EGO IDENTITY STATUS
AND CONFORMITY

by

Joseph James Hoffman

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Joseph J. Hoffman
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ABSTRACT

Ego Identity Status
and Conformity

by

Joseph J. Hoffman, Doctor of Philosophy
Utah State University, 1982

Major Professors: Dr. Gerald R. Adams and Dr. Elwin C. Nielsen
Department: Psychology

The relationship between the Eriksonian concept of ego identity status and the social process of conformity was investigated. Ego identity status was measured by the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS) (Adams, Shea, and Fitch, 1979). A total of 87 subjects were categorized into one of the four ego identity status groups: Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Identity Achievement. Conformity was measured by peer ratings, and experimental task, and by three self-report personality measures. Two of the conformity measures supported the main hypothesis that those in the less mature ego identity statuses (Diffusion and Foreclosure) would demonstrate the most conformity behavior. More specifically, peers rated males in the Diffusion and Foreclosure statuses as more conforming, and males and females in the Diffusion status rated themselves as more conforming on a peer pressure conformity self-report. In light of these results, the relationship between conformity and ego identity status is discussed.

(84 pages)
Chapter I

Introduction

Erikson (1956) has conceptualized psychological growth and development as a resolution of a series of crises from infancy to old age. In particular, during late adolescence one is confronted by an identity versus role confusion dilemma during which the individual will experience some growing sense of ego identity formation or ego identity diffusion. While the theoretical notion of ego identity formation has been available for some time, little empirical research has been accomplished on this stage resolution dilemma. Marcia's (1966) operationalization of this period of development has opened new arenas for the empirical study of Erikson's theoretical notions using a four typology model (called statuses). These four statuses are based on the degree of crisis and commitment in the areas of politics, religion, and occupation. Crisis refers to a period of confusion and searching during which the individual is actively involved in choosing among meaningful alternatives. Commitment refers to the degree of investment in personal decisions toward occupational, religious, and political choices. Using crisis and commitment as the two major dimensions of identity resolution, Marcia (1966) has specified four identity statuses. Identity Achievement included having experienced a crisis and made ideological commitments. Moratorium status involves experiencing a crisis with a search toward making a formal commitment. Foreclosure status includes having made a commitment to values of parents or others without an experienced crisis.
Finally, **Diffusion** status adolescents have neither experienced a crisis nor made an occupational or ideological commitment. Table 1 summarizes information about these four status groups.

### Table 1

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Identity Status</th>
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<th>Commitment</th>
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<td>Identity Diffusion</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Achievement</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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**Note:** The identity statuses are presented in descending order of psychological maturity. Identity Diffusion is considered less mature because of the lack of both crisis and commitment. Foreclosure is also a lower status due to a lack of crisis before commitment. Moratorium is a higher status due to the presence of crisis in preparation for commitment. Identity Achievement is the most advanced status due to the presence of both crisis and commitment (Table and Note taken from Read, Note 1).

These operationalization of Erikson's ego identity status has fostered a growing body of research. Several well-established assumptions about the four ego identity status groups have emerged. First, lower ego identity adolescents tend to progress toward more advanced ego identity statuses (roughly from Diffusion to Foreclosure to Moratorium to Identity Achievement) (Adams & Fitch, in press; Waterman & Goldmen, 1976; Waterman & Waterman, 1971). However, it remains unclear whether this is due to maturational or environmental influences.
Second, Moratorium and Achievement status individuals consistently appear to have more complex and mature personality functioning than Diffusion and Foreclosure individuals (Adams & Shea, 1979; Marcia, 1966; Podd, 1972; Waterman & Goldmen, 1976; Orlofsky, Note 2). Furthermore, ego identity status has been associated with a variety of phenomena including general intelligence, academic achievement, personality variables, college adjustment, interpersonal relations and intimacy, moral reasoning, sex differences, and long-term status stability.

To a lesser extent, differences in ego identity status in social behaviors have been examined. For example, what relation is there between differing identity statuses and social compliance behavior such as conformity? Until recently, the sole study in this area was by Toder and Marcia (1973) who found that undergraduate females with more versus less advanced identity achievement were less susceptible to peer pressure in a conformity task. Unfortunately, the proposed link between ego identity status and conformity behavior was not replicated with either a female or male sample (Ryan, Note 3). Further, in both the Toder and Marcia and the Ryan study, only the Asch (1956) perceptual conformity task was used to measure conformity. Thus, no generalization over conformity tasks has been assessed.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to expand the understanding of the potential relationship between conformity and ego identity status for both sexes using several measures of conformity. The advantage of this additional replication/extension study, then, was in its closer examination of social conformity process correlates of identity formation.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Erikson (1956) conceptualized psychosocial development as a series of eight stages of conflict. From this theoretical framework, in order for healthy functioning to occur the individual must resolve each stage. During adolescence, the conflict is between ego diffusion and ego identity, and this stage is characterized by a searching for values and making a commitment to them. Marcia (1966) extended the conceptual framework for this stage and suggested four adolescent identity statuses: Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Identity Achievement. Discontented with other identity scales such as questionnaires and Q-sort measures because of their conceptual failure to assess crisis and commitment, Marcia developed the Identity Status Interview to provide a more theoretically appropriate measure of identity formation (Marcia, 1966, Note 4). This interview takes about twenty minutes to complete and measures crisis and commitment in three areas: occupation, religion, and politics. Scored according to a comprehensive manual the subject is categorized in one of the four identity statuses. Utilizing this classification scheme, numerous studies have been directed at the investigation of the relationship of adolescent ego identity status and such areas as intellect, academic achievement, personality, etc. The following review of this literature provides an overview of the correlates of the four ego identity statuses.
General Correlates of Ego Identity Status

Bourne (1978) has provided a review of ten general areas of ego identity research. Drawing heavily upon this integrative review, several tentative conclusions can be made.

First, in the area of general intelligence or IQ there appears to be no difference between the four groups (Cross & Allen, 1970; Ghiselli, 1957; Marcia, 1966; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel, 1975). However, these results may be due to the fact that college students, who were the subjects, as a group have a high but narrow range of intellectual ability. Other research has, however, indicated that Identity Achievement status youths do better intellectually under stress (Bob, Note 5); that cognitive flexibility measures do not differentiate among the groups (Marcia & Friedman, 1970); that Identity Achievements and Foreclosures are more field independent (Schenkel, 1975); and that Achievement and Moratorium groups are more reflective and introspective (Waterman & Waterman, 1970). Other researchers have suggested that the higher identity status youths have developed the ability to understand their world from other's viewpoints (Adams, 1976; Enright & Deist, 1979). It is hypothesized that such perspective taking allows the adolescent to integrate societal norms and mores. In summary, although the four identity status groups do not differ consistently on intelligence or cognitive variables, the Identity Achieved youths seem to have more desirable cognitive traits than Diffusion adolescents. Generally, the Foreclosure and Moratorium status groups fall somewhere in between their Diffusion and Identity Status peers.
Second, in the area of academic achievement Cross and Allen (1970) controlled for scholastic aptitude and found a positive relationship between identity achievement and grade point average. Also, female Achievements and Foreclosures pick more difficult majors (Marcia & Friedman, 1970), and Achievement and Moratorium youths have higher achievement motivation (Orlofsky, Note 2). Again, the highest identity status seems to have the more desirable trait of higher academic achievement and motivation.

The third and largest area of identity research is with personality correlates. Perhaps the most well-documented finding here is that Foreclosure subjects are highest and Moratorium subjects lowest on the measures of authoritarianism (Marcia, 1966, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Matteson, 1974; Schenkel & Marcia, 1972). Also college males in the Moratorium group suffer more anxiety than those in the other groups as measured by the Welsh Anxiety Scale (WAS) (Welsh, 1956) and the MMPI Point Scale (Mahler, Note 6, Marcia, 1967; Rotter, 1966). However, for college females, those in the Diffusion status seem to have the most anxiety (Marcia & Friedman, 1970). Foreclosure subjects consistently score lowest on anxiety measures (Marcia, 1967; Marcia & Friedman, 1970). The area of self esteem has not been so clear cut. Marcia (1966, 1967) was unable to demonstrate self esteem differences among the four groups although Achievement and Moratorium were less affected by personality feedback, thereby indicating more confidence in, and acceptance of, themselves. Surprisingly, a later study (Marcia & Friedman, 1970) found Identity Achievement females scores lowest on self-esteem measures and Foreclosure females scored highest. It was
hypothesized this might be due to the cultural pressures for women to assume a Foreclosure status. Other studies have found no self-esteem differences between the identity groups for either sex (Schenkel & Marcia, 1972; Orlofsky, Note 2). Jacobsen (1973) studied a few women in a more indepth manner and constructed a psychodynamic portrait.

