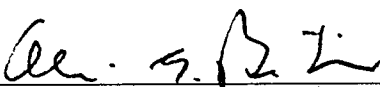
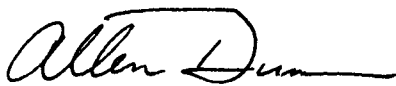


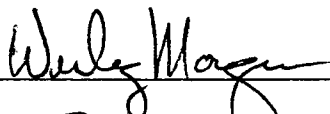
To the Graduate Council:

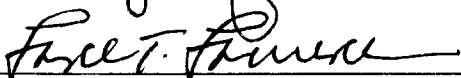
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Patricia Jean Marterer entitled "Narrative Expressions of Identity and Intimacy Concerns in College Students." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.


Alvin G. Burstein, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:







Accepted for the Council:


Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

NARRATIVE EXPRESSIONS OF IDENTITY AND INTIMACY CONCERNS
IN COLLEGE STUDENTS

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Patricia Jean Marterer

August, 1991

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my big, noisy, wonderful family: to my mother, for her patience and warmth; to my father, for the life-long gift of music; to my three brothers, Bill, Jerry, and Jeff, and my two sisters, Elaine and Linda, for all the richness and diversity knowing them has brought into my life and to my becoming the person that I am.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish first to thank my committee members: Al Burstein, whose scholarliness has always been inspirational, and whose belief in my abilities has sustained me through some very dark times; Lance Laurence, whose supervision has contributed so greatly to my identity as a clinical psychologist; to Wes Morgan, whose thoughtful readings of my dissertation chapters and generous availability to me in coping with difficulties may well have made possible the timely completion of this project; and Allen Dunn, whose intellectual rigor, knowledge of narrative analysis, delightful sense of humor, and overall investment in my project always revived my energy for and interest in the pursuit of knowledge.

I wish also to thank Doug Creveling and Meg Woodruff, not only for their painstaking ratings of Van Lennep FPT stories, but for maintaining good humor throughout the process...it cannot always have been easy!

Both Al Burstein and Sandra Loucks deserve thanks for having created and maintained a research lab setting where ideas can be conceived and grow to fruition.

I am enormously grateful to several friends and colleagues for their very important interest and support as this project was underway: to Karen Josvanger, Mavis Bryant, Meg Woodruff, Beth Turner, John Long, Lee Ensign, and Bob Christie, who all helped me to keep depression at bay and to believe in myself, and to Lila Shaara, whose friendship has many times over been my salvation.

And finally, I want to express my deep appreciation to Jack Barlow, for his constancy and all of his teachings.

ABSTRACT

This study focused upon the presence and positive/negative quality of identity and intimacy concerns, in academically successful undergraduate students of both sexes, as expressed in Four Picture Test (FPT) story narratives. Scores for frequency and quality of identity and intimacy concerns were derived by applying the Stewart, Franz, and Layton coding system, which was developed to assess narrative data from the perspective of Eriksonian developmental theory; these scores were also compared to same-subject scores on the Differential Personality Questionnaire (DPQ) scales of Wellbeing, Achievement, Social Closeness, and Alienation.

Identity concerns were expressed twice as often as intimacy concerns by these subjects; groupings by sex and by age (17-21 years and 22-39 years) failed to moderate this finding. This supports the research suggesting that identity development tends to be intensified and prolonged by the college experience; moreover, such a focus upon issues of identity may push into the background or even preclude concerns with intimacy issues during this period. Indeed, expressions of positive identity significantly increased with age within this sample, whereas the total number of intimacy concerns expressed was negatively correlated with age at a level approaching significance.

While there were significant correlations amongst all identity and intimacy scores--except between positive identity and negative intimacy-- the strongest relationships were between positive and negative identity and between positive and negative intimacy; this supports the view of Erikson's developmental stages as involving a

dynamic interplay of positive and negative aspects.

Both positive and negative identity scores were significantly correlated with the Wellbeing scale scores; positive identity scores were significantly correlated with Social Closeness and Achievement scale scores, although this latter correlation was, unexpectedly, in a negative direction. While only positive intimacy scores correlated significantly with Wellbeing scale scores, both positive and negative intimacy scores were significantly correlated to Social Closeness scale scores. Neither negative identity nor negative intimacy scores correlated, as had been hypothesized, with Alienation scale scores.

This successful application of a system of narrative analysis to projectively-derived stories makes promising the use of such methodology in future personality assessment research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	
I. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	7
Life Span Development	7
Stage Theories	9
Biographical Theories	15
Socio-cultural Theories	17
Identity	20
Intimacy	30
Identity and Intimacy	35
Narrative and Personality Assessment	41
Summary	49
II. METHODS	50
Subjects	50
Instruments	51
Van Lennep Four Picture Test	51
Stewart, Franz, & Layton Scoring System for Aspects of the Adult Self	52
Differential Personality Questionnaire	58
Procedures	60
Hypotheses	60
III. RESULTS	62
Description of Subjects	62
Descriptive and Inferential Statistics	62
Identity and Intimacy	63

Identity and DPQ Variables	66
Intimacy and DPQ Variables	67
Age Effects on Identity and Intimacy	68
Sex Effects on Identity and Intimacy	71
IV. DISCUSSION	73
Methodological Considerations	80
Implications	81
Future Research	83
LIST OF REFERENCES	88
VITA	96

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1-1. Erikson's Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development . . .	12
2-1. Coding Categories for Identity and Intimacy	53
2-2. Content Summaries of DPQ Scales	59
3-1. Range, Mean, and Standard Deviation for All Variable Scores	63
3-2. Rank-Order Correlations for Identity and Intimacy Scores	65
3-3. Rank-Order Correlations for Identity Scores and DPQ Scores.	67
3-4. Rank-Order Correlations for Intimacy Scores and DPQ Scores	68
3-5. Rank-Order Correlations for Identity Scores and Age	69
3-6. Rank-Order Correlations for Intimacy Scores and Age	69
3-7. Relationship Between Total Identity Scores and Age	70
3-8. Relationship Between Total Intimacy Scores and Age	70
3-9. Relationship Between Total Identity Scores and Sex	72
3-10. Relationship Between Total Intimacy Scores and Sex	72

INTRODUCTION

This study addresses itself to two primary concerns; first, Eriksonian developmental issues of identity formation and the capacity for mature, intimate relations with others; second, the use of narrative data analysis in the assessment of such developmental factors. A more complete description of these issues follows.

Freud, in his psycho-sexual theory of individual development, delineated a shift from primary narcissism to secondary narcissism as prerequisite for the successful resolution of the later oedipal conflict and, ultimately, the capacity for object love. This formulation supposes that human nature is inherently self-centered, and that commerce with others is a conflictual--if necessary and inevitable--factor in self-development. By contrast, theorists such as William James, George Herbert Mead, Edith Jacobson, Harry Stack Sullivan, Erik Erikson, Otto Kernberg and, from a self-psychology focus, Heinz Kohut, view self-development from a more social/interactional perspective, seeing human beings as inherently socially directed. Both Erikson and Kohut have emphasized the continuous interplay throughout the individual's lifespan between the integrity of the self and ongoing relatedness to others.

Erik Erikson (1950, 1956, 1958, 1968, 1975) drew much attention to the notion of "identity" as a crucial aspect of the personality; the popular term "identity crisis" as descriptive of the special conflicts of adolescence reflects his influence. Erikson saw identity as the integration of various aspects of the self, a linking of the individual to the social world. Erikson himself was

psychoanalytically oriented, and he wished to expand upon Freud's psycho-sexual model to encompass the impact of social interplay on inner development, putting forth, in essence, a developmental psychology as much social as individual. He proposed a theory of psycho-social development, positing eight stages that encompassed the entire life-span of the individual. While Erikson's first four stages--those of Trust vs Mistrust, Autonomy vs Shame and Doubt, Initiative vs Guilt, and Industry vs Inferiority--roughly parallel Freud's stage sequence of oral, anal, phallic, and latency, he placed the force of sexual drive emphatically within the context of societal engagement. The latter four stages proposed by Erikson--those of Identity vs Identity Diffusion, Intimacy vs Isolation, Generativity vs Self-absorption, and Integrity vs Disgust, Despair--deal similarly with the individual's continuous efforts to place the ever-developing self within the framework of society, extending through the final years of life.

In Erikson's view, identity resolution is a task specific to, though not limited to, adolescence. The successful negotiation of this stage allows the individual to enter the next stage of "Intimacy vs Isolation", having established a firm identity with which to approach intimate relations with others. Failure to negotiate this stage successfully will result in such problems as continued role diffusion, self-consciousness, totalistic or absent values, etc., and warps subsequent attempts at intimacy. The adolescent stereotype of "rebel without a cause" is one example of such identity crisis. Various researchers who have studied identity from an Eriksonian perspective

emphasize even more strongly that identity formation is an ongoing task; this view is exemplified by Josselson's (1987) statement that "...identity is continually refined. The process of identity formation takes place throughout the life-cycle, beginning just after birth as we gradually become aware that we have a self, continuing to old age, when we come to terms with the meaning that self has expressed in the larger scheme of things." Given this continual processing of experience in personal identity, as well as the supposed necessity of stable ego-identity for the negotiation of intimacy tasks, many researchers have chosen to use life-span biographical methods in studying identity and intimacy (McAdams, 1985); this methodology can yield a "big picture" perspective on the fixedness or fluidity of identity at any given point in the adult lifespan, and the degree and quality of impact this may have upon intimate relationships in the individual's life at that time. Researchers have also questioned the effects of societal expectations prevalent in any given era upon the rigidity or malleability of individual identity at a particular point in the life-span (Riley, 1986; Held, 1986).

The present study will examine the presence and quality of identity-formation concerns, in a broad age-range of academically talented undergraduate students, in relation to the presence and quality of intimacy concerns in the same individuals; evaluation will then be done to ascertain any differences between men and women along these indices, as well as any trends with increasing age. Use of this particular college-subject group will set the stage for future research on such issues as the impact of academic success on social

maturity.

The other core issue which will be addressed in this study is the researcher's contention that narrative fiction, derived from projective story-telling techniques, presents us with data concerning the subject's internal world which is superior to data derived from more structured, reductionistic personality measures, particularly in terms of such complex constructs as identity and intimacy. This belief is a controversial one within the entire field of personality assessment, in which projective tests such as the Rorschach and the TAT have continued heavy usage (Piotrowski, 1984) despite numerous objections raised concerning the reliability and validity of such measures (McFarlane, 1942; Meehl, 1945; Wyatt, 1967; Holt, 1967; Blatt, 1975; Landy, 1986). Dana (1966) published an article entitled "Eisegesis and Assessment", eisegesis being defined as "faulty interpretation of a text...by reading into it one's own ideas (Webster, 1957)"; in it, he attempted an empirical examination of various clinical interpretations of the same projective material, trying to tease out the valid vs invalid inference. His findings suggest that eisegesis in clinical interpretation is most likely to occur with less experienced clinicians, when the psychodynamic conflicts of the subject mirror those of the interpreter. However, despite such dangers, it is through the data produced by such projective methods that "...it is possible to find a window on the world as it appears from behind the other person's eye" (Holt, 1967). A review of the literature addressing such concerns brings two main issues into focus: one, there is certainly a very real danger of

eisegesis in the use of projective data, as there is any human science data, as it involves human beings studying other human beings (Babbie, 1986). Thus, great attention should be given to standardization, training, and supervision in the use of such data; and two, the larger occurrence of **agreement** amongst interpreters of such data, along with its documented clinical usefulness, suggests an inferentially valid core. Lyons (1967) believes that, in any form of psychological assessment, we are tapping in at some point upon the subject's "continuum of awareness" of his or her own experience. At one extreme of this continuum are such non-reflective responses as a gasp of pain at being pinched; this he calls "primary data." At the opposite pole he places such experiential reports as may be gathered from a malingerer, whose primary experience would be subjugated to a secondary awareness of knowing about his experience; this Lyons calls "meta data." Projective tests attempt to get as close as possible to the "primary data," while asking for it in the form of a meaningful verbalization. It is my belief that narrative data presents a source of information uniquely close to such primary experiential data.

The field of hermeneutics addresses itself to the "exegesis," or interpretation, of text. Such narrative data as interviews, psychotherapy transcripts, letters, and diaries, as well as dreams, memories, and the stories produced from such picture-story techniques as the TAT and FPT, can be subjected to such textual analysis. Various personality researchers (Blatt & Lerner, 1983; Gottschalk & Gleser, 1969; Heilbrun & Heilbrun, 1977; Krohn & Mayman, 1974; Mayman & Faris, 1960; MacHove, 1982; Viney, 1983) have developed rating

systems for the "exegesis" of such narratives in terms of particular psychological issues. Such rating systems, involving content analysis, are meant to be so clearly explicated as to allow high inter-rater reliability and replicability by other researchers. As with other more classically designed measurement tools, construct validity must be an ongoing process (Anastasi, 1986; Hogan & Nicholson, 1988).

From these two areas of interest, a study was designed with the following goals:

- 1) To examine, from an Eriksonian psycho-social developmental frame-work, the prevalence and quality of identity preoccupations relative to the prevalence and quality of intimacy preoccupations, across a broad age-range, in academically talented undergraduate students;
- 2) To determine the methodological applicability of narrative analysis in the assessment of these personality development factors;
- 3) To relate the results of such analysis to other personality test data gathered on the same individuals.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Life Span Development

Developmental psychology is a relatively new area in psychology, and has its roots in institutional concern about issues such as infant mortality, child labor, and the education of children (Hilgard, 1987); as a result, the primary focus in the field has been upon early development and experience. A number of the large pioneering studies undertaken to track child development variables (eg Terman, 1921; Dearborn, 1922; Sontag, 1929, as cited in Hilgard, 1987) were continued longitudinally, and eventually sparked a new research field, that of life-span development. Another impetus for life-span research was the increasing number of individuals surviving into old age and the resultant need for knowledge of the aging process. The first Conference on Life-span Developmental Psychology was held in 1969, and the journal Life-Span Development and Behavior began publishing in 1978 (Hilgard, 1987).

