus is on career, to the exclusion of some of the more human things in life, is justified. Those who fail often divorce, providing the third statistic giving the third greatest divorce year as the eighteenth. Some succeed at identity reintegration in their 40's. These individuals (along with the earlier re-integrated ones) are likely to find retirement (career stuff) and the death of a spouse (relational stuff) to be tasks that are already within their ken. Only the challenge of death to one's identity remains.

For those who did not reintegrate in the 30's or 40's, yet remained married, old age will once again provide opportunity. As noted, retirement — a career issue — and the death of a spouse (a relational issue) are experiences which revitalize the identity crisis. Males who experience the death of a spouse may not reintegrate, and their death follows quickly. Having failed this last opportunity to identity themselves in relation to other humans, they die from lack of such contact. The female who had taken care of relational concerns for both of them is dead, and they can't do it for themselves. This description is corroborative of the short time frame in which males who have lost their spouses die themselves. Also, consider the descriptions of widowers' psychological health. Widowers are likely less able to function well than widows, for the daily life of the retired in contemporary culture revolves around relationships, not a continuation of career as in cultures where old age does not bring retirement. Females who experience their husband's death

are likely to find other relationships to fulfill, given that this issue has long been settled for them. Perhaps the failure to have resolved the career issue is shown in a negative way; that is, they are too old to be expected to have a career, but what they are supposed to have (given the relational bias) is a man (or other individual seen as dependent for relational needs). For such females, old age brings dissatisfaction — despair in Erikson's terminology.

Gerontological psychology is becoming de facto a more important area. Identity issues seem to recur particularly for those whose previous identification has been primarily with career. Those vocations most clearly recognized as careers by our culture are those most suspect for vulnerability to reemergent identity issues. If one has spent one's adulthood as an engineer, then the demands of retirement are immediate and great, for the specific skills of the professional engineer have no direct application in retirement.

Finally, identity issues may impact the approach to death in ways as yet unimagined. The courage to live as exemplified in the successful span of moratorium may directly contribute to the courage to die — a moratorium of unusual aspects. Living with the unknown is a developed talent, and a prerequisite to an achieved life and accepted death.

Further, the approach to death is seldom considered as a gender issue. But why should it not be that those same qualities that qualitatively distinguish the female life from the male life not also impact death? Penetration and engulfing can be seen to have specific possibilities regarding death. While initial speculation may support one style over the other, there is every reason to believe, considering the present research, that death, like life, demands some unique and creative combination. Engulfing must not become vapid

succumbing and penetration must not become ritualistic defiance. The line from the contemporary movie *Little Big Man*, "It's a good day to die.", may be as much a statement of psychology as cosmology.

Theoretical Significance Of The Study

Erikson hung his hat on healthy development, and that became identified with ego development. This is a basic mistake, as noted by Jung (1958), if that is seen as being conscious. Freud modified his structural theory and espoused the nature of the ego to be conscious and unconscious. Healthy development must include insight into both conscious and unconscious self processes. In the identity stage, this means recognizing one's mythological antecedents: unconscious processes that are individual, cultural, and species wide, prioritizing those processes, and creating (an action) one's spiritual identity. While Erikson saw this, emphasis on non-spiritual identity elements predominate. Freud set the pattern, speaking of *Arbeiten und Lieben*, neglecting spirituality (indeed, actively repudiating it), and subsequent generations of psychologically progressive Americans have slowly but increasingly ignored the spiritual in their identity, focusing what little understanding they have on the personae of State and Society. The phrases "God be praised" and "God damn it" are both disappearing, to be replaced by harping, carping, and extolling the gains/losses of State and Society. Erikson perhaps contributed indirectly to this contemporary identity problem, but his work actually emphasizes the importance of one's spiritual identity. Major works on Gandhi and Luther may appear to demand a conscious, rational psychology, but the content of those works deals directly with spiritual identity. To the degree that

those two men face the spiritual symbols in their respective unconsciousness are they deemed by Erikson to be developing in a healthy fashion. Erikson notes, for example, that at the best periods of Luther's adult life, he made many crude jokes about his spiritual symbols. These jokes may represent Luther's healthiest attempts (they are actions) at incorporating the symbols into his daily life. That is a definition of identity formation.

Erikson was born in 1902, and reached adult age when the Freudian circle had already solidified, broken, and solidified again. By 1930, Freud was an icon to many, the theoretical conflicts which had forced many away (e.g., Jung) having transpired while Erikson was a child. The transformation of the western world's myth into "science" was almost accomplished, and with it the splitting of human psychic functions. The western mind, henceforth, would be thinking and sensation based (Jung, 1971). The other functions, feeling and intuition, were further relegated to the unconscious. This process was aided by Victorian concepts of sexuality, and the western mind became the western male mind, with the unconscious functions further associated with females. Being raised in America in the 1920s, 30s, - 60s meant having to produce one's identity inside a growing scientific mythology emphasizing thinking and sensation for males, feeling and intuition for females. A whole human, one using all four of its functions (thinking/feeling, sensation/intuition) was a marriage of man and woman, and in many marriages of the time worked well. But being forced to find one's identity in such constrained circumstances (constrained equally for males and females) put lots of pressure on individuals. Erikson, given his immersion in Vienna, demonstrated greatness in emerging from Vienna by recognizing the need for the identity process to have access to all possibilities.

The present research shows that Erikson's theoretical formulation of identity creation precedes (conceptually) that split. For Erikson, while male and female are different, the identity process is the same, and parents/culture can contribute elements to that process which, when incorporated, solidify the split or mushroom into fuller personalities. The (majority) female, having focused monistically on love (feeling and intuition, interpersonal relationships) is left vulnerable to the opposite from the unconscious. The (majority) male, having focused monistically on work (thinking and sensation, work) is left vulnerable to the opposite from the unconscious. Minority members of either gender are no more complete; only their respective contents of conscious and unconscious are different. The identity achieved person will have created a fusion of the four functions, will have integrated to some degree the contents of the personal conscious and unconscious, and will have shucked the gender roles assigned by the mythology.

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APPENDIX A

CHAPTER NOTES

Chapter 1 Notes

Waterman, A. S. (ed.) (1985). Identity in Adolescence: Processes and contents. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass, Inc.