Women in the four groups were characterized as follows: Identity Achievement were the most flexible, independent, and demonstrated the highest frustration tolerance. Moratorium status youths demonstrated the most affect, introspection, and sensitivity. Many were involved in dependence-independence conflicts. Foreclosure women were least able to deal with ambiguity, but presented themselves as goal oriented and self-assured. Diffusion women were found to be more often depressed and to demonstrate more pathology in general. Two other personality areas have been studied: locus of control and cooperation/competition. Those in the more mature identity statuses have been found to be more internal in their locus of control (Adams & Shea, 1979; Waterman & Waterman, 1970). Matteson (1974), however, was unable to replicate these findings.

Podd, Marcia, and Rubin (1970) found no differences in cooperation and in competition among the four groups. Overall, there are only trends suggested by the study of personality characterics of the four groups. Theoretically, it would be assumed that those higher on the ego identity status continuum would have more mature, well-integrated personality characteristics. Indeed, higher status groups seem to have more desirable personality characterics, but this is uncertain, and there are inconsistent sex differences in the available research.
The fourth area, parent-child relationships, has been studied by Jordan (Note 7). In an examination of the association between identity status and parent-child relations, she found that the Moratorium and Achievement subjects were more likely to perceive their parents as both accepting and rejecting (with a greater effect on this dimension for Moratorium subjects). As might be expected, Foreclosure subjects reported being very close to their parents, while Diffusion subjects reported that their parents were detached, uninvolved and unconcerned. These data suggest that an overly strong parent-child relationship encourages the child to forego a crisis and make a commitment to parent's values. A very weak parent-child relationship seems to discourage the child from values crisis or commitment.

The fifth major research area is college adjustment. It appears that Identity Achievement youths have the best adjustment while Moratoriums, who are in a crisis phase, have the worse overall adjustment. As previously mentioned, Identity Achievement students have the best academic achievement (Cross & Allen, 1970). Moratorium students are the least satisfied with college (Waterman & Waterman, 1970), and are most inclined to change their major (Waterman & Waterman, 1972). These data suggest that Moratorium youths may be poorly adjusted and discontented with their academic situations.

Interpersonal relations and intimacy is the sixth research area. Those individuals in the higher identity status groups (Achievement and Moratorium status) appear to have the most satisfactory relationships with both sexes (Marcia, 1976; Marcia & Friedman, 1970). However, these studies have been criticized for using cross-sectional
methods and for using only male subjects. Adams and Fitch (Note 8) corrected for these methodological problems and found that increased identity formation is associated with increased intimacy development. Further, for males, occupational identity, and for females, religious identity were the best predictors of intimacy status.

In the seventh area Podd (1972) has reported that Achievement subjects performed at a significantly higher level of moral reasoning than did Foreclosure or Diffusion subjects on the Kohlberg's Standard Moral Dilemmas measure (Kohlberg, 1964, Note 9). Podd also studied the four groups using a Milgram (1961) task and found no differences in frequency between the four groups for administering maximum voltage to experimental confederates. However, Foreclosures and Diffusions were more willing to repeat the behavior suggesting higher conformity to authorities. Cauble (Note 10) was unable to replicate the relationship between identity achievement and higher level of moral reasoning. Therefore, the findings are only tentative with some indications that higher identity status youths are less likely to blindly conform to authority; and that they are more capable of higher moral reasoning.

The eighth dimension of ego identity status research is the exploration of sex differences. Perhaps the most significant finding is that while for men the Achievement and Moratorium subjects perform differently, and usually better than the Foreclosure and Diffusion subjects on several personality measures, for women the Achievement and Foreclosure status individuals perform differently and better than the Moratoriums and Diffusions (Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel, 1975; Toder & Marcia, 1973). That is, the more developed, mature
identity statuses for men seem to be Identity Achievement and Moratorium while for women the more developed, mature identity statuses seem to be Identity Achievement and Foreclosure. Some researchers have proposed that the Foreclosure status is more acceptable for women since traditionally they have been discouraged from experiencing identity crisis and eventual autonomy. Orlofsky (Note 2), however, found that Achievement and Moratorium females behaved in distinctive ways from Foreclosure and Diffusion female youths; and that women in the higher identity statuses had a greater fear of success. Males did not. These studies suggest that correlates of the four identity statuses may be different for men and women. Foreclosed and Moratorium women might not share characteristics with Foreclosed and Moratorium men that would be expected from the ego identity status research that does not differentiate the sexes. Ego development may be a different process for men and women.

The final issue is long-term stability of ego identity status. Three studies have completed longitudinal observations and all have concluded that identity status is not stable over time. Waterman, Geary, and Waterman (1974) found that five percent of male college students changed identity status over four years of college. Identity Achievement subjects were the most stable and Moratorium subjects the least with a trend toward increased achievement for all groups. Adams and Fitch (Note 8) and Marcia (1976) also found that about fifty percent of male and female subjects changed identity statuses. However, Marcia (1976) found Moratorium youths changed the most, Foreclosure and Diffusion youths changed the least. Thus, there is evidence for movement from the lower to higher identity statuses with age and maturity.
Ego Identity Status and Conformity

While the existing data suggests higher identity statuses are associated with specific child rearing histories, more complex personality, and potential sex differences, there is little research that has explored social behavioral correlates of identity status. For example, there are but two studies on conformity and its relation to the four ego identity statuses, with conflicting results between studies. The first investigation was conducted with female undergraduates (Toder & Marcia, 1973). Specifically, the investigators identified 64 female undergraduates in the four identity groups, and put them through a conformity task. They found that the "stable" identity status women (Achievement and Foreclosure) were less conforming and less uncomfortable during the task than were the "unstable" groups (Moratorium and Diffusion). A doctoral dissertation study by Ryan (Note 3) was conducted to replicate and expand this study using both male and female subjects. However, Ryan was unable to replicate Toder and Marcia's results with women or men. That is, there was no differences in conformity for the four ego identity statuses for either male or female subjects. One possible explanation for conflicting results is the use of a limited measure of conformity. Both studies used Asch's (1956) perceptual conformity task in which subjects may knowingly give wrong answers to avoid going against the group. It is highly likely that perceptual conformity tasks based upon informational processes may result in different relations with identity status than conformity tasks based upon a social compliance process.

Therefore, the replication/extension study reported here measured
conformity and its relation to ego identity status in a more complex manner than undertaken in the two previous studies. That is, conformity was measured in five ways. The first conformity measure was a Peer Rating Scale. Two friends of each subject rated the subject's probable reaction to two hypothetical conformity situations on a five point Likert scale. One of the hypothetical situations was designed to tap peer conformity, the other tapped conformity with authorities. Second, changes in expressed value judgments in response to peer pressure was measured by the Dilemmas Test for College Students (Adams, Note 11). Willingness of male and female undergraduates to change their expressed values in the face of conformity pressures were studied in relation to their membership in the four ego identity status groups. The third and fourth measures of conformity were taken from the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957) Achievement via Conformance and Achievement via Independent scales. These scales measured personal tendencies toward achievement in settings where either conformity or independence behaviors were warranted. The fifth and final measure was the Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). This measure was included because it had been shown to be strongly related to conformity (Brannigan, 1977). This study, then, attempted to obtain a more comprehensive measure of conformity and re-examined its relation to ego identity status.
Objectives and Hypotheses

The overall objective of this study was to determine if a differential behavioral style exists between the four ego identity status groups on several measures of conformity. The primary hypothesis was that as subjects move through identity crisis and commitment to achieve higher identity statuses (Diffusion and Foreclosure to Moratorium and Identity Achievement) they will demonstrate less conformity. This hypothesis was based on the literature which suggests that individuals in higher identity statuses tend to have (in general) more complex and desirable characteristics (e.g., personality, cognitive, social). More specifically, given more advanced ego identity has been shown to be related to higher moral stage reasoning and complex ego functioning it was hypothesized that such personality characteristics would mitigate conformity tendencies. Resistance to conformity of group norms was assumed to be the behavioral correlate of having higher identity and more complex personality characteristics. Individual hypotheses for specific identity statuses were proposed as follows:

1) The Identity Achievement and Moratorium status groups will have significantly lower scores on the conformity measures than will the Foreclosure and Diffusion group.

2) The Identity Achievement group will have significantly lower conformity scores than the Moratorium group.

3) The Foreclosure group will have significantly lower conformity scores than the Diffusion group.

