

**IDENTITY STATUS DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN
CONTEXT: RELATIONS WITH DEFENSES, NARCISSISM,
PARENTAL ATTACHMENT AND EGO STRENGTHS**

BY

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THESIS

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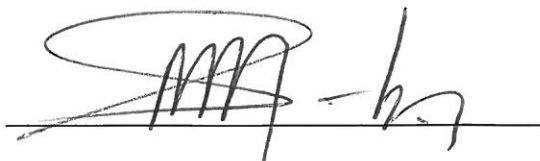
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Declaration

I, SOLOMON MASHEGOANE, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work, and that I have not previously submitted it in part or in its entirety to any other university for degree or diploma purposes.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'S' followed by 'M' and 'A', and a separate 'M' and 'A' to the right, all written over a horizontal line.

Date:

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Abstract

The identity status paradigm (ISP) is probably the most common theoretical model used to study identity development. It originates from Erikson's (1950/1977) psychosocial theory, which, in turn, is historically rooted in the psychoanalytic perspective. The ISP postulates predictable relationships between each of the identity status categories and various intrapersonal and contextual variables. The applicability of the ISP in the South African context is tested in this study. A student sample was drawn from a predominantly African university, and was assessed for identity development over a period of three consecutive years (Ns = 394, 96 & 60, for years one, two and three, in that order). Participants were initially classified into the four identity status categories of Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. The impact of gender and age on identity status development was investigated. The association between defenses and the identity statuses was also determined. Thereafter, identity statuses, in conjunction with defenses, narcissism, and parental attachment, were related to the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love. The results suggest that generally there is no relationship between the sets of variables in this particular sample. The results are discussed in relation to existing literature, and the issue of the appropriateness of the theory and/or the measures in the present sample is raised.

Key terms: defense, ego strength, identity status, narcissism, parental attachment

Table of contents

Content	Page	
Declaration	ii	
Acknowledgements	iii	
Dedication	iv	
Abstract	v	
List of tables	x	
Figure	xii	
Abbreviations	xiii	
 Chapter 1: Overview of the study		
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Background to and motivation for the study	4
1.2.1	Need for the study	4
1.2.2	Theoretical framework for the proposed study	6
1.3	Objectives of the study	8
1.4	Hypotheses	9
1.5	Context of the study	11
1.6	The contribution of the study to the literature and to practice	13
1.7	Definition of terms	14
1.8	Structure of the thesis	24
 Chapter 2: Literature review		
2.1	Introduction	26
2.2	Psychoanalytic roots of Erik H. Erikson's identity concept	27
2.3	The ISP and the study of identity status development	37
2.3.1	Origins of the identity status construct	37
2.3.2	Issues of development in the assessment of the identity	41

	Content	Page
	status construct	
2.3.3	Antecedents to identity status development	44
2.3.4	Identity and context	47
2.3.5	Theoretical representation of the construct of identity status	52
2.3.6	Identity status profiles	54
2.4	The impact of sex differences on identity status development	57
2.5	Summary	58
 Chapter 3: Towards a framework for the study of identity development: Identity in relation to contextual and intrapersonal factors		
3.1	Introduction	60
3.2	Identity and parenting experiences	62
3.3	Adaptation in late adolescence and young adulthood	72
3.4	The role of narcissism in identity development	76
3.5	Defenses and their adaptive and developmental functions	79
3.6	The achievement of identity and ego strength/virtue	85
3.7	Integration of theory and extension to the South African context	86
3.8	Summary	90
 Chapter 4: Methodology		
4.1	Research design	91
4.2	Ethical considerations	91
4.3	Participants and procedure	91
4.4	Measures	95
4.4.1	The Extended Objective Measure of Ego-identity Status, second edition (EOME-IS-II; Adams, 1998; Bennion & Adams, 1986)	95
4.4.2	The Defense Mechanism Manual (DMM; Cramer, 1991a, 1987)	101

Content	Page
4.4.3 The 40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-40; Raskin & Hall, 1979)	103
4.4.4 Inventory of Parental and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Nada Raja, McGee, & Stanton, 1992)	105
4.4.5 Psychosocial Inventory of Ego Strengths (PIES; Markstrom, Sabino, Turner, & Berman, 1997)	107
 Chapter 5: Results	
5.1 Approach to data analysis	110
5.2 Preliminary analyses	111
5.2.1 Setting cutoff points	111
5.2.2 Identity status classifications	115
5.3 Main analysis	118
5.3.1 Demographic variables and identity statuses	118
5.3.2 Cross-sectional analysis of sample characteristics	132
 Chapter 6: Discussion	
6.1 Introduction	149
6.2 Identity statuses and demographic variables	149
6.2.1 Gender and identity status development	149
6.2.2 The effect of age on identity status development	151
6.3 Identity status distribution of students	152
6.4 Defenses among students and their relationship with identity statuses	154
6.5 Narcissism and its relation to identity statuses among students	156
6.6 Predicting the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love	157
6.7 Identity status and the university as its context of development	158
6.8 Limitations	159

	Content	Page
6.9	Recommendations	159
6.10	Summary and implications	163
	References	165
	Appendices	
	Appendix 1: Brief outline of the Freudian conceptualizations of narcissism	209
	Appendix 2: DMM TAT identifying information and instructions sheet	212
	Appendix 3: Identity status categories, cut-off points, and pre-merger identity status categories of students	213

List of Tables

Table	Page
Table 1a: EOME-IS-II sample items	96
Table 1b: Scale alpha coefficients for the EOME-IS-II	100
Table 1c: NPI-40 sample items	104
Table 1d: IPPA sample items	106
Table 1e: PIES sample items	108
Table 2: First entering and post-first year identity status means, standard deviations (SDs), total group ranges and sample-specific cut-off scores (N = 394)	113
Table 3: The distribution of Ideological and Interpersonal Identity Status categories among students (N = 394)	117
Table 4a: Means (\bar{X}) and standard deviations (SDs) for males and females on ideological, interpersonal and combined-score identity status categories	120
Table 4b: Means (\bar{X}) and standard deviations (SDs) for different age groups of students on Ideological, Interpersonal and combined-score identity status categories	122
Table 4c: The distribution of ideological and interpersonal identity status categories by age and gender	124
Table 4d: Maximum likelihood analysis of variance (ML ANOVA), fit statistics and parameter estimates of the multinomial logit model fitted to the ideological identity status domain	128
Table 4e: Maximum likelihood analysis of variance (ML ANOVA), fit statistics and parameter estimates of the multinomial logit model fitted to the interpersonal identity status domain	130
Table 4f: Expected number of students in each identity status category by age using the fitted model.	131
Table 5a: DMM defense mean (\bar{X}) and standard deviation (SD) scores for Cd. 1, Cd. 10 and Cd. 17BM: First entering students (n = 197)	134

Table 5b:	Defenses and ideological identity status categories	136
Table 5c:	Defenses and interpersonal identity status categories	137
Table 6a:	Average rates of NPI scores by ideological identity status category (n = 189)	140
Table 6b:	Average rates of NPI scores by interpersonal identity status category (n = 184)	143
Table 7:	Correlations between ego identity strengths of Fidelity and Love, and the independent variables of identity status, defense, narcissism and parental attachment	145

Figure

Figure	Page
Figure 1: Cross-tabulation (two-by-two contingency) of dimensions of commitment and exploration	40

Abbreviations

A/Ach	=	Achievement
D/Dif	=	Diffusion
DMM	=	Defense Mechanism Manual
DMI	=	Defense Mechanism Inventory
DSM	=	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders
DSM-III	=	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, third edition
DSM-IV-TR	=	Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, fourth edition, Text Revised
EI-ISB	=	Ego-Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank
EOME-IS	=	Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status
EOME-IS-II	=	Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status, second edition
F/For	=	Foreclosure
ID	=	Ideological identity status domain
IDISC	=	Ideological Identity Status Category
IN	=	Interpersonal identity status domain
INISC	=	Interpersonal Identity Status Category
IPPA	=	Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment
ISI	=	Identity status interview
ISI-3	=	Identity Style Inventory, third revision
ISP	=	Identity status paradigm
ISM	=	Identity status model
IWM	=	Internal working model

LPM	=	Low Profile Moratorium (also called undifferentiated identity status)
M/Mor	=	Moratorium
NPD	=	Narcissistic personality disorder
NPI	=	Narcissistic Personality Inventory
NPI-40	=	40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory
PIES	=	Psychosocial Inventory of Ego Strengths
PDQ-4	=	Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire-4
SD	=	Standard deviation
SEM	=	Structural equation modeling
SIT	=	Social identity theory
TAT	=	Thematic Apperception Test

Chapter 1: Overview of the study

1.1 Introduction

Identity is a fundamental construct in personality studies, and its importance has increased dramatically over the past decades (Côté, 2006). Following Erikson's (1950/1977) groundbreaking psychosocial studies, identity development in Western countries has come to be associated with personal strategies of transitioning to adulthood (Arnette, 2000; Schwartz, 2001). Although elements of identity are there from childhood, it is only during the end of that stage (childhood) that it is consolidated. At that point, failure to do so has consequences. Erikson's (1950/1977) original thesis placed identity on a continuum from identity formation to identity confusion. Individuals could, to some degree, successfully establish an identity by finding personal meaning and integration, or fail to do so. Erikson's (1968; 1950/1977) psychosocial developmental theory attracted the attention of researchers who attempted to translate his clinical formulations to researchable constructs. Various methods were devised to measure personality development as hypothesized in the theory.

Among all the measures that operationalize psychosocial theory, the Extended Objective Measure of Ego-Identity Status, second edition (EOME-IS-II; Adams, 1998; Bennion & Adams, 1986; Grotevant & Adams, 1984) is the one that is currently receiving the widest attention (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Lewis, 2003), and its performance in empirical settings is constantly scrutinized (Dwairy, 2004; Ohnishi, Ibrahim, & Owen, 2001). Although older adults have occasionally been administered the questionnaire (e.g., Kroger & Green, 1996), it is mostly used among adolescents and young adults. University and high school students are, in relation to unemployed and working youths, proportionally over-represented in the samples that have so far been studied with the measure. The instrument's entire design itself was not directed to the schooling population, and in fact there

have been calls to steer research away from students to non-students (unemployed and working youth) and adult populations, with limited success so far.

The EOME-IS-II is one of several self-report, q-sort, and interview procedures (e.g., Balistreri, Busch-Rossnagel, & Geisinger, 1995; Berzonsky, 1992b; Constantinople, 1969; Dellas & Jernigan, 1987; Mallory, 1989; Ochse, 1983; Tan, Kendis, Fine, & Porac, 1977) purporting to measure Erikson's (1968, 1950/1977) psychosocial theory. In terms of quantity, most of the measures currently in use were derived from Marcia's (1966, 1964) identity status conceptualization of identity development. The EOME-IS-II is actually one of these measures.

Marcia (1966, 1964) first measured identity status using the Identity Status Interview (ISI) and the Ego-Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank (EI-ISB). The interview focused on the content areas of occupation, politics and religion. Adams, Shea and Fitch (1979) developed a twenty-four-item Likert-type, self-report measure from the ISI. The measure's purpose was to, amongst other evaluation considerations, improve measurement precision and scoring reliability, and also obviate the cumbersomeness of an interview format in large scale studies. Since then, Adams and colleagues (Bennion & Adams, 1986; Grotevant & Adams, 1984) have refined the questionnaire to the present, sixty-four item EOME-IS-II. It still measures the four identity statuses proposed by Marcia (1964). In addition to Marcia's original content domains, the current version also measures interpersonal identity, as formulated and recommended by Grotevant, Thorbecke and Meyer (1982).

A wide range of research areas is covered by users of the EOME-IS-II. The initial stages of research using the EOME-IS-II involved the use of correlation studies to establish the reliability and validity of the measure (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999). Later studies diversified areas of application (Adams, 1998; Marcia,

1993a, 1994). Various contextual and intrapersonal variables are studied to determine their relationship with identity development. Although studies are usually correlational, there have been a number of them that used longitudinal research designs (Adams & Fitch, 1983, 1982; Cramer, 1998a). The latter designs are particularly useful in showing if there was any developmental success or lack of it. Lack of success implies lack of developmental progression, which means that the individual stays in the same stage (usually a less developed one such as Diffusion).

Within Western samples, staying or reverting to a less developed status is associated with regression and related dysfunctional characteristics, as postulated by theory. Regarding the general relationship between identity development and wellbeing, there is some correspondence between clinical observations (e.g., Dashef, 1984; Erikson, 1959/1980; Graafsma, 1994) and non-clinical studies (Marcia, 1994, 1993a, 1980) conducted in Western countries. This is not surprising when the dimensional view of psychopathology is invoked (Costello, 1994; Furnham & Crump, 2005). According to the dimensional approach, psychopathological and normal personality traits are coextensive. Thus, clinical samples manifest characteristics found in moderation among normal samples.

The obvious first-stop for research when a new scale is introduced to a new context is to collect baseline data, with the knowledge that indicators, patterns and trends, inconsistencies, irregularities, and so on, will emerge and research will take off in those particular areas those initial investigations have isolated for further empirical attention. However, with the available methods of evaluating research and measurement tools in psychology (e.g., baseline and replication studies, exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, and so on), and methods of introducing new measurement instruments (e.g., back- and front-translation), the task of introducing a scale into a different research context may conjointly involve

establishing context-relevant properties of the scale and collecting baseline data. In this study a replication study is conducted, involving the use of the EOME-IS-II and similar developmental concepts. Related concepts under investigation are defenses, narcissism, parental attachment and ego strengths. The rationale for this choice of strategy is that if at all the results with a South African sample can match those of the original, non-South African samples, some form of justification for using the measure (EOME-IS-II) will have been established. This is a kind of “equivalence search method”, an uncomplicated, empirical approach that may be serviceable in a non-Western context. Score proportions and directions should not differ significantly from those of the original samples, if the scales perform as well in the adoptive sample.

1.2 **Background to and Motivation for the Study**

1.2.1 **Need for the study**

Overall dynamics of South African society have changed considerably in the last fifteen years or so. There is a new socio-political dispensation, which is a radical departure from the *Apartheid* years. The emerging situation requires a reevaluation and monitoring of events as they unfold (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Subreenduth, 2006). Not many studies have focused on the aspects of the self that may be affected by the changes taking place in South Africa. Psychosocial theory is one of the frameworks that can be used to measure developments in terms of evolving personal, social and other identities. In spite of psychology’s knowledge of how change affects the self and personality in changing societies, there is a paucity of research investigating this particular aspect of development in South Africa.

There are now relatively more students of Black African descent in tertiary education and equivalent institutions, than was the case before the landmark

1994 inclusive elections in South Africa. The dynamics of society have changed, and so it is expected that current conditions will have a discernible impact on personality development (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Thom & Coetzee, 2004). The study of personality development in the university context is both timely and appropriate (see Giddan & Price, 1985), since, as already pointed out, more South African students of Black African descent can now be found in the institutions. The university has become one other common site, or point, of transition for an increasing number of them. Waterman and Waterman (1970) have long recognized the role of institutions such as universities in providing students with an opportunity to work through their identity crisis.

Another salient feature of South African society is that institutionalized barriers and mechanisms that hindered personal development in the past, inhibiting the identities of individuals, are gradually dissipating due to changing life (political, economic, and so on) circumstances (Stevens & Lockhat, 1997; Yoder, 2000; see also Solomontos-Kountouri & Hurry, 2008). For instance, barriers to political participation, education and career opportunities, and gender equity are being addressed, leading to a completely different self-perception by individuals living in this era. Simultaneously, it can also be expected that new institutions and ways of doing things will continue to come into being in South Africa, subsequently influencing identity development. Those factors that influence personality are also expected, in the course of events, to change (Dolby, 2000; Freeman, 1993). The changing context necessitates a study of identity as it assumes, for better or worse, new forms.

Erikson's psychosocial developmental theory was designed with changing socio-political, historical and economic scenarios in mind. One of the fundamental tenets of psychosocial theory is that, human experience is constituted by three organizational processes, namely, the physiological, the psychical and the social.

About the third principle of organization, Erikson states that the human organism, or the organism as a process (Erikson, 1950/1977, p. 29), is commonly affected by intermittent discontinuities and continuities afflicting both its immediate and extended group. Even at this post-1994, advanced stage of installing a new socio-political system in South Africa, there are uncertainties and lack of predictability of the direction of social organization (Subreenduth, 2006). Applying Erikson's (1950/1977) logic, it can be assumed that the need to study personality organization will forever be a necessity.

1.2.2 Theoretical framework

In general, the proposed study is a replication taking on a theoretical triangulation approach. The variables studied have affinities to particular theoretical frameworks. The identity status concept has its foundations in Erikson's (1950/1977) psychosocial theory, although it can be considered an identity construct that fits a number of theories (Schwartz, 2001); the concept defense, or defense mechanism, is used according to modern conceptualizations of defenses (e.g., Cramer, 1991a); and parental attachment is a construct derived from attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969/1984). Nevertheless, the anchor variable for this study is identity status (originally called ego identity status). The concept was coined by Marcia (1980, 1966, 1964), to represent ways in which an individual negotiates issues and "crises" (or decision-making episodes) of late adolescence. The issues studied within the ISP are those that were specified by Erikson (1950/1977), particularly in stage five, called "identity vs. role confusion," of his psychosocial developmental theory.

In Marcia's original study (Marcia, 1966, 1964) four primary ego identity statuses (i.e., Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Achievement) were theoretically derived and delineated through empirical research. Ego identity statuses are used in many studies of adolescent and young adult development. Marcia's

(1993a, 1980) ISP will be used in this study to evaluate the levels of identity development among African students in a South African university. It will also be used in conjunction with other developmental personality (namely, narcissism and defenses) and contextual (parental attachment) variables to predict ego strengths.

The ISP is an evolving model and, in its current form, does not represent a single, unified theory (Waterman, 1999a). Many researchers use it in conjunction with other preferred theoretical orientations, to suit the purposes of their own research endeavours. For instance, James Marcia, the originator of the ISP, has remained closest to the ego analytic perspective of Erikson, and keeps a personal aspiration that research will link the ISP to object relations perspectives (Marcia, 1999a); Berzonsky (1990) uses a constructivist approach, incorporating the social-cognitive concepts of personal constructs and information-processing. On the other hand, Côté (1996a, 1996b), contrary to Marcia's (1999b, 1988, 1980) intraindividual focus, emphasizes the contextual aspects of Erikson's theory; and still Waterman (1990) utilizes the concept of *personal expressiveness*, grounded in Aristotle's eudaimonist philosophy (see Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Schwartz, 2001; Waterman, 1999a). In this study, the original definition of the ego identity status construct will be retained and the research will proceed within the framework of Marcia's (1993a, 1980, 1966, 1964) original model.

The research is divided into two aspects. The first examines identity status in relation to the demographic variables of age and sex. The sample is extended, in that it includes students from first year to senior years of university study. This ensures that the sample is representative of the population studied, and that participants are not limited to any level with the consequent effects. In the second aspect of the study, a path analytic model is tested, using longitudinal data. The students who agreed to be reassessed in the following two years were contacted,

and were administered follow-up questionnaires. The measures used in the study assessed identity statuses, defenses, narcissism, parental attachment, and ego strengths. There is a paucity of research regarding the association of defenses (sometimes called ego mechanisms of defense, or defence mechanisms), narcissism, attachment and identity status development in the South African context. The present study combines the four concepts in an eclectic manner. The model was inspired by studies conducted by Cramer (1998a, 1997b). In summary, the study focuses mainly on the empirical performance of the EOME-IS-II, a measure of ego identity status, and Cramer's model to see if non-African trends of findings will be replicated. Moreover, the addition of the parental attachment variable is an extension of Cramer's model. Hypotheses of the study are based on the sum of these variables, including the use of ego strength as a predictive variable.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study has the following as its primary objectives:

- 1.3.1 To investigate whether identity status development will be influenced by the gender of the participants.
- 1.3.2 To investigate if identity status scores will fluctuate relative to the age of the participants.
- 1.3.3 To find out how the identity statuses of participants will be distributed in their first year of university study.
- 1.3.4 To determine the rates of defense occurrence among first-entering university students and to find out if the rates of occurrence of defenses will be related to identity statuses.
- 1.3.5 To investigate if the rates of narcissism will be related to identity statuses among first entering students.
- 1.3.6 To investigate if the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love will each be predicted by

identity statuses, defenses, narcissism and parental attachment.

1.4 **Hypotheses**

Based on the literature, the following working hypotheses were derived and tested:

Demographic factors and identity development:

Hypothesis 1: The effects of gender on identity status development.

- (a) Overall, there will not be any gender-based differences of mean scores between male and female ideological identity statuses; and
- (b) Female students are expected to achieve a high mean score on the Achievement identity status in the interpersonal domain.

Hypothesis 2: Age and identity status development.

Achievement identity status mean scores of older students are expected to be high in both the ideological and interpersonal domains; and the mean scores of Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion identity statuses in both identity domains are expected to be high among relatively young students.

Identity status development and the organization of defenses and narcissism:

Hypothesis 3: The distribution of identity statuses among first-entering university students.

More first-entering students will be less identity advanced, scoring in the Diffusion and Foreclosure identity statuses, during their sojourn at university.

Hypothesis 4: Identity statuses and their relation to defenses.

- (a) Generally, university students are expected to score higher on the defense of identification and lower on denial.
- (b) Identity statuses of Achievement and Foreclosure (identity statuses which are committed and are either not experiencing a crisis or have undergone the process) are expected to score high on identification. Conversely, identity statuses experiencing crisis (Diffusion and Moratorium) are expected to score high on denial.

Hypotheses 5: Narcissism among first-entering students, and its relation to identity status.

- (a) Achievement and moratorium identity statuses are expected to score relatively higher on the adaptive components of narcissism;
- (b) Conversely, Foreclosure and Diffusion identity statuses are expected to score relatively higher on defensive narcissism.

The prediction of ego strengths of Fidelity and Love:

Hypothesis 6: The variables of identity status, defense, narcissism and parental attachment are expected to predict each of the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love. More specifically, the combined effect of identity achievement, identification, heightened narcissism and parental trust and

communication is expected to lead to higher expressions of Fidelity and Love.

1.5 **Context of the study**

The context of the study is the developmental level of university analysis. According to Pascarella and Terenzino (1991), the changes accruing from university attendance are usually accounted for on two different levels, namely, “university impact” and “developmental.” University impact theories identify within- and between-institutional factors that are responsible for student development and change. Taking an environmental and sociological approach, university impact theories relate institutional and organizational factors such as size, structure, climate, control systems, university experience, and similar characteristics, to student outcomes. Mainstream student outcomes research is confined to this approach.

Developmental theories, on the other hand, take a psychological approach. They identify the nature and dynamics of student development, using developmental “stage” theories. (Within a “developmental level” frame-work, the nature of the dependent variable makes it possible that an investigation could be conducted within a single institution, with reasonable effect [e.g., Adams & Fitch, 1983]). Identity studies are found mostly in the developmental segment of research. Pascarella and Terenzino (1991) sum the differences well when they point out that college impact theories are inclined to measure sources of change, and developmental theories focus on the outcomes of university effects.

The university environment is a psychosocial moratorium setting where the identity searching individual can learn skills requisite for intimacy and parenthood, articulate aspirations and wishes that will prepare him for adult roles, and experiment with various life roles that society has in stock, be they adaptive

or maladaptive (Giddan & Price, 1985). In Erikson's (1982/1997) framework, psychosocial moratoria are periods that society allocates adolescents to experiment with life roles and establish their own individual identities. For individuals who proceed to university and other tertiary education institutions, the environment of the institution becomes a platform of exploration and identity search. In Erikson's parlance, the university context can be referred to as an institutionalized moratorium (Côté & Levine, 1988, 1987). Taking into account Årseth, Kroger, Martinussen and Marcia's (2009) distinctions of the exploration concept in psychosocial and attachment theories, the university not only offers opportunity for exploration as a means toward establishing an identity, but also exploration as an end in itself.

Certain characteristics of university environments are hypothesized to influence identity development and personality change (Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzino, 1991; Waterman, 1993). For instance, the university environment provides new experiences and ready information. Some of the information may contradict the students' previously held beliefs about themselves, who they are and what others believe them to be. University may challenge and destabilize the students' religious and political belief systems, without offering alternative beliefs. This characteristic of the university leads to a state of disequilibrium, where long-held beliefs about self are challenged and/or interrupted. Theoretically, identity explorations and information searches take place when each student's self-beliefs and long-held values are thoroughly disequilibrated (but see Goosens, 1995; Lavoie, 1994). However, it is equally possible to deal with the situation by failing to perceive any disequilibrating aspects of the environment, or distorting those that one is unable to avoid (Kroger, 2007).

1.6 The contribution of the study to the literature and to practice

(a) *The contribution of the study to the literature:* The ISP remains largely unexplored in non-Western populations. The present study contributes somewhat in the filling of that void. Importantly, this study combines critical, divergent concepts into a single study, an approach proving to be popular and useful in psychology (Adams, Ryan, & Keating, 2000; Cramer, 1995; Hoegh & Bourgeois, 2002). Moreover, the particular model tested here was first formulated by Cramer in 1995 and introduced to the ISP literature. In the present study the aspect of attachment is added. The model has not, as far as I am aware, been tested in South Africa. Therefore this study contributes the South African dimension to the literature.

(b) *The contribution of the study to practice:* Some researchers are of the view that in developed countries where a long tradition of identity status research exists, there are possibilities of research application (Archer, 1994, 1989). One of the areas of application is counselling and/or psychotherapy. Stage transition is particularly difficult. This has been especially so with regards transitions involving the stages of developing an identity (Swan & Benack, 2002). The present study will do its bit to contribute to practice by investigating whether Cramer's (1998a, 1995) model is applicable in the South African context. In other words, the study will contribute in the clarification of the role of defenses, narcissism, parental attachment and ego strengths in moderating or mediating the difficulties related to adolescent stage transition. Applications of identity status research will be placed within a psychodynamic theoretical framework, a framework with an established history in counselling and psychotherapy.

1.7 Definition of terms

Attachment: Attachment, also known as an affectional bond, refers to a state where the child's attachment behaviour is activated to maintain close contact with a mothering figure (Ainsworth, 1969). The said mothering figure is irreplaceable, although there may be more than one to be attached to. Bowlby (1969/1984, 1958) postulates that a human infant is born with a comprehensive, innate attachment behavioural system enabling him/her to engage in proximity-seeking maneuvers to a preferred attachment figure(s) when confronted with perceived or actual threat. Whenever a child is facing threat or discomfort, the system is spontaneously activated to maintain the desired levels of proximity, consequently creating a sense of security and comfort (Bowlby, 1988; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2005). Bowlby started off with five of the attachment behavioural systems, which were crying, sucking, clinging, smiling and following.

The child's attachment behaviour is reciprocated by a proximity-maintaining behaviour system of the attachment figure (Solomon & George, 1996). Thus, the latter legitimately serves as a secure base from which the child ventures and explores the world, and a *safe haven* for retreat during need, stress and distress (Ainsworth, 1989; Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978; Bowlby, 1978, 1969/1984; Waters, Crowell, Elliot, Corcoran, & Treboux, 2002). However, the child's use of the attachment figure as a *safe haven* depends on the types of "internal working models" (IWMs) that he/she has developed over time during childhood. IWMs are sets of expectations emanating from early, ongoing experiences of separations and bonding with the attachment figure. IWM are therefore patterns of relating to caregivers over a considerable period of time. The patterns, developed from earliest relationships, are

embedded as belief and expectations about the caregiver, the self, and interpersonal relationships.

IWMs are often carried over into adulthood, influencing the types of relationships (or attachment patterns) built in later life with others (Fraley, 2002; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2004; Stein, Jacobs, Ferguson, Allen, & Fonagy, 1998). For most individuals, the developmental path of IWMs is stable from childhood, through adolescence to adulthood (Collins & Read, 1990; Fraley, 2002; Waters, Hamilton, & Weinfield, 2000). Even so, old IWM can be refined and new ones acquired at developmental stages beyond early childhood, although this appears to be limited to a small proportion of individuals. In many respects, IWMs are the basis of adult attachment styles (Van Ijzendoorn, 1995). They store, as mental representations, attachment-related patterns of interactions which they make available for use whenever new interpersonal scenarios are deciphered and negotiated through. In general, IWMs are useful as a reservoir of information an individual sources to form impressions about him-/herself or others in close relationships.

IWMs are unconscious processes, but their outward expressions are attachment patterns, or attachment styles (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2005, p. 27). The primary patterns, first proposed by Ainsworth (Ainsworth et al., 1978), are the secure, avoidant and the anxious/avoidant types. These have since been reinterpreted, expanded and moved to the arena of adult attachment behaviour (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Hazan & Shaver, 1987). It would seem that for both adult and child attachment behaviour to be considered attachment, it has to fulfill the following conditions: (a) apparent distress when the individual is exposed to separation, (b) proximity seeking and maintenance with an attachment figure, and (c) dependence and the use of at least one attachment figure (although more

than one can be acquired) as a secure base for exploration and a *safe haven* once security and comfort are threatened.

Defenses: Defenses (alternatively called ego mechanisms of defense, or defense mechanisms) are theoretical abstracts, metaphorical expressions formulated to explain intrapsychic, unobservable mental processes that moderate inner conflict, allay anxiety and protect the self from perceived threats (e.g., Cramer, 1991a; Vaillant, 1992, 1986). They function as stable personality traits, as seen by their correlation with measures of temperament (Shaw, Ryst, & Steiner, 1996).