Because the identity status classification scheme devised by Marica (1966) involves categorizing individuals according to their strategy for handling the task of identity formation, a more complex set of developmental patterns can be identified. These patterns are theoretically applicable to each of the areas of developmental concern to adolescents. p. 14

Identity has been treated primarily as a global, process variable. What has been of concern is only how identity decisions are made, without regard to the specific goals, values, and beliefs that constitute the individual's actual sense of identity. Researchers have been content to categorize individuals as identity achievers, foreclosures, moratoriums, or diffusions across all areas of concern to adolescents. They have chosen not to deal with the differences in processes employed in different content domains. ...It is recognized that identity development can proceed separately, if not always independently, in many content domains. It is assumed that identity processes within particular domains may predict to specific sets of variables, while no relationship would obtain for the same processes employed in other domains. p. 89

Adelson, J. editor, (1980). Handbook of Adolescent Psychology. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

The early identity status research was conducted primarily with males, the one exception being the Podd, Marcia, and Rubin (1970) study in which no sex differences were found. p. 172

Baumeister, R. F. (1986). Identity. New York: Oxford University Press.

Researchers have not shown a great deal of interest in the behaviors associated with identity crises, perhaps because it is not what an identity crisis makes you do that is important about the crisis... p. 216

Outside love and work, the possibilities for fulfillment appear to be limited. p. 163

Smelser, N. J., & Erikson, E. H. (1980). Themes of work and love in adulthood.

Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

It is possible to point out a number of elements common to the two in Freud's writings: both work and love involve libidinal attachments to objects, personal and impersonal, though the mix is different; both work and love have an element of sublimation; both kinds of attachments can serve as the basis for the integration of diverse activities, for identification, and for personal identity; both work and love are dependent on interpersonal relationships — love obviously so, but work as well, in interactions and identifications involved in developing skills and capacities, and in cooperative and conflictual work relationships; work and love are in important respects substitutable for one another, in that varying amounts of libido can resources may be devoted to one at the expense of the other. p. 5

Reduced to the simplest level, both work and love are governed by the search for the same goal: more lasting, realistic, and socially responsible pleasure. p. 30

Paranjpe, A. C. (1975). In search of identity. New York: John Wiley & Co.

According to him (sociologist Kingsley Davis), adolescence is a phase of life characterized by the following four aspects of transition in social status: (1) making a growing person a productive member of the society's economic organization through occupational placement; (2) giving him a reproductive role in terms of marriage which results in the creation of a new family; (3) granting authority in terms of being a member of the society's political system; and (4) granting him a period free from adult responsibilities so as to be able to acquire the technology of his culture. p. 17

An increasing sense of identity...is experienced preconsciously as a psychosocial well-being. Its most obvious concomitants are a feeling of being at home in one's body, a sense of 'knowing where one is going', and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count. Such a sense of identity, however, is never gained nor maintained once and for all. Like a 'good conscience', it is constantly lost and regained, although more lasting and more economical methods of maintenance and restoration are evolved and fortified in late adolescence. (Erikson, 1956, p. 74) p. 62

As pointed out by Erikson (1962, pp40-41) identity formation is not a hazardous process to those who adopt ideological perspective offered by their culture and can find a place in the prevalent technology of their time. p. 70

Erikson, E. H. (1958). Young man Luther. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

When such young people become patients, they illustrate the depth of regression which can ensue from an identity crisis, either because the identity elements they were offered as children were not coherent so that one may speak of a defect in this connection — or because they face a perplexing set of persistent circumstances which amounts to an acute state of ideological undernourishment. p. 102

Erikson, E. H. (1987). A way of looking at things. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

The 'mechanisms' of identity formation are, of course, the same. But since identity is always anchored both in physiological 'givens' and in social rules, the sex endowed with an 'inner bodily space' capable of bearing offspring lives in a different total configuration of identity elements from the fathering sex (Erikson, 1965). Obviously also, the childhood identifications to be integrated differ in the two sexes. But the realization of woman's optimal psychosocial identity (which in our day would include individuality, workmanship, and citizenship, as well as motherhood) is beset with ancient problems. The 'depth', both concretely physical and emotional, of woman's involvement in the cycle of sexual attraction, conception, gestation, lactation, and child care has been exploited by the builders of ideologies and societies to relegate women to all manner of lifelong 'confinements' and confining roles. p. 681

Erikson, E. H. (1977). Toys and reasons. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

..., or one could now turn to formal rites and rituals, for it is in the promise of formal confirmation, induction, or graduation that adolescent human beings are enjoined to become responsible members of their society (or pseudo-species) and often of an elite within it. Only then can they enter the process of becoming an adult in the sense that they can visualize a future in which they will be the everyday ritualizers in their children's lives and, perhaps, occupy ritual positions in the lives of the next generation. p. 107

They (ritualizations) thus also sanction the adult; for mature needs include the need to be reinforced in the role of ritualizer, which means not more and not less than to be ready to become a numinous model in the next generation's eyes and to act as judge of evil and the transmitter of ideal values. p. 111

Erikson, E. H. (1964). Inner and outer space: reflections on womanhood. *Daedalus*, 93, 582-606.

Freud's theory implied that a man will be more a man to the extent to which he makes a woman more a woman — and vice versa — because only two uniquely different beings can enhance their respective uniqueness for one another. p. 23

Chapter 2 Notes

Erikson, E. H. (1958). Young man Luther. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

For that 'first birth', to which all of their symptoms are related, is the emergence of their consciousness as individuals, a consciousness born from the interplay of recognitions. Whoever is the maternal attendant to that early phase is man's first environment, and whatever environment is then first experienced as such remains associated with 'mother'. p. 117

We once felt at one with a maternal matrix from which we received the substances of life — not merely food, but everything we could then experience as positive, as an affirmation of our existence: personal warmth, and the nourishment of our senses and of our anticipations. p. 141

Therefore, society can never afford merely to suppress drives or to guide their sublimation. It must also support the primary function of every individual ego, which is to transform instinctual energy into patterns of action into character, into style — in short, into an identity with a core of integrity which is to be derived from and also contributed to the tradition. p. 254

A new life task presents a crisis whose outcome can be a successful graduation, or alternatively, an impairment of the life cycle which will aggravate future crises. Each crisis prepares the next, as one step leads to another, and each crisis also lays one more cornerstone for the adult personality. p. 254