The issue of developmental growth and change in adulthood has been largely ignored by psychoanalysis and psychodynamic psychology (Mann, 1985). Within psychoanalysis, crises and their resolutions throughout life have been viewed as repetition compulsions, anchored in very early "drive-induced distortions of reality" (Mann, 1985). While an emphasis upon early experiences is understandable, given that in this era occurs the tremendously concentrated cognitive and locomotor development so determinant of perceptions of and interactions

with the world throughout life, relatively short shrift is given to the role of adult experience--indeed, of reality--in shaping the individual personality and facilitating/inhibiting personal growth beyond the fifth or sixth years.

Jung (1954), in one of his departures from Freudian theory, suggested that in fact, the middle years of life bring a period of reflective unfolding and potential integration of heretofore repressed aspects of the self, including attributes of the opposite sex and the "dark side" of the self. The neo-Freudian Karen Horney (1945) spoke to the relevance of later life-experiences when she wrote "...fortunately psychoanalysis is not the only way to resolve inner conflicts. Life itself still remains a very effective therapist." As Mann (1985) points out, in literature and films, both classical and contemporary, we find ample reference to adult development over the lifespan. For example, in Shakespeare's "The Tempest" (approx. 1623), the middle-aged Prospero, exiled from a chaotic society, creates for himself, on an isolated island, a new "natural order" over which he reigns. After a period of reveling in his absolute control and confronting the darkest aspects of himself ("This thing of darkness I/Acknowledge mine"), he ultimately relinquishes the "rough magic" of nature for the human qualities of forgiveness and tolerance, accepting his own dependencies and the existence of a power greater than his own. Thomas Mann's "Death in Venice" (1913) and Arthur Miller's "Death of a Salesman" (1949) both speak to crises of later years of life and the spectra of mortality. Woody Allen's contemporary film "The Other Woman" involves the sudden realization of a middle-aged

woman that others' perceptions of her are at total odds with her own sense of herself; the consequent crumbling of false self-hood then allows her a re-defining of identity and a more honest living of life.

A greater emphasis on the role of later experiences in the maintenance of healthy or unhealthy personality organization can be seen in the psychoanalytically-derived personality theories proposed by H. S. Sullivan (1953) and Heinz Kohut (1971); however, personality formation is still viewed as largely determined by early experiences. Erik Erikson, a psychoanalytic ego-psychologist whose psychosocial theory is a main focus of this study, was a pioneer in life-span development from a psychoanalytic perspective; however, until recently, it was Erikson's proposed first five stages, culminating in ego-identity formation during adolescence, which garnered the most attention and research (Mann, 1985).

A survey of the literature reveals three major and sometimes overlapping areas of interest concerning adult development: one, that of normative developmental sequences which extend throughout the life-span; two, that of psychobiography and psychohistory as a way of understanding the "whole" person; and three, the more sociological perspective which views the individual as part of an age cohort moving through various roles within a specific socio-cultural epoch. These areas will now be respectively discussed.

Stage Theories of Adult Development

Since the 1950's, stimulated in good part by the growth of American ego-psychology, several theories have been put forth with a

focus on stages in adult development. Mann's (1985) review notes several authors as contributory to a focus on adult development: Jacques (1965) sees the middle years as a point of crisis stimulated by an increasing awareness of mortality which conflicts with still-unresolved issues of grandiosity and omnipotence. This necessitates a re-working of the depressive position of early childhood in coming to terms with one's powerlessness in the face of death; in Levinson's "The Season's of a Man's Life" (1978), he discusses normative periods of transition throughout life--such as leaving home, marriage, career advancement--which cause stress and necessitate a realignment of priorities at a given age. Levinson explored biographies in attempting to understand such life stages, thus overlapping with the psychobiography theorists; Vaillant (1977) conducted a 30-year longitudinal study of adult development, in which he focused upon the maturation of defense mechanisms, adaptiveness to crises, and level of achievement; however, Vaillant's subjects were Harvard graduates, who can hardly be seen as "average"; Gould (1978) wrote a book called "Transformations", addressing the ongoing and inevitable sloughing off of infantile fantasies during the years of adulthood, a giving up of the illusion that absolute safety and security are possible.

Jane Loevinger (1966, 1976) developed a comprehensive theory of ego development throughout the life-span which also addressed the issue of individual differences within an age cohort. McAdams (1985) points out that Loevinger's conception of the ego as synthesizing agent and framework of meaning in the personality has more in common with Sullivan's conception of the self-system than it does with the

post-Anna Freud psychoanalytic theories of the ego. Loevinger's ego-development stages move from the more simplistic, black-and-white, and egocentric to the more highly complex and differentiated, thus paralleling Piaget's cognitive stage-development and Kohlberg's moral stage-development. Loevinger, like Maslow, proposes successive levels of individual maturation, the higher of which only a small percentage of any given age cohort is likely to reach.

Erik Erikson (1959), his work pre-dating that of Loevinger, perhaps deserves the greatest credit for bringing the concept of life-span development to the attention of psychoanalysis and to society in general. Unlike Loevinger, Erikson's successive stages of adult development are not proposed to be optimal levels of maturity which may or may not be reached, but are, rather, inevitable points of reckoning--with a spectrum of favorable to unfavorable outcomes--across the individual's changing circumstances of age and position in society. Erikson's theory links intrapersonal development to socio-cultural phenomena at every stage. He believed that as each individual grows cognitively, physically, and emotionally, he or she is brought into continually broader and more intensive commerce with larger society; the mastery gained in this commerce at each stage evokes epigenetically the capacity to meet the challenge of the next stage (see Table 1-1). Ultimately, Erikson described his developmental model more as a spiral than a linear progression, where issues from all stages are present throughout life and are re-worked from the perspective of accrued experiences (Mann, 1985); research supports this view (Domino & Hannah, 1989; Rosenthal, Gurney & Moore,

Table 1-1
Erikson's Eight Stages of Psychosocial Development

Stage	Age	Crises	Strengths	Pathology
I	Infant	Basic Trust vs Mistrust	Hope	Withdrawal
II	Early Childhood	Autonomy vs Shame, Doubt	Will	Compulsion
III	Play Age	Initiative vs Guilt	Purpose	Inhibition
IV	School	Industry vs Inferiority	Competence	Inertia
V	Adolescence	Identity vs Identity Diffusion	Love	Exclusivity
VII	Adult	Generativity vs Stagnation	Care	Rejectivity
VIII	Old Age	Integrity vs Despair	Wisdom	Disdain

1981; Ochse & Plug, 1986; Ciaccio, 1971; Gruen, 1964). Thus, one way of viewing any given Eriksonian stage is as the front page of a newspaper: the headline will attract the most attention, but there is a lot more to be read as well, and back-page stories may have been headlines in the past or become headlines in the future (McAdams, 1985). A few studies investigating all or several of the eight psychosocial stages in the same subjects (Ciaccio, 1978; Gruen, 1964) suggest that Erikson's sequencing of focal issues holds true more in the first four stages (Trust vs Mistrust, Autonomy vs Shame and Doubt, Initiative vs Guilt, and Industry vs Inferiority), but that thereafter, one sees more gender differences in rate and focus of development, as well as prominent points of "regressive" shift in adulthood. One study illustrative of both of these points is one done by Domino and Hannah (1989) on 140 men and women between the ages of 59 and 82. The subjects were assessed with two instruments: the IPB, a 120-item personality inventory which yields eight scores corresponding to the tasks which must be met within each of Erikson's eight developmental stages; and the Sr scale of the CPI, a 58-item scale designed to assess self-reported level of effective functioning. They found that the most salient variable in effective functioning for males was that of Trust (1st stage) and, to a lesser extent, Industry (4th stage), while for women it was Identity (5th stage).

Erikson proposes three stages of adult development, those of: intimacy vs isolation; generativity vs self-absorption; and ego-integrity vs despair. As with the earlier stages, each one is stated in terms of polarities; Erikson emphasized that these do not represent

achievement vs failure at any stage, but rather the inevitable dynamics of everyone's experience. He saw the ratio or balance between the positive and negative as the important issue, and stressed that aspects of both will remain active in the individual personality throughout life, although they may well be re-worked from the vantage point of maturity. Acklin (1986) has proposed a perspective on adult development, using Erikson's stages, which focuses upon: one, his belief that the self-boundary issues of object constancy and whole object-relations--achievements considered as "normally" completed within the first five or six years of life--actually continue to develop through the life-span, eventually allowing the individual "beyond-the-self" cathexis of the other, the next generation, humanity as a whole, and finally, all of creation; and two, that this adult maturational process requires, more wholly than does early intrapsychic development, a "facilitating environment" for its unfolding.

Erikson's theory has been criticized, along with other theories of development, for neglecting to address the special issues of female development, particularly in the area of identity formation as related to intimacy (Gilligan, 1982; Chodorow, 1974). Franz and White (1985) suggest that the extension of Erikson's theory into a two-path model--those of individuation and attachment--would better account for gender differences, particularly those differences seen in adult development; this proposition will be explored further in reference to the relationship between identity and intimacy.

Biographical Theories

In delving into the literature concerning psychobiography and psychohistory, it is appropriate to start with the work of Henry Murray (1938). Murray proposed a discipline of "personology" with his goal being the scientific study of the whole person. He wished to study the individual from a perspective of molar cohesiveness, thus extending the 19th century tradition in the social sciences termed the *Geisteswissenschaften*, or "moral sciences" (McAdams, 1985). This tradition has employed the hermeneutic (textual interpretation) method of inquiry. Murray held that the history of an organism is the organism, and that this proposition called for biographical studies (1938); he was joined in this endeavor by Erik Erikson, who himself retained a life-long interest in biographical studies. Murray was interested in the possibility of developing abstracts of life-histories based upon the emergence of particular common themes in biographical and autobiographical materials. He believed that essential life-themes could best be seen through subjects' productions of fantasy, minimally encumbered by structure. One assessment tool developed in this interest was the Thematic Apperception Test or TAT (Morgan & Murray, 1935), in which a subject is shown a series of pictures involving one or more persons in various situations and asked to make up a story about each one. Murray felt that these stories would reveal unconscious--as well as preconscious--material reflective of the overarching themes organizing the person's life; in effect, the TAT story would reflect the life story/history, or biography.

Personological investigations, through the use of biographical material, have been carried forward by such theorists as Levinson, in his "Seasons of a Man's Life" (1978) and White (1975) in his "Lives in Progress." While these works, particularly that of White, focus intensively upon the biographies of a limited number of subjects, McAdams (1985) attempts to look at a large number of lives from the perspective of identity as self-biography. His premise is that people are inherently motivated to construct their own biographies in their quest for identity, and that this begins in adolescence. As did Murray, McAdams looks for motivational themes as shapers of identity, and thus of the life story, and proposes that two main themes in the content of life stories are power and intimacy. McAdams, who had his middle-aged and college-aged subjects write down their life-stories in chapters, states: "I have adopted biographical methods of investigation to shed some light on the process of whole persons making sense of their whole lives. I am proposing that people make sense of their lives via narrative--by constructing life stories which serve as their identities (1985)."

Viney, a researcher who has specialized in the development and application of content analysis scales for verbal communications, has taken what she refers to as a "sociophenomenological approach" to life-span development, using Erikson's theory as a framework (Viney, 1987). Viney states that her approach is not totally congruent with the notion of sequential developmental stages, her stance being that development is more productively viewed as the gradual accumulation of personal constructs which undergo continual refinement with increasing

experience and age. Contrary to the dynamic approaches of such theorists as Murray (1935), which emphasize the uncovering of repressed unconscious material--largely from early childhood--in assessing personality development, Viney's phenomenological approach holds that it is construed experience, of which people are aware and which is accessible to them upon reflection, that is the key to understanding lives. To this end, Viney's research method is that of a minimally structured interview, wherein subjects are requested to talk to the researcher "... for a few minutes about what life is like at the moment--the good things and the bad--what it is like for you." Of note is the focus upon the present in this request, rather than on the past, implying the developmental integration of past and present.

Socio-cultural Theories

The final perspective on adult development which will be discussed combines in varying degree the normative life-cycle approach of "people change" with the sociological perspective of "times change" (Conley, 1985). Additionally, this perspective examines cross-cultural differences in what Held (1986) refers to as "life course institutionalization." Theorists within this perspective assert that life course stages are not fixed, but vary with social structure and social change (Riley, 1986). An example of such an interplay is the current re-thinking of the belief that mental decline and physical deterioration at a certain age is a biologically determined invariability. Riley (1986) notes that this belief has "resulted in the definition of workers as 'old' at 45, has discouraged

mathematicians from creative work after the age of 27, and has required airline pilots to retire at 60." Research has now been done which illustrates the tremendous impact of societal structure/expectation upon adult life-functioning along such seemingly intrapersonal variables as intellectual functioning (Kohn & Schooler, 1983), reaction time (Perone & Baron, 1982), and reality testing. With this shift in knowledge is likely to come a re-defining by society of what has been heretofore viewed as an issue of ontogeny. Another important point made by Riley (1986) concerns the experiencing of an historical moment in very different ways by the different age cohorts passing thorough that moment. In concrete terms, the children of today are the parents of tomorrow, and both roles will be significantly different than they were for their predecessors or will be for their successors. To integrate all of these levels of change into a comprehensive theory of development presents a truly complex task, one that perhaps can only be achieved retrospectively and with an acceptance of only transient validity. Held (1986) points out that age-graded societal norms are usually defined by public institutions such as education systems and public welfare systems, and that these vary widely across cultures. He proposes that, in our culture, traditionally age-graded private and familial aspects of the life course such as leaving home, career choice, marriage, and childbirth, have become "deinstitutionalized", creating an increasingly "age irrelevant society" in terms of the private self. Correspondingly, there has been an increasing "institutionalization" of the public identity--eg: achieving a certain level of income--which now

supplies/embodies the stability and long-term commitment of the individual while the private self remains malleable and potentially discontinuous over time. Held believes that this shift, ultimately, will prove of too high a cost emotionally and materially, and that the process will slow down or actually reverse. Several authors suggest that the de-emphasis in society on formal, institutional values has rendered identity formation more difficult for today's adolescent and young adult. Wheelis (1958) proposes that the developing individual now has few internalized absolute values to serve as anchors, and "...if everything is open to question, no question can be answered." Schippers (1978) points to the fast rate of societal change, speeded up by constant technological advances, as detrimental to adolescence as transition; as adulthood is so changeable, the adolescent has nothing to commit to as future stability. Additionally, long-term relationships have become less workable as family mobility has increased and family stability has decreased, leaving the adolescent with little opportunity to experience the sort of attachments which form the basis for eventual committed, intimate relationships (Schippers, 1978). Turner (1975) believes that the difficulties experienced in identity formation in our present culture have led adolescents and young adults to seek identity--or "self-discovery"--through relatively shallow, non-committed, pseudo-intimate relationships; one might speculate on this phenomenon as correspondent to the prevalence of narcissistic and borderline psychopathology seen in today's adults, with their respectively brittle and fusion-like relational styles.