Defense mechanisms are considered normal or pathological depending on the function they serve in personality functioning (Cramer, 2002; Ihilevich & Gleser, 1986). In the event that a particular defense mechanism is deployed to mitigate against anxiety and inner conflicts, or the defense is used inappropriately and excessively, such a defense is considered to be abnormal. On the other hand, a defense is normal if it is used for appropriate purposes, such as judgment, reality testing and identification, promoting adaptation, maturation and ego growth. Cramer (1991a) conceptualizes this position as the “dual function” perspective, and further notes that the view is compatible with the developmental model of defense activity. A defense such as splitting is, as A. Freud (1936/1968) postulated more than seven decades ago, appropriate when the ego is not yet integrated. Yet the same defense may be inappropriate when carried over into adulthood. Denial of illness is beneficial in an attempt to cope with a terminal illness; however, in the long run, it is counterproductive if it leads to neglect of positive actions to combat or alleviate illness.

At first, Freud subsumed all defense activity under repression, linking it to the psychopathology of hysteria (Vaillant, 1992; Wallerstein, 1985).

Freud's (1926/1959) and later, A. Freud's (1936/1968) delineation of a number of defense mechanisms led to more complex and dynamic uses of the concept (Cooper, 1992). Increasing complexity brought with it some level of confusion, leading to Wallerstein's (1985) elaborate clarification of terminology. Whereas Bibring, Dwyer, Huntington and Valenstein (1961) and others have increased the number of defence mechanisms to be explained, Wallerstein points to the confounding of defence mechanisms and defense behaviour. He describes defence mechanisms as unobservable, non-experiential, postulated constructs explaining the working of the mind, and conscious or unconscious defenses (encompassing behaviours, affects, or ideas) which are "inferable phenomenal experiences" (Wallerstein, 1985, p. 222).

Since researchers and clinicians cannot observe defenses directly, they use defense behaviour as the corollary of defenses (Fraiberg, 1982; Wallerstein, 1985). Whereas clinicians are able to observe defense behaviour, the behaviour may or may not be within the purview of the individual who is exercising it (Cramer, 1991a). This contrasts with coping strategies, which to some extent possess equivalent characteristics, but are mostly conscious and intentional. Defenses should then be studied using creative, subtle methods. Cramer's (1991a) method, which was used to tap defenses in this study, fits the category.

Ego strength/virtue: Various referred to as *vital strength*, *inherent strength*, *basic strength*, and *ego virtue* in psychosocial theory (cf. Markstrom & Marshall, 2007, p. 64), it is a basic, personal quality that arises to form part of personality once an individual has successfully completed or resolved a particular psychosocial crisis. Appearance of an ego strength is associated with psychosocial adjustment and well-being, and the absence of psychopathology (cf. Markstrom & Marshall, 2007).

The incorporation of an ego strength into the personality structure signals stage transition and guarantees development or growth later on. Ego strengths correspond to each of the eight psychosocial crises or tasks listed by Erikson (1964, 1950/1977) in his model of psychosocial stages. The ego strengths, like their respective psychosocial crises, are sequentially ordered. They are: Hope, Will, Purpose, Competence, Fidelity, Love, Care, and Wisdom, in that order. In this study only two ego strengths, namely, Fidelity and Love, are utilized. Fidelity corresponds to the identity-and-identity confusion psychosocial stage, the stage of interest in this study. It is assumed that entry to the stage is commonly accompanied by the ascendance of fidelity for both males and females. Yet Love appears to be a critical ego strength for females' development of identity. There are arguments that females are concerned with issues of intimacy much earlier (Archer, 1993), and in fact may develop their identities based on their development in the area of intimate relations.

Epigenetic principle: In his description of ego identity as an evolving configuration, Erikson (1950/1977) is invoking the epigenetic principle of development, borrowed from embryological sciences. Fundamental to the principle, as used by Erikson (1950/1977) in his psychosocial framework, is that aspects of psychosocial development, including those of every life-cycle stage, are present at the beginning phases of development. More specifically, they have a "ground plan" and a time of ascendance (Erikson, 1968, p. 92). In the case of identity, its evolution follows a definite sequence, with every life-cycle stage component having its critical time of growth and effect on overall development. During periods of peak growth, developmental interruptions (as is the case with severe insults *in utero*) will have a lasting, devastating effect. When development is dictated by normal patterns, certain psychosocial achievements (mostly ego

strengths) and skills are acquired, whose impact determines the progress of development.

For most identity status researchers, the principle of epigenesis implies one thing only, namely, that successfully negotiating the crises of each of the preceding psychosocial stages readies the individual to advance to the next phase of identity development. Thus, comprehensive Eriksonian scales covering a succession of psychosocial stages (e.g., Ochse, 1983; Tan et al., 1977) or phases of acquiring ego strengths (Markstrom, Sabino, Turner, & Berman, 1997), are used to evaluate which stages have been passed successfully, and which do not seem to have been mastered. The evaluation strategy indirectly tests a hypothesis derived or framed from epigenetic premises (Waterman, 1982).

Identity domains: Areas of identity functioning (e.g., philosophical lifestyle, politics, sex roles, friendship) considered within the ISP to be important for consideration in making life decisions. In this study, domains are either ideological or interpersonal, following the divisions in the EOME-IS-II, the scale measuring them.

Identity status: A term introduced and developed by Marcia (1964) to denote identity developmental classifications. Initially it was called ego identity status, reflecting its psychodynamic origins. In 1980 Marcia described an identity status as a “mode” of identity resolution. There are basically four identity status categories in Marcia’s (1980, 1966, 1964) model, namely, Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. These are developed by cross-tabulating the dual dimensions of exploration (of available role options in areas such as ideology, occupation and sex role) and commitment (of actions or beliefs on selected role options).

Care must be taken though, to differentiate and clarify Marcia's (1966, 1964) terminology from that used by Erikson in his writings. Marcia couches his language in such a manner that it will be researchable. He does attempt to retain the original meanings, yet his terminology bears subtle, yet noticeable differences with that of Erikson. The concept of psychosocial moratorium (below) will be used to illustrate this point. Another concept relevant here is that of identity diffusion. Marcia uses the concept as an element in his identity typology. Yet Erikson's (1959/1980) use of the term was particularly clinical in its applications (Akhtar, 1984; Kernberg, 1975). Samuel and Akhtar (2009, p. 54) identified the following features of identity diffusion: (i) *feelings of emptiness*, (ii) *lack of authenticity*, (iii) *inordinate ethnic and moral relativism*, (iv) *contradictory character traits*, (v) *subtle body image disturbances*, (vi) *temporal continuity*, and (vii) *gender dysphoria*. Marcia's use of the concept bears resemblance with the original meaning to a point. Although generally considered to be immature and in some instances exhibiting elements of maladjustment (Marcia, 1994), Marcia's diffusion is adaptable at certain age levels, and does not necessarily refer to psychopathology. This is to say that the meanings of the identity status labels should not be taken for granted, and be assumed to be completely equivalent in Erikson and Marcia's writings. At the least, they must be understood (in the context of ISP research) as Marcia intended them to be used.

Narcissism: The origination of the concept narcissism is attributed to an early myth of Narcissus, composed by Ovid (8 BCE/2004) in his "Metamorphoses". In the myth, a Greek youth falls in love and is obsessed with an own reflection in still water. When he fails to merge with the object of his love, he languishes and eventually perishes (Akhtar & Thomson, 1982; Russell, 1983). Freud adopted the term from Havelock Ellis, who used it in 1898 as a designation of a person who approaches his body as

a sexual object. Ellis in turn credits Paul Näcke for introducing the term “*Narcismus*” in 1899 and describing it as a sexual perversion. Näcke’s term is close to “*Narzissmus*”, the German term used by Freud (Freud, 1914/1984, footnote 1, p. 65).

Developments of the concept of narcissism in psychoanalysis were influenced by Freud’s theories. In one strand of his thinking, he explored the various determinants of attachment to others, encompassing autoerotic, heterosexual and maternal relations and behaviour (object choice in psychoanalytic parlance). Narcissism is one of two types of object choice (the other is the anaclitic or attachment type), which contribute to normal and pathological relationships with others. In another line of thinking, Freud expounded on his theory of psychosexual development to include a stage of primary narcissism. Primary narcissism, together with the stage of autoeroticism preceding it, denotes lack of relationship with others and the direction of libido to the ego (ego cathexis) (Plakun, 1990).

Since then, the term has led to various developments and changes of theory. Beginning with Sandor Ferenczi, some psychoanalysts disavowed the concept of primary narcissism, and asserted that object relations existed from the beginning of life (Ainsworth, 1969). For instance, in his 1937 paper, Balint (1937/1952) opposed the concept because it did not prioritize object relations in infancy. In its place Balint hypothesized the notion of object relations, and primary narcissism was re-conceptualized as primary object-love. Therefore, narcissism is a “secondary” striving arising from insufficient mothering, or what may be called in Winnicott’s (1965) terminology, “not good-enough mothering”. Bowlby’s attachment theory is in agreement with this notion, although it offers an alternative theory to explain it (Waters et al., 2002). Later trends, such as ego

psychology, incorporated the notion of an indivisible mother-child relationship in infancy, since “object” and “self” were yet to be distinguished. Others retained Freud’s concept of primary narcissism, but expounded on it. Mahler (Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975) incorporated a symbiotic phase into primary narcissism, considering that at that stage the infant and its environment were undistinguishable.

In ensuing periods after the concept of narcissism was developed, the two major psychoanalytic figures who kept the debates alive were Otto F. Kernberg and Heinz Kohut (Akhtar & Thomson, 1982; Plakun, 1990; Russell, 1983). Their descriptions, largely concerned with common traits but sharply opposed regarding their origin and treatment, were formally recognized by the inclusion of the category of narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) in the third edition of the diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (DSM III; American Psychiatric Association, 1980).

Besides the clinical use of narcissism, there are other uses of the term (Cain, Pincus, & Ansell, 2008; Emmons, 1987). There are also socio-cultural considerations of the concept. Narcissism is used in the cultural context to analyze society or its components (Akhtar & Thomson, 1982; Emmons, 1987). One of the best-known uses in this regard was Lasch’s (1979) studies of American society focusing, among other things, on the fragmentation of the family unit and its impact on individual personality. Lasch suggested that modern personality, imbued with feelings of omnipotence, fragmented ideals and a desire for control, is reinforced by ever-increasing bureaucratic organization.

However, there were related studies on organizations (Campbell, Hoffman, Campbell, & Marchisio, 2011) and leadership in groups, with Maccoby (1976) and Kernberg (1979) describing the personality of leaders

in organizations and groups, respectively. Maccoby differentiated the “gamesman” by his compulsive drive to succeed, a need to be a superstar, and competing for “fame, glory, the exhilaration of running his team and of gaining victories” (Maccoby, 1976, p. 100). These characteristics are akin to narcissistic features as defined, for instance, in Tartakoff’s Nobel Price complex (cf. Akhtar & Thompson, 1982, p. 13).

Although the concept of narcissism was formulated as a psychoanalytic theory, its inclusion in the DSM-III and its subsequent editions has served as a gateway to the general, non-psychoanalytic arena. Most of the clinical tenets were retained when the concept was transplanted for use with so-called normal or non-clinical subjects. The Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI; Raskin, & Hall, 1979; Raskin & Terry, 1988) was developed on the basis of DSM-III criteria. Nevertheless, NPI characteristics of narcissism in non-clinical samples tend to be comparatively less pathological (Cain et al., 2008; Emmons, 1987; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Sedikides, Rudich, Gregg, Kumashiro, & Rusbult, 2004). For instance, the NPI and the Personality Diagnostic Questionnaire-4 (PDQ-4), a clinical inventory, correlate moderately (Corry, Merritt, Mrug, & Pamp, 2008).

The use of the concept in a study such as the present one is exploratory, in the sense that there is no generally accepted, universally applicable etiology or characterization (clinical picture) of narcissism (Cain et al., 2008). This is even more so considering that, apparently, the concept has not been sufficiently studied on the African continent. There are suggestions that concepts such as narcissism and its components may be moderated by cultural variables such as collectivism in non-Western contexts (Forster, Campbell, & Twenge, 2003; Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Tanchotsrinon, Maneesri, & Campbell, 2007). However,

the use of the NPI and the approach of retaining the seven-factor structure of the scale are used to maintain consistency with Cramer (1995).

Psychosocial moratorium: In Erikson's (1959/1980) psychosocial theory, psychosocial moratorium is a period within which a child is in repose from role responsibilities of adulthood, taking time to compare beliefs and values, and experimenting with various life roles, before committing to any. The time-off may be ingrained in the social system (institutionalized moratorium), or created by the individual himself (personal moratorium) for the same purpose. The individual may decide not to commit to any set of ideas, but experimenting with several of them (the intellectual aspect of the psychosocial moratorium); and the individual may choose not to invest in any profession (occupational aspect; Erikson, 1959/1980, p. 111).

Marcia (1980) uses this concept slightly different (van Hoof, 1999), in that to him the concept "moratorium" designates a stage of identity status development. Individuals in this identity status have not committed to any life decisions with regards issues such as a life partner, vocation, and so on. Apparently, the concept of moratorium should be understood within the context in which it is used. In this study, Marcia's (1966) use of the term is retained whenever the concept is used with reference to identity statuses.

1.8 **Structure of the thesis**

This chapter focused on introducing the study, providing its overview and explaining the technical aspects of the thesis. The need to conduct identity studies in South Africa was explored, and rationale for using university students as subjects in this study was presented. Hypotheses, definition of terms, and abbreviations were presented. The following chapter (chapter two), will review

the literature. It will explore the psychoanalytic origins of Erikson's (1950/1977) psychosocial theory. The psychoanalytic meanings of concepts such as introjection, identification and narcissism will be explored. Erikson's own ideas about the development of identity will be discussed. Furthermore, Marcia's identity status model will be presented, and aspects relating to its study will be presented.

Chapter three presents the model of the study. The links between the major variables of the study are presented. For instance, the role of parenting in identity development will be explored. Chapter four presents the methodology of the study, and describes each of the scales used. Chapter five presents the results. Preliminary analysis describes how the scores were derived. Mainly, the creation of identity status categories is described. Thereafter, results for all hypotheses of the study are presented. Chapter six is the discussion, and contains conclusions and recommendations. Finally, references and the appendixes follow.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

Although several social, psychological and cognate models of identity are available (Bosma, Graafsma, Grotevant, & de Levita, 1994; Oosterwegel & Wicklund, 1995), and studies have been conducted from varied disciplines and perspectives, the ISP (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Côté & Levine, 1988; Marcia, 1993a, 1993b, 1980) stands out as one of the most preferred methods of studying the concept of identity development (Bourne, 1987a; Lewis, 2003; Schwartz, 2001). With the ISP identity framework, Marcia (1964) is operationalizing and validating Erik H. Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, particularly the fifth life-span stage of identity-and-identity diffusion/confusion.

The ISP attracted the attention of researchers and yielded numerous publications since Marcia (1966, 1964) first formulated it almost five decades ago (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Kroger, 2000; Marcia, 1994). Most of the research was conducted in North America, covering a wide scope of research application areas (for reviews, see Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Bourne, 1978a, 1978b; Lavoie, 1994; Marcia, 1993b, 1980; Schwartz, 2001; Waterman, 1999, 1982). The ISP has generated debates, with some researchers (e.g., Côté & Levine, 1988; van Hoof, 1999) expressing a view that the model is inadequate as a measure of identity, especially as espoused by Erikson. In spite of the negative valuations, the model is still favoured by many researchers as a framework for studying identity development, and its use is still continuing (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Schwartz, Adamson, Ferrer-Wreder, Dillon, & Berman, 2006). Its general application is largely confined to university students, mostly of White, middle-class background, in the so-called Western world (cf. Markstrom-Adams & Adams, 1995; Schwartz, 2001). There are signs of sample diversification though,

with high school, minority groups, and rural populations being sampled (e.g., Abraham, 1986; Archer, 1982), although the numbers are comparatively low. The scale is yet to receive wide attention among non-Western populations, where only a handful of studies have been conducted (e.g., Hofer, Kärtner, Chasiotis, Busch, & Kiesling, 2007; Low, Akande, & Hill, 2005).

In the following sections of this chapter, the theoretical origins and content of the model is detailed. The review includes the psychoanalytic origins of the ISP, the ISP's approach to the study of identity, antecedents to the development of identity, and contextual factors in identity development. The psychoanalytic perspective receives special consideration in this review, because of the fundamental role it plays in formulating the present study. In any case, the major concepts studied here either derive from the theory or hinge on it in large respects. Erikson himself considered his approach to be a psychoanalytic theory. The chapter closes by giving a brief profile of each of the identity status categories.

2.2 Psychoanalytic roots of Erik H. Erikson's identity concept

Commentators consider Erik H. Erikson as probably the foremost theorist of identity. Prior to him, identity studies were peripheral and inconsistent. His ideas are considered to have systematized the study of identity development. Yet Erikson (1959/1980) himself credits Sigmund Freud as one of the earliest theorists of personality and identity development. Graafsma (1994) and Rangell (1994) concur with Erikson on this point. Surprisingly, Freud specifically used the concept "identity" only once in his writings (cf. Erikson, 1959/1980, p. 109). Yet his psychological theory can be considered foundational to the psychoanalytic studies of personality, and identity in particular.

The theory of psychosocial development, according to Erikson (1959/1980),

emanates from, although not limited to, orthodox psychoanalytic theory. However, within the community of ISP researchers there is lack of consensus whether identity studies should still hinge on a psychoanalytic frame. Some researchers (e.g., Waterman, 1999a) consider the ISP useful in studying identity development, yet they do not share the view that identity studies should be anchored in the psychoanalytic tradition. However, James Marcia, who coined the term “ego identity status”, has openly expressed a personal wish that identity status research would incorporate psychoanalytic variables. Given the psychodynamic back-ground of psychosocial theory, and the identity status construct in particular, it is from that tradition that the history of the theory should begin.

Psycho-dynamically oriented identity researchers, including Erik H. Erikson, isolate identification, introjection and/or projection as the primary mechanisms through which an identity is formed (Josselson, 1980). It is assumed, usually without any type of concerted disputation by researchers that individuals assimilate, incorporate and/or appropriate ideas, behaviours and characteristics of others in order to be like them. However, in psychoanalytic theory identification and introjection are a critical necessity in the development of the ego, self and identity. The concepts have profound structural implications.

Most references to the process of identification take a social-learning approach, describing it as if it is a process that is mostly surface or preconscious. To psycho-dynamic theorists, identification is a mechanism embedded within intrapsychic structures such as the superego, conducting most of its doings silently. Psychoanalytic theory explains identification as an unconscious process whose function is to promote ego development, and indirectly, identity (Josselson, 1980; Meissner, 1972). Explaining identification this way links it to narcissism (Elliot, 1992). Therefore, narcissism is closely intertwined with identification, introjection, and idealization, sharing a common developmental path.

The following discussion is meant to give a brief elucidation of the origins and context of the concepts of identification and introjection, and their incorporation in the development of narcissism. The aim is to give rationale why it is important to study identity status in relation to defense organization. Identity-status research is drifting away from psychoanalysis, and in the process, cutting the link between current research and the origination of Erikson's thought. Cramer (1995) points out that research has more to benefit in designing studies according to theoretic specifications, and the study of identity status, parental or family relations, defenses and narcissism, along with their joint prediction of ego strengths, as will eventually be proposed in this study, meets this requirement.

Sigmund Freud is credited for having systematized psychological thinking about the concept of narcissism when he first presented it within the context of schizophrenia (known as *dementia praecox* then). Freud was of the view that relationships with significant others and the external world in general were formed by cathecting their mental representations with libido. Thus, for schizophrenics, withdrawal of cathexis means that others and things in the external world cease to exist, leading to a loss of touch with reality. However, withdrawal of libido from others is accompanied by its investment in the ego. Such an investment symbolizes "a return to a previously undetected state of primary narcissism in which only the ... ego was cathected with libido" (Plakun, 1990, p. 9).

In the paper, "On Narcissism: An Introduction", Freud (1914/1984) introduced a new theory of normal psychosexual development. In this theory the autoerotic stage is the initial developmental stage. It is followed by primary narcissism, when all libido is cathected to the ego, and then the stage of object relations. Implicit in the theory is that a child begins from an experience of no object relations at all, to a point when they are established. In other words, Freud (1914/1984) highlighted the importance of narcissism, internalization and

identification in the development of the ego (Elliot, 1992). This view modified the way the ego was conceptualized. The ego not only emerges from strivings to contain instincts, but also from repeated identifications with external objects. A related concept to the formation of object relations through the maturation of narcissism is that of the development of intrapsychic structures. The ego ideal is a structure that develops as a component of the superego. It functions as the target of the “self-love” or libido that was initially directed to the ego (Plakun, 1990).

Whatever the limitations of the metapsychology in Freud’s 1914 paper, it is credited, for better or worse, as psychoanalysis’ turning point (Fine, 1986; see also Elliott, 1992, p. 31). In it Freud advanced a theory which was later claimed to be foundational for ego psychology and object relations dimensions of psychoanalysis (Ainsworth, 1969; refer to appendix 1 for a brief conceptual exposition of the theory). Freud’s (1914/1984) concept of primary narcissism, implying that there are no object relationships at the beginning, was open to criticism. It led to the development of alternative conceptions as embodied in schools such as ego psychology, self psychology and object relations theory.

Freud’s 1914 reformulation is significant for various reasons, one of which, as already stated, is that it signals psychoanalysis’s shift to ego psychology, self psychology and object relations theory. The ego mechanism of identification is placed at the centre of development. Erikson’s theory, as a version of psychoanalysis that focuses on the ego rather than the dual-drive theory of sexuality and aggression, can be linked to this shift. In the case of Erikson, the emphasis is on historical and cultural factors; self-identification is the product of the context of culture and history, as will later be stressed in this presentation.

However, it should be pointed out at the outset that Erikson’s (1959/1980) psychosocial, and therefore cultural interpretation of narcissism, was not the only

cultural approach to identity formation at that time. Lacan (1966/1977) is another example of a theorist who was interested in explaining how culture and identity are linked. Whereas Erikson uses ego psychology as a base to explain the structure of the ego, Lacan's (1966/1977) descriptions are closely linked to the structuralism of Ferdinand de Saussure. The results are different, as Lacan's conclusions place his theory in direct contradiction to ego psychology (Frosh, 1987, pp. 129-138).

Erikson accepts the role of identification and introjection in the development of personality (Kroger, 1996a). In fact, the sequence that Erikson (1959/1980) proposes for the development of identity starts with introjection (combined with projection), followed by identification, and then the formation of identity. Introjection sets the stage for the formation of the first and later identifications, as the growing child makes strides to individuate from the primary care-giver. However, Erikson (1950/1977) introduces the caveat that as the child grows older, the use of the mechanism of early identifications becomes less socially serviceable. Children's identifications, which are sometimes based on the types of fantasies that arise from their experience, give way to socially oriented identifications.

Introjection and identification are necessary, although not sufficient, mechanisms through which the identity structure forms during late adolescence and young adulthood. Erikson (1959/1980, 1968), like drive-oriented psychoanalysts and object relations theorists (e.g., Kernberg, 1980, 1975; Klein, 1975/1988; Winnicott, 1971), locates rudiments of self-identification in infancy. However, he reserves the formulation of a final self-identity to the period at the end of childhood.

In Erikson's (1959/1980, 1950/1977; Kroger, 1996a; Marcia, 1999b) developmental stage theory, being an epigenetic developmental view, identity

issues surface in the earlier stages. For instance, during the development of basic trust to the care-giver, and autonomy (first and second life cycle stages, respectively), the infant may be grappling with issues of identity. An infant who experiences a satisfactory mother-child relation is able to internalize others through the mechanism of introjection, in conjunction with projection. The introjected good objects (the first being the primary care-giver) makes it possible that the infant will proceed to seek additional objects, adding them on. However, this cannot be considered the final, integrated identity since certain developmental prerequisites (e.g., the working through and resolution of the requisite psychosocial crisis; cognitive preparedness) for identity integration have not been met. During adolescence, the uses of earlier identifications come to an end, and the “tentative crystallizations” of those identifications are reviewed and processed into a new configuration. This new development (the reconfigured identity) is reinforced by society’s recognition of it (Erikson, 1959/1980).

In most of his discussions, Erikson (1959/1980) does not refute the essence of the *secondary* drive theory postulated by Freud (1914/1984), but rather adds to it. Erikson considers Freudian psychoanalysis as too focused on the inner workings of the psychic. In his view, behaviour takes its form from the relative interaction of processes of the id (e.g., libido development, epigenesis), ego (e.g., ego identity, ego defenses) and superego (collective space-time, collective life plan). The latter process, which receives particular treatment in Erikson’s theory, emanates from cumulative present and past socio-historical experiences of a given social group. Erikson articulates Freud and calls the process of cumulative experience “*man’s enslavement by historical conditions which claim autonomy* by precedent and exploit archaic mechanisms within (man) to deny him health and ego strength” (emphasis in original; Erikson, 1959/1980, p. 50). The three processes act conjointly, although Erikson appears to place special emphasis on the context of behaviour (Côté & Levine, 1987).

Erikson (1959/1980) repudiates Freudian clinical psychoanalysis for its complacency towards social aspects of human development. For Erikson, identity development takes place at the intersection between self and social structure. He incorporates Hartmann's re-conceptualization of social organization. Freud's determinism is replaced with ego psychology's "average expectable environment" which propels the developing individual to the next life task or "developmental crisis" (Erikson, 1959/1980, p. 162). In this way Erikson accentuates the social context of adolescence.

The process of forming an identity during adolescence and young adulthood can either be successful, or unsuccessful. Society grants the individual a *psychosocial moratorium*, a period within which a child will avoid the role responsibilities of adulthood, compare beliefs and values, and experiment with various life roles, before committing to any. Alternatively, the individual himself creates a *personal moratorium* for the same purpose. Erikson's (1959/1980) psychosocial theory defines lack of success in forming a personal identity as a state of identity diffusion. In its extreme expression, identity diffusion (or identity confusion) is an acute state denoting a sense of identity dissolution. For some individuals, this may suggest some form of developmental psychopathology (Dashef, 1984). The affected individuals adopt a negative identity, or exhibit other identity related symptoms, which, fortunately, in most cases are reversible (Kroger, 1996a; see Graafsma, 1994).

In Erikson's theory (Erikson, 1982/1997, 1964; Marcia, 1994; Markstrom, et al., 1997) there are eight life tasks to be negotiated through by the individual, each with its complementary ego strength. The ego strengths to be achieved during adolescence and young adulthood are Fidelity and Intimacy, respectively. The tasks are negotiated within society. All known societies provide the necessary context (that is, historically evolving institutions) to support various types of moratoria during which an individual's identity can actualize, and certain identity-

related achievements and strengths can be realized. Erikson (1982/1997) illustrates this point with the industry-inferiority stage. During this time, a child experiences a period of psychosexual moratorium, which coincides with the psychosexual stage of latency. Latency is characterized by the suppression or dormancy of infantile sexuality and the postponement of genital maturity so the individual can familiarize with skills necessary for work and sexual productivity. Society supports this endeavour by providing the requisite *systematic instruction* and the context in general. In modern, technological societies some form of schooling, over and above learning from informal teachers, community figures, and role models (real and imagined), can serve the purpose of preparing the child for future roles in society (Erikson, 1982/1997, 1950/1977).

Thus, Erikson's theory is viewed as a psychosocial theory of development. It takes identity in late adolescence and young adulthood as the mainstay of its analysis, although theoretically not limited to that stage. He uses the concept of identity in different contexts within his texts, and acknowledges that the concept may appear to take different meanings depending on the context of its use across his writings. Erikson (1959/1980) states an encompassing view as follows:

“At one time, then, it will appear to refer to a conscious *sense of individual identity*; at another to an unconscious striving for a *continuity of personal character*; at a third, as a criterion for the silent doings of *ego synthesis*; and finally, as a maintenance of an inner *solidarity* with a group's ideals and identity” (emphasis in original; Erikson, 1959/1980, p. 109).

Erikson's definitions of identity can be viewed as multidimensional, attempting to cover all the aspects that his theory is concerned with. The aspects covered are ego, personal and social identity (Schwartz, 2001), and the perspectives deployed to explicate them include most models that Freud used to formulate

psychoanalysis (structural, dynamic, and so on) and those that differentiate Eriksonian conceptions of identity (Bourne, 1978a). Ego identity is both conscious and unconscious. At the unconscious level, the formation of identity is achieved by synthesizing early introjects and identifications, in line with the inner workings of the ego. Personal identity incorporates values, beliefs and personal goals. However, ego and personal identity processes are linked to the individual's need to be recognized and confirmed by society for who he has come to be. Recognition by others symbolizes the socio-cultural component of identity development. In other words, another measure of successful identity resolution is how well an individual functions within his/her given community. Psychosocial theory postulates that ego synthesis or individualized mastery of experience is linked to communal integration through "group identity" (cf. Erikson, 1959/1980, p. 20), that is, the need to be recognized, and one's acknowledgment of the recognition, by the larger community.

The social component is important in psychosocial theory. As already implied above, every personal achievement of mastery is directed at communal integration and recognition. Successful integration means that the individual is gaining competence to contribute to the good of the community. The sense that one is integrating successfully and being recognized by others to possess consistent personal qualities is what contributes to what Erikson (1968) referred to as ego identity.

Erikson (1968) observed that the individual's adaptation takes place along stages of development, with each stage culminating in the emergence of an ego virtue. The stages pronounced by psychosocial theory, in Erikson's view, are complementary and coextensive to psychosexual phases of personal development (Erikson 1968, 1959/1980, 1950). Whereas Freud's description of psychological development ends at the latency stage, psychosocial theory analysis extends into old age. However, psychosocial theory attempts to go

further by placing emphasis on other experiences and motivations either than biological ones. In place of the Freudian human organism trapped by simmering instincts, psychosocial theory substitutes an instinctual conflict-free, “preadapted” organism. For instance, ego virtues are acquired phylogenetically in the course of the development of the human species. However, their emergence is dependent on the “interplay of a life stage with the individuals and the social forces of a true community” (Erikson, 1968, p. 235). In the final analysis, whether Erikson’s theory manages to steer Freudian psychoanalysis away from biological instincts or not, and whether that effort was necessary, remains an open question.