Erikson, E. H. (1963). Youth: Fidelity and diversity in youth. in *Change and challenge*,

New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Such cognitive orientation forms not a contrast but a complement to the need of the young person to develop a sense of identity, for, from among all possible and imaginable relations, he must make a series of ever narrowing selections of personal, occupational, sexual, and ideological commitments. p. 11

This has a counterpart in the fact that isolated sufferers try to solve by withdrawal what the joiners of deviant cliques and gangs attempt to solve by conspiracy. p. 17

This can be advanced only by men and women who are neither ideological youths nor moralistic old men, but who know that from generation to generation the test of what you produce is in the care it inspires. p. 23

As to the isolate's tortured feelings of bisexuality or of an immature need for love, the young joiner in social pathology, by joining, has made a clear decision: he is a male with a vengeance, she a female without sentimentality; or they are both perverts. In either case, they can eliminate the procreative function of genitality altogether and can make a pseudo-culture of what is left. By the same token, they will acknowledge authority only in the form chosen in the act of joining, repudiating the rest of the social world, where the isolate repudiates existence as such and, with it, himself. p. 18

Erikson, E. H. (1980). Identity and the life cycle. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

While the end of adolescence thus is the stage of an over identity crisis, identity formation neither begins nor ends with adolescence: it is a lifelong development, largely unconscious to the individual and to his society. Its roots go back all the way to the first self-recognition: in the baby's earliest exchange of smiles there is something of a self-realization couples with a mutual recognition. p. 122

Erikson, E. H. (1982). The life cycle completed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

The psychosocial antithesis to intimacy, however, is isolation, a fear of remaining separate and 'unrecognized' — which provides a deep motivation for the entranced ritualization of a, now genitally mature, I — you experience such as marked the beginning of one's existence. p. 70

But the greatest danger of isolation is a regressive and hostile reliving of the identity conflict and, in the case of a readiness for regression, a fixation to the earliest conflict with the primal Other. p. 71

Erikson, E. H. (1987). A way of looking at things. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

The 'mechanism' of identity formation are, of course, the same. But since identity is always anchored both in physiological 'givens' and in social roles, the sex endowed with an 'inner bodily space' capable of bearing offspring lives in a different total configuration of identity elements from the fathering sex (Erikson, 1965). Obviously also, the childhood identifications to be integrated differ in the two sexes. But the realizations

of woman's optimal psychosocial identity (which in our day would include individuality, workmanship, and citizenship, as well as motherhood) is beset with ancient problems. The 'depth', both concretely physical and emotional, of woman's involvement in the cycle of sexual attraction, conception, gestation, lactation, and child care has been exploited by the builders of ideologies and societies to relegate women to all manner of lifelong 'confinements' and confining roles. p. 681

Josselson, R. E. (1987). Finding herself. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass, Inc.

Previous research, in its effort to append the understanding of women to existing understanding of men, has largely overlooked the dominant issues in female development: issues of interpersonal relatedness, for example, and the role of affiliation in the quest for meaning in life. p. 4

A major difficulty in resolving this conundrum is that no one has as yet looked seriously at how identity is organized in women. Recent work seems to suggest that the question of whether identity precedes, follows, or commingles with developmental issues of intimacy may itself be a poorly conceived one. p. 22

The process of anchoring is critical to identity formation in women because the self is experienced so much in relation to others. Who a woman is reflects her sense of what she means to others. This process is not at all passive because, as Erikson points out, a person can choose those people she wishes to give meaning to. p. 175

Paranjpe, A. C. (1975). In search of identity. New York: John Wiley & Co.

Here we have to clarify the differences between identity formation among men and women. Training oneself in worker and citizenship roles during the adolescent moratorium is more important for men than women in male dominated societies. p. 215

Douvan, E., & Adelson, J. (1966). The adolescent experience. New York: John Wiley &

Sons.

Boys tend to construct identity around the vocational choice; in most cases the girl does not. For most boys, the question of 'what to be' begins with work and the job, and he is likely to define himself and to be identified by occupation. But there is more to the total identity than occupation, and the stress placed on vocation tends to conceal, both from the onlooker and the

child himself, some of the vicissitudes of identity formation. Through a precocious vocational choice the child may factitiously crystallize identity. p. 17

We were not certain how the feminine image would serve a girl, but we thought it would hold a position roughly comparable to that which the occupational identity holds in the boy's self concept. We found in fact that it operates, differently, but is of an importance comparable to the occupational image of the boy. p. 230

Our findings in the area of interpersonal skills fit the modern conception of feminine integration, and are supported by other data from the study. The measure of an effective and feminine woman in our culture is skill and grace in relating to other people, in forming and maintaining satisfactory relationships. p. 240

Does an integrated concept of her adult feminine role serve the same anchoring function for the girl in transition that the occupational role provides for the boy? ...From our data on the social adjustment of feminine and non-feminine girls, we conclude that the answer to both questions is yes. p. 242

We find specific contrasts between boys and girls in only two areas, contrasts that reflect different identity problems in the two sexes. While in boys were found that a well-integrated concept of occupational goals was associated with a precocious thrust for autonomy and a well-developed internal control system, the feminine identity shows no comparable associations in girls' development. The girl who is clearly oriented toward feminine goals is no more concerned with independence than the girl who has little explicit interest in adult femininity; nor is she functioning any more autonomously. p. 342

In fact, the interpersonal seems to be the central area of growth for girls during adolescence. Our evidence indicates that the girl's development in the interpersonal sphere is the pivotal feature around which her adolescent adjustment focuses. A measure of interpersonal development was our best predictor of ego integration in girls. p. 344

We were quite sure that achievement and occupational choice would be more crucial to the boy, that social and interpersonal issues would play a larger role in girls' preoccupations and would more surely gauge the girl's personal integration at adolescence. What we did not anticipate was the

force of the sex variable, the extent to which it defines and shades all aspects of the developmental crisis. p. 346

For the girl the development of interpersonal ties — the sensitivity, skills, ethics, and values of object ties — forms the core of identity, and it gives expression to much of developing feminine eroticism. p. 347

We have seen the derivative effects of the difference in our studies — the areas of achievement, autonomy, authority and control focus and express boys' major concerns and psychological growth; the object relations — friendship, dating, popularity and the understanding and management of interpersonal crisis — hold the key to adolescent growth and integration for the girl. p. 358