Identity

Although the nature of identity has been explored for centuries--under such various terms as "soul", "being", and "essence" (Levita, 1966)--the discussion here will begin with the view of the self proposed by William James, which I believe to have been the conceptual beginning of the differentiation of the terms "self" and "identity."

James (1890) speaks of the self as "duplex, partly known and partly knower." He refers to these two as "discriminated aspects, and not separate things." These two aspects are: the "me" (self as known, or empirical ego); and the "I" (self as knower, or pure ego). The "me" is the sum total of all that man can call his, an aggregate of the material self (what he owns), the social self (how he is seen by others), and his spiritual self (as seen through the eyes of some transcendent "Other"). The "I" is the memory keeper, the knower and predecessor of the "me," heir to the successive mental states of the stream of consciousness. In this, James made two critical conceptual points: 1) that memory, and through it continuity, is the grand, synthesizing master of identity; and 2) the importance of social relations to one's "sense of identity." This latter point entered medicine under the term 'personal identity,' defined by Abeles and Schilder in 1935: "...to one's identity belongs the connection with a specific social structure. One has relatives, friends, a place where one works and another where one lives. But the name and the address are the symbols of one's identity (from Levita, 1966)."

James' ideas were extended by G.H. Mead (1934), who spoke of the self being defined in large part by the reflected appraisals of

others. Mead saw the self as a completely social product, requiring language for its' emergence. He explains that it is through language that one can learn to take the role of the other (and thus, develop empathic skills), and that this is required in order for an individual to become an object to himself, 'self-conscious' rather than simply 'conscious.' Mead also proposed a biological self, which provides the impetus for self-development (1934). H.S. Sullivan (1953) drew in turn from Mead's work in theorizing his "self-system," which is organized to preserve the security and satisfaction of others' positive appraisals and to avoid the anxiety engendered by negative appraisals.

All in all, various descriptions of identity, as contrasted with the self, appear to emphasize the stability of various public and private social roles and the reflected appraisals of others within these roles; this is consistent with James' "social self" aspect of the "me." The self, on the other hand, is the synthesizing agent for aspects of identity, and provides a core of sameness--through memory--as identity forms over time; this is consistent with James' "I." The exact nature of the self--this core of sameness--is widely debated, and will not be a focus of this study. However, Levita (1966) suggests that some elements of identity are in fact stable aspects of the self, while other elements are non-internalized and "must be settled again and again with people who are in role-agreements for that purpose."

Erikson (1956) developed a perspective on identity which coordinated Freud's psychosexual drive theory with individual social functioning; his concept of "ego-identity" brings together various

views of self and identity--in a way, the biological self and social self--as coalescent in late adolescence, with continue development throughout life. As proposed by James, Erikson gives great importance to the issues of a sense of continuity over time and the social other's validation in identity.

Erikson sees ego-identity formation as the bridge between childhood and adulthood (1959). The adolescent, in coping with the onset of puberty and new sexual longings, suddenly develops "a past"--his or her childhood. Now, with a sense of past self, the past, present, and possible future begin to bind together in self-awareness. Erikson (1959) proposed that identity formation begins where identificatory processes end; the adolescent selectively repudiates or assimilates past identifications, and is absorbed into the societal configuration institutionalized as pre-adult. This process involves the reflective capacities of the Piagetian formal operations period as wholeness and unity become focal self-definitional issues (McAdams, 1985). During this period, there is a dynamic tension between the need to "fit in" to a societal group or subgroup and the need to carve out one's own special niche in the world.

Eriksonian ego-identity has been heavily researched since the late 1950's. Various techniques--such as semistructured interviews (Bronson, 1959; Marcia, 1964 & 1966; Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973), Q-sort procedures (Block, 1961; Heilbrun, 1964; Gruen, 1960; Hauser, 1971 & 1972), and self-report inventories (Dignan, 1965; Rasmussen, 1964; Hershenson, 1967; Simmons, 1970)--have been used, most of which present certain methodological and/or conceptual

difficulties. For example, Q-sort techniques have focused upon the issue of role consistency/stability as indicative of ego-identity development and role inconsistency/variability as indicative of identity diffusion (Bourne, 1978). This posits a rather black-and-white, either-or picture of what is actually a highly complex, multiply determined construct. Self-report measures, while incorporating such additional ego-identity factors into assessment as level of commitment to occupational role (Hershenson, 1967), have been repeatedly criticized for their susceptibility to social-desirability response sets (Bourne, 1978). A preferable methodology appears to be that of the semi-structured interview, analyzed in terms of presumed aspects of ego-identity. One early study by Bronson (1959) evaluated semi-structured interviews along the four dimensions of: degree of certainty about the relation between past and current notions of the self; certainty about dominant personal characteristics; fluctuations in feelings about the self; level of internal tension or anxiety. As Bourne (1978) points out, these subdimensions certainly do not exhaust the scope of Erikson's ego-identity concept, and the final one--level of internal tension or anxiety--is questionably pertinent. Additionally, Erikson's theory would suggest that uncertainty is a crucial element of identity formation, and an individual reporting a high level of certainty on Bronson's dimensions may actually be delayed in facing the tasks of ego-identity development. A major move towards the use of interview data in ego-identity research can be credited to Marcia (1966), whose Identity Status Paradigm has dominated ego-identity research for the past quarter-century (Bourne,

1978; Waterman, 1982). He asserted that previous research on ego-identity had "investigated characteristics which should follow if ego-identity has been achieved, (but) they have not dealt explicitly with the psychosocial criteria for determining the degree of ego-identity." Marcia's (1966, 1980) interpretation of Erikson suggests that ego-identity formation requires two steps: **exploration**, which involves a questioning of past beliefs, values, identifications, self-ideals, etc. and an intensive experimentation with alternatives to these past self-aspects. During this phase the individual is in "identity moratorium", somewhere between the past and all possible futures; followed by the second step of **commitment**, wherein the individual chooses from among perceived alternatives his or her niche, and is subsequently able to make relatively enduring commitments to vocation, value/belief systems, and interpersonal relationships. From this premise, Marcia (1966) developed his Identity Status Paradigm, which attempts to ascertain the subject's: 1) past or present experience of crisis; and 2) current commitments, as seen in the three areas of personal vocation, political ideology, and religious ideology. Other forms of commitment were not initially considered (Bourne, 1978). Data was obtained through a 15-30 minute semi-structured interview and a sentence-completion task, and then coded for assignment to one of four "identity status" classifications. These four statuses actually represent different points along a developmental continuum, and will now be described. The "identity achievement" status connotes that the subject has experienced a period of crisis and experimentation, and thereafter forged his own identity.

The subject assigned the "identity foreclosure" status has experienced little or no crisis and decision-making, and has obtained his identity through assimilation of his parents' values and beliefs. A "moratorium" status is given to subjects who are currently experiencing crisis and are involved in experimentation but have not yet made commitments. The final status, "identity diffusion" is reserved for subjects who may or may not have experienced a crisis state in the past, yet show little or no commitment to any occupation or ideology. Moreover, these subjects tend to appear either disinterested or confused about the whole issue of making commitments (Marcia, 1966).

Marcia's Identity Status Paradigm has dominated ego-identity research since its development, and its four statuses investigated in relation to many other variables. Most of the research done with the paradigm has been on male subjects, and in fact, construct validity of the paradigm is based upon male norms (Josselson, 1973; Hodgson & Fischer, 1979). A review of the empirical findings of such studies, as reported by Waterman (1982), will now be synopsized, with a focus on issues particularly relevant to the present study.

Results of both longitudinal and cross-sectional studies using Marcia's Identity Status Paradigm provide evidence of progressive developmental shifts from adolescence to adulthood in identity formation. It appears that little change occurs prior to or during the high school years, with the most accelerated advances occurring during the college years; little research has been done with non-college populations. Progressive developmental change has been best

documented in the commitment area of vocation, with religious and political commitment appearing less consistent. The relatively small number of studies involving male-female comparisons yield few consistent differences, except in the area of attitude toward premarital sexual activity; in this, females are more likely to evidence a period of identity moratorium and then identity achievement, whereas males are more likely to retain foreclosed identity status in this area. In terms of personality correlates, there is some evidence, albeit inconsistent, to suggest that women falling into the identity achievement status have lower self-esteem than do women in the other three statuses, with foreclosure-status women showing the highest level of self-esteem; this has led some investigators to conclude that identity foreclosure is societally more adaptive for women, in that, in bypassing the crisis stage of experimentation and adopting parental values, they are likely to receive the most environmental support (Bourne, 1978a). The relative inconsistency of results in studies in female ego-identity development is seen by Hodgson & Fischer (1979) as suggestive that Erikson's theory does not deal accurately with issues of female development.

Perhaps Marcia's greatest contribution is in conceptualizing a continuum of ego-identity development, which gives emphasis to both the process nature of Erikson's construct and the issue of individual differences in stage-development. However, his paradigm presents what I see as several problems: one, in the restriction of commitment assessment to the areas of occupational vocation and religious and political ideology, other areas integral to Erikson's concept--such as

sex-role identity, temporal continuity, sense of recognition by others, and personal tastes/preferences--are missed; two, the investigative focus is upon what Bakan calls "agency" issues while ignoring issues of "communion" in identity development, thus missing the recognition of what may be an important male-female difference in identity development; and 3) that a 30-minute semi-structured interview, while certainly more likely evocative of the "wholeness" of ego-identity as proposed by Erikson than alternative self-report questionnaires, remains vulnerable to social desirability response-set and examiner-subject interaction effects.

Four somewhat unusual studies focusing on ego-identity will now be discussed. Josselson (1973) used Marcia's four statuses to discriminate groups of college women, and then conducted individual in-depth interviews to gain more understanding of "...personality configurations (which) predispose the individual to certain styles of approaching and resolving the identity task (Josselson, 1973). From the data thus accrued, Josselson concluded that, at least for women, as the id-ego-superego organization consolidated through middle adolescence cannot serve into adulthood, "...the ego's means of wresting control from the superego is the central dynamic determinant of the process which identity formation will take" (Josselson, 1973); the "crisis" of identity is between the superego and the ego. Josselson proposes that diffusion-status women never formed positive identifications with either parent, and have a primitive, repressed superego non-integrated by the ego. The foreclosure-status subjects have superegos incorporative of the strict but loving parent,

associated with self-esteem and narcissistic supplies. In essence, serving this superego is so intrinsically rewarding that the ego remains subordinate in order to protect the satisfactory status-quo. The achievement-status women have enough non-superego awarded self-esteem to enjoy competence for its own sake, allowing the ego to challenge the superego on some early internalized expectations while incorporating others. Moratorium-status women are more involved in open ego-superego warfare, conflicted between a desire to hang on to the superego gratification for "being good" while the ego simultaneously strives for greater control. This same author, in a 1985 study, compared level of psychosexual development, through a system developed by Mayman (1968), as manifested in early memories, across women placed in Marcia's four identity statuses. She found that: both foreclosure and diffusion groups evidenced a primary preoccupation with early developmental issues of security and trust; moratorium subjects emphasized later developmental issues of striving and oedipal anxiety; and achievement status subjects blended themes of striving and nurturance, which Josselson sees as a reenactment of rapprochement (Mahler, Pine, & Bergman, 1975). Donovan (1974) attempted to relate Marcia's identity statuses to young adult interpersonal style as defined by Mann et al (1970). Donovan's 22 undergraduate subjects - 13 males and 9 females - were, in addition to Marcia's Identity Status interview, given the TAT, the Rorschach, the Early Memories Inventory, and asked to write a 10-20 page autobiography according to an outline developed by Murray (1938). Donovan did find significant interpersonal style variation amongst

subjects in the four identity statuses, but conclusions must be drawn cautiously as, due to the small sample size, two of the status-groups had only two subjects for analysis. Donovan reports having found the following: the two diffusion-status subjects revealed damaged parental identifications, underlying interpersonal hostility, feelings of alienation, and low self-esteem, along with a sort of hopelessness that anything was likely to change for them in the future; the six identity-foreclosure subjects had strong positive parental identifications, bland interpersonal interactions, high self-esteem, and were very goal-oriented; the 11 moratorium-status subjects displayed a variability which suggested two sub-groups, moratorium and another which Donovan called "moratorium-diffusion," the second of which will be described later. The remaining 5 moratorium-status subjects described early conflicts of will between themselves and their parents, were counterdependent and controlling interpersonally, emotionally responsive, and had fairly high self-esteem; the 6 subjects seen as moratorium-diffusion status individuals displayed significantly more preoccupation with their lack of goals and commitments than did the diffusion subjects, and had a self-absorbed, withdrawn interpersonal style which could turn to open hostility if intruded upon; the 2 achievement-status adults, both women, appeared to have the positive parental identifications seen in foreclosure-status subjects, were less anxious, more nurturant and affectionate, and less needy of interpersonal support. Stewart, Franz, and Layton (1988) developed a coding system for rating frequency and valence of narrative expressions of identity concerns. Their system represents

perhaps the most comprehensive coverage of Erikson's ego-identity concerns, including definitions and examples for sameness and continuity, identifications, occupational role, values, confirmation by intimate others, confirmation by society, idealizations, awareness of stable traits in self and others, preferences and tastes, and a category for preoccupation with broad self-definitional issues (eg "I want my own life.") Their system also offers coding definitions for issues of intimacy and generativity; they applied the entire system to the personal documents and autobiographical writings of British authoress Vera Brittain as a single-case chronicle of adult development (1988). Their system and the results of their analysis of Brittain's writings will be further discussed in later sections of this study.