Radical social theory sees in Erikson’s revision of Freudian psychoanalysis a tendency towards social conformism. Erikson avers to transmit a psychology that seeks to clarify the role of the benevolent social organization which, whilst sustaining the individual, also finds ways of seducing him to “its particular life style” (cf. Erikson, 1968, p. 19). The context of behaviour is left unexamined, and the individual is expected to conform to it without questioning its value basis (Frosh, 1987). Nevertheless, proponents of the theory find it adequate as a basis to conduct a meaningful identity discourse (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Waterman, 1999a).

Identity researchers who accept psychosocial theory regard it as a useful framework for studying and exploring the various dynamics pertaining to late adolescent development (Marcia, 1993b). Their approach to the person-environment interaction is that of mutual regulation, a relationship Erikson (1959/1980) dubbed mutuality. Sometimes the environment is considered to provide the necessary context for personal development. The university context, for instance, provides conflict-arousing, disequilibrating dynamics so necessary for self-questioning and reflection. Depending on whether the individual starts to question life choices or not, there will be a shift of personality, or more specifically, the personality mode Marcia (1964) conceptualized and introduced

to social psychology and personality research as identity status.

2.3 The ISP and the study of identity status development

2.3.1 Origins of the identity status construct

Erikson's (1968, 1959/1980, 1950/1977) concept of identity development is complex and multidimensional, and no scale, some commentators contend (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Waterman, 1999a), has been found to represent his identity construct in its totality. Moreover, identity measures purporting to measure Erikson's identity concept are not equivalent (Schwartz, 2002), even when they are based on the same theory or model.

Erikson's theorization and central tenets are couched in the clinical psychoanalytic mode, and sometimes, where concepts are supposed to be presented as researchable constructs, they appear as metaphors and clinical vignettes (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Côté & Levine, 1987; Schwartz, 2001). Erikson's interests are mainly clinical in focus, aimed at practical uses. For psychoanalysts, Erikson's theorization lacks metapsychological rigour and precision (Rangell, 1994). The task of formulating the connection between ego identity, and the extant structures and related psychic processes postulated in psychoanalysis, is left to other psycho-dynamic thinkers (Abend, 1974).

Another route taken by those interested in Erikson's thoughts, is to subject his theory to empirical test. This variant of validation effort resulted in a number of measurements. They include the q-sorts contemporaneously developed by Gruen (1960) and Block (1961), the Ego Identity Scale of Rasmussen (1964), Dignan's (1965) Ego Identity Scale, Marcia's (1964) Ego-Identity Incomplete Sentences Blank and the Identity Status Interview, Constantinople's (1969) Inventory of Psychosocial Development, Tan et al.'s (1977) Ego Identity Scale,

including the Rosenthal, Gurney and Moore's (1981) Erikson Psychosocial Stage Inventory, the Erikson identity scale developed by Ochse (Ochse, 1983; Ochse, & Plug, 1986) for use with South African subjects, and the Groningen Identity Development Scale developed by Bosma in 1985 (Lannegrand-Willems & Bosma, 2006). Almost all of these scales differ in terms of the nomological net they are capturing, although their communality is that they measure identity comprehensively (across various levels of the lifespan), as Erikson postulated it (cf. Jones, Akers, & White, 1994). Erikson (1950/1977) describes human development according to different stages of "crisis" resolution¹, and scales cover all, or at least most, of the stages. Exceptions to the globalist approach are measures such as the questionnaire by Tan et al. (1977), and Marcia's (1964) ISI. These measures restrict evaluation and classification to the stage of identity development.

Of all the models that attempt to operationalize Erikson's theory, James Marcia's is the most successful. A number of scales have been developed and adapted from Marcia's model, including the EOME-IS (for a review, see Marcia, 1993a). It is this model, generally known as the ISP or identity status model (ISM) that is reviewed hereafter.

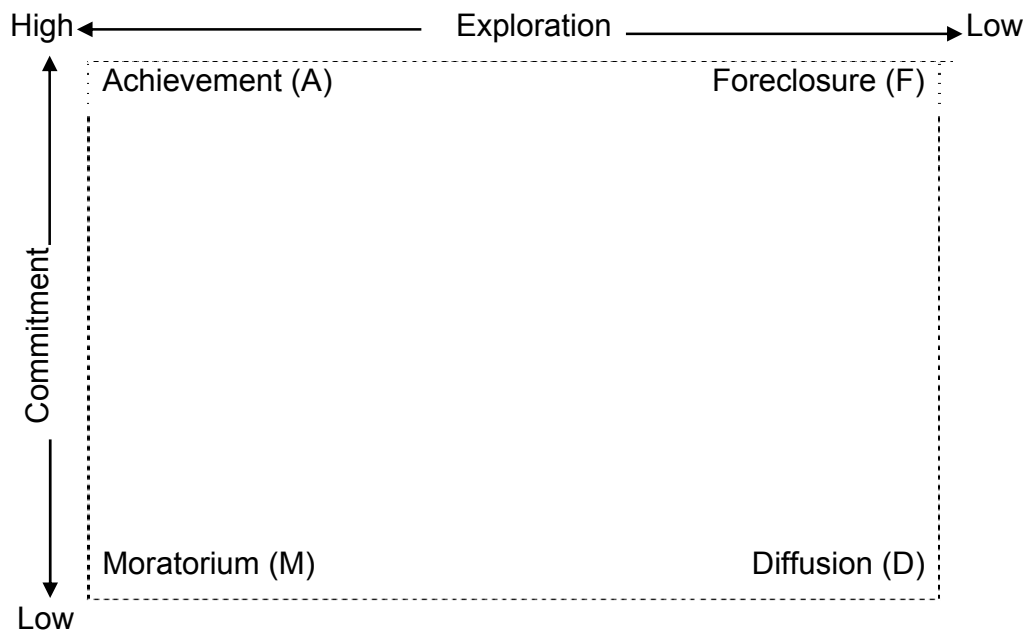
The view of mainstream, positivistic identity researchers is that Erikson's approach, as already intimated, is not helpful for research purposes. In positivistic research, there is a need to present concepts as precise, researchable constructs. The construct must operate with unambiguous nomothetic parameters. Erikson's concepts tend to violate this requirement, leaning more towards clinical descriptions, which are sometimes too broad to contain as limited, researchable variables. Even Erikson himself was well aware of this problem (Waterman, 1982). That is the reason why Marcia (1964) and

¹ Effectively, the epigenetic principle of development.

others set out to formulate Erikson's theory in a manner that would make it amenable to empirical observation. In the maiden study of the ISP in particular, Marcia (1964) purported to operationalize and assess the validity construct of Erikson's clinical descriptions of the bipolar dimensions of ego syntonic identity achievement and ego-dystonic identity diffusion.

Marcia (1980, 1966, 1964) isolated and extrapolated from psychosocial theory the identity-focused dimensions of commitment and exploration. Exploration, what Erikson (1959/1980, 1950/1977) terms "crisis", involves active experimentation with various self-relevant alternatives and directions in life (namely, personal beliefs, sexual and life partner, vocation, and so on). Grotevant (1987) observes that the late adolescent or young adult in the process of constructing a personal identity, extracts from the environment information that will aid in making a decision(s) about essential life choices. Reliance on cues and guides from the environment is important, particularly that what is to be chosen is unknown and has to be made futuristically (Marcia, 1980). Commitment refers to enduring life choices in respect of areas such as goals, beliefs and values (Marcia, 1994; Schwartz, 2001). Crossing the twin criteria of exploration and commitment to render them orthogonal, Marcia (1966, 1964) derives the four developmental classifications of identity, commonly known as ego identity statuses, or simply identity statuses. Figure 1 presents the identity statuses, or "modes of identity resolution" (Marcia, 1980, p. 162), in cross-tabular form:

Figure 1: Cross-tabulation (two-by-two contingency) of dimensions of commitment and exploration



Note: Adapted from Patterson, Sochting, & Marcia, 1992.

As it were, quadrants in the above matrix represent each of the four identity status categories. The resultant categories and the respective quantities of commitment and exploration are named Achievement (A), Moratorium (M), Foreclosure (F), and Diffusion (D). The identity status concept forms the core measurement component, if not the central focus, of the ISP. Various methods have been used to measure the identity status categories, including objective questionnaires (Balistreri, et al., 1995; Bennion & Adams, 1986), and a q-sort (Mallory, 1989). Marcia (1964) developed a semi-structured interview schedule, the Ego Identity Status Interview (Marcia, 1966; Marcia & Archer, 1993) for the same purpose. Related approaches taking into account the ethnicity factor were also developed (Phinney, 1989) (see Schwartz, 2001 for a review of additional measures).

Whereas it may be common and convenient to classify and assign an individual to a single identity status, it has since come to light that the identity statuses are not discrete categories. Within the same individual, the identity status styles tend to coexist in varying degrees, with one being predominant at any given time (Marcia, 1993a). Identity status styles are also not homogenous, since various subtypes have been reported (Archer & Waterman, 1990; Marcia, 1993a). Regarding the stability of the identity statuses, it has been observed that within a period of a year in a college environment, intraindividual change of identity status is likely to occur, so that individuals may no longer be in the same status that they were in when they first became university students (Adams & Fitch, 1982; Waterman, 1982; Waterman, Geary, & Waterman, 1974; Waterman & Waterman, 1971).

2.3.2 Issues of development in the assessment of the identity status construct

Marcia (1966) had initially conceived of the identity statuses as developmental. The identity statuses were thought to be individual styles, or concentration points,

of achieving ego identity, and therefore falling along a *continuum* from the lowest ego matured Diffusion to Achievement (cf. Côté & Levine, 1988; Marcia 1966). However, empirical findings offer qualified support. There are suggestions that the D–F–M–A (Diffusion-Foreclosure-Moratorium-Achievement) continuum hypothesis has to be abandoned, and alternative explanations advanced to explain the development of the identity statuses (Lannegrand-Willems & Bosma, 2006; van Hoof, 1999). The earliest modification of the continuum hypothesis is that of Waterman (1988, 1982), who recognizes that the identity statuses are more of a typology, deploying qualitatively different styles of constructing an identity.

Although researchers (e.g., Côté & Levine, 1988; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; van Hoof, 1999; Waterman, 1988, 1982) observe that Marcia's model of identity development (Marcia, 1980) does not exactly meet the criteria of a developmental theory, the identity statuses can be ordered according to a developmental trend, especially at the extreme ends of the suggested continuum (cf. Bosma & Kunnen, 2001). On the one hand, the two extreme identity-status classifications of Achievement and Diffusion represent the identity poles originally proposed by Erikson (1950/1977), and these seem to hold consistently across studies. Foreclosure and Moratorium, on the other hand, present researchers with a challenge, since it is not clear which of the two statuses should be considered more mature.

The statuses are differentiated by the intensity (i.e., high vs. low) of the classification dimensions. One status has high commitment and the other has high exploration, and each of them has a deficit in the other dimension. Waterman (1988) points out that to rank-order the two intermediary statuses would entail deciding which of the classification dimensions of commitment and exploration is superior. This type of decision would have to be arbitrary. Furthermore, Waterman (1999a) argues that with regard to the ends of the

identity achievement continuum, there is consensus that there is a developmental progression from Diffusion to Achievement, based on the direction of observed correlations between the identity statuses and related constructs; the scores of ego syntonic constructs (e.g., ego, moral and formal operations stages) increase toward the more mature end of the continuum, and the opposite is true with scores of research participants on ego dystonic constructs.

Studies further show that when the intermediary statuses are incorporated into analysis, Moratorium turns out to be the gateway to the stage of achieved, integrated identity. On the basis of the observation that the scores on the extreme ends seem to hold as far as the developmental sequence is concerned, Waterman (1999a, 1999b) maintains that there are progressive developmental shifts of the identity statuses, and the shifts occur from Diffusion to Achievement (see also Waterman, 1999a, 1993, 1982). Recent research appears to reconfirm this position (Klimstra, Hale, Raaijmakers, Branje, & Meeus, 2010; Kroger, Martinussen & Marcia, 2010)

According to Berzonsky and Adams (1999) and Waterman (1999a), the developmental sequence hypothesis is supported by studies that have related the identity status concept to constructs that are also developmental in nature. These constructs and the ISP, since they are related in a manner and direction that can be explained according to developmental theory, justify the developmental sequence claims. Thus, Achievement, the identity status of individuals who have earnestly explored options and committed to various life goals and values, is presented as differentiated and more advanced than Diffusion, on varied developmental attributes. Achievement is rated higher on developmental variables such as Loevinger's phases of ego development, Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning (Adams & Fitch, 1982; Marcia, 1994, 1993a, 1993b, 1988; Schwartz, 2001), defense mechanisms (Cramer, 1998a,

1995), and the phases of epistemic development (Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Chandler, Boyes & Ball, 1990; Krettenauer, 2005). Moreover, longitudinal and cross-sectional studies show that Diffusion, the identity status commonly thought to be immature or less developed, is more prevalent among younger age groups, and tapers off as the age-range increases (e.g., Archer, 1982; Meeus et al., 1999; Waterman, 1985).

These observations are almost consistent across different nationalities in the Western world. However, studies are tentative regarding the validity of the ISP in non-Western cultures (Dwairy, 2004), whether these are inside of the Western hemisphere or not. The model needs to be studied further among non-Western populations to ascertain its cross-cultural applicability.

2.3.3 Antecedents to identity status development

Certain factors have been presented in the literature as antecedent to identity status development, although their causal relationship has not been clarified. They are classified as social, biological, and personal factors of identity development. Regarding the social factors, researchers such as Baumeister (1996) and Côté (1996) have noted the significance of the various contextual, historical and socio-cultural changes associated with psychosocial identity development. The structural and cultural changes are presumed to influence how individual functions evolve. However, the literature sometimes gives them a special classification of contextual factors. To be consistent with the literature, they will be reviewed later as contextual determinants of identity development. Biological and personal antecedents follow.

On the biological front, behaviour and psychological adaptation are theorized to be the result of biological processes associated with maturation (Petersen & Taylor, 1980). More specifically, changes of hormonal activities signal maturation

into puberty. The consequent neurological gains are accompanied by psychological adaptation, physical transformations, and, perhaps more overbearing to the adult-in-the-making, interesting behavioural changes related to sexual interest and the development of sexual identity and curiosity regarding genitalia. Biological determinants receive cursory attention in identity status studies. Usually they are taken as givens, simply assumed to be there but rarely considered as variables for inclusion in studies.

There are other notable developmental changes taking place during adolescence, especially in the area of social-cognitive functioning. More than a quarter of a century ago, Marcia (1980) reviewed the literature on the link between cognitive functions such as formal operations to the development of identity. Studies were found not to be conclusive. Since then, several changes have taken place, including the improvement of methodologies used, and the refinement or elaboration on concepts such as formal operations. Since Marcia's review, promising results are obtained in the areas of moral and cognitive development, and identity. There is support for the hypothesis that Diffusion and Foreclosure function at preconventional and conventional levels of moral reasoning. Studies have found that higher stages of ego functioning are common in the student population (Adams & Fitch, 1982; Cramer, 1999). University experience is related to the post-conformist level of ego organization.

Empirical and theoretical studies (Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Chandler, 1987; Kramer, Kahlbaugh, & Goldston, 1992; Marcia, 1999b, 1988) describe cognitive and moral developmental processes taking place during late adolescence. The ascendance of post-formal and formal operational thinking and associated processes such as "distancing" leads to relativistic thinking during adolescence. In a series of studies, Chandler and colleagues (Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Chandler et al., 1990) reported, contrary to previous studies that found insignificant results between the variables, that there is a clear relationship

between Marcia's (1966) Moratorium and identity-achieved status, and relativized epistemic thinking. The findings are supported by Kramer and Melchoir (1990), using completely different methods to measure the same constructs of relativistic or dialectical thinking styles and identity status. All the developments mentioned, namely, social judgement, pubertal entry and cognitive functions, act in concert to influence adolescent development towards adulthood. It is for heuristic purposes that these maturational domains are conceptually isolated from one another.

Furthermore, theory suggests that mechanisms that have been linked to growing cognitive and affective competence during adolescence and young adulthood, play some role in the unfolding of the process of ego organization. These processes, namely social-cognitive processes, are coextensive (Adams & Marshall, 1996). The ability to subject external and internal reality to 'reflective scrutiny' (Chandler, 1987), and in the process incorporate external experience in a dialectical manner (Marcia, 1988), ushers in a period of questioning and decision-making, common among adolescents who are formulating a final, autonomous identity.

Other cognitive skills such as assimilation and accommodation are available for use in dealing with identity relevant information (Kroger, 2007). The acquired cognitive skills enable the advancement of ego processes to more complex levels. Cognitive skills are sometimes thought to operate in tandem with ego functions. Introjection and related psycho-dynamically identified mechanisms and processes operating within the ambit of individuation, are reinstated, and find a new and redefined impetus during transition to adulthood. The literature is not clear on how the link between cognitive processes and identity development takes place during adolescence. In general, Marcia regards the pubertal ascendancy of physiological, cognitive and social development as "contributory, [but] not necessary conditions" (Marcia, 1999b, p. 397) for a person to engage in

the process of identity exploration. Regarding the conditions critical for the development of identity, Marcia (1999b) isolates secure emotional attachment, which is second only to “cognitive sophistication and complexity”.

2.3.4 Identity and context

Theoretical aspects of identity development and contextual influences: Erikson (1950/1977, 1968) presents his concept of identity development as a universal explanation of the sequence of identity development stages. The course of development, as Erikson (1959/1980) sees it, is the same for all persons, although its expression can be affected by practices (e.g., child-rearing and training methods) peculiar to specific locales, social organizations or societies. In other words, the particular expression of the identity development process, including adolescence (in terms of its ritualization, intensity, and duration [Erikson, 1968, p. 119]), varies according to the life conditions and practices of a given society. Thus, it can be expected that the expression of identity-and-identity diffusion, and the distribution and nature of identity statuses (if at all the construct is representative of Erikson’s identity concept) will differ across nationalities, ethnic groups, and historical moments.

Although not many studies have focused on context (Kroger, 2000) in the past, there are some indications that this variable is becoming important in the study of identity. Erikson’s hypothesis regarding the effects of socio-historical context on identity development has been corroborated through historical analysis and empirical research. Details of contextual effects on identity development have been deliberated by some theorists (e.g., Adams & Marshall, 1996; Côté, 1996a, 1996b; Côté & Levine, 1988; Yoder, 2000; see also Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Goosens & Phinney, 1996; Schwartz, 2005), including Erikson as has been pointed out earlier. Discussions of context fall into two categories. First, there are those (e.g., Côté & Levine, 1988) who state that the ISP or ISM as a model is

flawed when it comes to the measurement of contextual determinants of identity status. The second category encompasses researchers who are of the view that identity status is conjointly influenced by context and developmental factors. Both these views will be explained.

Critiques of the ISP by writers such as Schachter (2005) and Côté and Levine (1997, 1988) chastize identity research for its bias towards intra-personal factors. The ISM is regarded as inadequate in measuring contextual determinants of identity development, or, alternatively, largely ignoring the context in which the construction of identity is taking place. They view the ISP as inclined towards intra-personal factors. These theorists (Côté & Levine, 1988; Schachter, 2005) even suggest alternative variables and methods of measuring identity, which take into account contextual determinants. For instance, Côté and colleagues (Côté, 1996a, 1996b; Côté & Levine, 1997, 1988) advocate for a theory that takes into account the interplay of personality and environmental factors. Côté's (1996a) analytical framework, called the identity capital model, integrates psychological and sociological aspects that ensure for the individual a sense of who he is in a "late-modern" community (cf. Schwartz, 2001).

Late-modern societies are characterized by situations of individualization, where society exposes an individual to a large and increasingly complex array of identities, and each individual is left to his own devices to make a choice of an identity. Individuals may decide on a "default individualization" option, whilst some may decide to adopt a "developmental individualization" option. The latter accumulate identity capital resources to cope. The identity capital resources identified are both tangible and intangible. The tangible resources include, but are not limited to, group membership, financial resources, and academic credentials; the intangible ones include ego strength, critical thinking abilities, self-esteem, and so on. They are utilized by young adults or late adolescents as assets to manage their images and gain access to important institutions of

society. The model aims to represent Erikson's (1950/1977) theory robustly, and regards as inadequate Eriksonian theories that frame measurements in individualistic terms, and lack a social and contextual component (e.g., ISP). In reply to the criticism against the ISP, Waterman (1993, 1988) points out that the model (ISP) does actually measure contextual factors in conjunction with identity status.

However, another approach to the issue of context is that which uses measures of the ISP in combination with contextual variables. Whereas the first approach regards the ISP as an inappropriate measure of contextual determinants, the latter view would put the blame on researchers. According to this second view, the effects of context can be seen in the predominance of particular identity types in certain contexts. This view is supported by the observations of Baumeister (Baumeister, 1987, 1986; Baumeister & Muraven, 1996). Writing within the context of Western culture, Baumeister and Muraven (1996) have identified some aspects of social change responsible for identity development. For instance, modernization in Western societies has led to a concern with a hidden, inner self. The search for self is associated with a need to search for and express one's identity. However, this happens in a context where there is a decline of conferred identity (based, for instance, on one's background, gender, social status, or similar characteristics), and individuals are free to choose their identities.

Empirical studies on contextual and cultural factors: There are conflicting results regarding the distribution of identity statuses within ethnic minorities and non-Western populations. A number of earlier studies (Abraham, 1986, 1983; Hauser, 1972a, 1972b; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990; Streitmatter, 1988) found that non-White adolescents in the United States were likely to score at the foreclosed level on an identity status measure, and Whites scored at the achievement or diffusion level of identity status development. These results could not be replicated among African Americans (Branch & Boothe, 2002; Branch,

Tayal & Triplett, 2000; Forbes & Ashton, 1998; Watson & Protinsky, 1991). Could it be that sample differences and time lapse are responsible for lack of replication? The possibility cannot be ruled out, as Markstrom-Adams and Adams's (1995) study partially demonstrates. Furthermore, Markstrom-Adams and Adams point out that the designs of the earlier studies did not control for extraneous variables such as socio-economic status, and therefore the results of these studies are doubtful.

Another level at which comparisons have been made is that between nationalities. In studies that compared university students in the United States and Norway, Norwegians tended to generally score lower on an identity status measure compared to their American counterparts (Stegarud, Solheim, Karlsen, & Kroger, 1999; Jensen, Kristiansen, Sandbekk, & Kroger, 1998). However, the distribution of identity categories did not differ significantly. On the other hand, Bergh and Erling (2005) found that their sample of Swedish high school students scored at the level of diffusion, and fewer scored at the achievement level, when compared to the American normative sample. The results indicate that even among societies that have many characteristics in common (e.g., standard of living, geographic location, and historical connections) there are differences of identity development. However, various reasons, other than contextual effects, can be advanced to explain the observed differences on developmental levels. Most of the studies were conducted using the prototype Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OMEIS), or its revised versions. Either the differences between the identity reports are true, or the results may be an artefact of the measure used. At another level, the differences of the results can be attributed to the differences in the domains covered by the identity status measures (Bergh & Erling, 2005). Social organizational differences have been implicated in the Norwegian studies (Jensen et al., 1998; Stegarud et al., 1999).

There are not many studies of ego identity development among non-Western

cultures. However, a cue can be taken from the studies that have compared ethnic minorities in heterogeneous/multi-cultural societies. These studies suggest that there may be effects of culture and similar variables on identity development. Ethnic minority status is indirectly related to culture and value systems, family practices, social class, and so on (cf. Lewis, 2003). The findings of studies that compared ethnic minorities in heterogeneous societies suggest that historical context, culture and ethnicity may be important variables to study in the context of identity development. Baumeister and Muraven (1996) argue for the influence of context in the development of identity. In their view, the emphasis on the self and/or identity by people is a necessity, and a strategy, to adapt to *post-modern* life conditions.

Several studies have emphasized the role of context in the development of identity. However, these studies do not necessarily support Marcia's (1980, 1966) model completely. Those that do (see Bosma & Kunnen, 2001), present results that show that identity development is related to prevailing socioeconomic and historical conditions (e.g., Kroger, 1993). The distributions of ego identity statuses have been observed to vary on social class and ethnic lines. Across nationalities, socioeconomic and politico-organizational differences tend to influence patterns of scores on measures of identity development (Jensen et al., 1998; Stegarud et al., 1999).

In South Africa, there has been studies of identity development, whose theoretical rationale depended on Erikson's (1968, 1950/1977) theory (Alberts, Mbalo, & Ackermann, 2003; Botha & Ackermann, 1997). These studies have reported the ethnicity and/or race of the respondents, although not all of them used it as a variable in the study of identity development (e.g., Ochse, 1983). However, South African studies of identity development in the Eriksonian mode are few (e.g., Ochse, 1983; Thom & Coetzee, 2004), and almost all of them have used identity measures based on methodological approaches other than Marcia's

(1980, 1966) conceptual model. As far as I am aware, only one study has used the ISP (Low et al., 2005). Low et al. report that more South Africans (50%), relative to American respondents (8%) in the study, scored at the identity Achievement level of the EOME-IS-II. They did not categorize the South African students according to race, but White South Africans were only about 26%. This result is close to that of Thom and Coetzee (2004), who used a different, global scale (namely, Ochse, 1983; Ochse & Plug, 1986). However, Low et al.'s (2005) results are surprising, given that it is very uncommon for participants to score at the achieved level of identity development, and this phenomenon has also been observed in relation to other developmental concepts (Kroger, 2007). Furthermore, results of cross-cultural studies generally show that White Americans score at relatively higher identity statuses than other ethnic groups (Dwairy, 2004).

2.3.5 Theoretical representation of the construct of identity status

There has been debates whether the ISP approach, and its identity status-based assumptions about identity, adequately represents the full spectrum of Erikson's ideas as he conceived of them. Some of the limitations of the ISP are easy to integrate and absorb into the model (Balistreri et al., 1995; Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Meeus et al., 1999), whilst some are fundamental and much more complex (Côté & Levine, 1988), in that they propose a completely different structure and approach to the study of identity in adolescence and young adulthood. The former have to do with whether the dimensions of identity status should be measured separately or not (Nurmi, Poole, & Kalakoski, 1996), and whether domains should be analyzed simultaneously or singularly. Some have presented process-based methods of measurement (Berzonsky, 1992a), expressing a view that Eriksonian views on identity are better expressed as processes rather than as static, outcome entities. Berzonsky's (1992a) social-cognitive description of identity development focuses on the degree of orientation towards avoiding, or

engaging, in the identity-construction task. Recommendations aimed at correcting the first group of limitations do not necessarily question the very form of the ISP, which would render the model obsolete. Identity styles proposed by Berzonsky (1992a, 1990) are largely comparable to the ego statuses. On the other hand, the second group of limitations go to the foundation of the ISP, although some of those who articulate them (e.g., Côté & Levine, 1988) are polite about it.

In an exchange between Côté and Levine (1988), and Waterman (1988), the adequacy of the identity statuses as a reflection of Erikson's (1959/1980, 1950/1977, 1968) thought was at issue. Côté and Levine (1988) scrutinized a number of aspects in Marcia's (1980, 1964) ISP. The aspects reviewed included the appropriateness and precision of terminology used in relation to Erikson's original concepts, the developmental notion of the identity statuses, and the adequacy of the construct of the ISP and its cross-cultural applicability. For instance, with respect to construct validity, Côté and Levine (1988) argued that Erikson presented identity-identity diffusion as a continuum (with both end-poles of the continuum coexisting in the same individual in relative, variable amounts). Waterman retorted that in fact, in Marcia's original model the concept was first presented as a set of identity types (Waterman, 1988).

The debate was revived in 1999 by van Hoof. Again, some researchers (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Waterman, 1999a) defended the ISP, and argued for its merits and usefulness by presenting extensive research that has accumulated over time. Berzonsky and Adams (1999) acknowledge that the ISP does not cover all aspects of Erikson's psychosocial theory, yet the ISP as a model to investigate identity issues has, in their view, been useful.

Some disagreements still exist on important issues, yet there are agreements that are acknowledged by proponents of both sides. Interesting to note is the

ambiguity that exists between theory and research regarding the descriptions of the identity statuses. The classic descriptions that emanate from ISP-related research still stand, yet it is accepted that identity statuses are adaptive and maladaptive depending on spatio-temporal exigencies. As an example, Foreclosure is maladaptive in an environment that provides ample choice for selecting identity, yet adaptive where identity is largely prescribed. Collective societies tend to direct development towards conforming to family and social values. If the identity status of Foreclosure is adaptive in an environment that encourages and rewards conformity to family and/or social values, as is the case in collective societies, what would constitute dysfunctional adaptation in the profile of a foreclosed identity status within that context? With very little research having been conducted in collective societies using the ISP, it is difficult to know. The closest research has come to describing the identity status of collective peoples is using samples in plural or multi-cultural societies such as the United States. Comparisons of ethnic minorities to the dominant group have yielded results that suggest that identity development proceeds differently between the groups.

2.3.6 Identity status profiles

Research results have portrayed the identity statuses, at least in Western samples, as discrete. Each identity status tends to have its own distinct characteristics, and these have been profiled with minimal variation over a period of four decades or so. What follows is a selective description of the identity statuses based on accumulated research. The selected descriptions are consistent with those that are found in the different reviews by Marcia and others (e.g., Marcia, 1994, 1993a, 1993b, 1980; Waterman, 1999a, 1982):

Achievement (A): The identity status of A is characterized by firm commitments to life choices retrospective to a period of exploration of options available. A is

able to function under stressful conditions (Marcia, 1967), and use rational decision-making processes and higher cognitive strategies such as reflective or relativistic thinking (Blustein & Philips, 1990; Boyes & Chandler, 1992). They have been found to engage in mature defenses (Cramer, 1997b, 1995) and operate at the most advanced levels of ego development and moral reasoning (Adams & Fitch, 1982; Kroger, 2007; Rowe & Marcia, 1980; Skoe & Marcia, 1991). Identity achieved individuals have an internal locus of control (Adams, Shea & Finch, 1979; Kroger, 2007). They have a less idealized view of their parents (Campbell, Adams, & Dobson, 1984).