Adelson, J. editor (1980). *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

The dependence of identity achievement on a sense of industry results from the importance of vocational commitment in identity formation. ('Vocation' has been used here instead of 'occupation' in order to provide as broad a term as possible for one's 'work in the world'.) So long as only occupation, specifically, is considered, a predominant mode of identity formation for many women, the development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships, is overlooked or inadvertently disparaged. p. 160

Andrews (1973) reported an orientation pattern of independence and active achievement for college males high in identity, while those low in identity were more passive and affective. p. 164

Perhaps it is time to take Douvan and Adelson (1966) seriously. The predominant concerns of most adolescent girls are not with occupation and ideology. Rather, they are concerned with the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. p. 179

Some empirical support for this view may be found in a study by Hodgson (1977) who reported that men were more advanced in intrapersonal identity issues, while women were further advanced in interpersonal areas as well as being further along in the achievement of intimacy than men. Hodgson concluded that while male identity focuses on individual competence and

knowledge, female identity development seems to revolve around issues of relating to others. p. 179

Wright, J. E. Jr. (1982). Identity and religion. New York: Seabury Press.

Instead of focusing upon the assumed penis envy of women, a negative way of noting what is lacked, Erikson concludes positively that women are aware of having inner space, the womb from which the life of man emerges. Women may proudly claim this endowment which entitles them to an identity of their own rather than the more derogatory 'not male' kind of identity Freudian theory has often assigned to them. p. 41

Erikson describes the young adult as one in whom the childhood morality and adolescent ideology have developed into what he calls a 'true ethical sense'. In this stage there is a concern for both 'intimate relationships and work associations by which man can hope to share a lifetime of productivity and competence.' p. 121

Gilligan, C., Lyon, N. P., & Hanmer, T. J. (1990). Making connections. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

...while Stiver (1984) points out that women's 'need to feel related to others is a crucial aspect of her identity and allows us to understand why women are so threatened when there is the danger of alienation.' p. 74

The fact that those young women do not dichotomize separation and connection is difficult to understand in psychological terms. The apparently conflicting desires to see oneself as part of a larger whole, and yet to feel like an individual have often been reconciled by psychologist's 'cutting and pasting' the two concepts together. ...From such a perspective, these women seem persistently to contradict themselves. The apparent paradoxes that they present, however reveal not confusion but a conception of the self that is, by its nature, in relation to others. Thus, even separation and independence occur within a context of relationship. p. 85

Where attachment has proven unsatisfying as a source of nurturance, girls may resort to precocious sexual involvements in a bid for attachment rather than for actual sexual gratification. This reliance on sexual behaviors to satisfy longings for attachment conforms to Bowlby's stated view that one must discriminate between the goals of the sexual and attachment systems. Or, as proposed earlier in this paper, where the attachment system falters, the sexual system may come into play in substitute fashion. In such cases,

the goal is not so much sexual gratification as it is the establishment of attachment. p. 114

Baumeister, R. F. (1986). Identity. New York: Oxford University Press.

When people started looking for fulfillment on earth, men sought it in work and creative endeavors; but these means of fulfillment were unavailable to women. Women may therefore have intensified their involvement in the activities open to them, of which motherhood was central. p. 132

Outside love and work, the possibilities for fulfillment appear to be limited. p. 163

Waterman, A. S. (ed.) (1985). Identity in Adolescence: Processes and contents. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass, Inc.

It has been claimed that Erikson's theory and the identity status constructs of Marcia are more applicable to the understanding of adolescent males than of females (Gallatin, 1975; Gilligan, 1982). Where female adolescents are thought to be primarily involved with interpersonal developmental concerns (Douvan and Adelson, 1966), much of the work in identity has focused on such individuation concerns as vocational choice and ideological beliefs, areas presumed to be of more salience to males. However, there is now emerging a substantial body of research with samples of both genders, covering both the individuation and interpersonal aspects, that indicates far more similarities than differences between males and females (Waterman, 1982; Archer, 1984). p. 21

As indicated previously, Erikson clearly supports a division of labor in which males identify themselves as the primary breadwinner and females as wives and mothers. Others have supported this distinction of roles (Douvan and Adelson, 1966; Katz, 1979; Rosneberg and Simmons, 1975) designating males as career oriented and females as interpersonal. p. 87

Chapter 3 Notes

Zuckerman, M. (1979). Sensation seeking: Beyond the optimal level of arousal. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Sensation seeking is a trait defined by the need for varied, novel, and complex sensations and experiences and the willingness to take physical and social risks for the sake of such experience. p. 10

Although there appears to be no important age changes from 16 through the early 20s, a decline in scores is evident from the 20s on. p. 135

Sex differences have generally been found in all cultures, with males scoring higher than females on all scales except Experience Seeking. The largest differences consistently appear on the Disinhibition subscale. Although the differences on this subscale, as well as others, may be due entirely to differences in sex-role stereotypes, they are consistent with pervasive differences in experience and attitudes between the sexes and may conceivably be based in some part on biological differences between the sexes. p. 135

Chapter 5 Notes

Erikson, E. H. (1958). Young man Luther. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

But every expanding opens frontiers, every conquest exposes flanks. p. 16

Owing to his prolonged identity crisis, and also to delayed sexual intimacy, intimacy and generativity were fused in Luther's life. p. 254

Erikson, E. H. (1963). Youth: Fidelity and diversity in youth. in *Change and challenge*,
New York: Basic Books, Inc.

For ego identity is partially conscious and partly unconscious. p. 11

Erikson, E. H. (1980). Identity and the life cycle. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

In this sense, then, ego identity acquires its final strength in the meeting of mates whose ego identity is complementary in some essential point and can be fused in marriage without the creation either of a dangerous discontinuity of tradition, or of an incestuous sameness... p. 40

Where a youth does not accomplish such intimate relation with others — and, I would add, with his won inner resources — in late adolescence or early adulthood, he may either isolate himself and find, at best, highly stereotyped and formal interpersonal relations (formal in the sense of lacking in spontaneity, warmth, and real exchange of fellowship), or he must seek them in repeated attempts and failure. Unfortunatley, many young people marry under such circumstances, hoping to find themselves in finding one another, but alas, the early obligation to act in a defined way, as mates and as parents, disturbs them in the completion of this work on themselves. Obviously, a change of mate is rarely the answer, but rather some wisely guided insight into the fact that the condition of a true twoness is that one must first become oneself. p. 101

The principle thing is to realize that this is a stage of the growth of the healthy personality and that where such enrichment fails, together, regression from generativity to an obsessive need for pseudo intimacy takes place, often with a pervading sense of stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment. p. 103

Erikson, E. H. (1982). The life cycle completed. New York: W. W. Norton & Co.