Intimacy

In reviewing the literature, it is obvious that Erikson's 5th developmental stage, that of Intimacy vs Isolation, has received significantly less attention than has his construct of ego-identity; what research has been done tends to focus on the relationship between ego-identity and intimacy in predominantly male subject groups. I believe that this is due to both a relative disinterest in adult development, and to the general theoretical bias towards autonomy as maturation which seems to view interpersonal intimacy more as icing on the cake than as an equally important developmental accomplishment. Erikson himself appears to have written substantially less about the Intimacy vs Isolation stage, thus providing less material as a basis

for research. Erikson (1963) states that the individual emerges from the stage of identity formation "ready for intimacy", that being: "The capacity to commit himself to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments, even though they may call for significant sacrifices and compromises." The failure of some individuals to achieve intimacy stage-resolution is seen as due to their fear that fusion with another identity will result in loss of their own, even in the case of close peer relationships; this fear, in turn can be seen as evidence of a non-consolidated ego-identity. Logan (1986) suggests that Erikson's theory of development can be seen as a cycle that repeats twice: once from basic trust to identity, and again from identity to integrity. He states that: "intimacy tends to be a repetition of an existential theme that characterizes basic trust and autonomy" (Logan, 1986). Logan supports his idea by citing research findings (Yufit, 1956; Orlofsky, 1978; Rothman, 1978) that individuals high in intimacy are also high in autonomy. Further, Logan suggests that isolation, the polarity of Eriksonian intimacy, can be seen as a recapitulation of mistrust combined with shame and doubt, with mistrust accounting for the difficulties of establishing and maintaining relationships, and shame and doubt reappearing in the "naked" vulnerability of one's isolation.

Although Erikson, like Freud, emphasized genital sexuality as critical to mature relational capacity, he also included close, non-sexual friendship relationships in his description of intimacy stage achievements. In this, Erikson moves theoretically closer to object

relations theorists such as Fairbairn (1952) and Kernberg (1976), who stress that interpersonal relatedness is the developmental end and sexual gratification a means to that end, rather than vice-versa (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). Erikson presents his psychosocial theory as epigenetic, implying that the capacity for intimacy, as well as other maturational tasks, is in developmental process from the earliest time of life; it is, rather, the depth and richness of such beyond-the-self relatedness that becomes more feasible in young adulthood with the consolidation of ego-identity. At this point, the other, whether lover or friend, can be "valued as the self, and the virtue of love is established" (Acklin, 1986).

Yufit (1956), using college freshmen as subjects, attempted to identify behavioral and psychodynamic correlates of intimacy and its Eriksonian polarity, isolation. He reported that the intimate individual was high in stability, sociability, and interpersonal warmth, while the isolate was self-centered, self-doubting, mistrustful, and tended to have stereotyped relationships with others which lacked spontaneity and warmth (from Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973). One obvious problem with this study is that only individuals at the extremes of the intimacy-isolation continuum were considered; another is the extreme youth of the entire sample. Orlofsky et al (1973), following the semi-structured interview and status paradigm developed by Marcia (1966) for studying identity, operationalized the intimacy crisis into five outcomes or statuses: intimate, preintimate, stereotyped, pseudointimate, and isolate relationship styles. The sample was composed of 88 college juniors and seniors, half male and

half female. They concluded that: the intimate individual establishes and maintains deep and enduring love relationships; the preintimate maintains an ambivalent posture about commitment and offers love without obligation and ties; the stereotype individual has superficial relationships that tend to be predominantly with same-sex friends; the isolate is withdrawn from social relations, lacks personal relationships, and only occasionally maintains casual interpersonal contacts. Based on a later study, Orlofsky (1976) concluded that intimate and preintimate males are more perceptive of their partners needs and more open and sensitive with their friends than are individuals in the remaining statuses of stereotyped and isolate. McAdams and Vaillant (1982) rated TAT stories written by 57 30-year-old male Harvard graduates for evidence of "Intimacy Motivation"--using a system developed by McAdams (1980)--and compared the results to the subjects' levels of psychosocial adjustment 17 years later. McAdams' empirically derived thematic coding system is theoretically grounded in the writings of: Bakan (1966), on the communal mode of existence; Maslow (1968) on "Being-Love"; Sullivan (1953) on the need for interpersonal intimacy; and Buber (1970) on the I-Thou encounter. McAdams defines the intimacy motive construct as "a recurrent preference or readiness for experiences of close, warm, and communicative interpersonal exchange" (McAdams & Vaillant, 1982). McAdams contrasts his intimacy motivation construct to McClelland's (1979) n Aff (need for affiliation) by stating that the former emphasizes "a being and communal orientation to relationships" as opposed to the "doing (striving) and agenetic theme" which

characterizes the latter (McAdams & Vaillant, 1982). In addition to rating the TAT stories for Intimacy Motivation, they also rated them for need for achievement (n Ach), need for power (n Pow) and the previously mentioned need for affiliation (n Aff). The 17-year follow up measure of adjustment included questions concerning income level, job promotion, leisure activities, job enjoyment, marital enjoyment/stability, psychiatric treatment, and drug/alcohol misuse. It was found that intimacy motivation was a good predictor ($p < .01$) of overall adjustment in these male subjects' lives 17 years later, with the highest correlation between intimacy motivation and two measures pertaining to the quality of affective life--enjoyment of job and marital enjoyment. The other three measured motives--nAch, nPow, and nAff--failed to predict adjustment. These results are noteworthy not only in affirming the proposed need for intimate relationships for healthy adjustment in adulthood, but also as illustrative of the "predictive validity of a thematic measure of the general tendency to engage in intimate interaction with others" (McAdams & Vaillant, 1982). Stewart, Franz, and Layton, whose identity-coding system for autobiographical data has already been discussed, also developed coding definitions for intimacy concerns. They report having identified in Erikson's writings four separate issues associated with the Intimacy vs Isolation life-stage: the capacity to retain a secure identity in the context of an intimate relationship; mutuality or shared identity in a committed relationship; mutuality of devotion in a committed relationship; capacity for full, intimate genital sexuality. To these coding categories they add a fifth, that of

general concern with the formation of close, committed relationships, e.g., "I would like to have someone to share my life with" (Stewart, Franz & Layton, 1988).

Identity and Intimacy

Erikson (1959/1980) spoke directly to the relationship between identity and intimacy, writing that: "True 'engagement' with others is the result and the test of firm self-delineation...For where an assured sense of identity is missing, even friendships and affairs become desperate attempts at delineating the fuzzy outlines of identity by mutual narcissistic mirroring." Whereas the bulk of research studying the relationship between identity and intimacy (Orlofsky et al, 1973; Orlofsky, 1978; Marcia, 1976) has supported sequential development of and positive correlation between these two developmental accomplishments in men, the relationship has not been so clear with women (Hodgson & Fischer, 1979). For example, Schiedel and Marcia (1985) found that women more than men were high on intimacy measures while low on identity measures. On the other hand, Tesch and Whitbourne (1982) found evidence that intimacy status was generally related to identity status in both males and females. Such inconsistencies can be viewed as evidence of male-female differences in both identity and the relationship between identity and intimacy.

Although ongoing relatedness can be assumed in the theories of early development proposed by both Freud and Erikson--first with the primary caretaker and then with larger family, playmates, and the society of the school--little attention is given to qualitative

changes in relatedness during this period. This has led various writers (Chodorow, Gilligan, Franz & White), when looking at the relationship between identity and the adult capacity for intimacy, to ask the question "How did we get here from there?" (Franz & White, 1985). Franz and White point out that Erikson proposes a developmental move from identity to intimacy without really discussing the antecedent development of interpersonal attachments necessary for this move. They state, as does McAdams (1980), a wish to address both "agency" and "communion" (Bakan, 1966)) in life-span development, asserting that the being-for-myself, agency emphasis in Erikson's--and others'--theories ignores the being-for-and-with-others, communion aspect of human existence. In an attempt to correct for this in Erikson's theory, Franz and White have modified the psychosocial stage-theory into a dual-path model, one of individuation and one of attachment; their model is largely a combination of Erikson's ideas and those of object-relations theorists such as Mahler and Horner (Franz and White, 1985). Gilligan (1982) asserts that the individuation process is different for females than males: though both males and females usually spend the earliest years of life in close attachment to a female primary care-giver, female development occurs through fusion with this figure while male development requires repudiation of and differentiation from the female attachment figure. Thus, female identity is cast in terms of connectedness to others and will be threatened by separation, while male identity is cast in terms of separation and threatened by intimacy. Gilligan proposes that these differences be seen as neither negative or positive, but as

representing two different "voices," and suggests that maturity may allow both males and females to recognize the complementarity of these voices. Hotelling and Forrest (1985), writing from the perspective of Gilligan's theory, propose that crisis points in adulthood may bring a recognition to both men and women of the limitations and restrictions of their respective developmental paths and patterns of socialization, which may result in a richer, broader view of others and the world. However, similarly to Loevinger's stance on higher levels of ego development, they see this level of maturity as rarely achieved.

Erikson himself proposed that the relationship between identity and intimacy may be different for males and females, feeling that in some ways a woman's identity is only truly completed with her choice of intimate partner (Erikson, 1968). A 1980 study by Kacergius and Adams found, in comparing identity and intimacy statuses between sexes, that the occupational commitment-area of the identity status was the sole significant predictor of intimacy status in both men and women. A different picture emerged when Hodgson and Fischer (1979), while comparing identity and intimacy statuses in equal numbers of male and female undergraduates aged 18-21, routinely included a measure of sexual ideology and sex-role thinking--meant to represent a more "female path" of identity development--along with Marcia's original identity-status commitment areas of vocation and political/religious ideology, seen by the authors as representing a more "male path" of identity development. Upon comparing men and women in these part-conflict areas, they found that while developmentally advanced (achievement and moratorium status) females

could be seen as predominantly following the proposed female path, there were also some women following the proposed male path or an "androgynous" mixed path. Conversely, moratorium-status and achievement-status males were seen to predominantly follow the proposed male path, with a lesser number following the mixed, "androgynous" path and none following the proposed female path. On intimacy-status comparisons, using the paradigm of Orlofsky et al (1973), significantly more women were found in the developmentally progressed statuses of intimate and preintimate than were men. In comparing identity status and intimacy status, it was found that: more androgynous males were rated high in intimacy than were males following the male path; women following any path rated high in intimacy. This suggests that overall, at least in this undergraduate population, women have a greater capacity than do males for experiencing high levels of intimacy, and that identity formulation is more crucial to the capacity for intimacy in males than it is in females (Hodgson & Fischer, 1979). Lobel & Winch (1987) found that, although high identity-resolution is related to positive self-concept in both males and females, high intimacy is significantly related to positive self-concept in males but not in females; on possible interpretation of this is that, for women, the capacity for intimacy is not as predicated upon identity development as it is for men. This interpretation supports the notion of different developmental paths for women and men.

Another research question that has been asked concerning the identity-intimacy relationship concerns continuing development in

adulthood. Whitbourne and Tesch (1985) investigated the effect of college graduation on identity and intimacy crises by comparing college seniors to college alumni in these two areas of development; they used Marcia's Identity Status Paradigm and the Intimacy Status Paradigm of Orlofsky, et al (1973). They found that: significantly more alumni were high intimacy status than were college seniors; significantly more alumni were in high identity status than were college seniors; and, while identity and intimacy status were unrelated in the college seniors, they were significantly related in the alumni sample. These results suggest that development in identity and intimacy do indeed progress into later adulthood, and that college-age individuals may well not achieve resolutions of either issue until they have more fully entered the adult world (Whitbourne & Tesch, 1985). Unfortunately, these results were not analyzed for male-female differences. Whitbourne and Waterman (1979) used Constantinople's (1969) Inventory of Psychosocial Development (IPD)-- a self-report inventory which evaluates psychosocial stage development through items connoting success or failure at the tasks of a given stage--to assess psychosexual development for all stages up to and including intimacy vs isolation in college students; they then did a 10-year follow up using the same instrument. Results suggest that there is indeed significant continued development with age in the three areas of industry vs inferiority, identity vs identity diffusion, and intimacy vs isolation, with the most significant increase, somewhat surprisingly, being in industry vs inferiority. Also, females increased significantly more in intimacy development

over the 10-year span than did the males; while no significant difference on intimacy was found at the college level, females were moderately higher than males in intimacy development at the time of follow-up. As mentioned previously, Stewart, Franz, and Layton (1987) developed a system, based on Erikson's model of psycho-social development, for rating expressions of preoccupation with issues of identity, intimacy, and generativity in personal documents and retrospective autobiographical data. The authors did an exhaustive search of Erikson's writings, and from this developed descriptive definitions for expressions of certainty (rated as positive) and uncertainty (rated as negative) surrounding concerns with identity, intimacy, and generativity. They then chose as their subject the late British author Vera Brittain, and applied their system to her letters and diaries from her 21st, 22nd, and 23rd years of life and to autobiographical retrospective on those years written some twenty years later (Stewart, Franz, & Layton, 1988). They found, both in the youthful writings and in the retrospective account of those youthful years, that identity concerns were most prevalent (16.34 per 1,000 words), with intimacy next in frequency (3.82 per 1,000 words) and generativity last (.82 per 1,000 words). The authors, in reporting these results, note that Brittain's high level of preoccupation with identity concerns rather than intimacy concerns during her early twenties does not align with the Eriksonian time-frame, but admit that in a single case study one cannot draw general conclusions. Their system is noteworthy on several dimensions: the breadth of coverage in defining aspects of the identity, intimacy, and generativity

constructs; the defining of positive and negative--certainty vs uncertainty--aspects of the three stages which can be combined as a measure of preoccupation with the issues of a given stage; the inclusion of relational issues in the assessment of identity concerns; and its applicability to essentially any form of narrative data, including personal documents, autobiography, fiction, story-telling projectives, and even psychotherapy transcripts.