Moratorium (M): M has engaged in high-level exploration, yet has not committed to any decisions regarding life choices. This is the identity status that is simultaneously exhibiting the benefits and incurred costs of exploration; moratorium strives for alternatives in life and the establishment of commitments, but is also experiencing emotional turmoil arising from the insecurity of having no commitments to life choices (Meeus, Iedema, Maassen, & Engels, 2005). This identity status is regarded as the most unstable because of the high levels of anxiety experienced by individuals in it. M is found to be intense and engaging during identity status interview (Marcia, 1994). Exploration in M is supported by open-mindedness when deciding on values, and openness to experience in general (Marcia, 1993b; Tesch & Cameron, 1987). In turn, M individuals are able to creatively indulge in ideational experiences through adaptive regression, for the purpose of reflecting upon identity elements and making a selection of the preferred ones (Bilsker & Marcia, 1991). Family relationships of M are characterized by ambivalence (Marcia, 1994).

Foreclosure (F): F symbolizes firm commitment with the individual having made no thorough attempts at exploring available options. The group of individuals falling into this identity status category did not, as Waterman (1982) states, contemplate life alternatives, but simply latched onto the nearest available

choice. Their life choices, including goals, values and beliefs, are usually influenced by respected figures such as parents, personal models or teachers. This style of decisional investment may precipitate high levels of defensiveness to sustain it, especially under conditions of threat to self-esteem. Fs are less autonomous in their relations with parents, and are prone to feelings of insecurity (Frank, Pirsch, & Wright, 1990). In Berzonsky's (1988) social-cognitive, self-theorist scheme, F is classified as a normative identity style, an information processing mode characterized by "(c)onfirmation-biased information searches designed to defend and conserve established belief structures" (p. 250). F's defensiveness may help to minimize feelings of anxiety. In fact, identity foreclosed individuals are the least anxious of all the identity status categories.

Since they are conformist and inflexible, the self-esteem of identity foreclosed individuals tends to be malleable under conditions of felt social pressure. F men, together with their D counterparts, are found to lack autonomy, relative to F females. The foreclosed approach to identity formation is likely to predominate in circumstances where identity is either readily definable (prescribed by prevailing normative standards) or spontaneously conferred or ascribed rather than acquired (Baumeister, 1986; Baumeister & Muraven, 1996).

Diffusion (D): D individuals neither expend any effort to explore alternatives (if they do, the search is cursory [Marcia, 1994]), nor commit to any major life decisions. Their profile is that of individuals who deal with their problems by avoidance (Grotevant & Adams, 1984). Their defenses are brittle (Cramer, 1997b). They are interpersonally isolated, and unhappy, and have a low sense of self-esteem (Cramer, 1997b; Grotevant & Adams, 1984).

Like F, D is less autonomous and have an external locus of control (Adams, Shea & Fitch, 1979). In family relations, D experience less independence and are relatively less attached to their parents (Perosa, Perosa, & Tam, 1996;

Willemsen & Waterman, 1991).

2.4 The impact of sex differences on identity status development

The issue of sex differences in identity development has consistently cropped up among identity researchers, especially those who conduct research within the ISP. The issue can be linked back to Erikson's pronouncement regarding the identity development of the sexes. Although not clear throughout his writings, Erikson (1968) seems to suggest that there are sex-based personality differences (cf. Franz & White, 1985). In psychosocial theory the differences are first articulated in clear terms at the end of the "initiative vs. guilt" stage, when children resolve the oedipal crisis.

Erikson (1968) attributes the differences between the sexes to the impact of both social and biological elements. First, the family environment, consisting of parents and siblings, is credited with providing the context for developing an awareness of sexual differences and attuning to gender-specific roles (Erikson, 1950/1977). However, it is Erikson's (1968) theorizing of the "inner space" that accentuated the role of biological factors in personality development. Males and females differed in their experiences, and part of the explanation can be found in their physical makeup. The concept of "inner space" was introduced to offer an alternative psychoanalytic explanation of female personality development. Freud's concept of penis envy was found to be inadequate and somewhat biased towards male development. With the concept "inner space", Erikson (1968) shifted focus from the psychology of "deficit" as far as female personality development was concerned, to that of accentuated warmth and connectedness, and most importantly, productivity due to the "inner space" which women possess in their bodies.

Erikson's (1968, 1950/1977) views regarding the development of women raised

debates and invited criticism (Archer, 1993; Franz & White, 1985; Gilligan, 1982, 1977; Sorell & Montgomery, 2001). Erikson was criticized for presenting an androgenic theory of life-cycle or psychosocial development, neglecting feminine aspects. The theory, critics maintained, was developed with males in mind (Marcia, 1980). Male centredness may not have been Erikson's (1950/1977) aim, since large aspects of his psychosocial theory attributed a basic "bisexuality" to both men and women, and stood opposed to the Freudian precept of "anatomy is destiny" (Zock, 1997). In spite of that, ISP researchers sought to establish empirically if indeed there were differences of identity or personality development between males and females.

Some studies conducted in the 1970's did find developmental differences between males and females (Matteson, 1977) and some found differences of a limited nature (Archer, 1989). For instance, females were thought to focus on interpersonal aspects of development (Bilsker, Schiedel, & Marcia, 1988). However, studies in recent times have been considered to be inconclusive regarding the role of gender in identity development (Adams, 1998). Some studies failed to find any differences (Abraham, 1983; Adams et al., 1979; Kroger, 1997; Streitmatter, 1993), whilst some did (Grotevant & Adams, 1984; Lucas, 1997). However, that there are discernible differences in how identity develops in females today is indisputable. Marcia (1993b) reasoned that changing socio-economic circumstances in modern times may account for some of the changes. By the look of things, it appears that the difference of identity development between males and females is an issue still open for exploration and/or discussion (Årseth et al., 2009).

2.5 **Summary**

This chapter reviewed the literature related to the ISP. It explained the origins of the ISP from psychosocial theory, which in turn was influenced by

psychoanalysis. James Marcia, the originator of the ISP, attributes the main influence of his theory to Erikson's psychosocial theory. Erikson, on the other hand, considers his theory a modification, and not a departure, from psychoanalysis. Erikson argues that psychosocial theory adds the psychosocial and historical dimension to psychoanalysis, moving it away from its reliance on biologically inclined explanations. Furthermore, identity status was identified as a key concept of the ISP. Various issues of theoretical interest related to the ISP were discussed. For instance, the origin of the identity status categories from psychosocial theories dimensions of commitment and exploration was explained. Developmental aspects of identity statuses were discussed, focussing on the controversy surrounding this notion. Antecedents and the impact of context on identity status development were also detailed in turn. There are debates whether the ISP is true to Erikson's ideas. The contesting points of view on the issue were presented. The chapter also tabled a profile of each of the identity statuses. Finally, the gender debate regarding the identity statuses was presented.

Chapter 3: Towards a framework for the study of identity development: Identity in relation to contextual and intrapersonal factors

3.1 Introduction

Erikson's (1968, 1959/1980, 1950/1977) concept of identity is comprehensive, covering a wide range of areas and theoretical perspectives (Grotevant, Thorbecke, Meyer, 1982; Schwartz, 2001). Bourne (1978a) identified seven theoretical orientations associated with Erikson's concept of identity. Four of these correspond to orientations in psychoanalytic theory², and they are structural, genetic, dynamic and adaptive orientations. The remaining three perspectives are used by Erikson (1968) to differentiate the concept of "ego identity" from "self" and "ego" as used in psychoanalytic theories (cf. Bourne, 1978a). Furthermore, social psychologists, child development researchers, counsellors, and many other professionals, can find in Erikson's identity framework some aspects that they can identify with theoretically. Reception of the identity concept among psychoanalysts, on the other hand, is mixed. Some (e.g., Kernberg, 1975; Rangell, 1994) integrate the concept into psychoanalytic theory, whilst others dismiss it. Some of the analysts who dismiss the concept are of the view that it lacks specificity and it is not theoretically rigorous.

Yet the strength of Erikson's (1959/1980) psychosocial approach is in the integration of approaches from divergent scientific disciplines. At times this would seem to mean that psychosocial theory is a dynamic convergence of "ego", "soma" and "polis" (cf. Franz & White, 1985; Zock, 1997). Although different researchers have on their own confined identity research to a certain dimension, psychosocial theory was intended to articulate the mutual dependence of the

²Bourne (1978a) notes that Erikson (1950/1968) did not use the concept of identity within the "economic" model of psychoanalysis.

three spheres of identity functioning. One of Erikson's comprehensive definitions encompasses all aspects that contribute to a sense of identity. Identity is defined as

An evolving configuration—a configuration that gradually integrates constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent roles. All of these, however, can only emerge from a mutual adaptation of individual potentials, technological worldviews, and religious or political ideologies (Erikson, 1982/1997, p. 74).

From this definition, researchers are able to focus on an aspect that their theoretical orientation is compatible with. This has been the case with identity researchers, including those who are associated with the ISP. At the beginning phases of ISP based research, the trend was to measure identity status in conjunction with a variable(s) thought to be relevant and related, to demonstrate construct validity (Marcia, 1988; Waterman, 1982). This approach is valuable for the purposes it is intended for. However, the concept of identity, particularly the identity status variant of it, is now well established (at least in the context of research in Western societies). Its limits and strengths are known. This calls for departure from construct validation to model building, perhaps using analytic tools that will involve analysis of more than one variable (Frank et al., 1990), and also enable the researcher to demonstrate something akin to the “causal” role of environmental context on identity development (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999).

Erikson's theory originates from the psycho-dynamic perspective. Therefore it is possible to frame a model within the ambit of that approach. Certain metatheoretical interpolations with implications that are epigenetic can be made from Erikson's declaration that, a “lasting ego identity cannot begin to exist without the trust of the first oral stage” (Erikson, 1956/1980, p. 96). Stated as a hypothesis, Erikson (1956/1980) suggests that early parenting will lead to the

formation of a sense of identity; or, the development of trust in relationship is positively related to the development of identity. A narrowed research approach can establish if the preceding stage crises (especially the trust-and-basic mistrust stage) have been successfully negotiated, using global psychosocial scales (e.g., Constantinople, 1969; Ochse, 1983; Rasmussen, 1964).

A broad-based approach would take psychosocial theory as a point of departure, and include concordant concepts in a comprehensive model (e.g., Adams, Munro, Doherty-Poirer, Munro, Petersen, & Edwards, 2001; Hoegh & Bourgeois, 2002; Quintana & Lapsley, 1990). This research strategy is in line with the contextual approach called for in the literature (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Goosens & Phinney, 1996), and it is adopted in the present study. Erikson's (1980) orientation in particular, calls for all types of environments to be considered, or at least accounted for, in studies of identity. Identity is only definable within a specified (historical, technological/cultural, geographic, etc.) environment where it functions (Erikson, 1968). Therefore, any approach that portrays an individual as self-contained, developing his identity in isolation is, as Schachter sternly warns, erroneous "in and of itself and [is] a misrepresentation of Erikson's theory" (Schachter, 2005, p. 376).

3.2 Identity and parenting experiences

Identity status researchers are advocating for the inclusion of contextual variables in identity development studies (Côté, & Schwartz, 2002; Kroger, 2000; van Hoof, 1999; Yoder, 2000), and some studies have already been conducted to examine the interaction of identity and characteristics of the social environment. Identity status research has been conducted in conjunction with family processes (Anderson & Fleming, 1986; Faber, Edwards, Bauer, & Wetchler, 2003; Fullinwider-Bush & Jacobvitz, 1993; Palladino Schultheis, & Blustein, 1994), and orientations and climates of university academic

departments (e.g., Adams & Fitch, 1983; Adams et al., 2000; Costa & Campos, 1990; Marcia, 1993b; Marcia & Friedman, 1970). These are some of the environments studied. The family is however the context of interest here.

The interactional environment of the family, in particular, is found to have an impact on identity development, where the more stable family environments are associated with growth producing identity resolutions (Campbell, Adams, & Dobson, 1984; Grotevant & Cooper, 1985). There is a relationship between family environment and reports of an Achievement identity status (Berzonsky, 2004; Matheis & Adams, 2004). The effects of contextual factors on identity can be both direct and indirect. When the effects are indirect, factors such as social cognitions are observed to mediate the relationship (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999).

The family has been studied as a structure to investigate, among other features, the arrangement (merging, or lack of it) of intergenerational boundaries between subsystems, and their impact on personal development. The family's successful clarification of intergenerational boundaries, and the ability to express and resolve conflict, has been related to the developed identity status of Achievement among child members of the family (Perosa, Perosa, & Tam, 1996; Perosa & Perosa, 1993). Weak parental coalition is associated with Moratorium and Diffusion, the identity statuses lacking in commitment to an identity (Faber et al., 2003). Although the results of the studies are inconsistent (cf. Faber et al., 2003), they point to the significance of family dynamics in the development of identity, as suggested by family therapists such as Minuchin (1974).

A fine-grained assessment of family structure may focus on the parent-child dynamic. Dynamics specific to the mother and child's functioning within the family are observable when the mother-child dyad is the unit of analysis. Theory suggests that each subsystem of the family performs functions contingent upon it. The parent-child subsystem, as an example, is regarded as "the context for

affectional bonding, gender identification, and modelling,... where children learn to develop a degree of autonomy within unequal power relationships” (emphasis added; Vetere, 2001, p. 135); on the other hand, the sibling subsystem serves as a family-based social group that prepares siblings for participation in peer groups. Needless to say, the parent-child subsystem has an important developmental role. The function of the mother-child dyad includes the edging of the infant’s identity. Identity development begins, as psychoanalytic theory reiterates, very early in life, and the mother is the primordial object/source of influence. The function is then sustained throughout growth and maturity. This will be explained hereafter, leading to the parent-adolescent dyad.

The parent-child dyad has its peculiar features and dynamics, and it can help to explain other processes (e.g., attachment, self-definition) known to exist as part of human nature. Important processes in the family involve separations and enmeshment/attachments taking place between a mother figure and the individual child, and their bidirectional effects on members of the mother-child dyad. (Here the focus is on the child, and therefore the analysis of outcomes or effects is limited to this entity.) Individual growth and development can be facilitated or stunted by the parent-child relationship. What is important for this study is that, the child’s *experiences* within the family should be accounted for, especially at the level of psychic makeup. Psychoanalytic theories have the terminology to do just that (e.g., Perosa, 1996). Within the framework of psychodynamic theories, experiences with the mother and other parental figures are conceptualized as mental/object representations, or other similar processes.

Psychoanalytic explanations of personality or identity development focusing on the parent-child relationship are abundant. In spite of adhering to divergent philosophical foundations (e.g., object relations, interpersonal relations, dual instinct theory) and sometimes adopting uncommon terminologies for processes that are practically similar, psychoanalytic theories have some commonalities

that cannot be understated. Their common, distinguishing features include the emphasis they put on early parenting experiences and the respective psychological dynamics characteristic of infancy (Westen, 1998).

Another convergence point of psychoanalytic theories, with variation in detail, is their characterization of psychological development as a process evolving from dependence on the primary care-giving figure to a state of autonomous functioning (cf. Westen, 1998). Erikson's (1968, 1959/1980, 1950/1977) trust-and-mistrust life-cycle stage falls within this tradition. In that regard, Erikson (1950/1977) notes that "a rudimentary sense of ego identity" forms once the child has internalized the mother as an "inner certainty as well as an outer predictability" (Erikson, 1950/1977, p. 222).

Whereas psychoanalytically oriented theories do not agree on meanings of concepts such as self, ego and identity, they concur on the point that development is about achieving some form of autonomy from the caregiver. Erikson (1950/1977) has detailed his view of infant development, yet, other developmental theories have received wider attention. It is to those theories that this presentation will turn, to explain the infant's development towards the autonomy of the self. The separation-individuation theory of Mahler (Mahler et al., 1975) and Kohut's (1984, 1977, 1971) self psychology, together with related and relevant theories by Blos and Bowlby, are among the theories articulating this process clearly, and will be presented here to explain it. The explanation is also meant to accentuate somewhat the differences of the theories in their description of how the mother-child relationship unfolds, in the service of an articulated self. Although not always emphasized in the literature, apparently these approaches are in dialogue with, and sometimes have strong affinities to, ideas expounded by Freud (1914/1984).

Mahler (Mahler et al., 1975) posits that psychological development in infancy is

characterized by separation and individuation. Separation, as a developmental process, means that the infant achieves the differentiation of the self by creating psychological distance between him and the mother. Individuation, on the other hand, refers to the establishment of the autonomy of the self. Both processes are accomplished through three consecutive, overlapping stages of autism, symbiosis and separation-individuation. The last phase of separation-individuation is achieved through four sub-stages, beginning with autism and culminating in a sense of individuality, when libidinal object constancy is established. In object constancy, the mother is internalized, and individuality is consolidated. Mahler's conceptualization of childhood, especially at the earlier phase of developing her theory, is clearly Freudian, in that an objectless stage of primary narcissism predominates the beginnings of infancy. Furthermore, object constancy is placed within the frame of libidinal ties to the mother figure.

Kohut's (1984, 1977, 1971) concerns are more clinical than theoretical. In contrast to Kernberg (1976, 1975), who is writing on similar issues, Kohut does not present stages of development in strict terms and does not use Erikson's concept of ego identity. However, a developmental sequence can be discerned from his writings. Kohut (1984, 1977) bases his theory of development and psychic functioning on the formation of psychic structures (namely, the grandiose self and the idealized parental imago.) He postulates that narcissistic experience emerges as a result of the early caretakers' expected frustrations and ministrations failures or shortcomings.

Failures and frustrations, which should be "optimal" and within reasonable degree, lead to the formation of psychic structures (Siegel, 1996). Kohut calls the process "transmuting internalization" (in the case of internalizing parental characteristics, "passage through the object"). Through internalization, the functions of parents (technically called selfobjects in Kohut's [1977] system) are taken over, and the child achieves independence by being able to perform self-

regulatory functions such as self-comforting and affect regulation (St. Clair, 2000).

In Kohut's (1984, 1977, 1971) self psychology, the core self is nurtured by an empathic environment. The concept of an "empathic environment" can be interpreted the same way as Winnicott's (1965) "good-enough mothering" or "maternal holding environment", where the caretaker is in tune with the needs of the infant and the mother-child unit/self-selfobject is psychologically indivisible. However, psychological growth means that the core self has gained autonomy, and functions independently from the mother (who nevertheless is internally retained as selfobject). Transmuting internalization becomes important once again during adolescence, when the adolescent gains emotional autonomy (cf. Shaver & Mikulincer, 2005).

Both Mahler and Kohut agree that during development, the infant progresses from dependence, to autonomy from the mother, and then eventually disengagement from her. It can be interpolated that in later stages, the individual will undergo psychological separation from the family of origin, and establish emotional relationships with others. Therefore, disengagement is expected to continue during adolescence well into adulthood. However, the period from adolescence to early adulthood introduces its own specific dynamics pertaining to the parent-child relationship. Blos (1962) provides a psychodynamic explanation of these dynamics.

Blos's conception of adolescence, a stage he (Blos, 1967) refers to as the "second separation-individuation" from parental figures, is based in large respects on Mahler's stage theory of infant development. Josselson (1980) credits him for introducing the concept of individuation to the study of adolescence. In the second phase of separation-individuation, the adolescent, according to Blos (1967), experiences "emotional disengagement from

internalized infantile objects” (p. 164), and seeks other objects outside of the context of the family. Successful disengagement, as Blos conceptualizes it, leads to the alteration of the ego structure, and in turn, post-adolescence is constituted by all of the structural changes that ensued during adolescence (Blos, 1967, p. 166). Separation in Blos’s (1967) theory is an internal, psychical process³, but can also be achieved by physical distance.

The three theories (separation-individuation, self psychology, and the second separation-individuation) are alternative explanations of identity development in the context of the parent-child relationship, but can also be considered an elaboration of Erikson’s identity theory. More specifically, they offer “depth” psychology explanations of structures whose metatheoretical presuppositions psychosocial theory sometimes neglects to enunciate and expatiate.⁴

Psychoanalytic approaches to identity development are criticized for emphasizing the aspect of autonomy and individuation at the expense of relatedness (Gilligan, 1982; Josselson, 1988). A modern approach to the issue highlights the interaction between separateness and relatedness, or the dialectic of agency and communion, as modes of being in relation with others, and realizing oneself in relationship (cf. Blatt & Levy, 2003; Josselson, 1994; Meissner, 2009). As we have already suggested, the approach is consistent with that of Erikson (1950/1977), who in describing autonomy, recognizes its dependence on support from the family.

³The parental figures that Blos (1967) is referring to are mostly object representations in the ego.

⁴Issues that are clarified in the theories include the explication of the separation and individuation sequence, and the developmental process of structuralization. However, it has to be pointed out that their contribution to psychosocial theory takes differing courses. Whilst Blos (1967, 1962) freely and approvingly refers to some compatible or corroborative psychosocial tenets, Kohut is non-committal to, and sometimes rejects, Erikson’s formulations (e.g., Kohut, 1987).

The weakness of theories such as those of Mahler and Blos is that, they pay more attention to one aspect of the dialectic, emphasizing the agentic side of infant and adolescent self structure. Parental separation is construed as a developmental necessity and an unavoidable inevitability. Whilst it is accurate that relational aspects of the adolescent-parent relationship such as time spent together, communication patterns and the types and amounts of parental advices sought, undergo changes, this does not mean that the adolescent completely separates from the parent. Rather, the process of adolescent development is best conceptualized as interplay of both self-definition and integration within the family context (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). LaVoie (1994) concludes along the same lines as Josselson (1994, 1980) that the processes of individuation and relatedness do not negate each other. Individuation can most appropriately be viewed as an intrapsychic process, where the individual distances himself from introjected parental objects and identifications. However, this does not mean that there is a corresponding decrease of attachment to parents. Achieving distance with parental introjects and identifications changes the quality, and not the amount of relatedness to parents (see also Meissner, 2009).

Alternative theories of the parent-child relationship, meant to moderate the exclusive claims of the separation-individuation hypothesis, are offered from attachment theory (Bowlby, 1980/1981, 1978, 1973/1975, 1969/1984; Josselson, 1988). The theory considers the fundamental and consistent tendency of human behaviour to be that of reducing distance with a mothering figure. Separation-individuation and psychosocial theories are influenced by Freud's drive theory. Attachment theory rejects the idea of *secondary drive*, which postulates that the child's tie to its mother is motivated by feeding needs and the reduction of drive-related discomforts (Bowlby, 1978, 1969/1984; also Ainsworth, 1969; Shaver & Mikulincer, 2005). The drive-based interpretation advanced by Freudians seems to imply that whatever attachment efforts are there in the mother-child relationship, they serve an instrumental purpose, and the desire for self-definition

is always looming.

Bowlby (1969/1984, 1973/1975) criticizes Freud's evocation of the secondary drive theory to explain the child's tie to his mother, since the model is based on the type of evolutionary theory which he considers to be pre-Darwinian. Using twentieth century ethological evidence as inspiration (Ainsworth, 1967; Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991), attachment theory posits that the infant's drift towards the mother figure is intertwined with the need for protection and survival, and is less motivated by drive gratification. Any form of stress, or imminent threat to the well-being of the organism, leads to preemptive or defensive attachment-motivational systems being activated, propelling the infant to seek physical or psychological proximity to a primary caregiver for purposes of protection and well-being. Therefore, contrary to A. Freud's (1936/1968) and Mahler's (Mahler et al., 1975) separation claims, the human condition inclines the infant to seek proximity or connectedness rather than separation with the primary caregiver, and this is likely to be the state of affairs "from the cradle to the grave" as Bowlby is famed to have put it (Steele & Steele, 1998, p. 107; also, Bowlby, 1979).

Important to note is that Bowlby's (1969/1984, 1973/1975) idea of the infant seeking the mother brings attachment theory closer to object relations theories (e.g., Michael Balint, W. R. D. Fairbairn, Melanie Klein, and D. W. Winnicott) and Erikson's psychosocial theory. Bowlby agrees with these theories in so far as they emphasize the role of the environment (first represented by the mother figure, and then later by the family) as determinate in the development of personality. However, in Bowlby's (1969/1984) view, attachment theory is far removed from Freud's instinctual drive theory than object relations theory is (Steele & Steele, 1998).

Although attachment theory is generally critical of Freudian concepts of drive and instinct (cf. Zepf, 2006), it is particularly critical of Klein's (1946/1952) theories

that put primacy on phantasy rather than actual experience. Bowlby does not accept the role of the death instinct as a determinant of object representation and behaviour. Motivation for behaviour is explained in attachment theory according to ethological principles (Bowlby, 1973/1975, p.106). In the theory, sex and aggression in the development of personality do not receive the attention and/or status that Freudianism and some variants of object relations theory give to them (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2005; Steele & Steele, 1998). Bowlby (1973/1975) discards, or accepts with qualification, important object relations concepts. For instance, object constancy, a concept some object relations theorists consider fundamental to the explication of the emerging self, seems acceptable to Bowlby (1973/1975) so long as it is closer in definition to Piaget's "object permanence".

Although attachment theory does not theorize identity development directly, it is, in many respects, compatible with the psychosocial theory of identity development. Both attachment and psychosocial theories hypothesize common events, or correlates, that may affect personality development. Psychosocial theory identifies exploration as one of the dimensions that facilitate the process of forming an identity (Erikson, 1950/1977; Marcia, 1980, 1964). Like psychosocial theory, attachment theory takes the development of personality as a product of extensive information search and exploration of the environment (Ainsworth, 1989; Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991). The theory (Bowlby, 1978, 1969/1984) goes on to state that when faced with novel and unfamiliar information or situations, the child will either avoid or investigate them. Willingness to investigate and learn new information can only take place if and when the mother is internalized as a "secure base" (Ainsworth, 1991, 1982; Ainsworth et al., 1978; Bowlby, 1978). The child deactivates attachment and embarks on the exploration of the environment, trusting that the mother will be available in case danger looms and he needs to retreat and take refuge. The mother is felt to be an emotional and physical anchor, a *safe haven*, in the event of impending threat.

Just how do attachment behaviour and exploration of the environment effect the process of identity exploration? Parental behaviour is implicated. For instance, Cassidy and Berlin (1994) state that parents of avoidant infants tend to interrupt and distract their children when they (children) are involved in exploratory behaviour. As a matter of fact, parenting style is seen by both attachment (Bowlby, 1978, 1973/1975) and psychosocial theories (e.g., Erikson, 1959/1980, 1950/1977) as a necessary and critical antecedent to normal personality development. The continuity of the effects of parenting style on identity development is not yet clear, but it can be inferred from attachment studies conducted among older subjects, particularly university students who were subjects of most studies conducted thus far, finding that later parental attachment relationships are associated with evolved identity statuses (Årseth et al., 2009; Kennedy, 1999).

3.3 Adaptation in late adolescence and young adulthood

Beyond contextual factors, a variety of personal characteristics are related to identity development. Studies have identified dialectical thinking (e.g., Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia, 1992), moral reasoning (Marcia, 1993b, Hult, 1979), ego development (Adams & Fitch, 1982), trust (Hoegh & Bourgeois, 2002), and many other characteristics, as intrapersonal catalysts that can facilitate personality progression and regression (see Kroger, 1996b for a review). The relationship between intrapersonal precipitants and identity development is complex and requires further study. Put in statistical terms, the task for researchers is to establish whether identity correlates serve as mediators, moderators, buffers, or concomitants, in their relationship with the identity variable. Although personal factors such as Piaget's formal operations, Kohlberg's stages of cognitive-moral reasoning and Loevinger's ego positions are necessary ingredients, Waterman (1993) concludes that they are not sufficient for influencing identity functioning toward any particular developmental

path.

Regression, in its various usages (see Kroger, 1996b) has also been considered as an antecedent of identity development. Orthodox psychoanalytic researchers and clinicians in particular, characterize transition to adolescence as an event accompanied by dramatic and regressive personality and social changes (e.g., Blos, 1968, 1967, 1962; A Freud, 1965/1980). Blos, following A. Freud (1936/1968), regards regression as normative in adolescence. In fact, the non-defensive variety of regression in Blos's (1962) stage theory of adolescence is viewed as "a prerequisite for progressive development". Lack of it may signal a fault in the normal development of an adolescent (Adelson & Doehrman, 1980, p. 99).

Josselson (1980), taking a contrarian view to Blos, concluded from some of the literature that was available at the time of her writing that there was no support for the ubiquity of regression, severance of parental ties, and the "weakness" of the ego in adolescence. Consequently, she (Josselson, 1980) noted that adolescent transition is slow, gradual, and not as eventful as supposed by Blos and A. Freud's instinct-based theories. In effect, Josselson (1980) is questioning the validity of the fundamental premise upon which psychoanalytic theory of identity development is based.

However, later studies, using different conceptualizations of regression, have associated the process with identity development (Bilsker & Marcia, 1991; Kroger, 1996b). Kroger (1996b) delineates three types of regression, namely, regressions of rigidification, disequilibrium and disorganization. Although the three types of regression are theorized within the context of the ISP, they complement regression conceptualizations that are already extant in clinical psychoanalytic literature.

Recently, psychoanalytic researchers are adopting views that are less orientated to instinctual explanations and the so-called “one-person” psychoanalysis (Westen, 1998). They are more inclined to focus on intersubjective influences of behaviour (Josselson, 1994; Marcia, 1988). Parents, in their actuality and in their introjected form, provide the anchorage for the adolescent’s exploration of life alternatives and commitment effort. The theorists argue that for a securely attached individual, individuation takes place within the context of separation, and both processes contribute towards the formation of identity. Separation-individuation as a metaphor for adolescent and young adult development is best represented by Mahler’s subphase of “rapprochement”, rather than the entire phases of her theory. Rapprochement represents the simultaneous desire to establish a separate individuality, and to recruit the mother as an object that confirms the child’s self or identity.