Where generative enrichment in its various forms fails altogether, regressions to earlier stages may occur either in the form of an obsessive need for pseudo-intimacy or in a compulsive kind of preoccupation with self-imagery — and both with a pervading sense of stagnation. p. 67

...the reliability of young adult commitments largely depends on the outcome of the adolescent struggle for identity. p. 72

Josselson, R. E. (1987). Finding herself. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass, Inc.

It appears that Foreclosures are likely to marry somewhat passive men who share their commitment to required behavior. Or else they find men so uncertain about their own identities that they relish having a woman tell them how to live their lives. p. 67

Foreclosures are likely to choose husbands based on the men's likelihood of meshing with the Foreclosures' family oriented values. p. 175

Losing a relationship represents more than losing a loved person. It is, more deeply, loss of a precious fantasy, the belief that someone else will be there to perform psychological functions, to soothe distress, to structure time, to stabilize and to reassure, to make one feel worthwhile. Having to learn to take over these functions for oneself seems to be growth promoting for women. Here, growth refers to increased internalization, increased ability to stand alone, to set individual goals, to be aware of who one is.

Paranjpe, A. C. (1975). In search of identity. New York: John Wiley & Co.

Once a partner is found the strength of the identity thus far found must face a challenge of losing and rediscovering it in the bond of intimacy. This is the task of the subsequent phase for all our subjects, male as well as female. p. 216

Douvan, E., & Adelson, J. (1966). The adolescent experience. New York: John Wiley &

Sons.

In Erikson's statement of the developmental tasks of adolescence and early adulthood, the problem of individual identity is put before that of intimacy — and there is a compelling logic to this order. For how, one asks, can the individual form a genuine tie to another, a contact of depth and intimacy, unless the outlines of his individual being have been established and fortified; how can we speak of two individuals merging in intimacy unless we start with two individuals? Yet psychic phenomena do not always follow logic in so orderly a manner. We know that in many people, the working through of identity issues continues well beyond the early adult years and that in some cases, at least, intimacy has been achieved in some degree before the individual has developed the kind of continuity and integrity of self which an identity resolution implies. This, we would argue, is much more commonly the tone of feminine identity formation. p. 349

Adelson, J. editor (1980). *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

This finding complemented an earlier one by Toder and Marcia (1972) who reported greater conformity (and greater personal discomfort) in an Asch-type situation for Identity Diffusion and Moratorium women as contrasted with Identity Achievement and Foreclosure women. p. 173

Baumeister, R. F. (1986). *Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

It is not surprising that identity has become a problem in the twentieth century. Eight of the ten means of self-definition that formed personal identification during the Middle Ages have lost much or all of their effectiveness.... The other two (age and physical attributes) are by nature unstable and are thus unable to provide continuity of identity over the life span. p. 136

As the effectiveness of socially defined identity components has decreased, there is an increasing need for people to generate a self-definition internally. p. 136

Equating interpersonal roles with identity was probably quite accurate for medieval humanity. People were differentiated mainly by certain roles — family, social rank, occupation. The other two aspects of identity (values and potential) were less important for differentiation. p. 153

This (19th century) was a critical step; the individual began to assume the burden of defining himself, because society was such a failure in doing this.

The ascendancy of the private over the public domain of experience reflects the same sort of shift toward seeking one's own meaning of life instead of accepting it from society. p. 155

What happened in the nineteenth century was a breakdown in the network of culture, institutions, and traditions that society had used to furnish meaning to individual life. ...The disruption of this network left society unable to furnish individuals with meaning, for, as Haberman (1973) says, sources of meaning are difficult to replace. p. 155

The reorganization of work according to the task division of labor is one reason work has lost its capacity to provide intrinsic fulfillment. A second, related reason is that the social bond between producer and consumer has become distant and impersonal. p. 161

Outside love and work, the possibilities for fulfillment appear to be limited. p. 163

There is also some suggestion of a tendency in these people (identity deficit) to be dissatisfied and hostile toward authority (Bourne, 1978); Marcia, 1966, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Podd, Marcia, & Rubin, 1970; Schafer, 1973; Schenkeel & Marcia, 1972).

People who experience identity crises — especially those who have had them and have successfully resolved them — tend to be superior to others on various dimension, including academic achievement (Cross & Allen, 1970), achievement motivation (Orlofsky, 1977), the ability to adapt and perform under stress (Marcia, 1967), and interpersonal intimacy (Orlofsky, et al., 1973; Marcia, 1976). p. 228

Waterman, A. S. (ed.) (1985). Identity in Adolescence: Processes and contents. San

Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass, Inc.

Like Erikson, Super suggested that each developmental stage is characterized by specific tasks negotiated intrapsychically through the development of specific attitudes and socially though specific behaviors. p. 29

Further, several studies indicate that higher identity status is associated with more mature intimacy capacities (for example, Craig-Bray, 1984; Fitch

& Adams, 1983) and more effective social influence and compliance behaviors (for example, Read, Adams, and Dobson, 1984). p. 70

Wright, J. E. Jr. (1982). Identity and religion. New York: Seabury Press.

For each stage there is a kind of anticipation of future stages as well as a legitimate place for regression. p. 41

Erikson reminds his readers that a part of the developmental process is the daring to risk the achievements of the previous stage as one enters the next. p. 92

...regression from generativity to an obsessive need for pseudo intimacy takes place, often with a pervading sense of stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment. Individuals who do not develop generativity often begin to indulge themselves as if they were their one and only child. p. 95

...there is always the danger “that man’s way stations to maturity can become fixed, can become premature end stations, or stations for future regression.” p. 113

What Erikson’s critics sometimes fail to realize, however, is that Young Man Luther offers description and interpretation rather than explanation. Erikson was not deeply concerned to account for religion or to explain it away. Rather, he was simply opening up such areas of inquiry to new lines of interpretation, and more as a lesson to psychologists than to theologians [sic] and church historians. p. 192

Gilligan, C., Lyon, N. P., & Hanmer, T. J. (1990). Making connections. Cambridge, MA:

Harvard University Press.