4) Males and females will not differ significantly in conformity scores regardless of identity status.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

The target population included students at Utah State University from undergraduate classes. The classes were selected because of their large enrollment and were from multiple departments. Solicitation from psychology and other social science classes was minimized in an attempt to form a "naive" sample. Based upon an original sample of approximately 700 students, 40 males and 47 females with specific identity statuses provided the final research sample. These 87 subjects were chosen because they were "pure types". That is, they were distinctly either Identity Achieved or Moratorium or Foreclosed or Diffusion status individuals as measured by the CM-EIS. The large original sample was needed to find a sufficient number of individuals to fill the Foreclosure group. In total, there were approximately twenty subjects (ten male and ten female) randomly selected from each of the four identity statuses for this study. The subject totals for each identity status group were as follows: Identity Achievement - 10 males and 11 females; Moratorium - 11 males and 11 females; Foreclosure - 9 males and 13 females; and Diffusion - 10 males and 12 females.

Instrumentation

Identity. Subjects were classified into the four ego identity
status groups according to the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS) developed by Adams, Shea and Fitch (1979) (see Appendix A). This instrument was based on a theoretically similar instrument developed by Marcia (1966, Note 4). Marcia's Identity Status Interview scored responses for identity crisis and commitment in the areas of occupation, religion, and politics, and classified subjects into the four identity statuses. Problems with Marcia's instrument were: 1) it took too long to administer and thereby was impractical for large groups; and 2) inadequate standardization allowed scoring errors to occur (Marcia, 1976). Adams et al. (1979) undertook four separate investigations to develop a valid and objective self-report measure of ego identity status. They found that the items for each status were capable of discriminating between the remaining statuses while loading moderately or high with their own status total, thus providing some evidence for construct validity. The two committed identity statuses (Foreclosure and Achievement) had little commonality according to the OM-EIS thereby demonstrating the ability of this instrument to differentiate between these two statuses. Internal consistency coefficients were found to be .68 for Diffusion, .76 for Foreclosure, .67 for Moratorium, and .67 for Achievement. As expected, the Identity Achievement group was found to be more committed to ego identity development than the Diffusion group, with the Foreclosure group classified by the OM-EIS as being highest on authoritarianism. Also Achievement persons showed high self acceptance and Foreclosure groups showed higher rigidity; both of these findings were in line with expectations (Muus, 1975). Subjects classified as being Diffused scored significantly below those in the
Achievement group as measured by Marcia's Incomplete Sentence Blank (ISB), and Moratorium and Foreclosure groups fell in between the two extremes providing additional validation for the OM-EIS. Adams et al. also found that, according to classifications with the new instrument, older males were more likely to be in the Achieved and Moratorium groups. This is consistent with theoretical assumptions about achieving higher identity statuses with increased age. The OM-EIS, then, seemed to be sensitive to identity development and age-stage progression; subjects could be classified as moving from one status to another. The five-day test-retest reliability coefficients were .84 for Diffusion, .93 for Foreclosure, .71 for Moratorium, and .78 for Achievement. Although scoring outcomes of the two instruments (Adams's and Marcia's) were not identical, there was a close parallel. Small differences were thought to be due to the new measure's sensitivity to stage transition.

Overall, the results of these four studies suggested a relative degree of concurrent and predictive validity as well as high internal consistency and test-retest reliability. Further, this instrument eliminated sources of rate bias and interviewer's effects and was validated for both sexes, all of which were improvements over Marcia's instrument. In summary, the authors stated that although the OM-EIS is not seen as a total replacement for Marcia's instrument, it was an "evolving experimental research scale" that allowed for larger survey studies (such as the present proposed research). Example items for each of the four status areas follow:

Diffusion: "I'm sure it will be pretty easy for me to change my occupational goals when something better comes along."
Foreclosure: "My parents had it decided a long time ago what I should go into and I'm following their plans."

Moratorium: "I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many I want for a career."

Achievement: "It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career."

Subjects answer these questions on a six-point Likert scale ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree (weighted 6 through 1).

Conformity. Five measures of conformity were utilized. The first measure of conformity was the Peer Rating Scale (PRS) (see Appendix B). This scale was developed in order to obtain peer ratings from friends of the research subjects. Two dilemmas are presented, each requiring the friend to rate the subject on a five-point Likert scale. The first dilemma was developed to tap opinions about the subject's behavior in a peer pressure situation. The second was developed to tap conformity with authority figures.

The second measure, the Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS), was developed by Adams (Note 11) (see Appendix C). This instrument, designed to assess the effects of peer pressure, was based on the conceptual framework of Bronfenbrenner and Devereux. Devereux (1970) validated a Dilemmas Test for grade school children that consisted of several hypothetical situations in which the subject was forced to choose between some autonomously held value and peer or parental values. The dilemmas could be classified into four areas: 1) internalized values versus peer pressure to deviance; 2) achievement versus affiliation, 3) autonomous values versus peer pressure; and 4) autonomous values versus adult pressure. Typically, the subjects are first asked
to respond to the items when they believe they will not be questioned about their responses (normative situation), and again when they believe they will be asked to discuss their answers with the group (peer pressure situation). The difference between the two scores gives a measure of peer pressure effects. Following this same strategy, Adams constructed 35 items for possible use with undergraduates. Items were retained if they correlated positively with total scores in both conditions, and if they demonstrated sensitivity to peer pressure. Two forms of the DITCS, A and B, each with eight items were developed. Adams states:

The forms were compared with regard to total mean peer conformity scores for both normative and peer conditions for both male and female subjects. Nonsignificant differences were reported for all t values. Furthermore, total mean differences with form A or B across normative versus peer conditions were tested for significant mean differences to determine total peer pressure effect for both sexes. All t values approached significance at p < .15 or better on the measure of peer pressure influence. The difference between the overall peer conformity measure for subjects who took forms A and B under the normative versus peer conformity situations were significant at the .05 level (Form A, t = 1.94, df = .88; Form B, t = 2.11, df = .88) with the differences in the expected direction. Slightly greater mean differences were found for females; however, a close examination of male and female mean responses across conditions (normative versus peer) within the same form (A or B) reveals very small absolute differences (p. 46).

All items are scored on an eight-point Likert scale. The total score for each item is from 1 to 8 with the exception of item three which is double scored since two separate responses are required for this dilemma. The highest score (8) represents the highest peer pressure score. The range of total test scores is from 9 to 72. An example dilemma follows:
It's a rainy afternoon and you have started reading a book for a class assignment you are interested in. You are just in the middle of it when the phone rings. It's a bunch of your friends who have gotten together at somebody else's place. They're just sitting around and want you to come over. What would you do?

Go join my friends

very            fairly            somewhat              I guess
certain          certain          certain               so

Keep on reading

I guess            somewhat          fairly            very
so              certain          certain          certain

A pilot study was conducted with the DTCS at Utah State University in an attempt to replicate its sensitivity to peer pressure effects. Of the 15 male and female undergraduates in the study, 10 changed their scores in the expected direction suggesting peer pressure effects. Three had no difference in their responses for the two sessions. Two changed their scores in the opposite direction. A t test comparing scores from the peer pressure situation and normative situation was not statistically significant; a one tailed sign test was significant at the p< .05 level. Overall, the results are in line with hypothesized expectations. That is, some subjects will be more influenced by peer pressure effects than others. Table 2 summarizes the results of the pilot study.

The third and fourth measures of conformity were taken from the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) (Gough, 1957). This scale was developed to measure personality characteristics that have a wide applicability to human behavior and to provide an accurate, brief, dependable measure of several personality variables that were easy and convenient for large-scale applications. The CPI was intended for use with "normal" subjects to measure personality characteristics vital for
Table 2

Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS) Pilot Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Normative Situation</th>
<th>Peer Pressure Situation</th>
<th>Difference and Sign</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>463</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_t_ test = p > .05

Sign test = p < .05
social living and interaction. There are 480 true/false items which yield 18 standard scores on 18 personality variables. Two of these variables were measured in this study using relevant CPI items: **Achievement via Conformance** (AchCon) and **Achievement via Independence** (AchInd) (see Appendix D). Gough describes the purpose of AchCon: "To identify those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where conformance is a positive behavior" (p. 16). High scores on this variable indicate cooperation, efficiency, good organization, persistence, and industrious tendencies. Low scores suggest stubbornness, aloofness, and disorganization under pressure to conform. The purpose of AchInd is: "To identify those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where autonomy and independence are positive behaviors" (p. 16). Individuals with a high AchInd score are often mature, forceful, dominant, independent, and self-reliant. Low scores indicate inhibition, submissive and compliant behaviors, anxiety and cautiousness.