Brown and Wright (2001), writing within the context of attachment theory, argue that attachment to parental figures provides the adolescent with the necessary support as he modulates conflicting inner forces, explore life options, and try out new identities (also Meissner, 2009). Josselson (1994) points out that separation-individuation does not replace or obliterate attachment, but only revises it as the individual engages in a search for identity. Related to childhood attachment are processes of identification and idealization. The processes are used by children to configure self organization and the early phases of a sense of identity. Psychosocial theory states that childhood identification processes culminate in the final formulation of identity. During adolescence and young adulthood, early identifications are subjected to extensive revision. Identity synthesis involves a more realistic perception and reappraisal of parental representations (deidealization), and the abandoning of non-serviceable or faulty identifications acquired earlier (disidentification; Blos, 1967; Dashef, 1984). Identity forms when revamped and healthier identifications are incorporated into the “configuration” that will establish an identity.

Identity synthesis through deidealization and disidentification impels the individual to explore representational or attachment replacements inside and outside of the family context. However, for some individuals, the process of separation may possibly render them vulnerable to conflicts of giving up parental sources of self-esteem, loss of parental support and grief over losing parental introjects, and lack of self-certainty (Dashef, 1984; Swan & Benack, 2002). The self-esteem that was nurtured, bolstered and maintained by parental identifications may suffer. Whilst separation is liberating to the adolescent, it also arouses feelings of insecurity, especially in light of the loss of relatedness that it entails (Frank et al., 1990; Ryan & Lynch, 1989).

Swan and Benack, in their innovative article (Swan & Benack, 2002), also suggest that whilst acquiring capacity for relativistic thinking contributes positively to the task of adolescent transition, it too may add to the distress of the transition process for some adolescents. Although not generalized, depression and anxiety feelings are not an uncommon experience among those adolescents who are unable to negotiate the transition successfully (Aalsma, Varshney, Arens & Lapsley, 1997). To protect against these stage-salient vulnerabilities (conflict, anxiety, depressive feelings, and loss of narcissistic gratification), varied intrapsychic mechanisms, including age-consistent defenses (Blos, 1962; A. Freud, 1936/1968), are activated to preserve the well-being and integrity of the self.

Also, it is during this time that narcissistic processes, and the related narcissistic defenses, come to the fore (cf. Aalsma et al., 1997; Swan & Benack, 2002; also Blos, 1967, p. 182; A. Freud, 1936/1968, p. 171). For instance, defensive narcissism protects against the perceived loss of parental aggrandizement (Cramer, 1995). Kohut (1977, 1971) has described the use of narcissistic defenses. The failure, in early development, of the self-object's mirroring function and the individual's idealization of the omnipotent self-object, activates

narcissistic defenses. Similarly, when later acquaintances fail to mirror the individual's grandiose self, and the individual is unable to satisfy his/her own grandiose self-expectations, feelings of inadequacy and low self-regard ensue. These are defended against by the deployment of narcissistic defenses (viz. vertical and horizontal splitting) (cf. Cain et al., 2008, p. 640).

The roles of both narcissism and defenses in the development of identity, and the alleviation of the distress related to transitioning adolescence will be discussed immediately hereafter.

3.4 The role of narcissism in identity development

When Freud (1914/1984) presented his ideas about narcissism, he situated the concept in both psychopathology and normal development. Narcissism was discovered in the context of schizophrenia and was also believed to characterize perversions. Yet it also featured as an aspect of normal development, especially after Freud ventured into his structural formulation (viewing the psyche in terms of the constituents of id, ego and superego). Importantly, Freud considered development to proceed from autoeroticism, when there is no ego, through primary narcissism when the ego emerges, to a stage of object relations.

Prominent in the discussion of the development of the ego is the dispersal of libido. Freud's (1940/1979; 1914/1984) amoeba analogy suggests that in a normal state of development, the libido of the ego can be cathected to an object, and then it can be transferred back to the ego. During the stage of primary narcissism, the child makes an exclusive direction of all libido to the ego. Moreover, there is not yet a clear distinction between the child and the external environment (mother's breast). The ensuing "oceanic feeling" will forever be sought by the child. Theoretical discussions amongst psychoanalysts regarding the concept of primary narcissism followed Freud's (1914/1984) presentation of

the concept, with some elaborations and rejections of aspects of it (Plakun, 1990).

Two of the most prominent psychoanalytic theorists of narcissism are Kernberg (1975) and Kohut (1977). Although they influenced the popularity of the NPD and its inclusion in the DSM III in the first place, their views on its origin have obvious commonalities and marked divergences (Siomopoulos, 1988). For instance, they both theorize the grandiose self, yet differ on the mode of its origin. In Kernberg's (1975) theory the term pathological narcissism refers to a wide array of disorders, including narcissistic and neurotic character pathologies (Plakun, 1990). NPD is a specific subtype of the neurotic character pathology. Kernberg (1975) asserts that pathological narcissism originates from dysfunctional object relationships, leading to the development of the grandiose self, a self-structure.

The grandiose self is considered by Kernberg to be an integrated, yet defensive, pathological structure

which reflects a pathological condensation of some aspects of the *real self* (i.e., the "specialness" of the child that was reinforced by early experience), the *ideal self* (i.e., the fantasies and self-images of power, wealth, and beauty that compensated the small child for the experiences of severe oral frustration, rage and envy), and the *ideal object* (i.e., the fantasy of an ever-giving, ever-loving, and accepting mother, in contrast to their experience in reality—replacement of the devalued real parental object) (italics added; Kernberg, 1974, p. 256).

The child who feels rejected by his/her mother, uses the structure to defend against feelings of emptiness in the environment. In the same vein, normal narcissism develops from sufficient parental responsiveness, that is, functional object relationships.

On the other hand, in Kohut's (1966) theory, the grandiose self, together with the idealized parent imago, is a normal developmental structure acquired to deal with the inevitable imperfections of the mother (cf. Plakun, 1990). Thus, Kohut's theory explicitly suggests that narcissism can also serve positive functions in the development of an individual. This view is consistent with Winnicott (1965), who argues that subjective omnipotence and self-absorption can be used to spur creativity and growth. However, any developmental traumas and failures suffered by the child will affect the state of development of both the grandiose self and the idealized parent imago (Kohut, 1977). For instance, early and accumulative narcissistic injuries impede the development of the structure of the grandiose self. Subsequently, the self fails to develop sufficient endopsychic mechanisms to regulate self-esteem. For Kohut, pathological narcissism arises due to developmental arrest.

Theories of Kernberg (1975) and Kohut (1977, 1971) fall within the clinical realm of studies of narcissism. For instance, most theorizing by the two was done to explain defenses and transferences pertaining to patients during therapy (Siomopoulos, 1988). Yet narcissism as a concept has enjoyed wider application. There is a trend focusing on social-personality dimensions of narcissism research. Within social-personality research narcissism is considered a trait measured on a dimensional scale. This is unlike clinical or psychiatric studies, where narcissism is measured in categorical terms, using the DSM or the International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems, 10th Revision (ICD-10; WHO, 1994) criteria. The DSM-IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000), a clinical/psychiatric diagnostic system, requires that the individual meet five of the nine criteria to be classified as NPD. On the other hand, dimensional measures simply place an individual along a continuum, such as from "low" to "high" narcissism scores on a measure.

The trend in current studies is that narcissism is not a unidimensional construct,

and is best represented by two facets, namely, the vulnerable and the grandiose components (Cain et al., 2008; Lapsely & Aalsma, 2006; Zeigler-Hill, Clark, & Pickard, 2008). The DSM-IV-TR (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) is inclined towards the grandiose component. Concurrently, the vulnerable component is not well represented in this diagnostic system (Pincus & Lukowitsky, 2010), although clinicians occasionally pay attention to it in practice (Miller & Campbell, 2008).

Social-personality research has used the NPI as a measure of choice in most studies of narcissism (Cain et al., 2008). The scale has the highest internal reliability in comparison to other commonly used measures of narcissism (Soyer, Rovenpor, Kopelman, Mullins, & Watson, 2001). In spite of the controversy surrounding its validity, it has been found to measure important aspects of narcissism, and compares well with ratings of NPD based on the DSM-IV (Miller, Gaughan, Pryor, Kamen, & Campbell, 2009). The NPI is used in this study to investigate narcissism.

3.5 Defenses and their adaptive and developmental functions

Adolescent conflict and anxiety arise due to unexpected alterations in one's inner (intrapsychic) and outer (environmental) reality. Defenses are ego functions instituted to attenuate the resulting incongruity by distorting the perception of that reality (see Vaillant, 1992, p. 44). Some researchers see defenses as sharing some attributes with coping strategies, since there is substantial overlap in their function (Muris, Merchelbach, & Bögels, 1995; Vaillant, 1994). However, defenses and coping strategies are different methods of adjusting to threats and stressful events, and some theorists are careful to distinguish between the two protective processes (Cramer, 1998c; Lazarus, 1993; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2001). The differentiation is supported by studies that show that the effects of defenses and coping on adolescent adjustment is

exclusive, with each of the two constructs contributing a unique variance to the adjustment variable (Erikson, Feldman, & Steiner, 1997).

Defenses are defined by attachment theory as information processing biases. Bowlby (1980/1981) introduced a new metatheory of defensive processes to divest defenses of their drive derivative. However, the concept of defense in attachment theory is limited in scope, as compared to the wide-ranging areas covered by defense in Freudian psychoanalysis, and they have a function (namely, affect regulation) specific to what defenses in psychoanalysis are ascribed (Knox, 2003). Recent efforts by Shaver and Mikulincer (2005) are important for marrying the two orientations to defensive behaviour.

Modern approaches to stage-related conflicts and threats to self in adolescence conceptualize defense as the ego's way of coping with personal adversities and stress. Students whose self-esteem is threatened, use projection and identification as self protective measures. Negative feedback about the self is protected against by projecting it outside of the self (Cramer, 1991a; Cramer & Gaul, 1988), and stress is defended against by recalling the inner representation of parents who have previously afforded comfort under similar circumstances (cf. Cramer, 1998b). Theoretical advances are in the process of reviving classical accounts of defense, although the theory is not reinstated in its original form (Baumeister, Dale, & Sommer, 1998; Cooper, 1998; Knox, 2003). Moreover, traces of the original theories are present in modern theories. It is for that reason that a review of one of the pioneering defense accounts should be instructive.

A detailed classic contribution to the organization of defenses in adolescence is offered by A. Freud (1936/1968). Although her original thesis hinges on libido theory, and therefore might not interest non-analytic researchers, its influence on traditional psychosocial theory is noteworthy. Also, its phenomenological insights have potential to provide further elaboration and psychodynamic explication to

adolescent studies (e.g., the rise of narcissism during adolescence, adolescent ego-centricism and the imaginary audience phenomenon) that otherwise seem to emphasize empiricism over theory.

A. Freud (1936/1968) postulates that departure from the psychosexual stage of latency accentuates the activity of libido. The adolescent then plunges into inner turmoil, as the ascendance of libido interrupts the normal processes of ego functioning. A. Freud specifically isolates and describes the ego defenses of asceticism and intellectualization as mechanisms directed at alleviating anxiety arising from the ascendance of libido. The ascetic adolescent repudiates instinctual gratification indiscriminately, in an effort to avert being overwhelmed by the rise of the activity of instincts. Behaviours associated with asceticism include argumentativeness, intellectualization, and the like. In adolescence, unlike in other stages, intellectual escapades are not diminished by the rise of instincts. Adolescents are fascinated by abstract debates and intellectualism in general. However, the intellectualism is, according to A. Freud (1936/1968), an attempt to achieve control of simmering instincts through thought. Succinctly, defenses are instituted to protect and maintain the integrity of the ego which, following the onset of puberty, is in danger of being overwhelmed by instincts (cf. Adelson & Doehrman, 1980).

A. Freud (1936/1968) preempts psychosocial theory by linking intellectualization and asceticism to identification. She theorizes that early identifications are discarded and new attachments with (nonincestuous) objects outside of the family are established. The attachments are usually intense in quality, and intermittent and transient in nature and life-span. Even as they too, like their identification predecessors, are short-lived, they serve as models for further object relations. Erikson (1959/1980, 1950/1977) seems to be expressing a similar idea when he assigns identification an identity formative role. A. Freud (1936/1968) uses Helene Deutsch's description of the "as if" character type to

characterize the adolescent's attempts at achieving an own identity. In A. Freud's view, adolescents rehearse different social roles by modeling the behaviour of those they are closely, although briefly, aligned with. In her own words: "... in every new object relation [adolescents] live as *if* they were really living their own life and expressing their own feelings, opinions, and views" (emphasis in original; A. Freud, 1936/1968, p.168). A. Freud considers the process to be regressive, recapitulating primitive identifications reminiscent of the infantile stages of development (A. Freud, 1936/1968, p. 169).

A. Freud (1936/1968) differentiates between the quality of defenses as they operate in neurotics and adolescents. Like Erikson (1950/1977), she notes the ubiquity and transitory nature of the neurosis-like behaviours of adolescence. Importantly, for a substantial minority of adolescents, psychopathology associated with stage transition is a reality to be contended with. In that respect, most researchers and clinicians use defense mechanisms to explain the psychopathology or neurotic symptoms characteristic of adolescence (Vaillant, 1994, 1992). However, the emphasis on the libido dimension of A. Freud's (1936/1968) perspective is minimized.

The conception of defense, as Cramer (1991a) reiterates, has undergone refinement and substantial review (see also Cooper, 1992; P. F. Kernberg, 1994; Vaillant, 1992), so that in defense research that is currently the vogue, the developmental aspects have been accentuated. Researchers incorporate defense as an aspect of personality organization. Over and above the function of adjustment, defenses are considered part of the ego's normal development and its way of internal and external adaptation (A. Freud, 1936/1968; Freud, 1926/1959; Vaillant, 1971). Defenses have been grouped into clusters according to some developmental criterion, such as level of maturity or complexity (Cramer, 1991a; see also Rangell, 1985, pp. 177-182). Whereas A. Freud (1936/1968) started off by being tentative in ordering defenses chronologically, current

research supports the idea (Cramer, 1999; Vaillant, 1994, 1971; Vaillant, Bond, & Vaillant, 1986).

Cramer (1991a) reviews classification models of defense development. She points out that Vaillant's hierarchical model is one of those that have frequently been used by researchers to group defenses (e.g., Shaw et al., 1996; Vaillant, 1992), and forms the basis of factor identity in Bond and colleagues' (Andrews, Singh, & Bond, 1993; Bond, Gardner, Christian, & Sigal, 1983) defense classification. Vaillant (1992, 1986) divides defenses into four groups of psychotic (e.g., denial of the "psychotic" type; delusional projection), immature (e.g., schizoid fantasy, projection), neurotic (e.g., intellectualization, displacement), and mature (e.g., suppression, sublimation). Researchers who use the hierarchical classification system sometimes differ on the naming of the groupings, and in some of the defenses they include in the system (Vaillant, 1992). However, the logic of the system is almost the same, in that the defenses can be placed on some form of sequence, or continuum, from pathological to less pathological.

The general view among users of Vaillant's, and similar grouping systems, is that where defenses manifest themselves as more primitive and/or "psychotic", psychological and/or physical symptoms are likely to be present. Mature defenses are associated with both psychological and physical well-being. Nevertheless, there are some conceptual problems that some theorists observe. For instance, Cramer (1991a) laments the lack of clarity that exists in the hierarchical classification of defenses. Some classifications, such as Vaillant's (1977, 1971), tend to confound maturity level and chronological age. This point needs to be kept in mind when using grouping models of defense mechanisms.

Defenses have also been studied individually (Cramer, 1991a, 1987; Porcerelli, Thomas, Hibbard, & Cogan, 1998). In the ontogenetic approach, the trajectory, or individual course of development, of a particular defense is followed. Defenses

are seen to evolve from early prototypes until they become full-fledged, functional defenses (P. F. Kernberg, 1994). This means that all defenses are available from the beginning, yet the ascendance of a particular one is determined by its developmental appropriateness and life circumstances (P. F. Kernberg, 1994; Porcerelli et al., 1998). Cross-sectional studies conducted with the DMM (Cramer, 1991a) to determine the prominence of three defenses (denial, projection and identification) across ages support the view. Denial is common among the younger age groups, and identification, a more complex defense, is used more by older subjects (Cramer, 1987; Porcerelli et al, 1998). Similar results were found in longitudinal studies (Cramer, 1998a; 1997a; Cramer & Block, 1998). Studies using other methods of assessing defenses tend to support results found with the DMM (e.g., Vaillant, 1986), although in some instances the results are not clear (Levit, 1993). The individual and the hierarchical method of studying defenses complement each other, and both acknowledge the developmental view of defenses.

Erikson (1968) considers defense organization a component of identity development. Defenses are a constituent of a process of the ego whose function is to safeguard “the coherence and the individuality of experience by gearing the individual for shocks threatening from sudden discontinuities in the organism as well as in the milieu” (Erikson, 1950/1977, p. 30), assuring the individual “a sense of coherent individuation and identity” (ibid.), or what Blos (1968) refers to as the consolidation of character (cf. Levit, 1993). Defenses have indeed been shown empirically to be related to identity measures (Berzonsky & Kinney, 1994; Cramer, 2001, 1998a, 1997b, 1995). The developmental relationship of defenses and psychosocial development ratings was incorporated into a longitudinal investigation, and it was found that mature defenses (e.g., humour, sublimation, anticipation) were related to higher psychosocial developmental stages such as intimacy (Vaillant & Drake, 1985; Vaillant et al., 1986). The relationship was independent of social class, sex, and ethnic affiliation.

Studies of identity status development may benefit by situating the construct within a theoretical framework (Cramer, 1998a, 1995). First, Cramer (1997b) demonstrates that it is not the statuses per se that are associated with the use of defenses. Second, specific personality factors are the ones that play a role in the determination of defense use across the statuses. Cramer (1998a, 1995) notes that identity and defenses change in a theoretically predictable manner. Identity statuses experiencing “crisis”, or going through a period of exploration, are likely to use defenses such as denial and projection to assuage the ensuing anxiety. On the other hand, achieving identity after undergoing a period of exploration and commitment increases the use of adaptive narcissism, and less use of an immature defense such as denial. More specifically, Cramer (1998a) found that students who are in their senior year at university, and are in the interpersonal Achievement identity status, use the defense of identification more than they do projection and denial. It can be expected that students who operate at an advanced level of identity status development and have developed an advanced defense organization will more likely develop stage-related ego strength.

3.6 The achievement of identity and ego strength/virtue

ISP researchers consider identity achievement an important task of late adolescence and young adulthood. Yet there are other achievements that are acquired upon “transiting” adulthood successfully. Erikson (1964) details ego strengths, also called ego virtues, that arise once a “developmental crisis” related to a particular life-cycle stage has been resolved. Successful resolution of conflicts and demands of the identity-and-identity confusion stage is accompanied by the ascendance of the ego strength of Fidelity. Failure to resolve the “developmental crisis” of a stage precipitates a related antipathic tendency. In the case of the identity-and-identity confusion stage, the antipathy of Fidelity is role repudiation.

Markstrom et al. (1997) have developed the psychological inventory of ego strengths (PIES) to measure each of the ego virtues or strengths accompanying life-cycle stage resolutions. Ego strengths can be used as markers of the achievement of a particular stage, and so, the resolution of the “crisis” of identity leads to the emergence of the ego strength of Fidelity. Although all ego strengths are potentially available in the individual’s behaviour repertoire throughout life (due to their evolutionary origins), a stage-specific ego strength is evident at the tail-end of the life-cycle stage’s “developmental crisis” (Markstrom et al., 1997). They too follow the epigenetic principle of development.

3.7 Integration of theory and extension to the South African context

Erikson (1959/1980) postulated that the relationship between the mother and the infant serves as a catalyst for identity development. The concept was contemporaneously introduced by Bowlby (1969/1984). Bowlby defined the mother as a “secure relational base”, whose primary function incorporated identity development and the reduction of psychological distress. Both Erikson and Bowlby adhere to some form or another of the epigenetic principle of psychological development. The essence of the principle is that the quality and direction of early psychological development is formative of later stages of development. For instance, developing trust in the early maternal relationship (Erikson, 1959/1980) sets the stage for identity achievement in later life (Hoegh & Bourgeois, 2002). Attachment theory explains the same process through the concept of mental representations of the caring relationship. The demeanour of care, sensitivity, availability, and general positive behaviours meted out to the child form the core of internalised mental representations of self and others (cf. Bowlby, 1969/1984, p. 371).

The mental representations are carried over into adulthood, to serve as schema

for determining interpersonal and object relations with others. Negative interactions generate a sense of mistrust of self, others and the world. Often, unmitigated deleterious childhood experiences lead to negative affect and dysfunctional identity adaptation. Erikson (1959/1980) refers to the ensuing dysfunctional state as identity diffusion. However, if development proceeds on a normal path, late adolescence and young adulthood consolidate identity. Erikson's (1968) theory is based largely on clinical observations and case vignettes. Although it has a heuristic appeal, it is not easy to test in standard psychological research.

Marcia (1964) conceptualizes the process of identity development with the ISP, and extends Erikson's (1959/1980) dual category of identity-identity diffusion/confusion to the four identity statuses of Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. The identity statuses are viewed within the ISP as modes of expressing identity. The end-points of Marcia's identity continuum (Marcia, 1964) correspond in character to Erikson's (1959/1980) identity-identity diffusion categories. Marcia's model has yielded numerous studies, using samples in the so-called Western world.

Identity statuses are amenable to more or less the same developmental influences as hypothesized by psychosocial and attachment theories. One of these is the quality of relationships in the family. As part of the maturational process, adolescents have to renegotiate their relationship with significant others in the family. They also have to entrench themselves in society. The latter is established on the basis of the type of relationship that the adolescent has with significant others in his family of origin. Supportive parental ties that allow for individuation are essential in encouraging the individual to explore and eventually make critical choices and commitments on life dimensions such as vocation, ideology, sexual preferences and religiosity. The availability of parents does not preclude their role being re-examined. This means that positive identifications will

be incorporated into the identity configuration, and negative aspects of identifications will be reviewed. In the end, identity is more than the sum of these identifications, and includes other elements that are essential to complete the identity configuration. The reworking and discarding of faulty identifications, and the incorporation of revised ones, is one aspect of reconfiguring and consolidating an identity.

Over and above the process of identification, other personality factors contribute to the identity formation process. Defenses and processes of narcissism are related to identity in theoretically meaningful ways (Cramer, 1998a, 1997b, 1995). For instance, the identity statuses experiencing “developmental crisis” tend to experience low self-esteem and anxiety. The anxiety leads to the use of defenses such as denial and projection. Furthermore, identity statuses not experiencing “developmental crisis”, or a period of exploration, and have made commitment to life choices may rely less on defenses. They will experience the heightening of adaptive narcissism. However, in the event that the self-esteem of the mature identity statuses is threatened, they will use the developmentally intermediate defense of projection, and identification; when it is self-representation that is under threat, identification is the specific defense they will resort to (Cramer, 1998b).

Finally, successfully completing the process of establishing a sense of identity simultaneously establishes within the individual’s personality a sense of Fidelity (Erikson, 1968). Fidelity is manifest at the end of the identity life-cycle stage (Markstrom-Adams et al. 1997; Markstrom-Adams, Hofstra, & Dougher, 1994), and signals, as Erikson (1964) postulates, that the stage has been successfully negotiated through. Some researchers argue that intimacy is more important to females than identity formation (cf. Archer, 1993). Females may negotiate the task of intimacy first. During identity-and-identity diffusion/confusion, individuals who have achieved an identity are less likely to experience distress.

Research that has been conducted, using mostly White university students of middle-class or similar background, has tended to confirm the framework just outlined. Although there are differences of detail, sufficient consensus has been reached on a number of points, including the nature and mechanisms of identity development (e.g., Meeus et al., 1999; Waterman, 1999a). However, it is not clear what the outcomes of research will be when identity status variables are applied outside of western societies, especially in the African context.

Studies conducted among minority groups in the US point to striking differences in identity development between members of minority and majority ethnic groups (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Specifically, minority ethnic group members are more identity foreclosed compared to Whites (Abraham, 1986; Markstrom-Adams & Adams, 1995; Streitmatter, 1988). These differences are attributed to socio-cultural differences between the groups.

Interestingly, identity studies conducted in South Africa found that Africans were identity developed compared to other ethnic/racial groups (cf. Alberts, Mballo, & Ackerman, 2003, p. 170; Thom & Coetzee, 2004). However, methods used in most of the studies to determine the development of identity are different to those that use the EOME-IS-II. One of the few studies conducted in South Africa to measure identity status development found that South African students in the study were more identity achieved than their American counterparts (Low et al., 2005). However, it has to be pointed out that although Low et al. (2005) collected demographic information, it was not used for analysis. For instance, percentages of the different South African ethnic groups were estimated but were not incorporated in the analysis, and the domicile (whether rural or urban) of the participants was also neglected. Moreover, the study did not analyze the effect of age. The present study will attempt to either control or incorporate these variables into the analysis.

3.8 **Summary**

In this chapter relationships between the major variables of the study were discussed. The role of parenting in the development of identity was recognized. Parenting normally takes place in the context of the family. However, the family is a rather complex system, constituted by several subsystems. Some dynamics take place at the level of the subsystems. In fact, it is at the level of the mother-child subsystem of the family that the critical dynamics contributing to childhood identity development take place. Psychoanalytic theories explaining how this process takes place were discussed. Over and above contextual factors, personality factors were discussed. The role of narcissism and defenses in identity development were explained. Ultimately, a psychosocial research model was conceptualized, where the three personality factors of identity status, defenses and narcissism, together with parental attachment, were expected to predict the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love over a period of time (three years to be exact).

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Research design

The study mixed designs. It used a cross-sectional design and a panel type of a longitudinal design. In the first year of the study the sample drawn consisted of first entering and post-first year students. The latter was comprised of students who had been at the university for more than one year. They were not followed up after the first year of data collection. The first entering group was the panel that was followed up for two more consecutive years, in what should be called a fixed-sample panel design. In accordance with this design, no attempts were made to replace members of the sample (or panel) who could not be located. Follow-up data was collected over a period of a year's interval.

4.2 Ethical considerations

The study was approved by the University of Limpopo Senior Degrees Committee, and the ethical guidelines of organizations such as the American Psychological Association (2003) were followed in conducting it. Further clarifications of ethical considerations will be presented as part of the following sub-section.

4.3 Participants and procedure

Important to note about the target population is that students are considered an appropriate population for the present study. Many of them fall within the age range expected to undergo a "crisis" of identity in the Eriksonian (1950/1977) sense, and are situated in an environment that qualifies as an institutional moratorium setting (cf. Lewis, 2003; Marcia, 1993b; Waterman, 1982). Unlike other instances of psychological research that use students for convenience, in

the case of identity status studies, the student population is an appropriate population.

Data was collected as follows: (a) through group sessions and (b) individually at two data-gathering points. Each of the three data collection periods were separated by an interval of a year. Student participants completed a set of questionnaires, and also wrote stories to three cards of the TAT. The sequence of instrument administration always started off with each participant providing stories to the TAT cards, and then completing the overall questionnaire. The whole exercise was done within a single session averaging about 1 hour.

In the first year of the study, the researcher approached students in the various teaching venues. The study was introduced, students were informed of the academic nature of the study, and ethical aspects were clarified. For instance, they were made aware that the information they provided was confidential and would be used only for the purpose that it was collected for. They were also made aware that participation was voluntary and that although the study was longitudinal in nature, they could withdraw at any stage of the research. It was clarified to the students that too much detail about the nature of the study would compromise the quality of their responses. They were promised a full explanation of the study and the variables used at the end of the study. Once they were satisfied with the explanations, they were then asked to volunteer as participants.

A group of not more than forty was randomly selected from each of the disciplines approached. Although the sampling approach was not a strict probability sampling, the strategy was to make the selection of participants as widely inclusive as possible, covering all the faculties (humanities, health and physical sciences, and management and law) and schools of the university. The beginning sample of the study consisted of 422 student participants drawn from all faculties. Twenty-eight questionnaires were discarded because unanswered

questions exceeded 15% of the total number of *scorable* items, which left 394 usable questionnaires. Participants were equally split between first-entering and post-first year students (197 participants each).

The students studied in diverse disciplines, including health sciences, law, management studies, mathematical and computational sciences, and the social sciences. Their ages ranged in years from 15 to 34 ($\bar{X} = 20.66$; $SD = 2.58$), and 59.7% were females. Two-thirds (66.9%) of the students came from rural areas. Of the students who provided background information on their parents, about 15% reported that their fathers received no formal education, and close to 43% reported that their fathers obtained Grade 12 or less amount of formal schooling.

In time 1 (first year of the study) request for participation was solicited during a normal lecture or practical period. The study was introduced briefly to the students. Respective lecturers assisted the researcher by encouraging students to volunteer and then (when possible) giving time for the students to complete the questionnaires. Students completed the questionnaires in groups of not more than 40 participants at a time. Students gave verbal and/or written consent to participate. They were explicitly informed that if at any stage they felt like discontinuing their participation, they were free to do so. Students were also made aware of the possibility of a follow-up study. In that respect, those who were willing to take part in the second round of data collection were requested to provide their student numbers so that the researcher could utilize them to locate their whereabouts during the follow-up study. Otherwise, students simply provided a self-generated identification number, whereupon some provided telephone numbers. The possibility of lack of understanding among English second-language speakers was countered by encouraging the participants to ask questions of clarity and procedure. They were also advised to seek explanations of meanings of any English words and phrases they did not understand.

In time 2, all the students who were in their first year of study during the first administration of the questionnaires, and indicated willingness to partake in the follow-up studies by providing contact details, were contacted. Various methods were used to contact the students, including telephone calls, messages, visits at both lecture halls and residences. In most cases, it took several attempts to contact the student and finally secure an appointment to collect data. After being located, they were reoriented to the study. They were also verbally reminded about its voluntary nature and their freedom to discontinue if they wished to do so. Finally, they were asked to consent to participation in writing.