Narrative and Personality Assessment

Over the past 20 years, there appears to have been an upsurge of interest within the social sciences in viewing the individual as a whole, rather than as an amalgam of discrete variables (McAdams, 1988). Gergen and Gergen (1986) relate this to a rising disbelief in the feasibility of absolute objectivity as put forth within empirical metatheory, exemplified by Spence's (1982) argument concerning the inevitably subjective nature of language itself, and the writings of Ricoeur (1976) concerning the importance of linguistic context to the grasping of meaning. For these and other reasons, Thomas (1979) considers the philosophy of science to currently be in a post-empiricist phase.

Concomitant to this seeming paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1970), there can be seen an increased interest in the concept of narrative as it applies to communication in general and, within psychology, to the personality of the individual and to individual lives within society. Sarbin (1986) proposes that narrative may be construed as a "root metaphor" for psychology, that is, for the understanding of human

behavior and experience. Within psychoanalysis, several writers have suggested that the clinical psychoanalytic project is actually the construction, through the therapist-patient dialogue, of the patient's life-story narrative (Schafer, 1981; Ricoeur, 1981; Klein, 1975).

Tomkins (1979) suggested that every individual is a playwright constructing a dramatic narrative to make sense of life (from McAdams, 1988). Before discussing the various ways that narrative has come to play an important role in personality assessment, it will be helpful to address more fully the nature of narrative. Webster's New World Dictionary defines narrative as "a story or account," with no specification as to it being oral or written. Paul Ricoeur (1981), a noted philosopher of hermeneutics, begins his discussion of narrative with the concept of discourse, in which the unconscious language code becomes the conscious expression of meaning through language.

Essentially, all communication occurs in oral or written discourse. Oral discourse is dialogical, involving the presence of a specified listener or listeners, and can thus, in addition to spoken language, include non-verbal expressions as signifiers. Written discourse, however, loses the situational referent and the interpersonal referent of speaker-to-listener, opening a wider referential world. Ricoeur (1976) states that: "Thanks to writing, man and only man has a world and not just a situation." Fictional written narrative not only forsakes situational and interpersonal referents, but, to some degree, forsakes the referent of reality; Ricoeur proposes that in this, fiction is a more intrinsically personal form of discourse, and allows

the reader the opportunity to enter more fully into the world or personal reality thus projected by the author (Ricoeur, 1976).

Ricoeur (1981) states that any narrative combines, in varying proportions, two dimensions: a chronological dimension and a non-chronological dimension. While the chronological--or episodic--dimension answers the question of: And what happened then ?, the non-chronological dimension refers to the extraction of a configuration from a succession. These two dimensions compete within the narrative structure, and must be understood in relation to each other. Gergen and Gergen (1986) suggest that the most essential ingredient of narrative accounting is "its capability to structure events in such a way that they demonstrate, first, a connectedness or coherence, and second, a sense of movement or direction through time" ; these elements have been referred to as "selectivity" (of pertinent events) and "movement" by Scholes and Kellogg (1966). Bruner (1986) describes narrative as constructing two landscapes simultaneously: the first being one of action, including agent, intention, and situation; the second being that of consciousness, such as what the characters know, think, feel, or do not know, think, or feel. In this way, narrative is dominated by psychic reality. What is common among all of these descriptions of the components of narrative is the suggestion of two levels, levels which relate not only to the writing of the narrative, but to its reading and interpretation. The basic, or sequential level--Ricoeur's "episodic" quality, Gergen and Gergen's "connectedness or coherence," and Scholes and Kellogg's "selectivity"--is the back-drop upon which are draped the elaborations of the

personal imagination of both author and reader. It is at this second level--Ricoeur's "configuration" and the "movement or direction" specified by both Gergen and Gergen and Scholes and Kellogg--that we would expect to find the richest display of personal reality. Using an example of fictional narrative as personality assessment tool, Morgan and Murray (1935), in describing their projective story-telling technique, likened the TAT pictures presented to subjects to a trellis upon which the imagination could grow and climb like a vine; the same metaphor could be applied to Rorschach responses, in that the inkblots serve as framework for imaginative projection.

White (1981) asserts that: "To raise the question of the nature of narrative is to invite reflection on the very nature of culture and, possibly, even on the nature of humanity itself." One might take this line of thinking one step farther and argue that individual lives, and the personality of the individual, have the structure of narrative, and that this is reflected in culture. Bruner (1986) suggests that it is the narrativity of great fictional works that causes their stories "to reverberate with such liveliness in our ordinarily mundane minds." He proposes that narrative is not simply a literary genre, but is actually the basic human mode of thinking. The narrative mode of thought he contrasts with the paradigmatic or logico-deductive mode by stating that: "...narrative is built upon concern for the human condition: stories reach sad or comic or absurd denouements, while theoretical arguments are either conclusive or inconclusive." (Bruner, 1986). Bruner (1960) speaks of man's innate tendency to: organize internal tension impulses into identities within

a dramatic narrative; and to externalize this internal drama through such mediums as art and, ultimately, myth, in an effort both to contain terror and impulse and in order to objectify--and thus to render interpersonally shareable--this internal world. This catharsis then is available--through art and myth--both to the creator and to all who experience the creation.

From the preceding discussion of the nature of narrative and its relevance to human experience, it is possible to move to an examination of the rationale for projective personality assessment in general and for the use of narrative projective techniques in particular in the field of psychology. Projective testing rests on the presumption of unconscious mental life--that is, the existence of thoughts, fantasies, and wishes which, although existing out of conscious awareness, nonetheless have significant effect upon conscious thought and behavior. In a sense, object relations theories view the content of the unconscious much as Bruner (1960) describes the internal human condition: as impulses organized along lines of characters in an internal drama. This drama is then played out in the external world, suggesting that each person's perception of reality is to some degree a projection or externalization of the unconscious. Thus, it is out of this unconscious drama that there emerges the individual's patternings and emphases, fears and hopes in the living of life. Now, it is assumed that the conscious self--or ego--cannot access the contents of the unconscious in a direct, voluntary fashion, because of the threat such material causes to smooth conscious functioning. However, if the individual can be put into a situation

in which the framework of conventional reality--around which conscious functioning is organized--is diminished, then what is likely to emerge is the psychic reality. Going back to Bruner (1960), we could see this unconscious, psychic reality as key to the guiding personal myth of the individual. If, as Ricoeur (1976) has suggested, narrative fiction is a communication form which offers the reader unique entree into the projected world of the author, then the eliciting from an individual of a fictional story, while imposing as little as possible the structure of external reality, should give us data highly expressive of the individual's personal myth.

Two projective story-telling tests--the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) and the 4-Picture Test (FPT)--will now be discussed. The FPT was developed in the 1930's by D.J. Van Lennep, a Dutch phenomenologist working within industrial-organizational psychology. He wanted a projective test which could be quickly administered and would assess a subject's general attitudes towards life. According to Reiff (1989), Van Lennep believed that such general attitudes would be reflective of the individual personality structure, particularly as related to society. Van Lennep began developing his test in the 1930's, pre-dating the TAT. He eventually developed a projective story-telling test made up of four cards, each showing an impressionistic rendering--in color--of a different interpersonal situation. The four cards are presented to the subject simultaneously in a specific, standardized pattern. The subject is told to look at the cards for sixty seconds--after which the cards will be removed--and to then write a complete story using all of the pictures in any

order they wish. The cards are taken away and the subject is left alone to write the story.

In discussing their rationale for developing the TAT, Morgan and Murray (1935) assert that "...a great deal of written fiction is the conscious or unconscious expression of the author's experiences or fantasies," and state that the test's purpose is "to stimulate literary creativity and thereby evoke fantasies that reveal covert and unconscious complexes." (Morgan & Murray, 1935). Originally, the test authors planned to show subjects black and white pictures from various sources which depicted dramatic events and then ask them to make a guess as to the preceding events and final outcome; however, it was found that much more of the personality was revealed if the subject was asked to create for each picture a dramatic, fictional narrative rather than to simply report facts. A standard set of 20 pictures were chosen, and separate series developed for adult males and females, boys and girls, based on the premise that each picture should include at least one character with whom the subject could closely identify in order to facilitate the projective process. The elicited stories are written down by the examiner as the subject tells them, and the examiner may prompt for left-out information with questions such as "What led up to it?" or "How does it turn out?". Morgan and Murray (1935) report that, upon interviewing subjects after taking the test concerning the source of their ideas for the stories, they found that there were four chief sources: one, books and films; two, actual events which involved family or friends; three, events in which the subject himself or herself had been involved; and four, the subjects

conscious and unconscious fantasies. They propose that all of these sources are revealing of the subject's personality, as external events which endure in memory usually do so because they excite empathy within the psyche. Stories are evaluated singly for thematic content, and then the subject's entire group of stories is assessed for overarching themes.

These two story-telling projectives have some important differences. Pictures used in the FPT are actually photographs of highly impressionistic paintings, the ambiguity of which allows more significant projection as to content by the subject than the more clearly defined pictures presented in the TAT; additionally, the pictures are in color, offering a richer stimulus field than the black and white of the TAT cards. However, the FPT pictures involve primarily adult male figures, thus offering narrower identificatory possibilities than do the TAT pictures. While the FPT allows the subject to produce the story without the presence of the examiner, thus eliminating the potential impact of another's presence upon the projective process, with this is lost the opportunity for clarification by examiner inquiry offered in the TAT. Although the TAT, if given in its entirety, is certainly likely to elicit a larger quantity of narrative material, the FPT requires an integration by the subject of the four scenes into one cohesive story, which may better tap into the complexities of his or her interpersonal world, while also allowing the response to any given card to be interpreted contextually with responses to the other cards.

Summary

In the largest sense, this discussion has pertained to the continuance of individual development over the life-span, and the concept of narrativity as central to the meaning of lives. Within this broad scope, the focus is upon: the particular psycho-social developmental issues of identity formation and the capacity for intimacy at different points in adulthood; the way that development in these two areas may differ between males and females; and the projection or externalization of an individual's concerns with these developmental issues in fictional narrative.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Subjects

The subjects were 60 male and 31 female undergraduate students enrolled at the University of Tennessee, recruited over a three-year period as volunteers for an ongoing personality research study; the students were all "honors" students within various programs in the sciences and liberal arts. Subjects were notified first by mail and then contacted by telephone to ask for their participation. No monetary or academic credit incentives were offered, but subjects were given the option of a "feedback session" concerning testing results.

Subjects ranged in age from 17 to 39 years. This age range, in Erikson's formal developmental time-frame, ranges from young adulthood, when the formation of ego-identity is expected to be the focal developmental issue, through the 30's, when issues of intimacy vs isolation would be the expected focus. However, since Erikson's original conceptualization of his developmental model in the 1950's, research has given rise to questions concerning this age-graded sequencing on grounds of individual variability, gender differences, and the effects of broad socio-cultural changes. Research also suggests that college may disrupt the developmental sequence described by Erikson, in that identity formation may remain in process throughout the time in school and consolidate only after graduation and entry into the "real world." This subject group was chosen in order to examine the Eriksonian developmental concerns of identity and

intimacy across a relatively broad age range--for both males and females--and as a preliminary investigation of how commitment to academic, career-oriented achievement through these years may effect ego-identity and the relationship between identity and intimacy strivings.

Instruments

Van Lennep Four Picture Test

The Van Lennep Four Picture Test (FPT) is a projective story-telling test made up of four cards, each showing an impressionistic rendering of a different interpersonal situation. One, meant to represent a state of personal aloneness, shows a rumpled bed in an otherwise bare room; it is unclear whether there is one or more persons or no-one in the bed. Another, showing a man leaning against a lamp-post in the rain, is meant to portray a state of social aloneness or isolation. A third shows two people on either side of a desk or table, one sitting and one standing with an arm outstretched towards the other; this is meant to represent the dyadic interpersonal state. Finally, a picture of a group of spectators at a tennis game represents the group interpersonal state. These four cards are presented to the subject simultaneously in a specific pattern. The subject is told to look at the cards for sixty seconds--after which the cards will be removed--and to then write a complete story including all the cards in any order they wish. The cards are taken away and the subject is left alone to write the story; subjects can

therefore be tested concurrently in different testing areas by a single examiner.

Stewart, Franz, & Layton Scoring System
for Aspects of the Adult Self

Stewart, Franz, and Layton (1987) developed a system, based on Erikson's model of psycho-social development, for rating expressions of preoccupation with issues of identity, intimacy, and generativity in personal documents and retrospective autobiographical data. The precise coding definitions for identity and intimacy concerns are given in table 2-1.

The Stewart, Franz, and Layton system is adaptable to use with narrative data such as FPT stories, and was chosen for this study as the method of analyzing FPT story-narratives for content indicative of identity and/or intimacy concerns; generativity ratings were not given. One modification in the scoring system was made in order to apply it to FPT narratives, which was that scores were given per individual stories as wholes rather than per 1,000 words; this was done both to preserve the gestalt of each story and because the story length was seen as simply an aspect of the projective process. It was also decided that narrative voice would not be taken into account, thus allowing expressions of identity or intimacy concerns from or concerning any character in the story to be given equal weight.

Three raters trained over a two-month period to use the scoring system. Raters were given 40 "practice" FPT stories, which had been written by female graduate students for another study, to rate

Table 2-1

Coding Categories for Identity and Intimacy

Category Definitions	Examples
<u>Identity</u>	
1. <u>Sameness and continuity.</u> Expression of concern with one's relative continuity over time within a broader context of change ("... this sense of identity provides the ability to experience one's self as something that has continuity and sameness, and to act accordingly"; Erikson, 1950/1963, p.42).	"Had I been able to look into the future . . . I should have believed myself destined to die in the interval--woken again to quite another life" (T.Y., p.73; scored minus).
2. <u>Identifications.</u> Rejection of some individual and group identifications and acceptance of others ("Identity thus is not the sum of childhood identifications, but rather a new combination of old and new identification fragments"; Erikson, 1964, p.90).	"It required all my ambition to persuade me that I had never really felt the snobbish revulsion against rough-and-readiness which my specialized upbringing had made inevitable" (T.Y., p. 76; scored minus).
3. <u>Occupational role.</u> Expression of concern about choice of and commitment to an occupational role ("The sense of ego identity, then, is the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a 'career'"; Erikson, 1950/1963, p. 261).	"Doubtful as I was even of my ability to fulfill with success the humble role of student that I had chosen" (T.Y., p. 76; scored minus).
4. <u>Values.</u> Preoccupation with personal values, convictions, and beliefs ("Ideological seeking after an inner coherence and a durable set of values"; Erikson, 1964, p. 125).	"I felt, too, vaguely disturbed and irritated by the tranquility with which elderly Oxford appeared to view the prospect of springtime death for its young men" (T.Y., p. 126; scored minus).
5. <u>Confirmation by intimates.</u> Attending to intimate others' recognition and affirmation, or rejection, of aspects of the individual's identity ("for youth needs, above all, confirming adults and affirming peers"; Erikson, 1964, p. 125).	"She admitted it today that she would much rather have an ordinary daughter" (C.Y., p. 51; scored minus).