The fifth conformity measure was the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960) (see Appendix E). This variable, need for social desirability, was chosen due to its strong and consistent correlation with conformity behavior (Brannigan, 1977; Horton, Marlowe & Crowne, 1963; Klein, 1967; Marlowe & Crowne, 1961; Miller, Doole, Butler & Marlowe, 1965; Smith & Flenning, 1971; Strickland & Crowne, 1962). For the development of this scale a number of personality inventories were consulted for items that met a criterion of tapping cultural approval yet had little implication for the pathology of a subject whether answered in a socially desirable
or undesirable direction. Fifty original true/false items were judged by ten psychology faculty and graduate students who rated the socially desirable answer for each item. Unanimous agreement was reached on 36 items and 11 items had 90 percent agreement. These 47 items were submitted to ten judges with similar qualifications, and they were asked to rate the degree of maladjustment suggested by the items on a five-point Likert scale. The mean rating (2.8) suggested the items were judged to imply neither good nor poor adjustment. The scale was then administered to 76 undergraduates. An item analysis demonstrated that 33 of the items discriminated between high and low total scores at the .05 level. Eighteen of these items were keyed true and fifteen were keyed false. An internal consistency coefficient of .88 and a test-retest correlation of .89 was obtained.

This new scale was then correlated with the MMPI scales and these correlations were compared with MMPI correlations with the already established Edwards Social Desirability Scale (ESDS) (Edwards, 1957). The authors interpreted these comparisons as evidence that the ESDS was mainly a measure of willingness to admit to neurotic symptoms, and, therefore, was a measure of neuroticism. Crowne and Marlowe (1960) conclude:

The very high correlation obtained with the Edwards scale (and the MMPI) cast doubt on the interpretation of this test as a measure of the influence of social desirability on test responses. The magnitude of the correlations of the new scale (M-C SDS) with the MMPI was considered to be more in accord with a definition of social desirability in terms of the need of subjects to respond to culturally sanctioned ways (p. 354).
Procedure

The author administered the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS) and the first Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS) (normative situation) to approximately 700 subjects. The subjects were classified into the four identity groups and approximately ten males and ten females were randomly selected from each of the four groups for a total of 87 subjects. These subjects were contacted and asked to come to a research session. If they refused or did not show up, a replacement was randomly selected. At this second research session the subjects answered the true/false questions from the California Psychological Inventory (CPI) and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS). Next they completed the second administration of the DTCS (peer pressure situation) and were informed they were expected to discuss and justify their answers in groups after its completion. Changes in scores on the DTCS from personal or familial positions to those of a peer relations orientation were used as the measures of peer pressure effects. Peer pressure conformity according to the DTCS, then, was measured by test response differences between the normative situation and the peer pressure situation. Finally, subjects were asked to give names and phone numbers of at least two friends who would answer the Peer Rating Scale. These peer rates were called within a week of the second research session. The subjects were then debriefed and asked to remain silent about the research strategy. Further, subjects were questioned about their potential awareness of the nature of the experimental task. They were informed that a brief summary of the study would be made available to them at a specified time and place.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Psychometric Evidence: Indices of Reliability and Validity

Peer Rating Scale (PRS) Evaluations. All subjects nominated two peers thought to be knowledgeable about their social behavior. These two acquaintances were contacted for a peer evaluation of the subject's social conformity tendencies. They rated the subject's probable response in two hypothetical situations: the first measured conformity within a peer group framework; the second measured conformity to authority. The two raters for each subject (Peer A and Peer B) then, provided evaluation ratings on these two situations (1 and 2). As Table 3 indicates, the rater's scores on each of the two items and total scores for each rater group are positively correlated ($p < .01$) with the total score obtained by summing the two rater's scores on both situations. Data for Total, Male, and Female sub-samples are relatively consistent. Only one correlation failed to reach significance. Therefore, a Peer Rating Summated Scale score (PRSS) is utilized in all remaining analyses.

Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS). The DTCS was utilized to measure change in conformity behavior due to peer pressure. Unlike the PRSS which provides a score for a general perceived behavioral tendency as evaluated by peers, the DTCS provides a measure of actual behavior change due to specific experimentally induced peer pressures. Given the infrequent use of the DTCS, the relationships between the various data collection procedures were reassessed. That is,
Table 3
Interrater Reliability of Peer Rating Scale (PRS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Raters</th>
<th>Peer Rating Summated Scale, (PRSS)</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peer A1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.6342**</td>
<td>.5883**</td>
<td>.6997**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer A2</td>
<td></td>
<td>.5400**</td>
<td>.7339**</td>
<td>.1482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer A Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>.7790**</td>
<td>.7933**</td>
<td>.7367**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer B1</td>
<td></td>
<td>.4978**</td>
<td>.4715**</td>
<td>.5742**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer B2</td>
<td></td>
<td>.4146**</td>
<td>.4474**</td>
<td>.3166**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peer B Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>.6786**</td>
<td>.6519**</td>
<td>.7077**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ** p < .01 or greater

administration 1 (normative situation), administration 2 (peer pressure situation), and difference scores (DIFF) (administration 2 minus administration 1) were compared. Table 4 provides a summary of the correlational relationships between these procedures. As expected, behavioral tendencies in the normative situation at administration 1 were significantly correlated with the conformity behavior of the peer pressure situation at administration 1. Also, as expected, the negative correlations between administration 1 and the difference score (DIFF) indicate a tendency for both sexes to respond to peer pressure. That is, a negative correlation indicates that individuals scoring low in conformity at the first administration were likely to score higher in conformity when difference scores were obtained between the first and second DTCS administrations. The DTCS mean conformity score for
Table 4

Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS) Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administration 1 (normative situation)</th>
<th>Administration 2 (peer pressure situation)</th>
<th>Difference Score (Admin. 1 minus Admin. 2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.8244**</td>
<td>.7472**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ** p < .01 or greater

administration 1 was M=31.62, sd=8.49; the mean for administration 2 was M=31.67, sd=7.17. It is necessary to note that the date reported in Table 4 on the relationship between the first DTCS administration and the DIFF scores for males was in the expected direction but non-significant although the relationship was significant for the total sample. Difference scores (DIFF) are utilized in the following analyses.

Personality Ratings. The personality rating scales from the CPI measure two dimensions of need for achievement. AchCon measures attitudes about conformance as a path to achievement, while AchInd measures attitudes about independence as a path to achievement. Earlier validation evidence of these two constructs has shown that they correlate $r = .40$ (Gough, 1957). Almost identical correlations are found for the total sample in this study, while there are some slight variations as a function of sex of respondent (see Tables 5, 6, and 7). Further, AchCon, which appears to be measuring a general tendency toward social compliance, should conceptually be associated with a personality
### Table 5

**Correlations Between Dependent Variables, Total**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AchCon</th>
<th>AchInd</th>
<th>SDS</th>
<th>DIFF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRSS</td>
<td>-.2684**</td>
<td>-.3324**</td>
<td>-.0623</td>
<td>-.0070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AchCon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AchInd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.0529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**  *p < .05 or greater  
**p < .01 or greater

### Table 6

**Correlations Between Dependent Variables, Male**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AchCon</th>
<th>AchInd</th>
<th>SDS</th>
<th>DIFF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRSS</td>
<td>-.3742**</td>
<td>-.4434**</td>
<td>.0345</td>
<td>.0028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AchCon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AchInd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.2115</td>
<td>.2066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.1811</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**  **p < .01 or greater
tendency toward socially desirable behavior which is measured by the Social Desirability Scale (SDS). Tables 5, 6, and 7 address this assumption. For the overall sample the expected positive relationship was observed. However, the relationship appears stronger for females than males. Contrary to expectations, the total sample failed to reach a significant negative realtionship between AchInd, which serves as a measure of social independence, and SDS. For the female sample, a positive association between these two variables was observed. This implies that females with a need for achievement characterized by high independence (AchInd) are also quite likely to be concerned about their social image and desirability. Males high in AchInd seems to have less social desirability concerns.