Once a student was available for participation, and expressed the willingness to do so, the researcher delivered the materials to the student's residence. In most cases the students completed the questionnaires in the presence of the researcher. Those who completed them on their own, agreed to have the researcher peruse the questionnaires, and quiz them about problems they might have encountered in responding to the survey, such as language difficulties. The final group used for analysis in time 2 was 96 participants. Procedure for collecting data in the third administration was more-or-less same as that of the second administration. The number of participants in time 3 was less, equaling 60.

Students were debriefed as a matter of course, at the end of each data-gathering session. The researcher made the students aware that once the study is complete, the final document would be accessible to anyone who wished to peruse it, and promised a summary report to any participant who wanted it.

4.4 Measures

4.4.1 The Extended Objective Measure of Ego-identity Status, second edition (EOME-IS-II; Adams, 1998; Bennion & Adams, 1986)

Students in the sample of this study were administered the complete, sixty-four item version of the EOME-IS-II (Bennion & Adams, 1986). The measure delineates four identity statuses (Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Achievement) along various ideological and interpersonal domains. There are eight sub-scales of eight items each. Two sub-scales for each identity status measure the ideological (e.g., occupation) and the interpersonal (e.g., dating) domains. Examples of items are as follows:

Table 1a

EOME-IS-II sample items

IDEOLOGICAL IDENTITY STATUS:

Diffusion	Item 1:	I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at what is available until something better comes along.
	Item 52:	I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life.
Foreclosure:	Item 24:	I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such.
	Item 41:	My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans.
Moratorium:	Item 12:	I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style", but haven't really found it yet.
	Item 57:	I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many possibilities.
Achievement:	Item 8:	Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in.
	Item 42:	I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.

INTERPERSONAL IDENTITY STATUS:

Diffusion:	Item 53:	I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd
	Item 59:	Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it.
Foreclosure:	Item 3:	My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously work for me.
	Item 62:	All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else.
Moratorium:	Item 31:	I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me.
	Item 61:	I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me.
Achievement:	Item 22:	I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices.
	Item 55:	I've dated different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date.

Items are anchored on a six-point Likert-type response format, ranging from “A” (strongly agree) to “F” (strongly disagree). “A” is weighted as 6 and “F” receives a weight of 1, so that a high score reflects high agreement with the statement of the identity status being assessed, and a low score is a negation of the description. An identity status subscale score is obtained by summing the eight scores of the four content domains (i.e., religion, philosophy, occupation and politics for ideological identity, and dating, recreation, sex roles, and friendships for interpersonal identity). Each identity status subscale has a possible raw score range of 8–48. The EOME-IS-II can be used either to categorize respondents into the four identity statuses, or to assign a continuous score on each of the identity statuses. The most frequently used method is that of classifying respondents according to identity status categories. In instances where complex statistical procedures are desirable, or when the researcher is interested in finer distinctions between developmental stages (Waterman, 1993), continuous scores are used.

The reliability of the EOME-IS-II has been reported based on a number of studies. Internal alpha, test-retest and split-half reliabilities for the subscales of the EOME-IS-II range from poor to excellent (Adams, 1998). In twenty studies, reliability estimates for the ideological and interpersonal identity subscales ranged from $\alpha = .30$ to $.91$, with a median alpha coefficient of $.66$. The test-retest median coefficient of reliability was calculated at $\alpha = .76$ (Adams, 1998). The scale was found to be reliable with Cameroonian and South African samples, respectively (Hofer et al., 2007; Low et al., 2005). In the present study, Cronbach’s (1951) alpha coefficients (inter-item consistency) for the subscales ranged from $\alpha = .48$ to $.74$ (median $\alpha = .56$), and $\alpha = .66$ to $.81$ for the combined, 16-item scales see table 1b below. The three scales with low alpha coefficients (namely, achievement and diffusion subscales in the ideological domain, and moratorium in the interpersonal domain) were kept and used as they are for two reasons. First, Cronbach’s α values between $.35$ and $.70$, although not high, are

sometimes considered acceptable (Cuieford, 1965). Second, the scale was kept intact to facilitate comparability with other studies that used it.

Table 1b

Scale alpha coefficients for the EOME-IS-II

ID ^a	α	N ^b	Items	IN ^a	α	N	Items	ID + IN ^d	α	N	Items
Ach ^c	.48	365	8	Ach	.52	367	8	Ach	.66	365	16
Mor ^c	.58	362	8	Mor	.47	367	8	Mor	.67	362	16
For ^c	.65	363	8	For	.74	3635	8	For	.81	362	16
Dif ^c	.48	364	8	Dif	.58	364	8	Dif	.67	361	16

Note: a = ID (Ideological identity status); IN (Interpersonal identity status).

b = Cases are retained following a list-wise deletion procedure, therefore unequal Ns indicate that there is missing data.

c = Ach. (Achievement); Mor. (Moratorium); For. (Foreclosure); Dif. (Diffusion).

d = combined ideological and interpersonal identity status

Convergent and divergent validity of the EOME-IS-II has been demonstrated in various studies and contexts (Adams, 1998; Berzonsky & Adams, 1999). The subscales of the EOME-IS-II correlate in theoretically expected ways with relevant constructs such as ego development, self-control, and authoritarianism. These constructs, as Berzonsky and Adams (1999) argue, are aspects of identity-identity diffusion as described by psychosocial theory, and for that reason their relationship to the EOME-IS-II adds to the convergent validity of the measure. The congruence between the EOME-IS-II and Marcia's ISI is reported in Craig-Bray and Adams (1986), and Grotevant and Adams (1984). The scale has been found to be useful when used with different cultural groups, with the internal structure remaining the same across contexts (Schwartz et al., 2006).

4.4.2 The Defense Mechanism Manual (DMM; Cramer, 1991a, 1987)

The three defense mechanisms of denial, projection and identification were measured using three cards of the TAT. Selection of cards was kept as close as possible to that of Cramer (1998, 1995). The TAT cards used as stimuli are Card 1 (a boy with a violin), Card 10 (a man and a woman), and Card 17 BM (a man on a rope). Participants in the present study were provided with written instructions for reference, and answering sheets. A prototype of an answering sheet that was used to collect completed stories is included here as appendix 2. The instructions were derived from Murray (1943). During group sessions, the instructions were read out loud, and the administrator verified if they were well understood by all participants. Thereafter, the participants looked at each of the stimulus cards, and simultaneously wrote a story on each.

The stories were scored for the developmentally ordered defenses of denial, projection and identification, following the directions of the DMM (Cramer, 1991a). For instance, denial was scored when there was an excessive

maximization of the positive or the minimization of the negative; projection was indicated where the story adds ominous people, qualities, animals or objects; and Identification was suggested by stories that are characterized by moralism. A score for each of the defenses is obtained by summing all instances of occurrence of a particular defense, and this can be once or more on any one story. Over and above the additive scores, the defenses can be scored for a mature and an immature component. The first five (5) levels of Denial are classifiable as immature manifestations of the defense, so are the first three (3) levels of Projection and the first two (2) levels of Identification. A summation of immature items of each defense constitutes a single scale of the defense, called the *DMM Immature aggregate*, and the *DMM Mature aggregate* is a combination of the mature subscales (Hibbard & Porcerelli, 1998; Hibbard et al., 1994).

The reliability of the DMM method of measuring defenses was established in previous studies using various methods of reliability assessment. Standard measures of internal consistency, including test-retest, alternate-form and split-half reliability, were used (Cramer, 1991a). Reliability was obtained using different populations, including psychiatric patients (Cramer & Blatt, 1990), children (Cramer, 1997a), and university students (Cramer, 1991a, 1991b). In all the studies listed, interrater reliability was the primary method of estimating the reliability of the DMM defenses. Porcerelli et al. (1998) estimated the reliability of the DMM defenses to be moderate to high (denial $\alpha = .73$, projection $\alpha = .91$, and identification $\alpha = .89$).

Reliability was also calculated for the present study. Interrater reliability was calculated for all points of administration. None of the scorers received any monetary compensation for their effort. For the first administration, each of the stories were scored by the researcher and thereafter, a Ph. D-level registered clinical psychologist scored stories of a randomly selected sample of 32 subjects. The psychologist was kept blind to the hypotheses of the study. No additional

information (e.g., gender, age, primary scorer's scoring) was made available to her, other than the verbatim transcriptions of the stories themselves. Upon completion of scoring, the scores of the independent rater were correlated and thereafter compared to the primary scorer on the same subjects. The two scorings correlated at $r = .74$. For the second and third administrations, interrater reliability was based on the scoring of the researcher and a team of two M.A.-level clinical psychologists. The interrater reliability was relatively high at $r_s = .71$ and $.79$ respectively.

The researcher is self-trained in the use of the manual, and has no prior practical experience with it before the current study.

4.4.3 The 40-item Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI-40; Raskin & Hall, 1979)

The students provided information about their narcissistic tendencies. The NPI (Raskin & Hall, 1979) is a widely used objective measure of dispositional, overt narcissism (Foster et al., 2003). The items of the questionnaire were developed using the NPD criteria of the DSM-III (American Psychiatric Association, 1980). Items are presented in pairs, and the respondent either endorses a non-narcissistic statement or a narcissistic one on a bipolar scale. Sample items are

Table 1c

NPI-40 sample items

Item 17: *Non-narcissistic* - If I feel competent I am willing to take responsibility for making decisions.

Narcissistic - I like to take responsibility for making decisions

Item 26: *Non-narcissistic* - Compliments embarrass me.

Narcissistic - I like to be complimented.

Researchers have an option of using a 37- (Emmons, 1987) or a 40-item (Emmons, 1987; Raskin & Terry, 1988) version of the questionnaire, and shorter versions of 15, 16, 19 and 29 items are available (Ames, Rose & Anderson, 2006; Kansi, 2003; Svindseth, Sørrebø, Nøttestad, Roaldset, Wallin, & Dahl, 2009). The present study utilized the NPI-40. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses on the scale suggest various alternative factor structures, and the trimming of items (Emmons, 1987; Kansi, 2003; Kubarych, Deary, & Austin, 2004). However, the seven-factor structure developed by Raskin and Terry (1988) has also endured because of its theoretical grounding. Besides, it is the structure used by Cramer (1995), whose model is replicated in this study.

The reliability coefficient of the NPI-40 was calculated for the present sample and was found to be moderate ($\alpha = .71$; $N = 348$). The validity of the scale was established over time (Watson, Grisham, Trotter, & Biderman, 1984). There are indications that the narcissistic construct measured by the NPI is cross-culturally valid (Foster et al., 2003; Tanchotsrinon et al., 2007).

4.4.4 Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA; Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Nada Raja et al., 1992)

The students' attachment to parents was measured with the short version of the IPPA (Armsden & Greenberg, 1987; Nada Raja et al., 1992). The IPPA measures attachment on the basis of the subscales of communication, trust and alienation, each assessed separately for parents and peers. Nada Raja et al. (1992) created the short version by selecting from the original item pool items that had the highest item-to-total correlation within their respective subscales. In this study attachment was assessed for parents only, and it was measured separately for fathers and mothers. Furthermore, alienation items were also adapted to make them specific to mothers and fathers. Sample items are presented in table 1d.

Table 1d

IPPA sample items

Communication:	Item 1 —	I tell my father/mother about my problems and troubles.
Trust:	Item 5 —	My father/mother respects my feelings.
Alienation:	Item 9 —	I don't get much attention from my father/mother.

The IPPA's reliability and validity has been established (Lopez & Gover, 1993). In their short version, Nada Raja et al. (1992) obtained high reliability levels for the parent and peer scales (α s = .82 and .80, respectively). In this study communication, trust and alienation subscales were measured separately, and the reliability coefficients obtained for the father version of the subscales are .66, .74 and .67, respectively. For the mother version, the reliability coefficient for communication, trust and alienation subscales are .72, .64 and .36, in that order. The alienation subscale's reliability coefficient was low, and it was clear that items 10 and 12 were the offending items, with low item-to-total correlations. Since the alienation subscale did not reach acceptable levels of reliability, and the removal of the problematic items did not have a major impact on reliability, it was subsequently excluded from analysis.

4.4.5 Psychosocial Inventory of Ego Strengths (PIES; Markstrom et al., 1997)

The students were also evaluated for their inner strength using the PIES. The scale was constructed to assess the particular ego strengths or virtues proposed by Erikson (1964). The sixty-four items of the scale measure eight ego strengths. The short version of PIES consists of half the items of the long version, and measures each of the ego strengths with four items. The items have five response categories, with both ends anchored by 1 ("does not describe me well") and 5 ("describes me well"). In the present study only the scales measuring the "fidelity-role repudiation" and "love-exclusivity" continua were used to measure ego strengths corresponding to the psychosocial stages of identity-identity confusion and intimacy-isolation. Sample items are found in table 1e.

Table 1e

PIES sample items

Fidelity:	Item 2:	I believe in being true to myself and others.
	<i>Reverse scored</i> — Item 4:	I'm not really sure what I believe in.
Love:	Item 14:	My friends and I believe we can disagree on things and still be friends.
	<i>Reverse scored</i> — Item 15:	I don't like it when someone I love wants to do something with anyone other than me.

The scales were administered at Times 2 and 3 only, and alpha coefficients (Cronbach, 1951) were computed to determine scale reliabilities. For the sample used in this study Cronbach's alpha coefficients obtained are .58 for the Fidelity subscale scale and .51 for the Love sub-scale. An inspection of the item-total correlation statistics shows that the item "When I love someone, I can accept that they need to pursue some interests without me" (item number 1 in Markstrom et al.'s [1997] validation study) does not perform well in this sample. It achieved a corrected item-total correlation of $r = .008$. However, removal of the item would have only increased the Cronbach's alpha to .55. Since the change was not substantial, the item was left in the scale.

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Approach to data analysis:

Two levels of data analysis were used. In the first level, students were categorized according to the EOME-IS-II classification system. Student classification was followed by a description and comparison (cross-sectional analysis) of the sample, using demographic variables of both first entering and post-first year students. The second level analyzes the main variables of the study, including defenses and narcissistic attributes. This analysis involves first year students who were available for follow-up administrations of the study questionnaire. As far as the analysis of main variables is concerned, the first section of the analysis stays close to Cramer (1998a), whose findings have never been replicated outside of the United States. It tests an identity status development model derived from the extant literature. To some extent, the present analysis attempts a replication of Cramer's findings in the South African context, and eventually extends her research model.

The participating students are first classified into the various identity statuses, using the rules set out in Adams (1998). An identity classification is given to an individual based on his average scores on the EOME-IS-II subscales. The method of establishing cutoff points follows the logic of classification devised for the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (Adams, 1998; Butcher, Dahlstrom, Graham, Tellegen, & Kaemmer, 1989; Hathaway & McKinley, 1943). Any individual who scores above the average on any one scale, and below on the remainders, is classified according to that scale. Using this approach, Adams (Adams, 1998; Adams et al, 1979) was able to develop normative cutoff points for the EOME-IS. However, the cutoffs recommended by Adams are based on American samples, and may not be applicable in the South African context. For that reason, I have decided to establish norms for the present sample. This

strategy has previously been followed by other researchers working with non-American samples (e.g., Matos, Barbosa, De Almeida, & Costa, 1999).

All analyses in this study were conducted using the statistical software SPSS, unless otherwise specified.

5.2 Preliminary analyses

5.2.1 Setting cutoff points:

Continuous scores on the EOME-IS-II are used to sort the students into identity statuses. Sorting the students into identity status categories is accomplished by generating cut-off scores and applying classification rules (Adams, 1998). According to Adams (Adams, 1998; Adams et al., 1979), cutoff points are established by adding 1 standard deviation to the mean (\bar{x}) of each set of subscale scores. The product is then used to establish if the individual is a Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium or Achievement identity status category. This applies for both the ideological and the interpersonal domains. In the event that an individual is not classifiable as any of the four so-called pure types, transitional categories are used (appendix 3, table A).

However, Jones, Akers and White (1994) observed that the classification thresholds tend to exclude many subjects from being classified as pure identity types. Subsequently, Jones et al. (1994) proposed that the standard deviation be set at .5, so as to minimize lack of classification for those individuals who would otherwise end up being categorized as “low status” or undifferentiated Moratorium according to the “mean-plus-1 SD rule.” Jones et al.’s (1994) recommendation was adopted and implemented in the only other study I know to have used the EOME-IS-II in South Africa (Low et al., 2005). I have also followed suit to make my results comparable to that particular study. However, as a matter

of interest, I have classified the students according to both rules (viz., mean-plus-1 SD, and mean-plus-.5) and the two sets of scores are found in appendix 3, tables Bi and Bii. For purposes of simplifying my presentation, only scores of the “mean-plus-.5 rule” are utilized in all subsequent analyses. To generate cutoff scores, students recruited at first year, and post-first year, levels of study during Time 1 are included. I reasoned that using subjects from across the different study-year levels to establish cutoff points would, to some extent, avoid cohort-peculiar effects on the product. Also, it is in itself interesting to contrast the identity status development of groups in the freshman year and post-first year of study.

In Table 2 are means, standard deviations, ranges, and cutoff scores of all participants in the study. The statistics used to generate each of the cut-off scores using the “mean-plus-.5 SD” rule are contained in appendix 3, table Bi. Table 2 contrasts means of first entering and post-first year students, and then the statistics and cutoff scores for the total sample.

Table 2

First entering and post-first year identity status means, standard deviations, total group ranges and sample-specific cut-off scores (N = 394).*

	First Entering ¹		Post-First Year ²		Total sample ³		Score	
	\bar{X}	<i>SD</i>	\bar{X}	<i>SD</i>	\bar{X}	<i>SD</i>	Range	Cutoff ⁴
Ideological domain								
Achievement	35.27	5.385	35.74	5.107	35.51	5.245	17–48	[38.133] 38
Moratorium	25.90	5.629	24.82	6.758	25.36	6.237	10–48	[28.478] 28
Foreclosure	25.18	6.534	23.17	7.038	24.17	6.858	6–40	[27.599] 28
Diffusion	24.65	5.804	23.51	5.666	24.07	5.755	8–44	[26.948] 27
Interpersonal domain								
Achievement	31.53	5.769	31.75	6.006	31.64	5.882	15–48	[34.581] 35
Moratorium	29.09	5.001	28.17	5.986	28.63	5.531	10–46	[31.396] 31
Foreclosure	24.14	7.080	21.13	7.417	22.63	7.396	8–42	[26.328] 26
Diffusion	25.69	6.023	24.84	6.627	25.26	6.340	8–46	[28.418] 28
Combined domain								
Achievement	66.56	10.058	67.49	9.565	67.03	9.811	39–94	[72.032] 72
Moratorium	54.86	8.883	52.84	11.115	53.84	10.104	21–89	[59.046] 59
Foreclosure	49.16	12.49	44.17	13.254	46.65	13.104	16–78	[53.377] 53
Diffusion	50.26	10.103	48.21	10.420	49.23	10.300	17–78	[54.477] 54

* Missing values in each “total sample” row \pm 25.

¹n = 184 ²n = 186 ³n = 370

⁴ = Cutoff scores based on the “mean + .5 rule.”

The first entering and post-first year students' continuous scores on the EOME-IS-II were used to contrast their personality development. T-tests and their relative effect sizes were utilized for the purpose. The effect size for mean differences was reported using Cohen's d (the difference of group means divided by their pooled standard deviation), where a d of .20 is considered small, a d of .50 is medium and a d of .80 is large (Cohen, 1988). Three comparisons reached statistical significance. There were significant differences between first entering and post-first year students on both the ideological ($t = -2.580$, $df = 360$, $p = .005$, $d = .297$) and interpersonal ($t = -3.988$, $df = 360$, $p = .001$, $d = .416$) Foreclosure mean scores. In both respects first entering students obtained higher mean scores. The differences were still evident when assessed at the level of the combined ideological and interpersonal scores. The comparisons with the combined-domain Foreclosure scores were statistically significant ($t = -2.580$, $df = 360$, $p = .005$). The effect size was an almost medium Cohen's $d = .395$

Four of the comparisons between first-entering and post-first year students on identity statuses approached statistical significance. The differences on the mean scores of the ideological Moratorium ($t = -1.669$, $df = 368$, $p = .096$, $d = .174$) and Diffusion ($t = -1.914$, $df = 367.6$, $p = .056$, $d = .199$) identity statuses were barely significant. Furthermore, the combined-domains Moratorium and Diffusion reached significance ($ts = -1.937$ & -1.922 , $df = 354.385$ & 370 , $ps = .054$ & $.055$, in that order), and their Cohen's d measured effect sizes were .203 and .196, respectively.

Finally, five comparisons did not reach statistical significance. They were comparisons of first-entering and post-first year students on ideological Achievement ($t = .872$, $df = 366.515$, $p = .384$, $d = -.090$), interpersonal Achievement ($t = .360$, $df = 368$, $p = .719$, $d = -.038$), interpersonal Moratorium ($t = -1.615$, $df = 367.531$, $p = .108$, $d = .167$), interpersonal Diffusion ($t = -1.293$, $df = 368$, $p = .197$, $d = .135$), and the combined-domain Diffusion ($t = .988$, $df = 370$,

$p = .364, d = .090$)

It appears that the means for the present sample are different from those obtained in American normative studies (Adams, 1998) and similar samples. The differences have affected the cut-off levels. The cut-off scores in the present sample are relatively higher on the ideological Achievement identity status category and the combined Achievement identity status category, and this applies for both the “mean + .5 SD” and the “mean + 1 SD” rules (appendix 3, tables Bi and Bii, respectively). The American normative sample scored higher on ideological Moratorium (Adams, 1998). The effect of the mean differences can be observed after classifying the students into various identity status categories. This exercise is conducted immediately below.

5.2.2 Identity status classifications

According to the first identity-status classification rule, namely, the “Pure Identity Status Rule”, an individual who scores above the cutoff point on one domain, and scores below the mean on the remaining three is classified according to the domain that is above average. For example, a score above the mean on Diffusion and below the mean on Achievement, Moratorium and Foreclosure puts the score in the category of Diffusion. The “pure types” are Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion. The second classification rule, called the “Low-Profile Status Rule”, states that an individual scoring below the mean on all four domains is classified as undifferentiated, or “low profile” Moratorium (LPM), indicating that the individual was not discriminating in his responses. The “Transition Status Rule” is the final rule, according to which an individual who scores above the mean on two domains is categorized as a “transitional”. Those students who cannot be placed in any of the identity status categories because of their anomalous scores are, following Adams’s (1998) advice, disregarded in further analyses.

All in all, the procedure yields sixteen classifications for each of the identity status domains. The breakdown of the categories is: 4 pure types, 11 transitionals, and 1 undifferentiated or LPM category. In the final analysis, the last twelve categories are merged into the first four (namely, Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion) identity statuses. However, these can be retained in case analysis demands it. (See appendix 3, table C for classifications before the transitionals are collapsed/merged into their respective pure identity status categories.) Adams (1998) recommends that the LPM scores be compared to the pure Moratorium on the various variables of the study, to see if there are significant differences. If there are no differences, the two dimensions are treated as one category during analysis. In most cases, LPM individuals tend to resemble Moratoriums in many respects. For that reason, they are usually combined.

Once the students have been assigned to different identity status categories, it was possible to calculate frequency scores, and observe how the categories are distributed across the study-year levels. Table 3 shows the distribution of students across the identity status categories. This table was developed from appendix 3, table C.

Table 3

The distribution of ideological and interpersonal identity status categories among students (N = 394).*

IS Category	First entering (n= 197)		Post-first Year (n = 197)		Total sample	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Ideological identity						
Achievement	25	13.6	30	16.1	55	14.9
Moratorium	70	38.0	71	38.2	141	38.1
Undif./LPM**	50	--	54	--	104	--
Foreclosure	27	14.7	25	13.4	52	14.1
Diffusion	62	33.7	60	32.3	122	33.0
Total	184	100.0	186	100.0	370	100.1
Interpersonal identity						
Achievement	14	07.6	26	14.0	40	10.8
Moratorium	71	38.6	73	39.2	144	38.9
Undif./LPM**	56	--	50	--	106	--
Foreclosure	31	16.8	26	14.0	57	15.4
Diffusion	68	37.0	61	32.8	129	34.9
Total***	184	100.0	186	100.0	370	100.0

* The identity status categories include “transitionals”, which have been collapsed into the pure identity statuses.

** Undifferentiated/Low Profile Moratorium. The identity status category is included in a separate row for illustrative purposes only; otherwise it is considered part of the Moratorium category.

*** Totals are lower than the number sampled due to missing values.

Most students were classified as Moratorium and Diffusion in both the ideological and interpersonal domains of identity. Although the values from first year to subsequent years of study change in a theoretically expected way, the magnitudes of change are in some cases negligible. For instance, the difference between the ideological Moratorium identity status category in the first and subsequent years is one. The number of students who were classified as LPM (or undifferentiated) is comparatively high, and this is in line with findings in IS research. Important to note in the case of the present results is that the high Moratorium rates occurred even as the classification was done using the “mean + .5 SD” rule.

5.3 Main analysis

5.3.1 Demographic variables and identity statuses

Selected demographic variables were analyzed to further describe the characteristics of the sample used in this study. Demographic variables analyzed are gender and age.

(a) Hypotheses 1a and 1b: Gender differences of identity status development

The first demographic variable considered was gender. It was expected that both males and females would score the same across the ideological identity status domain (hypothesis 1a). Furthermore, female students were expected to score high on the interpersonal Achievement identity status (hypothesis 1b). The identity status means and standard deviations of male and female students are provided in table 4a. Continuous scores of the identity status categories were used to calculate, and subsequently compare, mean differences between males and females in the ideological domain. Males and females did not differ across the identity status groups on the ideological domain (hypothesis 1a; $ps > .05$).

Therefore, hypothesis 1a was supported by the results of the t-test analysis. On the other hand, hypothesis 2b was not supported by the findings, in that female students did not score higher than male students on the interpersonal Achievement subscale of the EOME-IS-II. The combined-domain scales were also included in the analysis. Their scores too did not discriminate between male and female students on identity status development.

Table 4a

Means (\bar{X}) and standard deviations (SDs) for males and females on ideological, interpersonal and combined-score identity status categories.

Gender	Diffusion		Foreclosure		Moratorium		Achievement	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
<i>Ideological mean score^a</i>								
Male [†]	24.59	6.294	23.94	6.679	25.48	6.528	35.74	5.469
Female [‡]	23.70	5.481	24.15	7.053	25.14	6.179	35.51	5.138
t-test	$t = 1.390, p = .166, d = .156$		$t = -.273, p = .785, d = -.031$		$t = .492, p = .623, d = .054$		$t = .405, p = .686, d = .044$	
<i>Interpersonal mean score^a</i>								
Male [†]	25.58	6.409	22.66	7.805	28.80	5.195	31.69	5.790
Female [‡]	24.91	6.337	22.22	7.196	28.53	5.893	31.62	6.125
t-test	$t = .954, p = .341, d = .106$		$t = .532, p = .595, d = .061$		$t = .423, p = .672, d = .050$		$t = .100, p = .920, d = .012$	
<i>Combined mean score^b</i>								
Male [†]	50.065	10.823	46.399	13.394	54.101	10.155	67.43	9.706
Female [‡]	48.493	10.188	46.467	13.093	53.536	10.389	67.13	9.711
t-test	$t = 1.372, p = .171, d = .155$		$t = .113, p = .910, d = .013$		$t = .501, p = .617, d = .057$		$t = -.289, p = .779, d = -.031$	
Note:	^a degrees of freedom = 343		^b degrees of freedom = 345		[†] n = ±138		[‡] n = ±209	

(b) Hypothesis 2: The effects of age on identity status development

Age was grouped into four levels, namely, less than 18 years, 18 to 20 years, 21 to 23 years, and above 23 years of age. The groupings were partly informed by developmental stage. However, given that age distribution at university clusters at the late adolescent stage, most students' age would fall in the 18-23 years category. Late adolescent students were then further divided into two groups, namely, 18 to 20 year and 21 to 23 year age categories. The different age groups' mean scores were compared across the identity statuses using separate analyses of variance (ANOVAs; table 4b). The tests of the overall model were not statistically significant for the ideological and the combined domains of the identity statuses. For the interpersonal identity statuses, only the test of the overall model of interpersonal Moratorium was statistically significant ($F_{[3, 363]} = 3.321, p = .020$). Using the Tukey HSD *post hoc* test to conduct multiple comparisons, it was established that the interpersonal Moratorium mean score of students who were over 23 years of age was lower than the mean scores of the 18—20 year old ($p = .029$) and 21—23 year old groups ($p = .010$; see table 4b). The results remain the same even when analysis is conducted without the under-18 year old group, whose frequencies were very small in this sample.

Table 4b

Means (\bar{X}) and standard deviations (SDs) for different age groups of students on Ideological, Interpersonal and combined-score identity status categories

Age	Diffusion		Foreclosure		Moratorium		Achievement	
	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD	\bar{X}	SD
<i>Ideological mean score</i>								
<18 ^a	24.17	3.950	26.25	5.956	26.67	6.257	33.17	4.086
18-20 ^b	23.60	5.539	24.07	6.872	25.21	6.171	35.64	5.438
21-23 ^c	24.93	6.486	24.56	7.231	25.64	6.503	35.82	5.188
>23 ^d	23.55	4.717	22.63	5.460	24.63	5.828	34.66	4.480
<i>Interpersonal mean score</i>								
<18 ^a	25.33	4.774	24.58	6.908	28.92	3.655	31.17	4.448
18-20 ^b	24.81	5.981	22.60	7.060	28.70	5.195	31.95	6.126
21-23 ^c	25.79	6.879	22.49	7.833	29.19	5.635	31.70	5.640
>23 ^d	25.61	6.728	22.42	7.507	26.03	6.549	29.84	5.607
<i>Combined mean score</i>								
<18 ^a	49.50	6.260	50.83	11.777	55.58	8.949	64.33	5.646
18-20 ^b	48.23	9.864	46.39	12.767	53.65	9.836	67.37	10.375
21-23 ^c	50.72	11.396	47.05	13.961	54.83	10.242	67.52	9.480
>23 ^d	49.16	9.542	45.06	11.736	50.66	10.733	64.50	8.372
Note:	^a n = 12	^b n = 197	^c n = 121	^d n = 38				

- (c)** Hypotheses 1a, 1b and 2 were explored further using categorical scores of identity statuses. Gender and age were analyzed simultaneously, based on the cross-tabulated data found in table 4c below.