Hence, while the prevalent motive for developing independence is to improve relationships, relationships are bound to the experience of independence in two ways. Independence is most valuable to these young women to the extent that it serves their relationships, and their relationships enable them to venture further into the world of independence. p. 8

APPENDIX B

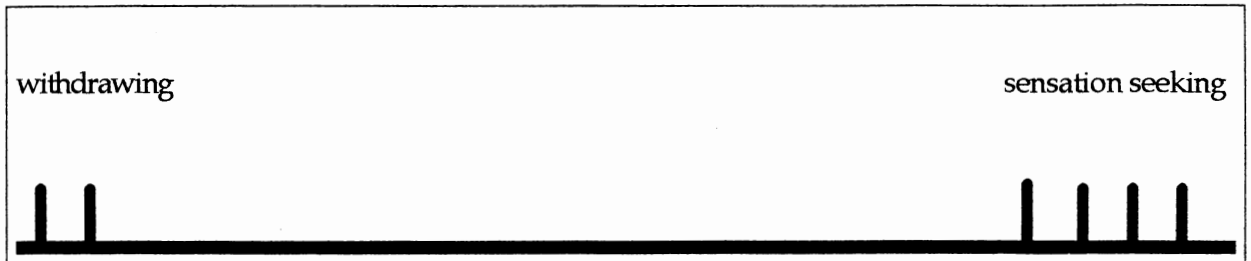
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS FROM QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Do you plan to be a teacher?
4. What level would you prefer to teach?
5. In which type of district would you prefer to teach?
6. Marital status
7. Number of children
8. Where did you live during the majority of your childhood?
9. If you were given a choice, in which area would you prefer to live?
10. What is your perception of the socioeconomic status of the home in which you grew up?
11. What is your perception of the intellectual climate of the home in which you grew up?

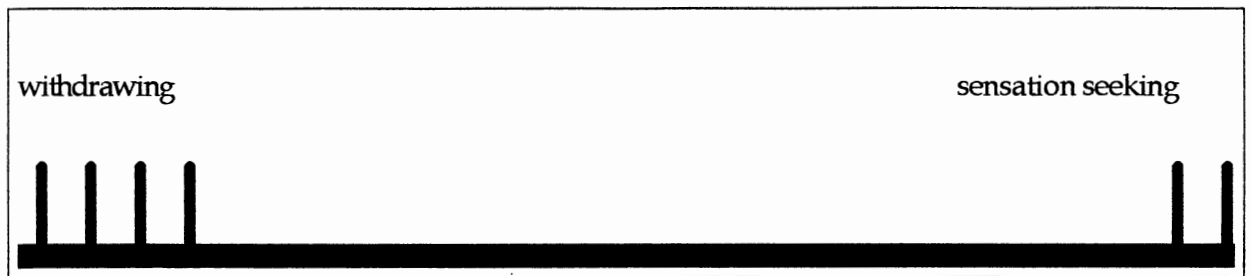
APPENDIX C

FIGURES

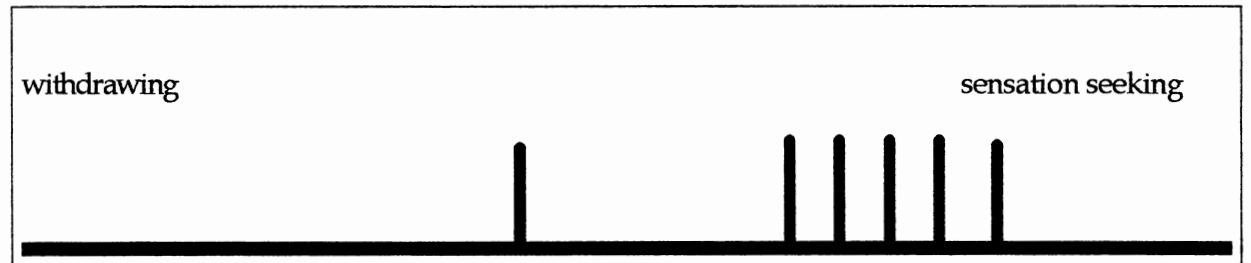
Males--unachieved



Females--unachieved



Males--achieved



Females--achieved

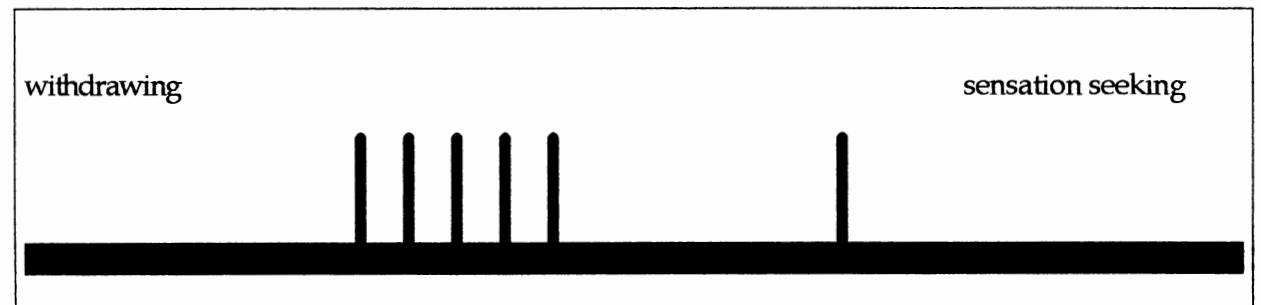
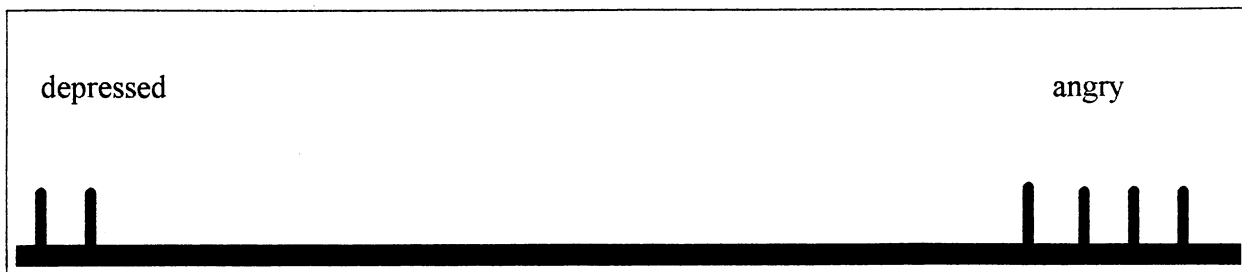
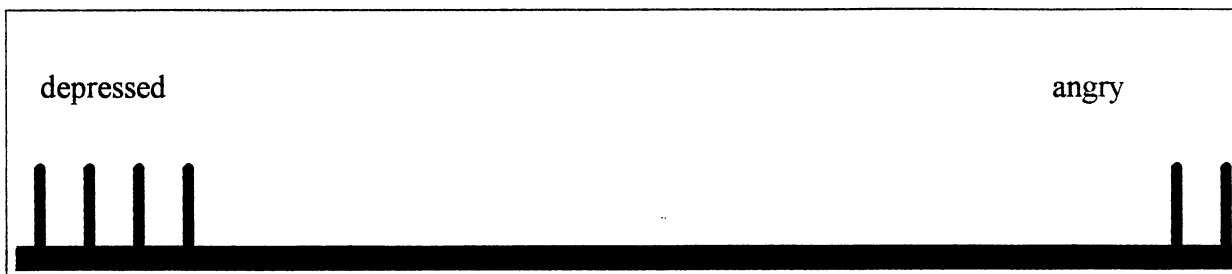