**Convergent-Divergent Validity.** The two most objective and potentially least biased measures of conformity behavior or tendencies in this study are the peer summed evaluations (PRSS) and the difference
score of the DTCS (DIFF). This assumption is based on the self report nature of the other three conformity measures (AchCon, AchInd, SDS). The PRSS is a measure of peer judged conformity tendencies, while DIFF is a measure of actual conformity to peer pressure. Conceptually it might be assumed that a high need for achievement is independent of conformity tendencies. However, it is possible to be both achievement orientated and to utilize the social system in a compliant manner in order to achieve. This dimension is measured by the AchCon scale of the CPI. However, when need for achievement is viewed from a highly independent and self-reliant perspective as measured by the AchInd scale, one might expect either no correlation or a negative relationship with conformity measures. Indeed, while there is some variation due to sex of respondent, data in Tables 5, 6, and 7 suggest that further convergent-divergent validation for utilization of the PRSS and the DIFF scores can be found. As expected, AchCon shows a modest, positive correlation with the DIFF score of the DTCS, while the AchInd scores are nonsignificantly associated with the DIFF measure. However, both AchCon and AchInd are negatively associated with the peer summated score (PRSS). Given that the AchCon and AchInd association to the DIFF scores are in the predicted direction, the negative correlation between AchCon and PRSS suggests peer evaluations of conformity tendencies are overly influenced by their judgments of another person's need for achievement. That is, peers are likely to misjudge, at times, a person who is viewed as having a high need for achievement (measured here by the two CPI scales) as being a nonconformist or noncompliant person.
when in fact high need achievers may be compliant (measured here by AchCon) or more independent (measured by AchInd).

Ego Identity Status and Conformity X Sex Relationships

The primary focus of this study was to examine the relationships between ego identity status formation of males and females and their conformity tendencies. Because previous research had shown that age is positively associated with advanced identity status development, a Sex X Identity Status factorial analysis of covariance, using age as the covariate, was computed on the dependent variables: peer evaluation (PRSS), social dilemma behavior (DIFF), and personality self reports (AchCon, AchInd, SDS).

Peer Rating Summated Scale (PRSS). A significant main and an interaction effect were observed for these data. A main effect for sex of subject, \(F(1,78)=9.14, p<.003\), indicated that males were viewed by their peers as being more conforming than females. However, a significant sex of subject X identity status interaction, \(F(3,78)=5.11, p<.003\), which is depicted in Figure 1, shows that male Diffusion and Foreclosure subjects were viewed as being significantly more conforming than Diffused or Foreclosed females, while no meaningful differences were observed for Moratorium or Identity Achievement males and females. The discrepancy in peer evaluations is the largest for the Foreclosed status.

Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS). Analysis of covariance with age as the covariate was completed on administration 1, administration 1, and difference (DIFF) scores of the DTCS. Contrary to the
Figure 1. Peer rating summated scale (PRSS) X sex and Ego identity status.
original hypothesis, no significant main or interaction effects were observed for administration 2 of DIFF scores. However, for the normative condition in administration 1 as significant main effect, \( F(3,78) = 3.68, p < .01 \), revealed that Diffusion status males and females were more likely than the other identity status comparisons to conform to peer pressures.

**Achievement Conformity Scale (AchCon).** Analysis using the same covariance technique on the AchCon scores yielded a significant main effect for identity status comparisons only, \( F(3,78) = 4.41, p < .006 \). As illustrated in Figure 2, Diffusion status males and females scored lowest on AchCon with a general linear trend toward higher scores as one moves from least to most advanced identity status categories.

**Achievement Independence Scale (AchInd) and Social Desirability Scale (SDS).** No significant relationships between sex of subjects and identity status were observed for the dependent measures AchInd and SDS.

**Religion X Sex of Subject**

Post hoc comparisons were also made on the potential mediational relationship between sex of subject and identity status due to religious affiliation. First, a series of analyses were computed to explore the potential relationship between sex of subject and religious affiliation (LDS versus non LDS) independent of identity status. On the AchCon dependent variable, LDS subjects were observed to be more socially compliant than the non LDS respondents \( F(1,82) = 10.75, p < .002 \). On the AchInd scale, a significant sex X religion interaction, \( F(1,82) = 7.14, \)
Figure 2. Achievement conformity (AchCon) X ego identity status.
p < .009, revealed that LDS males scored higher in independence than LDS females, while non LDS females scored higher than non LDS males (see Figure 3). Finally, on the DTCS DIFF score a main effect for religion, F(1,82) = 9.96, p < .003, revealed that LDS males and females scored significantly higher than their non LDS counterparts on conformity behavior in response to peer pressure.

Religion X Identity Status

In a final series of analyses comparisons were made between identity status and religious affiliation for conformity behavior. Given the post hoc nature of these analyses, we were unable to compute the statistical analyses including sex of subject due to low cell frequencies. On the PRSS and the DIFF scores there were no significant interactions between religion and identity status. For both the AchCon scale, F(3,78) = 3.67, p < .01, and the AchInd scale, F(3,78) = 5.30, p < .002, a significant interaction between religion and identity status was observed. Figure 4 indicates that for the Foreclosed and Moratorium status youths, LDS membership heightens need for achievement through social compliance. Figure 5 depicts a different and somewhat confusing picture. However, a close examination suggests some similarity between Figure 4 and Figure 5 data. LDS membership was in both figures associated with higher achievement scores for the Foreclosed and Moratorium youths. However, for the Diffusion and Identity Achievement statuses, non LDS membership generally predicted higher achievement scores.
Figure 3. Achievement independence (AchInd) X sex and religion.
Figure 4. Achievement conformity (AchCon) X religion and ego identity status.
Figure 5. Achievement independence (AchInd) X religion and ego identity status.
This study of the relationship between ego identity status and conformity was based on Erikson's (1956) conceptualization of psychological growth and development. Erikson proposed a series of crises to be resolved at different ages. The focus in this study was on the identity versus role confusion stage encountered in late adolescence. Marcia (1966) operationalized this stage so that adolescents and young adults could be placed in one of four ego identity status groups. These four groups are based on personal ideological crisis and commitment in the areas of politics, religion, and occupation. The identity statuses are, in order from lowest to highest in their maturity level: Diffusion, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Identity Achievement (see Table 1).

This classification scheme has prompted many researchers to examine the relationship between ego identity status and such areas as intellect, academic achievement, personality variables, child rearing practices, college adjustment, interpersonal relations and intimacy, moral reasoning, and sex differences. The focus of this investigation was a less studied variable: conformity. Indeed, there were but two studies in this area. Toder and Marcia (1973) identified 64 female undergraduates in the four ego identity groups and conducted an experimental conformity task. They found that the Achievement and Foreclosure statuses, the more stable statuses, were associated with less conformity than the "unstable" statuses. However, Ryan (Note 3) was unable to replicate
the results with women or men. He found no differences in conformity for the four ego identity statuses for either sex. Both of these studies utilized the Asch (1956) perceptual conformity task. The conflicting results might be explained in terms of this limited measure of conformity. First, it only measures one of the many aspects of conformity. Second, the deceptive nature of the Asch task is often known by college students and this may grossly contaminate the results. Third, the conformity task seems highly sensitive to sociocultural variables which emphasize passivity or assertiveness. It was proposed that a better measure of conformity was needed to assess the "true" relationship between identity status and conformity.

Psychometric Evidence

The purpose of this replication/extension study, then, was to investigate the relationship of ego identity status and conformity in a more complex manner than had previously been attempted. Conformity was measured in five ways: a peer rating, experimentally induced conformity, and three self-report measures. For the Peer Rating Scale (see Appendix B) two friends of each subject rated their opinion of the subject's probable reaction in two hypothetical situations. One situation tapped peer conformity, the other tapped conformity to authority. This measure, then, provided four conformity scores for each subject. That is, two raters (Peer A and Peer B) rated each subject on two situations (1 and 2). It was found that each peer rater rated the subject in a significantly similar manner on both hypothetical situations. Therefore, a total score for the peer ratings was justified.
This total score was labeled as the Peer Rating Summated Scale (PRSS). Table 3 displays these intercorrelations. The PRSS allowed a single score that summed two peer's rating of a subject's probable behavior in two different conformity settings.

The second conformity measure was the Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS) (see Appendix C). This test provided a measure of experimentally induced behavior change due to induced peer pressure. The test was administered twice, first in a normative situation in which the subject did not expect to have to share his answers, and second in a peer pressure situation in which the subject was led to believe he would be expected to share and justify his answers. Correlations between administrations 1 and 2, and the difference score (DIFF) were computed to assist in establishing the DTCS as a valid measure of conformity behavior. As expected, administrations 1 and 2 were highly correlated while administration 1 and DIFF was negatively correlated—suggesting subjects changed their responses in the direction of increased conformity during the peer pressure situation. The DIFF score of the DTCS, then, was utilized as a measure of conformity in a peer pressure situation.