Table 4c

The distribution of ideological and interpersonal identity status categories by age and gender

Identity domain	Gender	Age group				Total
		<18 yrs.	18-20 yrs.	21-23 yrs.	>23 yrs.	
<i>Ideological identity status</i>						
Diffusion	F*	2	27	24	7	60
	M**	0	23	25	3	51
	Both F & M	2	50	49	10	111
Foreclosure	F	2	18	9	3	32
	M	0	10	5	1	16
	Both F & M	2	28	14	4	48
Moratorium	F	2	50	21	12	85
	M	1	22	17	5	2
	Both F & M	3	72	38	17	87
Achievement	F	1	22	5	2	30
	M	0	15	7	1	23
	Both F & M	1	37	12	3	53
Age-group total	F	7	117	59	24	207
	M	1	70	54	10	135
	Both F & M	8	187	113	34	342
<i>Interpersonal identity status</i>						
Diffusion	F	2	27	25	7	61
	M	1	24	25	6	56
	Both F & M	3	51	50	13	117
Foreclosure	F	2	18	8	6	34
	M	0	10	5	1	16

table 4c ... continued

Identity domain	Gender	Age group				Total
		<18 yrs.	18-20 yrs.	21-23 yrs.	>23 yrs.	
<i>Interpersonal identity status</i>						
Moratorium	Both F & M	2	28	13	7	50
	F	2	58	21	9	90
	M	1	28	17	3	49
Achievement	Both F & M	3	86	38	12	139
	F	1	13	5	2	21
	M	0	8	7	0	15
Age-group total	Both F & M	1	21	12	2	36
	F	7	116	59	24	206
	M	2	70	54	10	136
	Both F & M	9	186	113	34	342

Note: * F = female; ** M = male

The multinomial logit model was fitted using the SAS procedure PROC CATMOD, SAS version 9.2 (SAS Institute Inc., 2009), yielding the results found in table 4d (ideological identity status domain) and table 4e (interpersonal identity status domain) below. Achievement was used as a reference group by the CATMOD procedure for both ideological and interpersonal identity domains. In other words, the multinomial logits were formed for the probability of Moratorium with respect to Achievement, the probability of Foreclosure with respect to Achievement, and the probability of Diffusion with respect to Achievement. The age by gender interaction was non-significant for both ideological (Wald $\chi^2 = 2.09$, df. = 9, $p = .990$) and interpersonal (Wald $\chi^2 = 2.56$, df. = 9, $p = .979$) identity domains. Therefore, only the main effects models were subsequently fitted.

Table 4d contains the ANOVA table and the parameter estimates for the main effects model of the ideological identity domain. The parameters are the intercepts and slope coefficients (3 intercepts, 9 slope coefficients for age groups and 3 slope coefficients for gender) for the three equations predicting the log odds of Diffusion versus Achievement, Foreclosure versus Achievement, and Moratorium versus Achievement.

The likelihood ratio statistic for the overall model has a value of 2.11 with 9 df. ($p = .990$). Therefore, one cannot reject the hypothesis that the model fits the data. In other words, the differences between the actual frequencies given in Table 4c and the predicted frequencies in Table 4f for the Ideological identity domain are not so large that they could not have reasonably occurred by chance. The effects of age ($p = .206$) and gender ($p = .349$) on the log odds of Diffusion versus Achievement, Foreclosure versus Achievement, and Moratorium versus Achievement ideological identity statuses are non-significant ($p > .05$). However, the test for the intercept is highly significant ($p = .0003$). As in most regression analyses, the intercepts of multinomial logit models are of little interest. The

significance of the intercept suggests that either one or two or three of the intercepts of Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion identity statuses in the ideological domain are more common than Achievement in the ideological domain, for age and gender.

Table 4d

Maximum likelihood analysis of variance (ML ANOVA), fit statistics and parameter estimates of the multinomial logit model fitted to the ideological identity status domain

ML ANOVA							
Source of variation	df.	Wald χ^2		<i>p</i>			
Intercept	3	19.00		.0003			
Age	9	12.13		.206			
Gender	3	3.29		.349			
Likelihood ratio	9	2.11		.990			

Parameter estimates and tests for individual parameters							
Effect	Achievement vs.		Achievement vs.		Achievement vs.		<i>p</i>
	Diffusion	<i>p</i>	Foreclosure	<i>p</i>	Moratorium	<i>p</i>	
Intercept	.766	.0080	.068	.827	.932	.0008	
1	-.358	.613	.239	.739	-.334	.620	
2	-.471	.147	-.387	.271	-.326	.291	
3	.581	.110	.064	.875	.156	.662	
Gender**	-.005	.975	.200	.315	.193	.236	

Note: * 1 = under 18 yrs. old, 2 = 18—20 yrs. old, 3 = 21—23 yrs. old, 4 = over 23 yrs. old.

** male is the reference group

The tests on individual intercept parameters in Table 4d show that Diffusion ($p = .008$) and Moratorium ($p = .0008$) identity statuses are more common than Achievement in the ideological identity domain, whereas the distribution of foreclosed and achieved ideological identity statuses among students is not significantly different ($p = .827$) (see also the expected number of students in Table 4f).

Table 4e contains the ANOVA table and the parameter estimates for the main effects model of the interpersonal identity domain. The likelihood ratio statistic for the overall model has a value of 2.67 with 9 df. ($p = .976$). Therefore, one cannot reject the hypothesis that the model fits the data. In other words, the differences between the actual frequencies given in Table 4d and the predicted frequencies in Table 4f for the interpersonal identity domain are not so large that they could not have reasonably occurred by chance. The effects of age ($p = .285$) and gender ($p = .227$) on the log odds of Diffused versus Achieved, Foreclosed versus Achieved, and Moratorium versus Achievement in the interpersonal domain are non-significant at the 5% probability level. However, the test for the intercept is highly significant ($p < .0001$). As in the ideological domain, this significance suggests that either one or two or three of the intercepts of Moratorium, Foreclosure and Diffusion identity statuses in the interpersonal domain are more common than the achieved identity status in the interpersonal domain, for age and gender.

The tests on individual intercept parameters in Table 4e show that Diffusion ($p < .001$) and Moratorium ($p = .0001$) in the interpersonal identity domain are more common than the interpersonal identity status of Achievement, whereas the distribution of Interpersonal Foreclosure and Achievement among students is not significantly different ($p = .225$) (see also the expected number of students in Table 4f below).

Table 4e

Maximum likelihood analysis of variance (ML ANOVA), fit statistics and parameter estimates of the multinomial logit model fitted to the interpersonal identity status domain

ML ANOVA							
Source of variation	df.	Wald χ^2		<i>p</i>			
Intercept	3	24.12		.0001			
Age	9	10.86		.285			
Gender	3	4.34		.227			
Likelihood ratio	9	2.67		.976			

Parameter estimates and tests for individual parameters							
Effect	Achievement vs. Diffusion		Achievement vs. Foreclosure		Achievement vs. Moratorium		<i>p</i>
		<i>p</i>		<i>p</i>		<i>p</i>	
Intercept	1.132	.0001	.382	.225	1.119	.0001	
Age* 1	-.411	.545	-.049	.945	-.482	.477	
2	-.259	.445	-.152	.679	.221	.507	
Gender**	-.098	.597	.174	.422	.138	.453	

Note: *1 = under 18 yrs. old, 2 = 18—20 yrs. old, 3 = 21—23 yrs. old, 4 = over 23 yrs. old.

**male is the reference group

Table 4f

Expected number of students in each identity status category by age using the fitted model.

Age group *	Identity domain	Identity status			
		Diffusion	Foreclosure	Moratorium	Achievement
1	Ideological	3	3	4	2
	Interpersonal	4	3	4	2
2	Ideological	51	29	73	38
	Interpersonal	52	29	87	22
3	Ideological	50	15	39	13
	Interpersonal	51	14	39	13
4	Ideological	11	5	18	4
	Interpersonal	14	8	13	3

Note: *1 = under 18 yrs. old, 2 = 18—20 yrs. old, 3 = 21—23 yrs. old, 4 = over 23 yrs. old.

Eight groups were formed based on the values of age and gender. Table 4d contains the sample sizes for each group (based on the actual frequencies in age and gender categories). However, not all of them are moderately sized, for example in age group 1. Therefore, multinomial logit analyses were done again on both ideological and interpersonal identity domains using merged data. Age-group 1 and age-group 2 were merged to make the sample sizes in the groups moderately sized. However, the results remained the same for both merged (results not shown) and unmerged groups.

5.3.2 Cross-sectional analysis of sample characteristics

a) **Hypothesis 3:** The distribution of identity statuses among first-entering students

Hypothesis 4 predicted that more students in their first year of university study would be classified as less identity advanced. It was necessary to limit analysis to first-entering students since the expectation was that the students would be less identity advanced and that the university experience would have a positive developmental impact. As can be seen in table 3 (above), for both the first year ideological and interpersonal domains, the majority of the students fall into the Moratorium identity status category (38.0% in the ideological domain, and almost 39% in the interpersonal domain.), followed by Diffusion (33% in the ideological domain, and 40% in the interpersonal domain.) Therefore the results, in light of the developmental levels of Moratorium and Diffusion identity statuses, partially confirm the third primary prediction of the study.

b) **Hypotheses 4a and 4b:** Rates of DMM defenses of denial, projection and identification among first-entering students, and their relation to identity status development

Hypothesis 4a was based on the expectation that identification will predominate

in a university sample, and that denial as a defense will be used with somewhat less frequency. Analysis for the rates of defenses was, as in the analysis of identity status development, limited to first-entering university students. In the case of defenses, this was to eliminate any extraneous factors which may influence the outcome. For instance, it is expected that transition to university should be accompanied by more stressors and a relatively higher need for coping and defense mechanisms. The same may not apply in relation to post-first year students, who may have adapted to university and have developed strategies to cope with the conditions. The distributions of defenses for all first-entering students are presented in table 5a below. Denial was scored more regularly than projection and identification, and this was the case in two out of three cards. For instance, in TAT card 1 it was articulated 97 times and this was more than twice the number of times identification surfaced, and three times the number of times projection was articulated in the students' stories. However, denial was scored more for TAT cards 1 and 10, and not for TAT card 17 BM. Projection is apparently the second most dominant defense, at least for the present sample of students. It was scored as the second most frequent defense in two out of the three TAT cards. Identification was the second highest defense to be scored in card 1 only. Overall, denial was the most frequently scored defense, followed by projection, and lastly identification.

Table 5a

DMM defense mean (\bar{X}) and standard deviation (SD) scores for Cd. 1, Cd. 10 and Cd. 17BM: first entering students (n = 197)

Card	Type of defense			Total Defenses
	Denial	projection	Identification	
<u>Cd. 1</u>				
\bar{X}	1.01	1.17	1.08	3.30
SD	.051	.351	.267	—
n	97	29	40	—
<u>Cd. 10</u>				
\bar{X}	.98	1.05	1.00	3.03
SD	.329	.226	.000	—
n	47	38	13	—
<u>Cd. 17BM</u>				
\bar{X}	1.00	1.04	1.08	3.12
SD	.258	.169	.280	—
n	31	51	36	—
Total N	175 (77)*	118 (50)*	89 (32)*	

After Hibbard et al. (1994)

N = The number of times a defense was scored for the whole first entering group Cd. 1, Cd. 10 and Cd. 17BM.

* = The value in brackets is a relative score

To test hypothesis 4b, MANOVA was conducted to determine if the four identity statuses differed on their use of defenses. Mean scores were used in the analysis. Each domain was analyzed separately, and analysis was first conducted for Ideological identity statuses. The test of differences, using the Wilk's Lambda criteria, did not reach statistical significance ($F_{[4,36]} = .710$, $p = .644$, $\eta_p^2 = .111$; see table 5b). A similar analysis was repeated for the Interpersonal identity statuses (see table 5c). In this case, there was a statistically significant F statistic, and univariate between-subjects tests showed that identity statuses in the interpersonal domain were significantly related to defenses ($F_{[4,36]} = 4.169$; $p = .022$, $\eta_p^2 = .424$). *Post-hoc* analysis using the Bonferroni test showed that the Diffusion identity status category reported relatively more projection defense than the Foreclosure category. The result was unexpected since projection is intermediate on the defense maturity continuum, and so the Diffusion category was not expected to report it more than the Foreclosure one would. Besides, the Moratorium category's defense reports did not reach statistical significance. Thus, the results did not support the prediction that uncommitted identity statuses not affected by crisis will score high on identification, and did not show that identity statuses undergoing a crisis would commonly use the defense of denial.

Table 5b

Defenses and Ideological identity status

Defense	Ideological identity status			
<u><i>Denial</i></u>	<i>Diffusion</i>	<i>Foreclosure</i>	<i>Moratorium</i>	<i>Achievement</i>
$\bar{X}(SD)$	.50 (.000)	.63 (.294)	.57 (.307)	.65 (.308)
<i>N</i>	2	44	27	51
<u><i>Projection</i></u>				
$\bar{X}(SD)$	.50 (.000)	.53 (.214)	.51 (.228)	.58 (.266)
<i>N</i>	2	25	24	40
<u><i>Identification</i></u>				
$\bar{X}(SD)$	—	.49 (.267)	.51 (.204)	.49 (.201)
<i>N</i>	0	19	16	26

Table 5c

Defenses and Interpersonal identity status categories

Defense	Interpersonal identity status			
	<i>Diffusion</i>	<i>Foreclosure</i>	<i>Moratorium</i>	<i>Achievement</i>
<u>Denial</u>				
$\bar{X}(SD)$	.58 (.382)	.65 (.320)	.60 (.298)	.66 (.271)
<i>N</i>	3	36	61	23
<u>Projection</u>				
$\bar{X}(SD)$	.50 (NA)	.51 (.191)	.56 (.242)	.55 (.289)
<i>N</i>	1	19	53	17
<u>Identification</u>				
$\bar{X}(SD)$	.38 (.177)	.49 (.237)	.48 (.208)	.57 (.236)
<i>N</i>	2	18	27	13

- c. **Hypothesis 5:** Narcissism among first-entering students, and its relation to identity status.

It was predicted that rates of narcissism would be related to identity statuses in both identity domains. The identity status categories were expected to vary on their levels of narcissism. Hypothesis 5a predicted that Achievement and Moratorium identity statuses would score relatively higher on the adaptive components of narcissism. According to hypothesis 5b, the opposite would be true for Foreclosure and Diffusion identity statuses, as they were expected to score rather high on the defensive components of narcissism. Table 6a presents the subscale, composite and overall scales' means and standard deviations obtained by each of the identity status categories in the Ideological domain. Analysis was conducted first for the NPI-40 subscales. There was a significant interaction between the identity status categories and narcissism subscales ($F_{[3,179]} = 2.572$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .094$). Univariate between-subjects tests suggested that identity statuses in the ideological domain were significantly related to the narcissism components of Authority ($p = .019$; $\eta_p^2 = .054$), Superiority ($p = .015$; $\eta_p^2 = .057$), Exhibitionism ($p = .000$; $\eta_p^2 = .110$), and Exploitativeness ($p = .005$; $\eta_p^2 = .068$). However, they were not significantly related to Self-sufficiency ($p = .188$; $\eta_p^2 = .026$), Vanity ($p = .069$; $\eta_p^2 = .039$), and Entitlement ($p = .931$; $\eta_p^2 = .002$).

Post hoc analyses using the Bonferroni test indicated that for Authority, Achievement identity status scores were significantly higher than those of Diffusion and Moratorium ($ps = .014$ and $.038$, respectively); Achievement identity status scores were also significantly higher than those of Diffusion ($p = .017$), Foreclosure ($p = .034$), and Moratorium ($p = .043$) on Superiority; Diffusion identity status scores were higher than those of Moratorium ($p = .000$) on Exhibitionism; and Achievement identity status scores were higher than those of Moratorium ($p = .007$) on Exploitativeness.

There was also a significant interaction between the identity status categories and the composite narcissism scale, namely, the Adaptive dimension ($F_{[3,179]} = 4.768, p = .000, \eta_p^2 = .074$) and the overall NPI-40 scale ($F_{[3,179]} = 4.906, p = .000, \eta_p^2 = .076$)(see table 6a). But the interaction for the Defensive dimension did not reach statistical significance ($F_{[3,179]} = 2.604, p = .053, \eta_p^2 = .042$). *Post-hoc* tests showed that Achievement identity status scores were higher than those of Diffusion ($p = .002$) and Moratorium ($p = .006$) on the Adaptive dimension scale, and again higher than those of Diffusion ($p = .036$) and Moratorium ($p = .001$) on the total NPI-40 scale.

The conclusion reached based on the above analyses was that hypothesis 5a was partially supported by the results. This is so because the pattern of results did not seem to strictly support the hypothesis completely. For instance, identity achieved students scored higher than the diffused on entitlement, a defensive subscale. Hypothesis 5b was not supported by the results because the identity statuses did not differ on the ideological defensive composite score.

Table 6a

Average rates of NPI scores by ideological identity status category (N = 183)

NPI scale	Overall	Ideological identity status			
		Diffusion ¹	Foreclosure ²	Moratorium ³	Achievement ⁴
	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$
Authority	4.68 (1.464)	4.47 (1.523) ^b	4.59 (1.600)	4.59 (1.365) ^b	5.52 (1.194) ^a
Self-sufficiency	2.60 (1.218)	2.48 (1.264)	2.81 (1.241)	2.48 (1.119)	3.00 (1.291)
Superiority	3.01 (1.290)	2.85 (1.401) ^b	2.78 (1.251) ^b	2.96 (1.194) ^b	3.76 (1.091) ^a
Exhibitionism	2.19 (1.580)	2.79 (1.570) ^a	2.26 (1.534)	1.57 (1.398) ^b	2.36 (1.578)
Exploitativeness	1.35 (1.239)	1.26 (1.130) ^b	1.67 (1.144)	1.09 (1.225) ^a	2.00 (1.384) ^b
Vanity	1.78 (0.601)	1.61 (0.686)	1.89 (0.424)	1.84 (0.609)	1.88 (0.440)
Entitlement	2.64 (1.124)	2.60 (1.194)	2.74 (1.023)	2.62 (1.086)	2.72 (1.208)
Adaptive narcissism	10.28 (2.966)	9.81 (3.238) ^a	10.19 (2.856)	10.03 (2.584) ^a	12.28 (2.716) ^b
Defensive narcissism	4.00 (1.817)	3.86 (1.827)	4.41 (1.526)	3.70 (1.743)	4.72 (2.092)
Total narcissism	18.34 (5.009)	18.24 (5.470) ^a	18.78 (4.644)	17.13 (4.112) ^a	21.44 (5.339) ^b

Note: ¹n = 62; ²n = 27; ³n = 69 ⁴n = 25

The relationship between interpersonal identity status and narcissism was also analyzed. Table 6b presents the subscale, composite and overall scales' means and standard deviations obtained by each of the identity status categories in the Interpersonal domain. Analysis followed the earlier approach of first analyzing the relations of the NPI-40 subscales to identity status categories. There was a significant interaction between the identity status categories and narcissism subscales ($F_{[3,180]} = 2.587, p = .000, \eta_p^2 = .094$). Univariate between-subjects tests showed that identity statuses in the interpersonal domain were significantly related to the narcissism components of Self-sufficiency ($p = .021; \eta_p^2 = .052$), Superiority ($p = .003; \eta_p^2 = .076$), Exhibitionism ($p = .000; \eta_p^2 = .107$), and Exploitativeness ($p = .013; \eta_p^2 = .058$). The interaction with Authority, Vanity and Entitlement ($ps = .362, .402 \& .682$; partial eta-squareds = .018, .016 & .008, correspondingly).

Post hoc analyses using the Bonferroni test showed that there were only three narcissism subscales where the differences of the average scores of the students were statistically significant. The Achievement identity status category obtained a relatively higher mean score than the Diffusion ($p < .002$) and Moratorium ($p = .025$) categories on the superiority subscale; Moratorium identity status category acquired lower mean score than Diffusion ($p = .000$) and Foreclosure ($p = .002$); and Achievement obtained a higher mean score than Moratorium ($p = .034$) on the Exploitativeness subscale. Although the interaction between the Self-sufficiency subscale of narcissism and the identity status categories was significant, *post-hoc* analysis between the mean scores of the categories did not reach statistical significance.

As in the analysis of the Ideological domain, there was also a significant interaction between the identity status categories and the Adaptive dimension ($F_{[3,180]} = 3.337, p = .021, \eta_p^2 = .053$) and the overall NPI-40 scale ($F_{[3,180]} = 4.078, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .064$) (see table 6b). On the other hand, there was no statistical significance for the interaction of the Defensive dimension ($F_{[3,179]} = 2.604, p = .053, \eta_p^2 = .042$). *Post-hoc* tests found that Achievement identity status scores were higher than those of Diffusion ($p = .038$) and

Moratorium ($p = .021$). For the overall NPI-40 scale, Achievement scores were higher than those of Moratorium ($p = .027$). Again, the results for the interpersonal version of the analysis were not convincing to accept the hypothesis. Only two subscales produced mean differences that achieved statistical significance. Even then, in only one of the instances did one of two hypothesized identity statuses (namely, Achievement) become involved.

Table 6b

Average rates of NPI scores by interpersonal identity status category (N = 184)

NPI scale	Overall	Interpersonal identity status			
		Diffusion ¹	Foreclosure ²	Moratorium ³	Achievement ⁴
	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$	$\bar{X}(SD)$
Authority	4.66 (1.447)	4.53 (1.321)	4.90 (1.660)	4.58 (1.509)	5.14 (1.167)
Self-sufficiency	2.59 (1.216)	2.78 (1.208)	2.65 (1.253)	2.27 (1.055)	3.14 (1.610)
Superiority	2.99 (1.299)	2.69 (1.273) ^a	3.16 (1.344)	3.00 (1.254) ^a	4.07 (0.997) ^b
Exhibitionism	2.21 (1.573)	2.63 (1.564) ^a	2.77 (1.668) ^a	1.61 (1.409) ^b	2.00 (1.177)
Exploitativeness	1.35 (1.232)	1.50 (1.072)	1.48 (1.435)	1.01 (1.140)	2.00 (1.569)
Vanity	1.78 (0.600)	1.79 (0.612)	1.61 (0.715)	1.83 (0.560)	1.79 (0.426)
Entitlement	2.64 (1.122)	2.66 (1.1045)	2.84 (1.157)	2.55 (1.131)	2.57 (1.399)
Adaptive narcissism	10.24 (2.962)	10.00 (2.726) ^a	10.71 (3.849)	9.85 (2.882) ^a	12.36 (2.845) ^b
Defensive narcissism	3.99 (1.799)	4.16 (1.570)	4.32 (2.006)	3.56 (1.705)	4.57 (2.472)
Total narcissism	18.32 (4.947)	18.66 (4.304)	19.48 (5.703)	16.94 (4.705) ^a	21.00 (5.724) ^b

Note: ¹n = 68; ²n = 31; ³n = 71 ⁴n = 14

5.3.3 Personality and familial factors predicting ego strength

- d) **Hypothesis 6:** Predicting ego strength on the basis of identity status, defense, narcissism and parental attachment.

Hypothesis 8 predicted that the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love would each be predicted by a set of independent variables comprising of identity statuses, defenses, narcissism and parental attachment. Particular variables used for the analysis are continuous scales of the identity statuses, defenses and narcissism, all measured at year 1 and 2 of the students' study at university, parental attachment as measured at year 2, and ego strengths which were measured at years 2 and 3. Pearson product-moment correlation analyses were conducted among all the relevant variables. This was done as a first step of determining the capacity of the independent variables to predict ego strengths. To avoid type I error (the probability of accepting the null hypothesis when the alternative is true), the significance level of the alpha was determined on the basis of a Bonferroni correction. In table 7 below are the results of the analyses.

Table 7

Correlations between ego identity strengths of Fidelity and Love, and the independent variables of identity status, defense, narcissism and parental attachment.

	Ego identity strengths				
		Fidelity Year 2	Love Year 2	Fidelity Year 3	Love Year 3
<i>Ideological identity status</i>					
Achievement	<i>r (p)</i>	.102 (.342)	.096 (.369)	.193 (.149)	.241 (.071)
Moratorium	<i>r (p)</i>	-.154 (.151)	-.051 (.633)	-.264 (.047)	.013 (.923)
Foreclosure	<i>r (p)</i>	-.012 (.913)	-.036 (.735)	-.006 (.967)	.041 (.761)
Diffusion	<i>r (p)</i>	-.103 (.335)	-.069 (.518)	-.167 (.214)	-.138 (.308)
<i>Interpersonal identity status</i>					
Achievement	<i>r (p)</i>	.074 (.489)	.079 (.460)	.015 (.911)	-.004 (.975)
Moratorium	<i>r (p)</i>	-.196 (.065)	-.076 (.482)	-.156 (.245)	.112 (.405)
Foreclosure	<i>r (p)</i>	.012 (.908)	-.057 (.596)	-.087 (.520)	.010 (.939)
Diffusion	<i>r (p)</i>	-.095 (.374)	-.219 (.039)	-.228 (.088)	-.197 (.142)

		Ego identity strengths			
		Fidelity Year 2	Love Year 2	Fidelity Year 3	Love Year 3
<i>Defense</i>					
Identification Year 1	<i>r (p)</i>	-.025 (.892)	.173 (.335)	-.148 (.523)	-.231 (.315)
Projection Year 1	<i>r (p)</i>	-.120 (.391)	-.162 (.246)	.212 (.237)	.243 (.173)
Denial Year 1	<i>r (p)</i>	-.180 (.138)	-.234 (.053)	.008 (.958)	-.102 (.503)
Identification Year 2	<i>r (p)</i>	.085 (.649)	.089 (.635)	.389 (.090)	.204 (.389)
Projection Year 2	<i>r (p)</i>	.079 (.545)	.034 (.795)	.363 (.017)	.264 (.087)
Denial Year 2	<i>r (p)</i>	-.220 (.128)	-.295 (.040)	-.214 (.248)	-.172 (.354)
<i>Narcissism</i>					
NPI Year 1	<i>r (p)</i>	.019 (.857)	-.111 (.294)	-.236 (.074)	-.446 (.000)
NPI Year 2	<i>r (p)</i>	.150 (.155)	-.043 (.683)	-.140 (.295)	-.410 (.001)

		Ego identity strengths			
		Fidelity Year 2	Love Year 2	Fidelity Year 3	Love Year 3
<i>Parental attachment</i>					
Father Communication	<i>r (p)</i>	-.069 (.589)	-.133 (.296)	-.118 (.474)	-.093 (.575)
Father Trust	<i>r (p)</i>	.066 (.603)	.020 (.873)	.118 (.474)	.095 (.566)
Father Alienation	<i>r (p)</i>	-.305 (.014)	-.118 (.354)	-.103 (.533)	-.006 (.971)
Mother Communication	<i>r (p)</i>	.223 (.099)	.120 (.377)	.095 (.580)	-.137 (.424)
Mother Trust	<i>r (p)</i>	-.024 (.854)	.078 (.552)	.090 (.509)	.106 (.437)

Note: Bold values are statistically significant at $p < .003$ using the Bonferroni corrected probability level.

Only two statistically significant correlations were observed in the analysis, meaning that the relationships between ego strengths and almost all the variables used in this study were weak. Significant, negative correlations were observed between narcissism (the total NPI-40 score) measured in the first and second years of study, and the ego strength of Love measured in the third year. Based on the overall outcome, it was not necessary to proceed to relatively more complex or advanced analyses such as the model testing approaches of structural equation modeling (SEM) or regression analysis. Moreover, the former is a large sample statistic and the follow-up sample values in this study were not adequate to accomplish it.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate a psychoanalytically-based identity research model first developed and empirically tested by Cramer (1995). In Cramer's model defenses and narcissism are presumed to be related to ideological and interpersonal identity statuses in a theoretically meaningful or predictable way. Furthermore, this study investigated whether defenses, narcissism and parental attachment would predict the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love. Regarding the relationship between categories of identity status and the major variables of the study, the results primarily failed to confirm the hypotheses. The trends of results regarding demographic factors do not differ much from what is already known in the literature of identity status development. The findings are discussed below, starting with demographic variables, and then the main variables which were investigated. Finally, recommendations are made to conclude the study.

6.2 Identity statuses and demographic variables

Preliminary analysis focused on demographic variables. Analyses were conducted for gender and age. Both dimensional, or continuous, and categorical scores were used as and when it was necessary to do so.

6.2.1 Gender and identity status development

Erikson's (1968, 1950/1977) theory of identity was originally premised on different pathways of development between the sexes. At the beginning, studies showed that there were differences of identity development between females and males. Female identity development was presumed to be reliant on interpersonal

influences than that of males (Bilsker et al., 1988; Marcia, 1980). Subsequent studies rendered gender suppositions controversial (Gilligan, 1982; Matteson, 1993). The issue of gender effect in identity development seemed to be resolved when a number of studies began to show that there were minimal or no differences at all between male and female identity development and structure (Kroger, 1997; Meeus et al., 1999; Waterman, 1993). Not only were gender differences negligible when assessment was conducted with identity status categories (EOME-IS-II), but also with identity styles (ISI-3) (Bosch & Card, 2011). Reasons promoting the similarities were advanced, including a changing socio-economic context favouring the full participation of women (Marcia, 1993b). However, there was further evidence suggesting that the differences are there (Cramer, 2000; Kumru & Thompson, 2003; Lewis, 2003; Lucas, 1997). Solomontos-Kountouri and Hurry (2008) studied domains rather than global identity, and found that males and females differ on some of them (political and religious identities). In this study, no differences were found. Whereas the differences could be localized to a particular identity status domain, in this study lack of difference occurred not only when the scales were combined, but also when they were separated into the ideological and interpersonal domains.