Figure 3. Sensation Seeking for Gender and Achievement

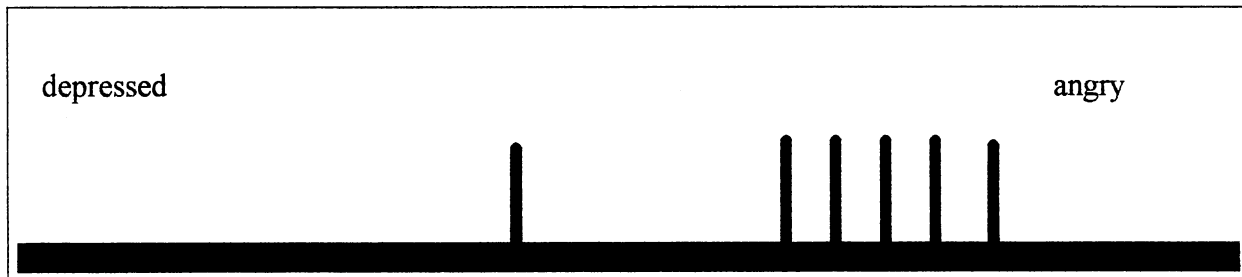
Males--unachieved



Females--unachieved



Males--achieved



Females--achieved

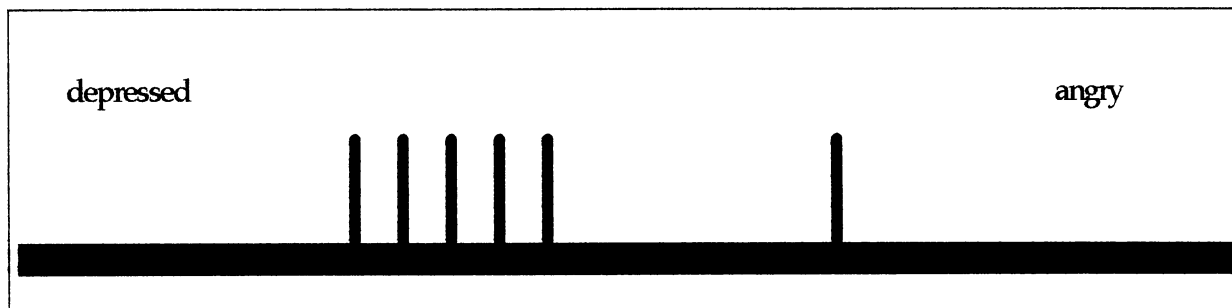
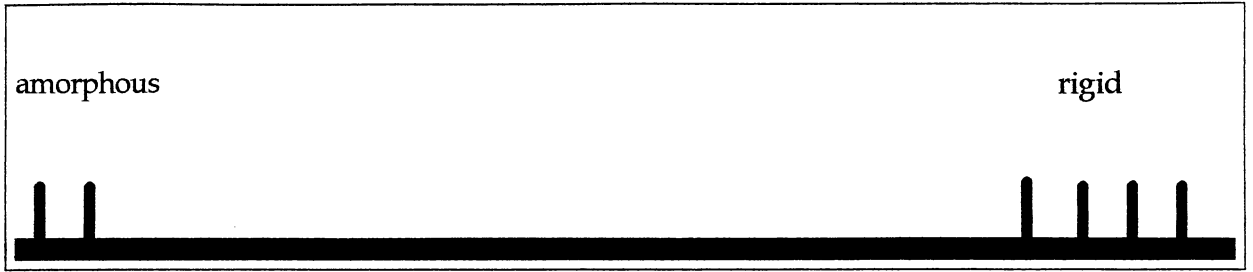
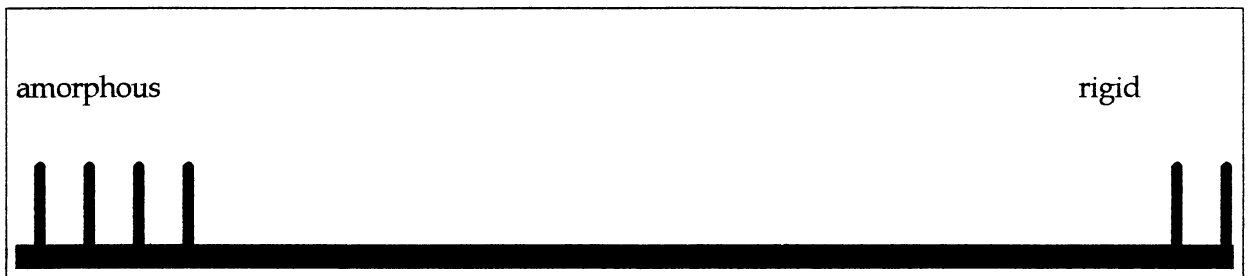