The third, fourth, and fifth measures of conformity were subject self reports on personality measures. Two were from the California Personality Inventory subscales: Achievement via Conformity (AchCon) and Achievement via Independence (AchInd). AchCon measure attitudes about conformity behavior as a path to achievement, while AchInd measures attitudes about independence behaviors as a path to achievement. It would be expected that these two scales would have a moderate
correlation since they both tap achievement attitudes, and this is what was found. There was approximately a .40 correlation between AchCon and AchInd in this study and in Gough's (1957) original study (see Tables 5, 6, and 7). These two scales, then, give a self-report measure of attitudes about conformity and independence in relation to achievement.

The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (SDS) was the fifth measure of conformity. This scale was chosen because of its consistently high correlation with conformity measures. It served as a measure of one of the highest correlates of conformity, the need to appear in a socially desirable manner. This variable would be expected to correlate highly with AchCon, the self-report conformity measure. This relationship was obtained, and it appeared to be stronger for females than males (see Tables 5, 6, and 7). That is, conformist females seemed to have a higher need for social desirability than conformist males while both of these groups had a higher social desirability need than less conformist males and females.

SDS would be expected to have a negative relationship with AchInd, the self-report independence measure. This was not the case. In fact, for females a positive relationship between the two variables was noted (see Tables 5, 6, and 7). Overall, these data seem to suggest that for the association between conformity behaviors and achievement, females, regardless of their standing on the conformity-independence continuum, are more likely than males to demonstrate a high need for social desirability. Males reporting high
conformity on the achievement dimension also report higher social desirability needs than males who report high independence as it relates to achievement.

Further analysis of conformity intercorrelations provides insight into the relationships among the conformity measures. The two least biased conformity measures seem to be PRSS and the DIFF score of the DTCS since they represent a peer rating and experimentally induced conformity. DIFF would be expected to show a modest positive correlation with AchCon since both measure conformity, but different aspects of the conformity concept. It would be expected that there would be no relationship or a negative relationship between DIFF and AchInd since they measured different, seemingly unrelated concepts. This is precisely what was observed. The data for the PRSS and the AchCon/AchInd relationship is less clear. PRSS is negatively associated with both. The negative PRSS-AchInd relationship would be expected as subjects who report themselves as being independent would probably be reported as less conformist by peers. The reason for the negative relation between PRSS and AchCon might be that peers tend to perceive anyone with high need achievement (as measured by AchCon and AchInd) as also being independent. That is, peers seem to assume that a high need for achievement tends to rule out high conformity behavior and implies high independence behaviors.

In summary, this data suggested that the five measures in this study measured varying aspects of conformity, and that no two measures tapped exactly the same aspect of the global concept of conformity.
For the most part, the intercorrelations among the variables demonstrated relationships that would be expected on conceptual or theoretical grounds. Further, these five measures permitted three different avenues of measurement (peer rating, experimental, and self report) that increased the probability of an unbiased and comprehensive measure of a subject's reported and observed conformity behavior.

**Ego Identity Status and Conformity X Sex Relationships**

The main thrust of this research was to study the relationship between an individual's ego identity status and his or her conformity tendencies. The general hypothesis was that those in the lower ego identity statuses (Diffusion and Foreclosure) would be more conforming than those in the higher identity statuses (Moratorium and Achievement). According to peer ratings (PRSS), this was the case for males. Peer rating data indicated males were more conforming in general, but a sex X identity status interaction seems to account for this phenomena. The Diffusion and Foreclosure status males were much more likely to be rated as high conformers than were their female counterparts. There were no significant differences in conformity between males and females in the Moratorium and Achievement groups. This suggests that males who have not yet experienced an ideological crisis and/or made a commitment in the areas of politics, religion, and occupation are more likely to readily conform to peer pressures and to authority figures than are females with similar identity statuses. Further, they are more likely to demonstrate conformity behavior than are males.
or females who are currently experiencing an identity crisis or have already experienced a relevant crisis and made ideological commitments.

The conclusions from the peer ratings are partially backed by DTCS data. Although no significant effects were noted for administration 2 or the difference score (DIFF) of the two administrations, there was a significant relationship between the identity statuses and administration 1. Diffusion status males and females were significantly higher on conformity scores of the DTCS than were individuals in the other identity statuses. This lends support for the conclusion that those who have not experienced a significant crisis or made commitments in important value laden areas are more likely to be conforming individuals than those who have. However, the difference scores of the DTCS suggest peer pressure effects of the nature measured by the dilemmas test may not be associated with substantive differences between identity status groups.

The self-report measures are more difficult to interpret. For AchCon there is a linear relationship between ego identity status and self-reported achievement via conformity. As individuals progress from the lower to higher identity statuses they report more and stronger need to achieve through conformity behaviors. At first glance this data would appear to be at odds with the PRSS and the DRCS evidence which suggests that the lower identity statuses have the higher conformity behaviors. These seemingly incongruent results might be explained in terms of the contaminating variable: need for achievement. Intuitively, it would be expected that those in the higher identity statuses would report more achievement behaviors.
They have struggled with personal ideological issues and have at least started toward commitments. They would seem to have a more focused, goal oriented, achievement oriented attitude than those who have never thought about their values or beliefs or made commitments in these areas. Also, those in the more mature identity statuses were likely to be older and thus they might be expected to have a higher need for achievement. Therefore, those in the Moratorium and Achievement groups might report more achievement behaviors than would those in the Foreclosure and Diffusion groups even if it meant reporting more conformity in this limited arena. Further, individuals in the higher identity statuses might realistically perceive certain conformity behaviors as necessary to achieve in certain areas. They might then report conformity behaviors in this limited area (achievement) although in general they are less conforming than those in the lower identity statuses (as is suggested by PRSS and DTCS). Assuming that subjects perceived conformity behaviors as the best path to achievement (as is hypothesized above), the AchInd variable would be expected to be differently related to ego identity statuses. In fact, there was no significant relationship between AchInd and identity status suggesting that individuals in the different statuses did not differ in self reports of independence tendencies.

Finally, individuals in the four identity groups did not differ significantly in their reported desires to appear in a socially desirable manner as measured by the SDS variable. After the completion of the study it was realized that the use of the SDS variable
was inappropriate since the CM-EIS was developed to be independent of social desirability needs. Therefore, it would be expected that the SDS variable would show no meaningful relationship with the four identity statuses as measured by the CM-EIS.

Post Hoc Results

This study was conducted in a geographical area strongly influenced by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). A post hoc analysis of the effects of religious affiliation yielded some interesting differences between religious groups. LDS subjects scored higher on self-reported conformity (AchCon) and on the experimental measure of conformity (DIFF) than did non LDS subjects. This might reflect a general trend for LDS subjects to respond to a religious culture that emphasized religious and political conformity. However, there were sex differences. LDS males were significantly more likely to report higher achievement via independence (AchInd) than were LDS females. It was just the opposite for the non LDS group. A possible explanation is that LDS females were responding to pressures to assume a more traditional, conformist female role while non LDS females were responding to current social pressures for a more liberal, independent definition of female roles.

The data on religious affiliation and ego identity status leads to a rather surprising conclusion in the area of achievement and conformity. For both measures of achievement tendencies (AchCon and AchInd) LDS subjects in the Foreclosure and Moratorium groups scored higher than LDS counterparts in the Diffusion and Achievement groups.
The opposite was true of non LDS subjects. Non LDS subjects in the Diffusion and Achievement groups reported more achievement tendencies. An adequate explanation of this confusing picture would be contingent on further data collection.

A Conceptual Summary

The general hypothesis for this study was that as subjects move from lower to higher ego identity statuses they will demonstrate less conformity behavior. This was partially confirmed by two measures of conformity: PRSS and D'TCS. At least for males, membership in the Diffusion or Foreclosure status suggests higher conformity behaviors according to peer ratings. And, according to the D'TCS, male and female Diffusion subjects are more conforming.

Two of the four specific hypotheses were at least partially supported. The Achievement and Moratorium groups did have lower conformity scores on two measures of conformity than did the Foreclosure and Diffusion groups. Also, in general, males and females did not differ significantly in conformity scores although peers rated male Diffusions and Foreclosures as more conforming than females in the same group, and females seemed to report higher social desirability needs. No significant differences were found between the Achievement and Moratorium groups and between the Foreclosure and Diffusion groups in terms of conformity.

An individual's identity status has important implications for many areas of life including college achievement, abilities to be intimate, personality characteristics, etc. This study suggests that
it also has implications for conformity behavior. Individuals in the less mature identity statuses (Diffusion and Foreclosure) are more likely to be rated by friends as being more conforming. This implies that those who have not thought deeply about their values in important life areas are more likely to "follow the crowd" rather than decide what is right for themselves. Those in the more mature identity statuses (Moratorium and Achievement) would be more likely to evaluate a situation according to internal norms before acting. They have thought about their values in critical areas but not necessarily made commitments.