Furthermore, lack of effect of gender (together with age) was demonstrated when categorical scores of identity status were utilized. Similarities of males and females regarding ideological identity status were expected. What was not expected, at least according to trends observed in earlier identity status research, was the similarities on interpersonal identity status (Marcia, 1980). Interestingly, lack of gender differences was also reported in another study conducted in South Africa, using a different identity measure (Thom & Coetzee, 2004). The South African government is committed to the equalization of opportunities for both women and men. Although it is still too early to say whether progress has been made regarding gender equality, it is likely that the results of the present study are a consequence and a reflection of the effort to eradicate gender inequities.

Nevertheless, current results suggest that the gender question in identity status development remains an interesting issue to study.

6.2.2 The effect of age on identity status development

A relationship was hypothesized between age and identity status, where older students were expected to have acquired higher levels of identity status such as Achievement (Meeus et al., 1999; Prager, 2001; Waterman, 1999a, 1999b). In the literature, there are controversies surrounding the development of identity status. Whilst the trend regarding the Diffusion identity status and younger age, and Achievement identity status and older age is established, developments into the middle identity statuses (Foreclosure and Moratorium) are inconsistent (Waterman, 1999a; van Hoof, 1999). Nevertheless, the general pattern observed across studies is that younger participants tend to score on the lower end of identity status development (Diffusion) and older, university age students are identity achieved (Waterman, 1985). Even among younger participants, it is common that as age increases, rates of the Achievement identity status will also rise (Archer, 1982).

Only a partial support of the age-related identity development hypothesis was found. The age groups differed on the interpersonal Moratorium status only. Older students (over 23 years of age) reported less moratorium experiences than the 18 to 20 year and 21 to 23 year old students. At face value, the results may seem to conform to theory, supporting the idea that older students would have gone through the process of self-exploration and eventually transited the Moratorium identity status, escaping the discomfort associated with the stage (Berzonsky & Adams, 1999; Erikson, 1968; Schwartz, 2001). Unfortunately, in this study, as in Branch et al. (2000), older age does not mean that the students are identity achieved. The majority of them in the present sample did not reach the identity status of Achievement. Given this situation, it means then that the

age hypothesis was not confirmed for the group.

Context is sometimes implicated in the development of identity (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Kroger, 2000, 1993; Yoder, 2000). Context includes home, school, and geographical area (e.g., Solomontos-Kountouri & Hurry, 2008). With regards to the latter, coming from an area with abundant educational and vocational opportunities may enhance the achievement of an identity, and coming from a deprived area yields the opposite result (Nurmi et al., 1996). The present study was conducted among students in a university situated in an economically underdeveloped province. Furthermore, as already pointed out, 15% of the students had fathers with no formal education, and about 43% said that their fathers obtained Grade 12 or less amount of formal schooling. Based on Nurmi et al.'s (1996) findings, it was likely that most of the students would not reach relatively high levels of identity development, assuming that they came from mostly low SES backgrounds. Therefore, in spite of their chronological age, barriers such as lack of educational and economic opportunities would hinder development to presumably higher levels of identity development (Phillips & Pittman, 2003; Yoder, 2000). A related factor is that of cultural or life orientation. Growing up in a particular culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) may influence the type of identity status and, generally, self-construal favoured and nurtured in a particular context. This is to say that certain types of identity statuses (e.g., Foreclosure) may actually be adaptations to the environment (Busch & Hofer, 2011; Côté, 1996a). The effects of age may then be limited by environmental influences.

6.3 Identity status distribution of students

To investigate the distribution of identity statuses in this particular student population, data collected from both first entering and post-first year students was used. The expectation was that in a university sample, most students would

be advanced in their identity development (identity achieved), and few would be relatively less developed (identity diffused). In this study there were fewer students in the identity achieved category. The results are consistent with current findings (Cramer, 1995; Lange & Byrd, 2002). In their meta-analysis, Kroger et al. (2010) found that although there was a change to higher identity statuses across ages, the effect size was rather small. In a review of identity status change studies, Kroger (2007) concludes that it is no more than 13% to 49% of students who reach an achieved identity status during their university stay (see also Kroger et al., 2010). Kroger (2007) observed that lack of advancement to higher states of personality functioning was not limited to the identity status construct only. Studies of moral reasoning, ego development and self-other differentiation also show that very few individuals ever reach the highest levels of cognitive and personality functioning required to function effectively in society (Kroger, 2007).

The results of the present study are particularly important because they contradict South African studies that found that most of the students in their samples have reached a high state of identity achievement (Low et al., 2005; Thom & Coetzee, 2004). Low et al. (2005) actually used the EOME-IS-II, which makes their results directly comparable to those of the present study. It is not clear why there are differences of outcomes between the South African studies.

However, characteristics of the samples may be one of the reasons. Low et al. (2005) did not differentiate between the ethnic groups, but gave details suggesting that the sample consisted of almost 50% Africans and about a third of the participants being of a mixed race. In Thom and Coetzee's (2004) study, analysis was also conducted to compare ethnic groups' identity development. Using a different scale, Thom and Coetzee found that Africans were more advanced in their identity development. Although the ethnicity of the referent groups may appear to be similar, researchers did not control for intrapersonal, contextual and related factors. For instance, Low et al. (2005) did not control for

ethnicity. Additionally, sampling differed across the studies. Students in the present study were drawn from a rural university and they stayed away from their parents.

On the other hand, it appears that Low et al.'s (2005) South African sample was composed of a substantial proportion of students who did not stay on university housing. These factors are likely to influence identity development. Their influence may not be properly accounted for if left uncontrolled (Jordyn & Byrd, 2003; Yoder, 2000). Thus, the differences of identity status development observed between the studies may to some extent be a product of sampling and other extraneous factors.

6.4 Defenses among students and their relationship with identity statuses

In this study it was expected that the more advanced defense of identification will predominate and denial will be used with less frequency among relatively older, late-adolescent students. Obviously, the opposite is true for fairly young students (Cramer, 1991a, 1987). The findings for the present sample are contrary to results obtained in Western samples (e.g., Cramer, 1997b, 1995; Hibbard & Porcerelli, 1998; Hibbard et al., 1994), in that the expectation that denial will be used less than the advanced defenses of projection and identification among the university students was not confirmed. Important to note is that students in this study reported a comparatively low number of defenses. Denial was used more in the sense that it was reported more often than both projection and identification. Once more, this is different to what is observed with Western samples (Cramer, 1997a, 1995; Hibbard et al., 2000). The average rate of total defenses in this study is far less than what was reported for Hibbard et al.'s (2000) sample. Some cards tended to produce a large number of certain defenses. For instance, TAT card 1 produced a total of 97 Denial responses. However, this alone cannot account for the predominance of denial in this

sample. Other cards have their own characteristics, and should have attracted large numbers of other defenses and this did not happen.

The preponderance of denial in this particular sample is surprising. There is no immediate answer why the students operate with this defense. The developmental ordering of defenses has long been established (Porcerelli et al., 1998; Vaillant, 1992, 1986), and denial as measured by Cramer's (1991a) DMM is considered a less mature defense. In fact, denial in late adolescence is associated with neuroticism and immaturity (Cramer, 2002). Also, it was expected that Achievement and Foreclosure would score high on Identification. However, no relationship was found between identity status categories and defenses. Once more, there are no clear reasons, at least in the context of the present study, why there was no relationship found.

The association between identity and defense cannot be doubted, since it has been demonstrated in a number of studies (Berzonsky & Kinney, 1994; Cramer, 1998a, 1997b, 1995). A possible explanation for lack of association in this study may be that the identity statuses of the present sample have unique characteristics, different from what they are in Western samples. It is also possible that one or both of the concerned scales are invalid for this particular group of participants. However, there is insufficient information at this stage to come to such a conclusion.

Tests of validity conducted among non-White groups in the US suggest that measures of defense are valid among non-Whites, although performance may differ (Banks & Juni, 1991; Hibbard, Tang, Latko, Park, Munn, Bolz, & Somerville, 2000). Ethnicity, according to the studies, appears to effect the expression of defenses. In other words, it is possible for a particular ethnic or social group to show a different defense structure. In Banks and Juni's (1991) study minority groups (i.e., African Americans and Hispanics) tended to use REV on the

Defense Mechanism Inventory (DMI; Ihlivich & Gleser, 1986), a defense cluster that includes Denial. Note that students in this study used Denial more frequently than any other defense. At this point it can be tentatively concluded that students in this study display a unique defense structure. The defenses, or the identity structure they are supporting, may mean something completely different to what is common to Western subjects.

6.5 **Narcissism and its relation to identity statuses among students**

Results of this study have shown that identity status is related to the use of narcissism. However, the relationship differs somewhat from what was observed in Western samples, and this applies for both ideological and interpersonal dimensions of identity statuses. It was expected that the identity statuses that have undergone the process of commitment will score higher on narcissism, and that Achievement in particular would score relatively higher on the adaptive components of narcissism. In fact, ideological Achievement identity statuses scored higher on two of the scales associated with adaptive narcissism, namely, authority and superiority. However, they also scored higher on exploitativeness, a component regarded as defensive (Raskin & Terry, 1988). Moreover, the scores were significantly higher compared to those of Diffusion and Moratorium, the identity statuses expected to use defensive components of narcissism more (Cramer, 1995). Also, Achievement identity statuses scored higher on the adaptive composite scale and overall NPI-40 scales. On the interpersonal dimension of identity status, the comparisons of identity status performances on the NPI-40 reached statistical significance on only two subscales. The outcome of the comparison regarding authority was in the expected direction, and the direction of the significance on exhibitionism was the same as that of the ideological dimension.

The subscales of the NPI-40 used in this study are theory driven (Raskin & Terry,

1988). However, in studies where the seven-factor structure is empirically tested, it does not fare well (Kansi, 2003; Kubarych et al., 2004), and is frequently surpassed by the four-factor structure reported by Emmons (1987, 1984). Based on this observation, it can be concluded that the variation of outcomes in this and other studies may be a consequence of the lack of reliability of the NPI-40 factors by Raskin and Terry (1988). The overall scale may be the best option when using the scale. Although the factors of the NPI have not been reliable, it would seem that the scale itself does measure important aspects of narcissism, and compares well with DSM-IV NPD interview ratings (Miller et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the issue of context should also be kept in mind. For instance, the NPI mean scores in the present sample were higher than expected (Foster et al., 2003).

6.6 Predicting the ego strengths of Fidelity and Love

In this study only narcissism was related to the ego strength of Love. On the other hand, identity status categories, defense and parental attachment were not related to either Love or Fidelity. In essence the results failed to confirm both theory and empirical findings. According to psychosocial theory (Erikson, 1982/1997, 1968, 1964) ego strengths emerge once an individual has successfully completed a developmental or life stage. Each of the variables used in this study (namely, defenses, narcissism and attachment) should have, at least according to theory, been able to predict the ego strengths assessed. The results of this study reflect the lack of conclusion in the literature. Whereas some studies demonstrated that identity could predict ego strength (Markstrom & Kalmanir, 2001; Markstrom et al., 1997), the results were not supported by Markstrom and Hunter (1999).

6.7 Identity status and the university as its context of development

A note has to be made regarding identity and its developmental context (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Bosma & Kunnen, 2001; Côté, 1996a; Kroger, 2000, 1993, Matheis & Adams, 2004). This is in line with Erikson's (1968) theory which embraced and incorporated the mutual regulation of the individual and environment (society and culture) from the onset (cf. Bergh & Erling, 2005; Danielsen, Lorem, & Kroger, 2000). Whereas studies conducted in Western and developed countries have found relationships between variables of this study and identity status, results in the present study did not. This is an unexpected result given that the university context was expected to exert a developmental influence on the students' identities. Each of the variables used in this study were successfully used in studies of identity development (e.g., Adams, Ryan, & Keating, 2000; Berzonsky & Adams, 1999).

The academic environment in which university students are expected to thrive is particularly important (Adams & Fitch, 1983, 1982; Costa & Campos, 1990; Goosens, 1995). Research shows that students from a university environment that cultivates strong out-of-class experiences tend to succeed academically and show satisfactory social outcomes (cf. Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Terenzini, Pascarella, & Blimling, 1996). In turn, they report higher levels of identity status development (Adams & Fitch, 1983). The same applies if departmental experiences encourage peer relationships, intellectual pursuit and scholarly achievement, and the lecturing staff is supportive; students in the respective departments are likely to be classified as identity achieved (Adams & Fitch, 1983). The identity status category of Achievement itself has been empirically shown to predict the ego strength of Fidelity among university students (Adams et al., 2000). The results of available research strongly suggest that the university environment can impact student identity development. What has not been interrogated in the present study is the role played by the environment in which

the students function. The results may as well be explained by aspects of the university environmental which have not been incorporated in the model studied.

6.8 **Limitations**

Three limitations stand out in this study, namely, sample size, and scale validity and reliability. First, the study suffered from sample size problems subsequent to the first phase of data collection. Students were fully briefed about the longitudinal nature of the study and the expectation that they would be available for subsequent evaluations. Apparently, researcher briefings and participant assurances were not enough to guarantee long-term availability. Sample size problems also limited the type of statistical techniques used for analysis. Analytical techniques such as SEM are neither possible nor appropriate when the size of the sample is relatively small.

Second, the validity of the constructs measured may have been a problem. The theories used in this study have a heuristic value, yet their empirical reproducibility and veracity may be limited in the African context. Finally, some of the subscales of the EOME-IS-II achieved low reliability levels in this sample. Results may have been affected by this.

6.9 **Recommendations**

6.9.1 Matters pertaining to sustaining participation in a longitudinal study of this nature need to be investigated further. In this study students were either not available, or could not be traced, in spite of having been fully briefed that the study is longitudinal. Details such as student numbers, academic registration details, residential addresses and telephone numbers were used to trace them in subsequent years. It appears that a different recruitment method needs to be applied to ensure availability. All factors have to be taken into account when

recruiting participants for long-term studies. For instance, curiosity should not be ruled out. Some students may participate in a study out of curiosity, and then lose interest once they gained exposure to the measures. Researchers need to devise better recruitment strategies that may minimize sample shrinkage in a longitudinal study.

6.9.2 The possibility of scale properties contributing to the results of this study cannot be ruled out. Scales used in this study have been successfully used in cross-cultural settings. Yet, psychometric questions are intermittently asked. For instance, studies that were conducted to investigate the properties of the EOME-IS in non-Western populations are inconclusive. Hofer and colleagues (Busch & Hofer, 2011; Hofer et al., 2007), and Low et al. (2005) found the scale to have high reliability among Cameroonians and South Africans, respectively. Yet this was not the case with Solomontos-Kountouri and Hurry's (2008) sample of Greek Cypriots. Schwartz et al. (2006) and Dwairy (2004) concluded on empirical grounds that whilst the short and long versions of the EOME-IS were useful cross-culturally, some items of the scale needed to be reviewed or eliminated since they appeared to have modified meaning and affected the reliability of some of the subscales negatively. It is possible that results of the present study may have been influenced by the participants' different understanding of the meanings of scale items. Attempts should be made to replicate this study using different scales to rule out the possibility of the results being an artifact of evaluation limitations. Besides the scale properties, the constructs measured themselves may have been a problem. Future research may also establish the validity of the constructs in an African context.

The present study tested a relatively comprehensive model, covering a number of theories. Theories used included psychoanalysis, ISP and attachment theory. Since construct validity may be an issue, future research may do well to limit itself to fewer, or even a particular, theory or model. This will help to isolate the

specific nature of the (theoretical) problem, if there is any.

6.9.3 Results of the present study suggest that there is still more to be done in terms of identity in the South African context. The ISP is but one method of investigating identity. Calls have been made within the context of ISP research to incorporate elements that are not traditionally linked to the model. Some theorists call for the recognition of environmental elements in identity status research (Adams & Marshall, 1996; Côté, 1996a). Baumeister and Muraven (1996) point to the impact of larger social systems on identity development. Yet Berzonsky (2005) cautioned against assumptions of linear relations between context and identity. More research is required to explore the relationship between context and identity development. Results of this study could have been influenced by certain elements of the South African environment which were not controlled for in this study.

Alternative frameworks should also be considered. Some of them were alluded to above (see page 7). Attempts are already underway to have research considering marrying psychological and sociological methodologies in the study of identity (Côté & Schwartz, 2002). These efforts may yield interesting results regarding the development of identity in South Africa. Identity in South Africa could also be studied using Tajfel's (Tajfel, 1978, 1974; Turner, 1999) social identity theory (SIT) and Turner's (1999, 1978) self-categorization theory. (This suggestion could be extended by including identity theory, in view of its complementary nature to social identity theory (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Yet it is limited to the more psychological social identity theory.) Given the not-so-distant *Apartheid* past of South Africa, it may well be that group affiliation is the critical factor in identity development (Franchi & Swart, 2003; Mattes, 2004).

Tajfel's social identity theory is based, *inter alia*, on a cognitive component, which embraces an individual's group membership, an evaluative aspect relating to

group membership's negative or positive valuation, and an emotional component, in that group membership and valuation is accompanied by emotional reactions such as love or hatred, and like or dislike, directed towards one's ingroup and towards an outgroup perceived to be a threat. Although conditions are somewhat different today than they were before 1994, *Apartheid's* legacy seems to be still influential in the manner in which students in South Africa articulate their identities (Franchi & Swart, 2003). There are also creative ways of incorporating social identity theory to transitional, especially adolescent, studies (Emler, 2005; Tanti, Stukas, Halloran, & Foddy, 2011).

It could be that the results of this study are due to the fact that the way identity is studied within the ISM is not accommodative of the views and values of non-Western populations and those who do not necessarily identify with Western life orientations (Sneed, Schwartz, & Cross, Jr., 2006). Within Western societies (e.g., the United States), identity studies are now taking into account constructs based on life orientation, for instance, racial and cultural identity (Parham, & Helms, 1985; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). These studies argue that racial awareness may be linked to identity achievement. At this point it is not clear whether South Africans have resolved and buried issues related to racism (Seekings, 2008).

Besides racism, there is the issue of individualism vis-à-vis collectivism. Most populations or societies outside of the influence of Western ways of life are still largely collectivistic in their approach to life (Dwairy, 2002; Markus & Kitayama, 1998, 1991). Construal of the self and subsequent development of identity in these cultures, as Markus and Kitayama (1998) observe, relies on interdependent relations with others. African cultures largely fall in this category. Therefore, certain aspects of African cultures may not gel well with identity notions espoused in the ISP. Further identity research in South Africa has to incorporate and reflect the life perspectives of those who are not necessarily of

Western and/or European descent and life orientation.

6.10 **Summary and implications**

This chapter discussed the results. First the results of analysis based on the demographic variables of gender and age were discussed. Lack of gender effects and the partial support of the influence of age in the development of identity status were discussed. This was the case when identity status was considered at both dimensional and categorical levels. The identity status distributions of students were also discussed, with a view of relating identity status distribution to identity development. The results of the present study showed that the common finding in South Africa that students of Black African descent score at the highest, advanced levels of identity development is not conclusive since it was not supported in this study. The discussion went on to examine the relationship between defenses and narcissism, and identity statuses. There was no relationship between the two sets of variables. Furthermore, defenses, narcissism and identity statuses, together with attachment were not associated and therefore not able to predict Fidelity and Love.

It was also pointed out during the discussion that since environmental factors were not explored in this study, it may well be that an important variable that could shed light on the findings was left out. An attempt was made to point out limitations of the study. These included problems related to the size of the sample, and the reliability and validity of the scales used. The size of the sample shrank over time, and this posed serious challenges regarding analysis. It was pointed out that certain advanced statistics were not possible if the sample size was below the required levels. Finally, recommendations were advanced in this chapter. The recommendations were based on the limitations of the study. For instance, the issue of sample size as having impeded analysis was touched upon

and a recommendation was made that future studies have to ensure maximum participation in a longitudinal design. Also, a recommendation was made that alternative theoretical frameworks be considered in studying identity in South Africa.

The main implication of this study is that the application of identity status research in interventions among South African practitioners is premature. The theory has to be investigated further. Alternative and creative ways of studying identity have to be developed to complement those that are already in use.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Brief outline of the Freudian conceptualizations of narcissism

Freud's (1914/1984) "On Narcissism: An Introduction" is the paper that presents his elaboration of the concept of narcissism. Before then, he made references to the phenomenon, but these were limited and predated his telling theoretical modification (Plakun, 1990). In the 1914 paper, Freud (1914/1984) signalled a theoretical shift from id psychology. Retreating from sexuality and libido-asexual energy theory, Freud defined narcissism in terms of object choice, using the new theory of ego libido. This move necessitated that he define narcissism as "a libidinal cathexis of the ego". The definition implied that an investment of one's libido in an object, say, during falling in love, led to the diminution of that energy from one's ego (Freud, 1940/1979). (This is the energy theory that Hartmann later tried to modify, and Kohut [1984] eventually abandoned.)

On defining the nature of love, including a mother's relationship to her child, Freud (1914/1984) described two types of object choice, namely "narcissistic" and "anaclitic"—in the first type, found in pathological individuals with some frequency, the person chooses an object because of its real or imagined similarity. In anaclitic object choice, the object is chosen "on the pattern of childhood dependence on someone unlike himself" (Rycroft, 1995, p. 7). Freud described the distinctions as follows:

"A person may love:

- 1) according to the narcissistic type
 - a) what he himself is (i.e., himself),
 - b) what he himself was,
 - c) what he himself would like to be,
 - d) someone who was once part of himself.

- 2) according to anaclitic (attachment type):
- a) the woman who feeds him,
 - b) the man who protects him,
- and the succession of substitutes who take their place” (Freud, 1914/1984, p. 84).

In terms of Freud’s formulation, narcissism is a normal phase of development. The stages, defined according to the dispersal of libido and therefore choice of object, are autoeroticism, primary narcissism and then the development of the ego. Movement from the first to the last stage can be equated to the child’s transformation from lack of objects to a state of object relations.

Freud’s (1914/1984) theory of narcissism asserts that an infant in a state of primary narcissism does not distinguish between itself and the external environment, and is, by all intents, in a state of “oceanic feeling”. Primary narcissism represents an objectless state, when the infant is fused with the mother (represented by the breast) and is unable to demarcate the boundary between its own body and that of the mother. The ego emerges from the infant’s development of the capacity to distinguish self from other (Freud, 1930/1984, 1923/1984). Distinguishing the mother’s body from self represents symbolic loss. In order for the infant to assuage the loss, the mother, as an external object, is internalized. Once the ego emerges, the primary state is lost, and that state is what every human has a longing for and strives to recover throughout life, culminating in the emergence of the ego ideal (Graafsma, 1994; Jacoby, 1985/1990).

With the development of the ego the individual loses the narcissistic satisfaction previously enjoyed during primary narcissism. The implications of Freud’s theorization on primary narcissism is that the libido of the ego is limited; once it is invested in an object, this act is bound to impoverish the ego and the reverse is

true when the object is no longer available. The “ego ideal” (later called superego) is introduced at this point by Freud (1914/1984), to further explain: the ego ideal is a substitute for the perfection that was experienced during childhood. However, the ego ideal is an imperfect approximation. It can only mature, as the individual grows, to adopt the ideals and values of society. Ideally, the individual should manage to bridge the distance between the ego and ego ideal, so as to experience some narcissistic satisfaction (Alford, 1988).

Appendix 2: DMM TAT identifying information and instructions sheet

Please provide your identifying number, which must be similar to the one you have written on the questionnaire. This is very important for linking your questionnaire and the present task. Remember that your personal information will be treated with strict confidentiality and utmost professionalism.

Please start here ⇒

Identifying Number:														
----------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

What is your major? _____ School: _____

Sex ⇒

Female	Male
--------	------

DIRECTION FOR DOING THE TASK:

This is a test of imagination. Look at the three pictures in front of you, one at a time. The pictures must be completed in the order that they are given to you. Your task is to make up as dramatic a story as you can for each picture. Tell...

- (1) what has led up to the event shown in the picture,
- (2) describe what is happening at the moment, what the are feeling and thinking;
- (3) and then give the outcome of the event.

Now look at the first card, and make up a story in a period of about 5 minutes.

(Follow the same procedure for Cards [2] and [3])

Card 1

Appendix 3: Identity status categories, cut-off points, and pre-merger identity status categories of students

Table A Identity status categories

		Number	Identity Status Category	Standard Abbreviation
Pure	Types	1 =	Pure Diffusion	Dif /D
		2 =	Pure Foreclosure	For/F
		3 =	Pure Moratorium	Mor/M
		4 =	Pure Achievement	Ach/M
Transitional types		5 =	Diffusion-Foreclosure Transition	Dif-For
		6 =	Diffusion-Moratorium Transition	Dif-Mor
		7 =	Diffusion-Achievement Transition	Dif-Ach
		8 =	Foreclosure-Moratorium Transition	For-Mor
		9 =	Foreclosure-Achievement Transition	For-Ach
		10 =	Moratorium-Achievement Transition	Mor-Ach
		11 =	Diffusion-Foreclosure-Moratorium Transition	Dif-For-Mor
		12 =	Diffusion-Foreclosure-Achievement Transition	Dif-For-Ach
		13 =	Diffusion-Moratorium-Achievement Transition	Dif-Mor-Ach
		14 =	Foreclosure-Moratorium-Achievement Transition	For-Mor-Ach
		15 =	Diffusion-Foreclosure-Moratorium-Achievement Transition	Dif-For-Mor-Ach
		16 =	Undifferentiated/Low Profile Moratorium	LPM

Table Bi: Full sample cut-off points based on the “Mean + .05 standard deviation” rule (N = 394)

		Ideological Identity Status				Interpersonal Identity Status				Combined Identity Status			
		ID Ach	ID Mor	ID For	ID Dif	IN Ach	IN Mor	IN For	IN Dif	Ach	Mor	For	Dif
N	Cases used	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	371	369	369	369	369
	Missing values	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	22	22	22	22
	\bar{X}	35.51	25.36	24.17	24.07	31.64	28.63	22.63	25.26	67.03	53.84	46.65	49.23
	S.D.	5.245	6.237	6.858	5.755	5.882	5.531	7.396	6.340	9.811	10.104	13.104	10.300
	Cut-off	38.133	28.478	27.599	26.948	34.581	31.396	26.328	28.418	72.032	59.046	53.377	54.477
	Rounded	38	28	28	27	35	31	26	28	72	59	53	54

Note: ID = Ideological Identity Status
 IN = Interpersonal Identity Status
 Ach = Achievement
 Mor = Moratorium
 For = Foreclosure
 Dif = Diffusion

Table Bii: Full sample cut-off points based on the “Mean + 1 standard deviation” rule (N = 394)

		Ideological Identity Status				Interpersonal Identity Status				Combined Identity Status			
		ID Ach	ID Mor	ID For	ID Dif	IN Ach	IN Mor	IN For	IN Dif	Ach	Mor	For	Dif
N	Cases used	370	370	370	370	370	370	370	371	369	369	369	369
	Missing Cases	24	24	24	24	24	24	24	23	22	22	22	22
	\bar{X}	35.51	25.36	24.17	24.07	31.64	28.63	22.63	25.20	67.03	53.84	46.65	49.23
	S.D.	5.245	6.237	6.858	5.755	5.882	5.531	7.396	6.436	9.811	10.104	13.104	10.300
	Cut-off	40.755	31.597	31.028	29.825	37.522	34.161	30.026	31.636	76.841	63.944	59.754	59.530
	Rounded	41	32	31	30	38	34	30	32	77	64	60	60

Note: ID = Ideological Identity Status
 IN = Interpersonal Identity Status
 Ach = Achievement
 Mor = Moratorium
 For = Foreclosure
 Dif = Diffusion

Table C: Pre-merger identity status categories of first entering, post-first year, and full-sample students

	First Entering (N = 197)				Post-first Year (N = 197)				Full Sample (N = 394*)			
	IDISC		INISC		IDISC		INISC		IDISC		INISC	
	a**	b***	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
1 = Pure Diffusion (Dif)	06	05	13	13	07	06	22	19	13	11	35	32
2 = Pure Foreclosure (For)	08	11	17	15	09	09	12	10	17	20	29	25
3 = Pure Moratorium (Mor)	12	10	09	16	12	10	14	28	24	20	23	44
4 = Pure Achievement (Ach)	25	25	14	16	30	26	26	28	55	51	40	44
5 = Dif-For Transition	08	09	08	08	07	08	05	05	15	17	13	13
6 = Dif-Mor Transition	13	13	11	10	14	12	07	08	27	25	18	18
7 = Dif-Ach Transition	04	03	02	02	09	08	04	07	13	11	06	09
8 = For-Mor Transition	08	10	07	06	08	10	07	06	16	20	14	12
9 = For-Ach Transition	06	07	03	05	07	10	02	04	13	17	05	09
10 = Mor-Ach Transition	08	07	06	08	05	05	09	09	13	12	15	17
11 = Dif-For-Mor Transition	16	16	17	13	07	09	11	08	23	25	28	21
12 = Dif-For-Ach Transition	07	08	04	04	03	04	03	03	10	12	07	07
13 = Dif-Mor-Ach Transition	03	02	03	04	06	05	02	02	09	07	05	06
14 = For-Mor-Ach Transition	05	05	04	05	01	01	05	06	06	06	09	11
15 = Dif-For-Mor-Ach Transition	05	06	10	14	07	08	07	09	12	14	17	23
16 = Undifferentiated/Low Profile Mor	50	47	56	54	54	55	50	48	104	102	106	102

IDISC = Ideological identity status category

INISC = Interpersonal identity status category

* = Sums in columns do not add up to 394 due to missing values.