Table 2-1 (continued)

Category Definitions	Examples
<u>Identity</u>	
6. <u>Confirmation by society.</u> Discussion of affirmations or rejections by "the generalized other" or any nonintimate ("societies confirm an individual at this time in all kinds of ideological frameworks and assign roles and tasks to him in which he can recognize himself and feel recognized"; Erikson, 1964, p. 90).	"Roland . . . had an enormous school reputation for brilliance and unapproachableness" (I.Y., p. 81; scored plus).
7. <u>Idealizations.</u> Attempts to define self via hero-worship of another (adolescents "temporarily overidentify, to the point of apparent complete loss of identity, with the heroes of cliques and crowds"; Erikson, 1950/1963, p. 262).	"To stand on a platform like Sir John Marriot . . . seemed to me an utterly unattainable height of courage and power (I.Y., p. 73; scored plus).
8. <u>Traits; awareness of characteristics.</u> Awareness of stable identity elements of self and others ("the persistent endeavor to define, overdefine, and to redefine oneself and each other in often ruthless comparisons"; Erikson, 1964, p. 92).	"He was patient and benevolent . . . He wore a beard, spoke with a lisp" (I.Y., p. 71; scored plus for positive traits; not scored for physical features).
9. <u>Preferences and tastes.</u> Definition of self expressed in terms of tastes, preferences, and aversions ("the search . . . for reliable alignments can be seen in the restless testing of the newest in possibilities and the oldest in values"; Erikson, 1964, p. 92).	"Latin is not too enthralling to me just at present . . . (C.Y., p. 146; scored plus for expression of a definite aversion).
10. <u>General concerns.</u> Preoccupation with broad self-definitional issues not scorable for more specific themes ("an evolving configuration--a configuration that gradually integrates the constitutional givens, idiosyncratic libidinal needs, favored capacities, significant identifications, effective defenses, successful sublimations, and consistent roles"; Erikson, 1982, p. 74).	"The persevering introduction of [human interest] at this stage of my development would not in the least represent the true situation" (I.Y., p. 72; scored plus for reference to general process of identity formation).

Table 2-1 (continued)

Category Definitions	Examples
<u>Intimacy</u>	
1. <u>Secure Identity</u> . Expressions of safeguard, concern, or conviction about the capacity to retain an individual identity in the content of an intimate relationship ("As the young individual seeks . . . intimacy . . . he is apt to experience a peculiar strain, as if such tentative engagement might turn into an interpersonal fusion amounting to a loss of identity"; Erikson, 1968, p. 167).	"But this perhaps is a guarantee that I am capable of preserving intact the independent part of my personality through the most intimate association" (letter to George Catlin, 31 January 1925; scored plus).
2. <u>Shared identity</u> . Expressions of a sense of similarity and/or shared experience in a committed relationship ("the mutuality of mates and partners in a shared identity"; Erikson, 1964, p. 128).	"I even permitted myself, at the close of a long day's work to visualize a pair of dark, intent eyes examining with me the Joshua Reynolds window . . ." (I.Y., p. 91; scored plus).
3. <u>Mutuality of devotion</u> . Expressions of reciprocated commitment to another person and a relationship ("One's potencies and potentialities are activated even as he activates the other's potency and potentiality"; Erikson, 1964, p. 129).	". . . trust your wife to understand you as God understands you, to wrestle not against, but for and with you, to cooperate with you knowing that she will no more let you down than you would let yourself down--and in return to give her exactly the same confidence with you" (letter to George Catlin, 30 January 1925; scored plus).
4. <u>"Genital" sexuality</u> . Expression of concern about and/or capacity for a satisfying, full sexual relationship in the context of intimate sharing ("much of the sex life preceding these commitments is of the identity seeking kind . . . Genitality, then, consists in the unobstructed capacity [for] sexual mutuality"; Erikson, 1950/1963, pp. 264-265).	"I [am] physically in love, and ache for the touch of you" (letter to George Catlin, 14 January 1925; scored plus).
5. <u>General concerns</u> . Expression of concerns about forming close, committed relationships ("a counterpointing as well as a fusing of identities . . . in friendship, in erotic encounters, or in joint inspiration"; Erikson, 1968, p. 135).	"I love you" or "You're my best friend"; scored plus.

Source: Adapted from Stewart, Franze, and Layton, 1986.

independently for expressions of positive/negative identity concerns and positive/negative intimacy concerns; weekly meetings were then held to discuss and resolve discrepancies amongst story ratings. During this practice phase, three levels of agreement were sought: 1) identification of a phrase or sentence as indicative of an identity and/or intimacy concern; 2) identification of the particular scoring criterion being used; and 3) the attribution of positive or negative valence to the scored unit. Once the actual study data was being scored, only the 1st and 3rd levels of agreement were sought. A chart of the various scoring criteria can be seen in Table 2-1. Each story ultimately had three identity scores (positive, negative, and the absolute value of the total of these two scores) and, similarly, three intimacy scores.

During the training time, conventions were established to deal with some difficulties encountered in applying this scoring system to the FPT stories. For example, the scoring examples given by Stewart et al came from the rich outpourings of Brittain's writings, which were highly introspective. The Van Lennep stories, on the other hand, while presumably rich in projection, tended towards more mundane expressions of thoughts and feelings. Thus, whereas Brittain wrote "... love that had once been a torrent flood had meandered through mediocre plains until it had run dry, and lost itself in a limitless desert of sand" (Brittain, cited in Stewart, Franz & Layton, 1987), the corresponding example from a Van Lennep story for such a negative intimacy scoring might be "she packed her bags and left." This contrast necessitated a shift of expectation, particularly in terms of

intensity of descriptive language, while still attempting to preserve the integrity of the scoring criteria in the ratings. It was also decided that, in instances of uncertainty about the scorability of a particular phrase or sentence, the overall "feel" and outcome of the story should be taken into account to clarify the meaning most likely intended by the author; this decision was made in agreement with the concept of the "hermeneutic circle," which asserts that the component parts and the whole must be understood in relation to each other for textual meaning to be grasped.

Scoring of the 92 stories used in the study was done over a four-month period. Stories were hand-written, and ratings were done on photocopies of the originals. Each story was scored independently by two of the three raters; the pair then met and reconciled any discrepancies. Inter-rater reliability on unreconciled scores was .73 (Pearson Product-Moment r) for both identity and intimacy total scores. Only reconciled scores were used as the data for analysis, for reasons which will now be discussed.

In the period of time spent learning to apply the scoring system to the FPT stories, it was noted by all three raters that personal variables such as mood, level of fatigue, absorption in concurrent academic projects, and interpersonal issues could distort proper application of the scoring system. Wildman & Erickson (1977), in discussing such methodological problems in the use of raters or observers, mention "observer bias" and "observer drift"; the following are examples of these phenomenon from the current study. When one rater was processing the termination of an intimate relationship, it

was noted by she and the other raters that her intimacy ratings became fewer and her application of criteria for intimacy concerns much more stringent, indicative of personal bias. One rater reported that, during a period of time in which she had been reading Kohut, she had found herself evaluating the stories more from a Kohutian developmental framework than from the Eriksonian viewpoint of the scoring system; this biased her application of the scoring criteria. As an example of observer drift, the raters would sometimes be unable to explain their reasoning in having given a particular divergent score, except to acknowledge that they had been tired and/or distracted when doing the ratings. As a safeguard against such potential distortion, it was decided to reconcile the two independent scorings of each story and to use these reconciled scores in the data analysis; thus, each final score was agreed upon by two raters.

Differential Personality Questionnaire

The Differential Personality Questionnaire (DPQ) is a factor-analytically derived self-report personality measure developed by Auke Tellegen. Of its eleven primary scales, the four scales of Wellbeing, Achievement, Social Closeness, and Alienation were used in this study because of their conceptual relevance to issues of identity and intimacy. Descriptions of high and low scorers on these scales are given in Table 2-2.

A self-report measure was included in order to examine the relationship of the more self-conscious data it elicits to the presumably preconscious or unconscious self-description obtained

Table 2-2
Content Summaries of DPQ Scales

Scale	Self-Descriptions of High Scorers	Self-Descriptions of Low Scorers
Wellbeing	Has a happy, cheerful disposition; feels good about self; sees a bright future ahead; lives an exciting, active life.	Reports few experiences of joy and excitement; is seldom really happy.
Achievement	Works hard; likes long hours; enjoys demanding projects; persists where others give up; puts work and accomplishment before many other things; is a perfectionist.	Does not like to work harder than is strictly necessary; avoids very demanding projects; sees no point in persisting when success is unlikely; is not terribly ambitious or a perfectionist.
Social Closeness	Is sociable, likes people; takes pleasure in, and values, close interpersonal ties; is warm and affectionate; turns to others for comfort and help.	Likes being alone; does not mind pulling up roots; is aloof and distant; prefers to work problems out on her (his) own.
Alienation	Is a victim of bad luck; feels mistreated; is a target of false rumors; believes that others wish her(him) harm; feels betrayed and used by "friends."	Does not see self as victim; feels treated fairly; does not feel taken advantage of.

Source: Adapted from Tellegen, 1982.

through a projective story-telling measure. Additionally, it allows the comparison of data derived through the analysis of narrative to data derived from a more traditional personality assessment technique; this follows Craik's (1986) suggestion for "methodological pluralism" in personality research by employing both the subject's "imaginative productions (projective techniques)" and "self-characterizations (personality scales and inventories)."

Procedures

Subjects who agreed to participate in the study were tested in groups of 5-10 in a large conference room. Each subject was assigned an identifying number which was put on all data; names were kept in a separate file. At the testings, subjects were seated at a large table to complete demographics information and to take the DPQ. As subjects finished with these, they were taken individually into private offices, administered the Van Lennep Four Picture Test, and left alone to write the story.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are made:

- 1) The content analysis of narrative data will reveal both the degree and quality (positive or negative) of individual concerns with the Eriksonian developmental issues of identity formation and intimacy with others;
- 2) A statistical analysis of the data thus derived will show, at the .01 level of significance: a) a higher mean frequency of identity

concerns than intimacy concerns in this undergraduate subject pool; b) a higher mean frequency of intimacy concerns in female subjects than in male subjects; c) an increase in both identity and intimacy concerns with increased age; d) a negative rank-order correlation between negative-valence identity scores and positive-valence intimacy scores; d) A positive rank-order correlation between positive-valence identity scores and positive-valence intimacy scores;

3) That the positive/negative identity and positive/negative intimacy scores, when correlated with same-subject scores on the Developmental Personality Questionnaire (DPQ) variables of Achievement, Social Closeness, Wellbeing, and Alienation, will reveal, at the .05 level of significance: a) a positive rank-order correlation between positive-valence identity concerns and Achievement status; b) a positive rank-order correlation between positive-valence intimacy concerns and Social Closeness status; c) a positive rank-order correlation between both positive-valence identity concerns and positive-valence intimacy concerns with Wellbeing status; and d) a positive rank-order correlation between negative-valence identity concerns and negative-valence intimacy concerns with Alienation status.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Description of Subjects

Ninety-one undergraduate students enrolled full-time at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, participated in this study. There were sixty males and thirty-one females in the group; ages ranged from 17 to 39 years, with a median age of 19 and a mean age of 19.5. Subjects fell into one of three academically defined groups: Honors Physics students; Honors Chemistry students; or College Scholars, connoting involvement in a program wherein academically talented students design their own majors.

Descriptive and Inferential Statistics

Ten variable scores were obtained for each of the 91 subjects. Six of the ten scores were derived from content analysis of the Van Lennep FPT through application of the Stewart, Franz, and Layton coding system; these scores are labelled and defined as follows: 1) Positive Identity (+ Id.): expressions of certainty about identity; 2) Negative Identity (- Id.): expressions of uncertainty about identity; 3) Total Identity (Tot. Id.): cumulative frequency of positive and negative identity scores; 4) Positive Intimacy (+ Int.): expressions of desire for/experience of intimate relationships; 5) Negative Intimacy (- Int.): expressions of loss/absence of or difficulty with intimate relationships; 6) Total Intimacy (Tot. Int.): cumulative frequency of positive and negative intimacy scores. The remaining

four variables are subjects' scores on each of the following four scales of the Differential Personality Questionnaire (DPQ): Wellbeing (Wb); Achievement (Ach); Social Closeness (SC); and Alienation (Aln). Table 3-1 lists descriptive statistics for scores obtained on all ten variables.

Table 3-1
Range, Mean, and Standard Deviation
for All Variable Scores

	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation
Positive Identity	0 - 10	1.31	1.67
Negative Identity	0 - 7	.88	1.21
Total Identity	0 - 12	2.19	2.49
Positive Intimacy	0 - 8	.57	1.16
Negative Intimacy	0 - 4	.64	1.03
Total Intimacy	0 - 8	1.20	1.82
Wellbeing	1 - 23	16.9	5.31
Achievement	3 - 21	14.08	4.42
Social Closeness	3 - 22	14.04	4.8
Alienation	0 - 17	2.88	3.47

Identity and Intimacy

Of the 91 subjects, 17 (18%) had scores of 0 for both identity and intimacy concerns. 30 subjects (34%) expressed some number of

identity concerns while receiving a score of 0 for intimacy concerns; only 7 subjects (7%) received 0 scores for identity while expressing some number of intimacy concerns. The remaining 37 subjects (41%) expressed some number of concerns with both identity and intimacy. A paired samples t-test revealed a quite significantly higher number of identity concerns than intimacy concerns across subjects (mean difference = .99, $p < .000$), as was hypothesized.