Limitations

There are at least three possible limitations to this study. First, the sample is probably not highly representative of late adolescents in general since only college students from a geographical area strongly influenced by the LDS religion were utilized. Caution should be used in generalizing these results to adolescents not in college or in a different geographical area. Second, it is assumed that ego identity status is measured by crises and commitment in three areas: politics, religion, and occupation. It might be argued that this is too limited a measure of the complex concept of ego identity status. Finally, the measurement of conformity might be questioned. Despite the improvements over previous studies in this regard, it is unclear whether the global concept of conformity was adequately measured.
Implications and Suggestions for Further Research

This study suggests that conformity is a relevant variable in the study of ego identity status. It can legitimately be added to the variables that have been studied to increase the understanding of ego identity status. More specifically, these results partially confirm Toder and Marcia's (1973) contention that Achievement women are less conforming. However, current results are at odds with their conclusions that Foreclosure women are also less conforming. Further study is indicated here. It appears that the other study in the area of conformity and ego identity status (Ryan, Note 3) found no relationship because of a narrow definition of conformity. When the conformity concept is broken down and measured from several different operationalizations, conformity differences among the groups emerge.

There is an obvious need for further research in this specific area. The data from this study hints at a possible inverse linear relationship between conformity and levels of ego identity status. Some consistent conformity differences between the groups have been demonstrated. A replication study in a more diverse cultural environment is recommended to assess the effects of a high percentage of LDS subjects in this study. The replication might be conducted without the use of two of the self-report measures, AchInd and SDS, since they seemed to add little meaningful information. Also, new measures of the global concept of conformity should be added in future research.

This research area has possible implications for teaching and psychotherapy. Assuming that the inverse linear relationship between
conformity and ego identity status holds up under further examination, a teacher with the knowledge of a student's identity status could program his or her instruction to take advantage of conformity tendencies. Diffusion and Foreclosure students would probably benefit from a structured, clear-cut, step-by-step environment while Moratorium and Achievement students might learn more easily in a looser environment with more room for creative and independent thought. Knowledge of an individual's ego identity status might be even more meaningful for a counselor or therapist. One obvious implication would be to emphasize values clarification for the Diffusion, and possibly the Foreclosure and Moratorium, client. Conformity might become a therapeutic issue that would allow a client to achieve a higher identity status. The therapist or counselor aware of a client's identity status would also have some clear indications of the client's tendencies in several areas that are correlated with identity status (e.g., conformity, college adjustment, personality variables, etc.). This would be an aid in diagnosis and treatment planning. However, these interventions are at present premature and would depend on further validation of the conformity and ego identity status relationship.


REFERENCES


Asch, S. E. Studies of independence and conformity: I. A minority of one against a unanimous majority. Psychological Monographs, 1956, 70, 1-70.


APPENIXES
Appendix A

Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS)
Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OM-EIS)

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it fits your own impressions as to how it best reflects your thoughts and feelings.

1. I haven't really considered politics. They just don't excite me much.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</table>

2. I might have thought about a lot of different things but there's never really been a decision since my parents said what they wanted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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</table>

3. When it comes to religion, I just haven't found any that I'm really into myself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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4. My parents had it decided a long time ago what I should go into and I'm following their plans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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</table>

5. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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</table>

6. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or another.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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</table>

7. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
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</table>

8. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into but I'm working toward becoming a ______ until something better comes along.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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</tbody>
</table>
9. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I really never was involved in politics enough to have to make a firm stand one way or the other.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm not so sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I may or may not agree with many of my parent's beliefs.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong to me.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm sure it will be pretty easy for me to change my occupational goals when something better comes along.</td>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Moderately</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17. My folks have always had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they have.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

18. I've gone through a period of serious questioning about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

19. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20. I just can't decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs I'll be right for.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

21. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

22. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many that have possibilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

23. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents, it must be right for me.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

24. Politics are 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 believe in.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Appendix B
Peer Rating Scale (PRS)
Peer Rating Scale (PRS)

Instructions for Callers

Hello. My name is ______. Your friend _______ gave me your name and phone number and permission to call you to ask you a couple of questions about him/her as part of a psychology experiment he/she participated in. Please just give me your frank opinion about how your friend would behave in the following situations. This information will be treated confidentially, no one but me will see or hear your responses.

**Dilemma 1**

If your friend were in a situation where a close group of friends or peers asked him to do something unusual (e.g., a dare or something he/she might not usually do), how do you believe ________ would behave? Please answer according to the following scale.

Not go along  Might go along  ½ time go along  Probably go along  Definitely go along

1  2  3  4  5

**Dilemma 2**

If your friend had a specific opinion about something, but found himself/herself in public conflict with a professor or boss, how do you believe _________ would publicly behave?

Maintain own  Might maintain  ½ time maintain  Probably do along with boss or prof.

opinion  own opinion  own opinion  with boss or prof.

1  2  3  4  5
Appendix C

Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS)
Dilemmas Test for College Students (DTCS)

Dilemma No. 1

Today is your little brother's birthday and your family wants you to come home to help celebrate. But two of your best friends have asked you to join them for the day doing something you really enjoy. What would you do?

GO HOME AND PLEASE YOUR PARENTS

| Very Certain | Fairly Certain | Somewhat Certain | I Guess So |

JOIN YOUR FRIENDS

| I Guess Somewhat | Fairly Certain | Very Certain |
| So Certain | Certain | Certain |

Dilemma No. 2

Recently you've found out something about one of your friends which could endanger some others. This information was given to you by your friend in utmost confidence. You know if you don't tell the authorities someone will probably be hurt badly. Your other friends advise you to keep quiet and not betray a confidence. But something serious could happen. What would you do?

KEEP QUIET AND FOLLOW YOUR FRIENDS

| Very Certain | Fairly Certain | Somewhat Certain | I Guess So |

INFORM THE PROPER AUTHORITIES

| I Guess Somewhat | Fairly Certain | Very Certain |
| So Certain | Certain | Certain |

Dilemma No. 3

There's a professor at the university that nobody likes. Some of the people you go around with suggest palying a trick on this teacher by hiding a very real-looking rubber snake in the prof's desk. They want you to help by watching in the hall and giving a warning if anybody comes. What would you do? Would you tell your friends they shouldn't do it, or let each one do what he wants?
LET EACH ONE DO WHAT HE WANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Certain</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>I Guess</th>
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</thead>
</table>

TELL MY FRIENDS THEY SHOULDN'T DO IT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Guess</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Very</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>So</th>
<th>Certain</th>
<th>Certain</th>
<th>Certain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Suppose they decided to go ahead. Would you help your friends by watching in the hall as they asked you to?

REFUSE TO HELP MY FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>I Guess</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Certain | Certain | So |

WOULD HELP MY FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Guess</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Very</th>
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</table>

| So | Certain | Certain | Certain |

Dilemma No. 4

You are playing an exciting game with some of your friends when suddenly you remember that you still have a little homework to do. If you stop playing now you'll have time to do a good job. If you keep on playing, you'll just barely be able to finish it after the game. But if you stop now, you'll disappoint your friends because it will break up the game. What would you really do?

NOT BREAK UP THE GAME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>I Guess</th>
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</table>

| Certain | Certain | So |

BREAK UP THE GAME WITH YOUR FRIENDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Guess</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Fairly</th>
<th>Very</th>
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| So | Certain | Certain | Certain |
Dilemma No. 5

You have political aspirations and a local politician has asked you to help during his campaign. This person's political power may help you in your future ambitions. However, your friends believe that this person's political activities are corrupt, dishonest, and shabby. They are pressuring you to resign from your position. What would your inclination be to do in this situation?

FOLLOW YOUR FRIENDS' ADVICE AND RESIGN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Certain</th>
<th>Fairly Certain</th>
<th>Somewhat Certain</th>
<th>I Guess So</th>
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</table>

CONTINUE IN YOUR POSITION TO FURTHER YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Guess So</th>
<th>Somewhat Certain</th>
<th>Fairly Certain</th>
<th>Very Certain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

DILEMMA No. 6

All of your life you think that you have believed in a sense of independence and working hard to get ahead. Since meeting some new friends, whose opinions you value, you've been pressured to work less hard and to recognize the beauty of being dependent upon a group of close friends to help you get ahead. Your grades and interest in school are dropping off. What would you do?