Figure 4. Depression for Gender and Achievement

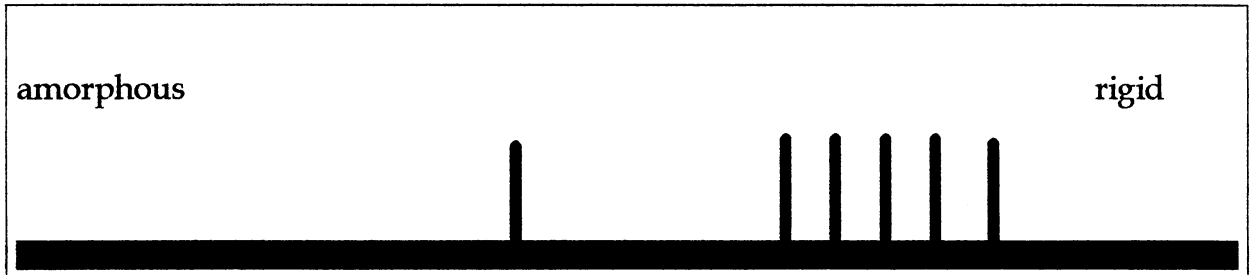
Males--unachieved



Females--unachieved



Males--achieved



Females--achieved

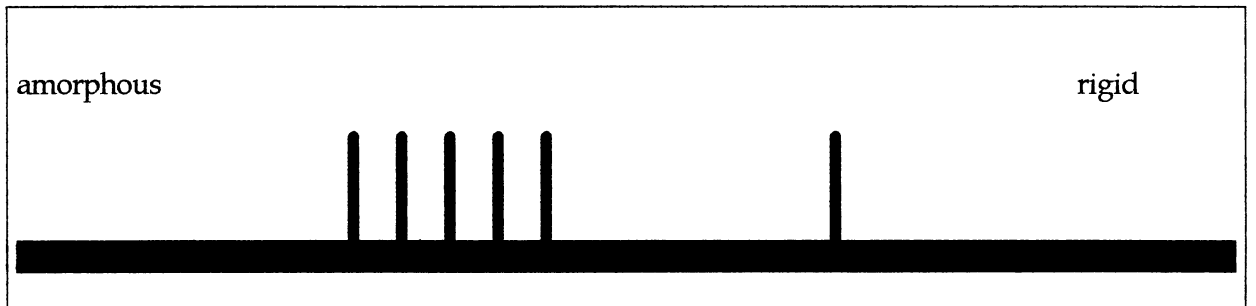


Figure 5. Dogmatism for Gender and Achievement

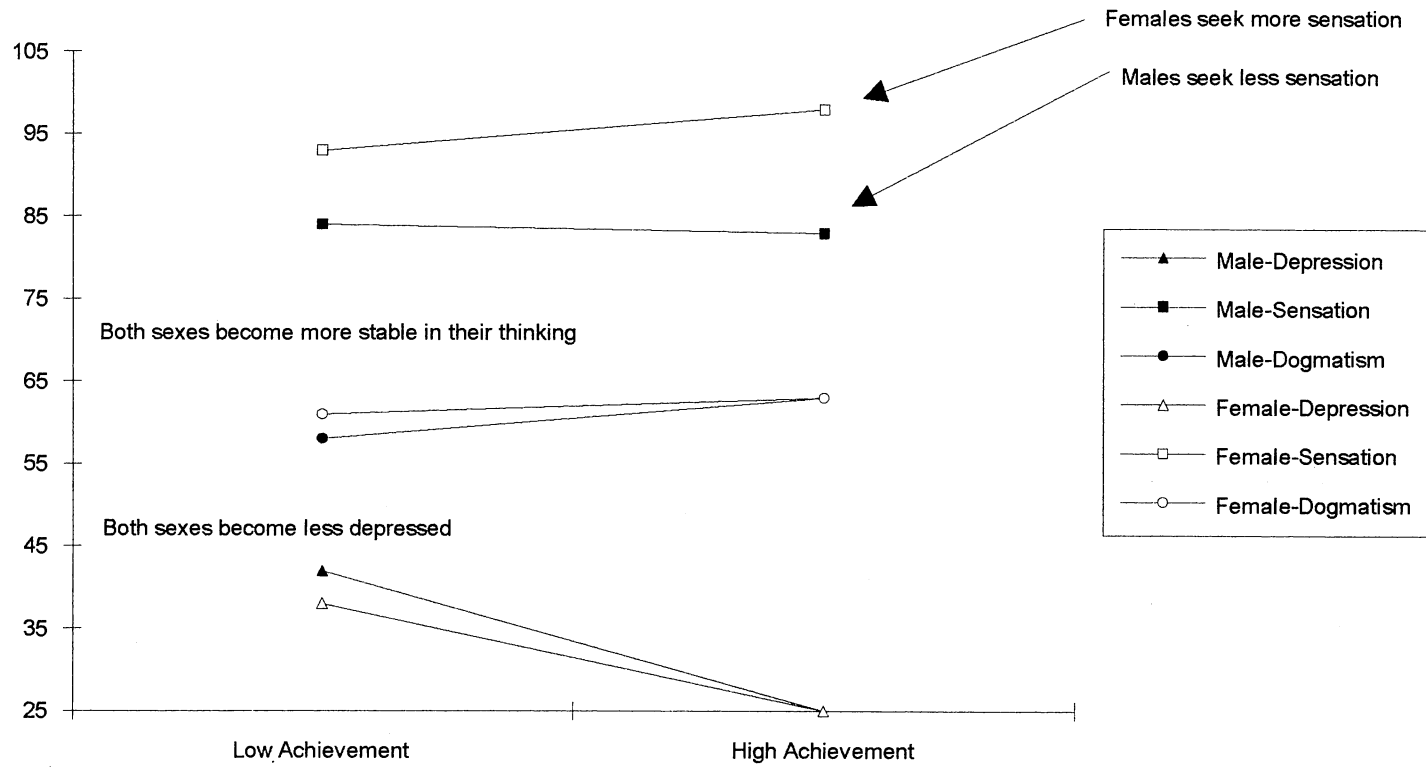


Figure 6. Changes in the Means of the Three Dependent Variables

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VITA

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