Table 3-2 presents the rank-order correlation matrix for Identity and Intimacy scores. As can be seen, correlations amongst all of the variables excepting that of Positive Identity with Negative Intimacy were significant at the $p < .05$ level of significance, but the magnitude of correlation was generally small. The highest correlations are among the three Identity scores and among the three Intimacy scores. There was a correlation of .88 ($p < .000$) between Positive Identity and Total Identity and a .80 correlation ($p < .000$) between Negative Identity and Total Identity--which simply reflects the cumulative nature of the Total Identity scores--and a .47 correlation ($p < .000$) between Positive and Negative Identity. The same relationship holds true for the three Intimacy scores, with Positive Intimacy correlating at .83 ($p < .000$) with Total Intimacy and Negative Intimacy correlating at .87 ($p < .000$), while Positive and Negative Intimacy correlate at .56 ($p < .000$). The next-highest--though quite small--correlation amongst all six variable scores was found, contrary to expectations, between Negative Identity and Total Intimacy ($r = .28$, $p < .003$). Next in magnitude was the .27 correlation ($p < .005$) found between Positive Identity and Positive

Table 3-2
Rank-Order Correlations for Identity and Intimacy Scores

	Positive Identity	Negative Identity	Total Identity	Positive Intimacy	Negative Intimacy	Total Intimacy
Negative Identity	rho = .48 p < .00	-----				
Total Identity	rho = .88 p < .00	rho = .80 p < .00	-----			
Positive Intimacy	rho = .27 p < .01	rho = .24 p < .01	rho = .26 p < .01	-----		
Negative Intimacy	rho = .09 p < .19	rho = .25 p < .01	rho = .20 p < .03	rho = .57 p < .00	-----	
Total Intimacy	rho = .18 p < .04	rho = .28 p < .00	rho = .26 p < .01	rho = .83 p < .00	rho = .88 p < .00	-----

Intimacy; while significant in the hypothesized direction, the size of this correlation is much smaller than expected.

Identity and DPQ Variables

Table 3-3 displays the rank-order correlation matrix for Identity scores and DPQ scores. While several of the correlations exceeded the criterial .05 level of significance, the two highest correlations were between Wellbeing and Positive Identity ($r = .22, p < .02$) and between Wellbeing and Total Identity ($r = .22, p < .02$); Wellbeing and Negative Identity had a significant and only slightly lower correlation ($r = .20, p < .03$). Thus, both Positive and Negative Intimacy scores correlate at about the same level with Wellbeing scores. Another unexpected result is the small but significant negative correlation between Positive Identity and Achievement scores ($r = -.18, p < .05$).

Table 3-3
Rank-Order Correlations
for Identity Scores and DPQ Scale Scores

DPQ Scales	Positive Identity	Negative Identity	Total Identity
Wellbeing	rho = .22 p < .02	rho = .19 p < .03	rho = .22 p < .02
Achievement	rho = -.18 p < .05	rho = -.04 p < .35	rho = -.11 p < .14
Social Closeness	rho = .18 p < .05	rho = .04 p < .36	rho = .12 p < .13
Alienation	rho = -.05 p < .33	rho = .03 p < .38	rho = -.02 p < .44

Intimacy and DPQ Variables

In looking at the relationships among Intimacy scores and DPQ scores (shown on Table 3-4), it can be seen that the highest correlation is between Total Intimacy--a score representing the sum of the absolute values of Positive and Negative Intimacy scores--and Social Closeness ($r = .23$, $p < .01$). The next-highest correlation was between Positive Intimacy and Social Closeness ($r = .21$, $p < .03$); this correlation supports the stated hypothesis, but a stronger relationship was expected.

Table 3-4
Rank-Order Correlations
for Intimacy Scores and DPQ Scale Scores

DPQ Scales	Positive Intimacy	Negative Intimacy	Total Intimacy
Wellbeing	rho = .17 p < .05	rho = .10 p < .16	rho = .17 p < .06
Achievement	rho = -.1399 p < .09	rho = .01 p < .46	rho = -.06 p < .28
Social Closeness	rho = .21 p < .03	rho = .18 p < .04	rho = .23 p < .01
Alienation	rho = -.09 p < .20	rho = .04 p < .35	rho = -.06 p < .30

Age Effects on Identity and Intimacy

Three types of analyses were done to explore age effects. First, rank-order correlations were done with age as a continuous variable. The correlational matrices for Identity with Age and Intimacy with Age are shown in Table 3-5 and 3-6 respectively. The only correlation reaching the .05 level of significance is between Age and Positive Identity ($r = .18$, $p < .05$). In a second analysis, subjects were divided into two age groups, the first made up of subjects aged 17-21 ($n=76$) and the second made up of subjects aged 22-39 ($n=15$); obviously, the older age group is very small, which made it less

Table 3-5
Rank-Order Correlations
for Identity Scores and Age

	Positive Identity	Negative Identity	Total Identity
Age	rho = .18 p < .05	rho = .01 p < .45	rho = .12 p < .12

Table 3-6
Rank-Order Correlations
for Intimacy Scores and Age

	Positive Intimacy	Negative Intimacy	Total Intimacy
Age	rho = -.11 p < .16	rho = -.14 p < .10	rho = -.16 p < .06

likely that small between-group differences would be detected. The division of subjects into these two particular age groups was done in order to explore any differences between the usual college-age students (17-21 years) and those beyond these ages (22-39). A Mann-Whitney U procedure was done to test for differences in Total Identity and Total Intimacy scores between subjects in the two age groups; results were non-significant. In a third analysis, subjects were assigned by Total Identity and Total Intimacy scores into Low, Medium,

and High score groups for both variables. Then, using the two age groups previously discussed, a three x two Chi Square analysis was done. Cell counts did not vary significantly from expected values, as is shown in Table 3-7 and Table 3-8.

Table 3-7
Relationship Between Total Identity Scores and Age

Age Groups	Total Identity Scores			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
17 yrs - 21 yrs	23	28	25	76
22 yrs - 39 yrs	2	8	5	15
Total	25	36	30	91
χ^2 (df = 2) = 2.17, p < .34				

Table 3-8
Relationship Between Total Intimacy Scores and Age

Age Groups	Total Intimacy Scores			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
17 yrs - 21 yrs	41	11	24	76
22 yrs - 39 yrs	11	0	4	15
Total	52	11	28	91
χ^2 (df = 2) = 3.09, p < .21				

Sex Effects on Identity and Intimacy

Two analyses were done in an effort to discern sex differences in frequency of identity and intimacy concerns. First, the Mann-Whitney U procedure was used to test for overall differences between male and female subjects in Total Identity and Total Intimacy scores; results were non-significant. Second, a 3 x 2 Chi Square analysis was done, using the previously discussed Low, Medium, and High score groups for Total Identity and Total Intimacy by sex. There was a significant ($p < .03$) difference between males and females in terms of their distribution into the three Identity score groups; while males were fairly evenly distributed across the Low, Medium, and High groups, females clustered heavily in the Medium group, with significantly fewer members than the males in the Low and High groups. However, no significant differences were found between males and females in the three Intimacy score groups; results of these chi square analyses can be seen in Table 3-9 and Table 3-10.

Table 3-9
Relationship Between Total Identity Scores and Sex

Sex	Total Identity Scores			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Male	20	18	22	60
Female	5	18	8	31
Total	25	36	30	91

χ^2 (df = 2) = 7.00, $p < .03$

Table 3-10
Relationship Between Total Intimacy Scores and Sex

Sex	Total Intimacy Scores			Total
	Low	Medium	High	
Male	37	7	16	60
Female	15	4	12	31
Total	52	11	28	91

χ^2 (df = 2) = 1.62, $p < .44$

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The results of this study will now be discussed in terms of the hypotheses being tested.

As was reported, 17 subjects (18%) wrote stories void of any expression of concern with either identity or intimacy issues as measured by the Stewart, Franz, and Layton coding system. 30 subjects (34%) expressed some number of identity concerns while expressing no intimacy concerns, and 37 subjects (41%) expressed some number of concerns with both identity and intimacy. The remaining 7 subjects (7%) wrote stories expressive of intimacy concerns but void of identity concerns; this was the least common pattern of scores. Given that the bulk of subjects (82%) produced stories containing codable expressions of either or both identity and intimacy concerns, it is suggested that the method of narrative content analysis used shows promise in tapping the presence of identity and intimacy concerns as expressed in the subjects' fictional narratives. The fact that the stories of 17 subjects contained no codable expressions of either identity or intimacy concerns can be interpreted in at least two ways: first, these subjects might fall under Marcia's (1966) description of "identity diffusion" wherein subjects appear to be neither committed to any specific identity path nor particularly concerned with identity formation issues, and would thus be unlikely to report identity or intimacy concerns; or, these subjects may have had particular difficulty producing a written narrative which was

actually expressive of their concerns with identity and intimacy issues for reasons such as discomfort with the medium or with the issue of self-disclosure. The first of these interpretations is supported somewhat by the fact that 15 of the 17 subjects in question were of the younger age-group (17-21 years), where one would expect, theoretically, to find lesser developmental maturity and therefore a greater probability of diffuse identity. 14 of these 17 subjects were males, which may or may not be meaningful in terms of the dearth of identity and intimacy concerns expressed in their stories. The fact that 7 subjects expressed no identity concerns at all while expressing intimacy concerns deviates from Erikson's model of identity formation preceding intimacy as a developmental focus; while there is some empirical evidence that females may be more focused upon intimacy issues than identity issues in early adulthood, this fails as an explanation in that 5 of the 7 subjects in question are male. All 7 subjects fall into the younger (17-21 years) age group, and their score pattern may signify involvement in what Turner (1975) describes as a quest for personal identity through premature, pseudo-intimate relationships.

The hypothesis that identity concerns would significantly outnumber intimacy concerns in this population was clearly confirmed; a paired samples t-test revealed an almost two-to-one ratio of identity scores to intimacy scores. An separate examination of the Identity and Intimacy scores of the 15 subjects in the older age group revealed the same prevalence of identity concerns over intimacy concerns. This result may be interpreted as supporting previous

research which suggests that the college experience tends to both intensify and prolong the process of identity formation, with integration of various aspects of identity occurring only after leaving this restricted environment and entering into the "real world." With the older subjects, it is possible that the college experience may have provoked a resurgence of identity concerns over intimacy concerns, perhaps even a re-casting of some identity aspects. Interestingly enough, the rank-order correlation between age and intimacy concerns, while not reaching the .05 level of significance, was in a negative direction.

The hypothesis that there would be a higher frequency of intimacy concerns expressed by female subjects than males was not confirmed. While keeping in mind the smaller sample size of females ($n=31$) relative to males ($n=60$), it is possible that in this achievement-oriented subject group, identity issues are more salient for both sexes as compared to intimacy issues. We may also be seeing an example of some socio-cultural trend towards identity issues taking on a priority in female development over intimacy issues, a state of affairs traditionally seen as a more male path of development.

Although an hypothesis was stated that expressions of both identity and intimacy concerns would increase in frequency with age, the only significant correlation was found between increasing age and Positive Identity scores ($\rho = .18, p < .05$); other identity and intimacy scores did not correlate significantly with age. No significant differences of any kind in identity or intimacy scores were found between groups when subjects were divided into younger (17-

21 years) and older (22-39 years) groups; however, as the older group contained only 15 subjects, some small differences may have been missed.

Two hypotheses were given concerning significant rank-order correlations to be found amongst the various identity and intimacy scores: a negative correlation between Negative Identity scores and Positive Intimacy scores; and a positive correlation between Positive Identity scores and Positive Intimacy scores. The first of these two hypotheses was not supported; Negative Identity and Positive Intimacy actually showed a small but significant positive correlation, as did in fact all pairs of variables except for Positive Identity and Negative Intimacy. The highest correlations were between the positive scores and total scores and between the negative scores and the total scores for both Identity and Intimacy; this is inevitable, given that the total scores are derived from adding the positive and negative scores together, and offers nothing for interpretation. Positive Identity and Negative Identity scores showed a high degree of correlation ($\rho = .47, p < .000$), as did Positive and Negative Intimacy scores ($\rho < .56, p < .000$). One interpretation of this is that these positive/negative dimensions of the identity and intimacy constructs, rather than being independent entities, are inseparable aspects of developmental experience; thus, the positive and negative tend to co-exist. The next-highest--though quite small--correlation amongst all six variable scores was found, disconcertingly enough, between Negative Identity and Total Intimacy ($\rho = .28, p < .003$). This result is difficult to interpret through Eriksonian theory or

other research findings, and may simply represent some difficulty with the scoring system. The hypothesis-confirming correlation found between Positive Identity and Positive Intimacy ($\rho = .27, p < .005$) is actually smaller than was expected, given the Eriksonian theoretical proposition that secure identity is a crucial aspect of the capacity for intimacy with others. However, with both of the latter two correlations cited, their small magnitude diminishes any interpretive value. As previously stated, all of the identity and intimacy scores--except for Positive Identity and Negative Intimacy--correlated at a $p < .05$ level of significance. This could signify: a lack of discriminant validity in the Stewart et al coding system; the enmeshment of identity and intimacy concerns in this subject group; or, the essentially enmeshed nature of identity and intimacy issues in human development. This final possibility will be further discussed in a later section of the chapter.