CONTINUE SEEING YOUR FRIENDS AND ENJOY THEIR COMPANY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Certain</th>
<th>Fairly Certain</th>
<th>Somewhat Certain</th>
<th>I Guess So</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

SEE YOUR FRIENDS LESS SO YOU CAN GET MORE DONE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Guess So</th>
<th>Somewhat Certain</th>
<th>Fairly Certain</th>
<th>Very Certain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**Dilemma No. 7**

The person you've been dating for several weeks is pressuring you to have sex when you have an evening together. You are not sure if you're ready yet or how you feel about going all the way. You've talked to your friends and they all think you should become completely intimate and have sexual intercourse. You aren't sure how you feel, but you tend to believe that you need to truly love someone before you become completely involved. Your friend is reassuring you and pressuring you to have sexual intercourse. What would you do?

**BEGIN A SEXUAL INTIMACY**

| Very Certain | Fairly Certain | Somewhat Certain | I Guess So |

**REFUSE TO HAVE SEXUAL RELATIONS**

| I Guess So | Somewhat Certain | Fairly Certain | Very Certain |

**Dilemma No. 8**

An organization that you belong to had some money left over at the end of the year and the President and Officers decided to have a party with the remaining money. One person whom nobody likes was absent that day and didn't hear about the party. The other people suggest not saying anything about it, so that this person won't be there. What would you do in this situation?

**GO ALONG WITH THE REST OF THE PEOPLE**

| Very Certain | Fairly Certain | Somewhat Certain | I Guess So |

**REFUSE TO GO UNLESS THIS PERSON WAS INCLUDED**

| I Guess So | Somewhat Certain | Fairly Certain | Very Certain |
Appendix D

California Psychological Inventory (CPI)
California Psychological Inventory

Subscales Achievement via Conformance (AchCon)* and Achievement via Independence (AchInd)

If you agree with a statement or feel that it is true about you, answer true. If you disagree with a statement, or feel that it is not true about you, answer false. Circle the letter.

*1. I looked up to my father as an ideal man. T F

*2. Our thinking would be a lot better if we would just forget about words like "probably", "approximately", and "perhaps". T F

*3. I have a very strong desire to be a success in the world. T F

4. I liked "Alice in Wonderland" by Lewis Carroll. T F

5. I usually go to the movies more than once a week. T F

6. I have had very peculiar and strange experiences. T F

7. I am often said to be hotheaded. T F

8. When I was going to school, I played hooky quite often. T F

*9. I have very few fears compared to my friends. T F

*10. For most questions there is just one right answer, once a person is able to get all the facts. T F

*11. I think I would like the work of a school teacher. T F

*12. When someone does me a wrong I feel I should pay him back if I can, just for the principle of the thing. T F

*13. I seem to be about as capable and smart as most others around me. T F

14. I usually take an active part in the entertainment at parties. T F

*15. The trouble with many people is that they don't take things seriously enough. T F

*16. It is always a good thing to be frank. T F

*Items from AchCon scale have an asterisk, some items are in both scales.
*17. It is annoying to listen to a lecturer who cannot seem to make up his mind as to what he really believes. T F

*18. I don't blame anyone for trying to get all he can in this world. T F

19. Planning one's activities in advance is very likely to take most of the fun out of life. T F

*20. I was a slow learner in school. T F

21. I like poetry. T F

*22. There is something wrong with a person who can't take orders without getting angry or resentful. T F

23. Sometimes without any reason or even when things are going wrong, I feel excitedly happy, "on top of the world". T F

*24. I wake up fresh and rested most mornings. T F

25. It is alright to get around the law if you don't actually break it. T F

*26. Parents are much too easy on their children nowadays. T F

*27. I have a tendency to give up easily when I meet difficult problems. T F

*28. I certainly feel useless at times. T F

29. I have the wonderlust and am never happy unless I am roaming or traveling about. T F

*30. I am sometimes cross and grouchy without any good reason. T F

31. My parents have often disapproved of my friends. T F

32. Teachers often expect too much work from the students. T F

33. My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others. T F

*34. I have had blank spells in which my activities were interrupted and I did not know what was going on around me. T F

35. I like to keep people guessing what I'm going to do next. T F

36. I think I would like to fight in a boxing match sometime. T F
*37. If given a chance, I would make a good leader of people. T F
*38. I like to plan a home study schedule and then follow it. T F
*39. I have often found people jealous of my good ideas, just because they had not thought of them first. T F
40. In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for cutting up. T F
*41. People pretend to care more about one another than they really do. T F
*42. I like to read about history. T F
*43. I am so touchy about some subjects that I can't talk about them. T F
*44. The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans. T F
45. I like to talk before groups of people. T F
*46. The man who provides temptation by leaving available property unprotected is about as much to blame for its theft as the one who steals it. T F
*47. I am often bothered by useless thoughts which keep running through my mind. T F
*48. I like to plan out my activities in advance. T F
49. I must admit I find it very hard to work under strict rules and regulations. T F
50. I like large, noisy parties. T F
*51. I sometimes feel that I am a burden to others. T F
*52. Only a fool would try to change our American way of life. T F
*53. I always try to do at least a little better than what is expected of me. T F
*54. Lawbreakers are almost always caught and punished. T F
*55. I would be very unhappy if I was not successful at something I had seriously started to do. T F
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I dread the thought of an earthquake</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>I often lose my temper.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>My parents were always very stern with me.</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>I am bothered by people outside, on streetcars, in stores, etc., watching me.</td>
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<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>I often get disgusted with myself.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Society owes a lot more to the businessman and the manufacturer than it does to the artist and professor.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>I think I would like to belong to a motorcycle club.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>I used to like it very much when one of my papers was read to the class in school.</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>I feel that I have often been punished without cause.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td>I don't seem to care what happens to me.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

T F T F T F T F T F T F T F T F T F
Appendix E
Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale (SDS)
Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale (SDS)

Read each statement and decide whether the item is true or false as it pertains to you personally. Circle the letter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Before voting, I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. On a few occasions I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my abilities.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. I like to gossip at times.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. I can remember &quot;playing sick&quot; to get out of something.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. I always try to practice what I preach.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget  T  F
20. When I don't know something, I don't mind admitting it.  T  F
21. I am always courteous even to people who are disagreeable.  T  F
22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.  T  F
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.  T  F
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.  T  F
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.  T  F
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.  T  F
27. I never made a long trip without checking the safety of the car.  T  F
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.  T  F
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.  T  F
30. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.  T  F
31. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.  T  F
32. I sometimes think that when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.  T  F
33. I have never deliberately said anything that hurt someone's feelings.  T  F
VITA

Joseph J. Hoffman

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Doctor of Philosophy

Dissertation: Ego Identity Status and Conformity

Major Field: Psychology

Biographical Information:

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Educational Background:

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Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois, Master of Arts degree in Clinical Psychology, July, 1979

University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, B.A. degree, Magna Cum Laude, with Honors in Psychology, June, 1976, Major in Psychology, minor in Biology

Professional Experience:

Durham V.A. Medical Center, Durham, North Carolina, APA approved internship, Major rotations: Inpatient/Outpatient Psychiatry, Medical Consultation/Terminal Illness, Research (MMPI floating profiles)

Child Guidance Clinic, Durham, North Carolina, Internship Outplacement, Cognitive, Educational, and Personality Assessment of children and adolescents, Psychoanalytically oriented Individual Therapy for children, Family therapy

Bear River Mental Health Center, Logan, Utah, Psychology Extern, Individual, marital, and family therapy, Dissertation research (psychoterapeutic outcome)
Exceptional Child Center, Utah State University, Logan, Utah, Assessment specialist, tested severely/profoundly retarded children, part of a team to develop a model program for the education of severely/profoundly retarded children

Tri County Counseling Center, Carrolton, Illinois, Mental health counselor, individual, marital, and group therapy, Psychological testing, research, aftercare coordinator: placement and follow-up of clients discharged from state hospitals to community-based living

Belleville Mental Health Center, Belleville, Illinois, Emergency Outreach Worker, responded to emergency hotline calls with crisis intervention home visits

Saint Vincents Psychiatric Hospital, Normandy, Missouri, Psychiatric Attendant on adolescent and adult units, Group co-therapist, activities leader, set up behavioral contracts with individual patients

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Submitted for publication to Journal of Youth and Adolescence, "Ego Identity Status and Conformity."

Presented a paper entitled "Resources for the Individual Assessment Curriculum System" at a workshop in Salt Lake City for deaf/blind teachers in Utah in April, 1980.