In terms of the relationships among the various Identity and Intimacy scores and the DPQ variables, some results were surprising. Rather than the significant positive correlation hypothesized between Positive Identity scores and scores on the Achievement scale, results showed a small but significant **negative** correlation between these two ($\rho = -.18, p < .05$). It must be acknowledged that this is a quite small degree of correlation, and yet the negative direction provokes speculation. If one looks closely at the self-description information provided by Tellegen of high scorers on the DPQ Achievement scale, one might suspect that an individual whose ego-identity is well-formed and relatively stable is less likely to stress work accomplishments over

other dimensions of self-development, e.g. interpersonal relationships; indeed, there may be an actual retreat from achievement issues--particularly in this already academically high-achieving subject group--during the process of forming a more whole, well-rounded identity within the college experience. While the significant positive correlation hypothesized between Positive Intimacy scores and Social Closeness scale scores was confirmed ($\rho = .21, p < .03$), a similar correlation was found between Negative Intimacy scores and Social Closeness ($\rho = .18, p < .04$) and an even larger correlation found between the Total Intimacy scores and Social Closeness ($\rho = .23, p < .01$). Thus, the highest correlation is between Total Intimacy--a score representing the sum of the absolute values of Positive and Negative Intimacy scores--and Social Closeness. While keeping in mind the small magnitude of even this highest correlation, one might postulate that in this case, an intimacy concern is an intimacy concern; that is, whether a subject is expressing conflict/loss in the area of interpersonal intimacy or security/happiness in this area, he or she sees close relationships as centrally important and desirable. As was hypothesized, there was a significant--though smaller than expected--positive correlation found between Wellbeing and Positive Identity scores ($\rho = .22, p < .02$); comparable correlations were found between Wellbeing and Total Identity scores ($\rho = .22, p < .02$) and between Wellbeing and Negative Identity scores ($\rho = .20, p < .03$). This last correlation was surprising, as either a non-significant or a significant inverse relationship was expected between Negative Identity and Wellbeing.

While again the small magnitude of the correlations discourages interpretation, it is interesting to note that both Positive and Negative Identity scores correlate at about the same level with Wellbeing scores, suggesting that those subjects expressing either or both conflict/certainty about Identity have a greater sense of wellbeing than do those subjects expressing no concerns with issues of identity. This actually does make sense theoretically, in that one would expect subjects in this sample, developmentally, to be either quite actively involved in the process of identity formation (and thus likely to express conflict in this area), or to have achieved a relatively stable ego-identity (and thus likely to express certainty and cohesiveness); either state may correspond to greater developmental maturity than would a distancing from identity issues, and in turn correspond to a greater sense of wellbeing. However, it may also be that the greater the individual's sense of wellbeing, the more likely he or she is to have entered into or even resolved the struggle of identity formation. The final hypothesis made was that a significant positive relationship would be found between both Negative Identity and Negative Intimacy scores and Alienation scale scores; this was not confirmed. Scores on the Alienation scale actually did not correlate significantly in either direction with any of the Identity or Intimacy scores, suggesting that the scale is measuring a construct unrelated to these two Eriksonian constructs as defined within the Stewart, Franz, and Layton coding system.

Methodological Considerations

In looking at the distributions of the identity and intimacy scores, two facts are notable: one, that the majority of subjects cluster at the low ends of the distributions; and two, that the range of Total Intimacy scores (0 - 8) is substantially smaller than that of Total Identity scores (0 - 12). It may be that the two instruments used to obtain these scores--the FPT and the Stewart, Franz, and Layton coding system--presented methodological problems which affected the data along these lines. As previously mentioned, the Stewart et al system was devised for use with personal documents and autobiographical writings, and its scoring examples derived from the writings of published author Vera Brittain. Applying the system to the undergraduates' FPT stories, which tended to be almost cryptically terse and non-eloquent, was difficult, and it may be that in attempting to stay as close as possible to the Stewart et al coding guidelines, raters were unable to code some actual identity and intimacy concerns voiced in these projective stories. In addition, the coding guidelines given by Stewart et al for expressions of intimacy concerns are fewer and of greater subtlety than those given for identity, which may have contributed to the smaller number and score-range of coded intimacy concerns. Notably, Erikson wrote more comprehensively about ego-identity formation than he did about intimacy as a construct, thus leaving less information for formulating specific coding guidelines for intimacy concerns. At any rate, it seems possible that the Stewart et al system may have impeded to some degree the gleaning of intimacy concerns, and, to a lesser degree, the

identity concerns expressed in the FPT stories. This brings us to the issue of the FPT as source of narrative data. As Reiff (1987) points out, the FPT has been shown to elicit different types of stories from males and females. This is seen as due at least in part to the predominance of male-looking characters in the four pictures used for the test, which presumably restricts females in identifying with the characters and subsequently in entering into a projective fantasy. This could possibly explain the predominance of identity concerns over intimacy concerns in female subjects as well as males; that is, both sexes were writing male-oriented stories. Another possibility which must be considered is that the FPT simply did not elicit a broad enough data base for analysis. While the use of only four cards is convenient, and the integration of the four cards into one story a potentially enriching aspect of the technique, the benefits of the TAT's larger number of cards and multiple-story data base may outweigh those of the FPT for some research purposes.

Implications

I believe that to be human is to seek self-knowledge. Part of this search involves what Wheelis referred to as "the quest for identity": the individual is intrinsically motivated to develop a sense of self-sameness and continuity, both in his or her own eyes and in the eyes of others. When Schippers speaks of the difficulties faced by today's adolescent due to rapid technological changes and the disintegration of the stable nuclear family, I think she is outlining the contours of a vicious circle. Here is what I mean: While there

have most likely always existed in our society individuals who have chosen to live fairly changeable lives--eg: preferring frequent geographic relocation and job changes--it appears to me that in today's world it is much more difficult to choose not to live in such a way. For instance, while many types of occupational vocations have ceased to exist with technological advancement, literally thousands of new ones have come into existence, the practice of which may undergo modification with blinding speed. The job marketplace is highly competitive; people must be willing to travel, to move, to re-enroll in school to acquire new skills, to place such considerations in the fore of their lives. Such changes inevitably wreak havoc with what I see as the reference points of personal identity; such markers of continuity as having worked with a group of people over the years at your job, or watching the neighbor's children grow up with your own. My contention is that, when such societal/cultural changes diminish opportunities for stability and continuity, the development of a stable sense of identity becomes elusive at best; the individual's frustrated need for such a personal identity results in a fearful emptiness, which he or she then attempts to fill by moving even more frequently and rapidly from place to place, job to job, lover to lover, much as the borderline patient or the compulsive eater constantly seeks the perfect fused relationship or ultimately satisfying food. Of course, in so doing, they are confounding the development of stable personal identity that they must have in order to step outside of the vicious circle.

In making the above-stated argument, I am moving beyond the acknowledgement--supported by research--that identity formation is an ongoing process throughout the lifespan and unlikely under the best of circumstances to be a "done deal" at the age of 20, or 30, or even at 40. I am suggesting that the basic, core identity that one could reasonably expect to have crystallized in early adulthood may not in fact be commonly present in today's socio-cultural era. If true, this may explain, at least in part, why we would see an almost two-to-one ratio of identity concerns to intimacy concerns in the subject group used in the current study, despite the upper age parameter of 39 years. The same argument may offer some explanation for the absence of expected male-female differences in identity vs intimacy concerns: even if females are following more of an "attachment" line of development and males more of an "individuation" line of development in identity formation, it may be that both paths are sufficiently blocked by the diminution of stable, institutionalized values and life-patterns that men and women are similarly caught up in a drawn-out struggle with basic identity-formation issues which overshadow intimacy issues.

Future Research

I have come to suspect that issues of identity and issues of intimacy are, essentially, inextricably bound together in the human experience. This connectedness between identity and intimacy is stated poignantly by Becker (1973) in his book 'Denial of Death' when he proposes that all humans are destined to struggle throughout life

with dual, conflictual needs: to separate from others in some heroic fashion; and to seek merger with others and/or a power greater than themselves. Both needs are important, both serve as motivation, and they sometimes seem incompatible. Mahler et al (1975) chronicled the manifestation of this struggle in the rapprochement phase of childhood; McAdams (1989) studies autobiographical writings and fictional narratives for themes of personal power and intimacy, believing these two themes to be the substance of human lives. Erikson himself (1963) described identity formation as the pivotal synthesis and culmination of previous stage-issues, and detailed the way in which these previous issues reappear in the identity stage. Logan (1986) suggests not only that identity formation is pivotal in life-span development, but that the following intimacy stage begins a higher-level integration and recycling of earlier stages. I would go beyond this to propose that the intimacy stage represents the re-working of attachment issues--which have been part of all previous stages--from the position of the wholly differentiated self reached in identity formation. This thinking is supported by Franz and White (1985), who reconceptualize Erikson's theory as a two-path model of development: the paths of individuation and attachment. Thus, my thinking is that identity and intimacy represent, rather than two developmental stages among many, the dual predominant lines of human development, and that their respective achievement is greatly affected by the interplay between the two lines in the life experience.

I continue to believe that personal narrative--be it fictional or autobiographical or, more usually, a mixture of the two--embodies one

of our greatest potential sources for understanding the complex, intertwining issues of identity and intimacy in human lives. The very aspects which make a "good" narrative--continuity, movement through time, a coherent meshing of characters and events and their effects upon each other--are also the elements of cohesive identity, our relatedness to others, and what we summon to mind in making sense of our lives. However, there are two aspects of the use of narrative in the present study which I now see as faulty. First, I believe that the understanding of identity and intimacy issues in a person's life would be better served by analyzing whatever that person wrote about, rather than searching the narrative for particular comments that presumably connote identity and intimacy concerns. By this, I mean that a person's narrative productions cannot but express his or her concerns with identity and intimacy issues because to be human is to be concerned with these issues. What we then study is the individual perspective, the personal narrative. Murray (1935) had as a goal the collection of fictional narratives and autobiographical writings from many individuals, with the hope of ultimately finding almost universal "types" of life-stories, perhaps the stuff of myth-making. Second, I would suggest longitudinal rather than cross-sectional study of individual narrative productions, as the former offers a view of individual change and continuity.

As socio-cultural theorists point out, the reality of human development is inseparable from the realities of the socio-cultural age in which we live. I believe that the research approach suggested--a more phenomenological analysis of narrative within a

longitudinal design--could facilitate the piecing together of a picture of identity and intimacy in our socio-cultural epoch which is reflective of the evolving cultural myths surrounding these issues.

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Acklin, M. W. (1986). Adult maturational processes and the facilitating environment. Journal of Religion and Health, 25, 3, 198-206).
- Anastasi, A. (1986). Evolving concepts in test validation. Annual Review of Psychology, 37, 1-15.
- Babbie, E. (1986). Observing ourselves: Essays in social research. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Bakan, D. (1966). The duality of human existence: Isolation and communion in Western man. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Becker, E. (1973). The denial of death. New York: Free Press/Macmillan.
- Blatt, S. J. (1975). The validity of projective techniques and their research and clinical contribution. Journal of Personality Assessment, 39, 327-343.
- Blatt, S. J. & Lerner, H. (1983). The psychological assessment of object representation. Journal of Personality Assessment, 47, 1, 7-28.
- Block, J. (1961). Ego identity, role variability, and adjustment. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 25, 392-397.
- Bourne, E. (1978a). The state of research on ego-identity: A review and appraisal (Part 1). Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7, 224-251.
- Bourne, E. (1978b). The state of research on ego-identity: A review and appraisal (Part 2). Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7, 371-392.
- Bronson, G. W. (1959). Identity diffusion in late adolescence. Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology, 59, 414-417.
- Bruner, J. S. (1960). Myth and identity. In H. Murray (Ed.), Myth and mythmaking (pp 276-287). New York: George Braziller.
- Bruner, J. S. (1986). Actual minds, possible words. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buber, M. (1970). I and thou. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Chodorow, N. (1978). The reproduction of mothering. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Ciaccio, N. V. (1971). A test of Erikson's theory of ego epigenesis. Developmental Psychology, 4, 3, 306-311.
- Constantinople, A. (1969). An Eriksonian measure of personality development in college students. Developmental Psychology, 1, 357-372.
- Dana, R. H. (1966). Eisegesis and assessment. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 30, 3, 216-222.
- Dignan, M. H. (1965). Ego identity and maternal identification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1, 476-483.
- Domino, G. & Hannah, M. T. (1989). Measuring effective functioning in the elderly: An application of Erikson's theory. Journal of Persnality Assessment, 53, 2, 319-328.
- Donovan, M. (1975). Identity status and interpersonal style. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 4, 1, 37-55.
- Erikson, E. H. (1958). Young man Luther: A study in Psychoanalysis and history. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1963). Childhood and society (2nd ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1975). Life history and the historical moment. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1980). Identity and the life cycle (2nd ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E. H. (1982). Life cycle completed: A review. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Fairbairn, W. R. D. (1952). An object-relations theory of the personality. New York: Basic Books.
- Franz, C. E. & White, K. M. (1985). Individuation and attachment in personality development: Extending Erikson's theory. In A.J. Stewart and M.B. Lykes (Eds.), Gender and personality: Current perspectives on theory and research (136-168). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gergen, K. J. & Gergen, M. M. (1986). Narrative form and the construction of psychological science. In T.R. Sarbin (Ed.), Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct (pp 22-44). New York: Praeger.

- Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gottschalk, L. A. & Gleser, G. C. (1969). The measurement of psychological states through the content analysis of verbal behavior. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.
- Gould, R. L. (1978). Transformations. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Greenberg, J. R. & Mitchell, S. A. (1983). Object relations in Psychoanalytic theory. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gruen, W. (1964). Adult personality: An empirical study of Erikson's theory of ego development. In B.L. Neugarten (Ed.), Personality in middle and late life: Empirical studies (pp 76-81). New York: Atherton Press.
- Hauser, S. T. (1971). Black and white identity formation. New York: Wiley.
- Heilbrun, A. B. (1964). Conformity to masculinity-femininity stereotypes and ego identity in adolescence. Psychological Report, 14, 351-357.
- Heilbrun, A. B. Jr. & Heilbrun, K. S. (1977). Content analysis of delusions in reactive and process schizophrenias. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 86, 597-608.
- Held, T. (1986). Institutionalization and deinstitutionalization of the life course. Human Development, 29, 3, 157-162.
- Hershenson, D. B. (1967). Sense of identity, occupational fit, and enculturation. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 14, 319-324.
- Hilgard, E. R. (1987). Psychology in America: A historical survey. Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Hodgson, J. W. & Fischer, J. L. (1979). Sex differences in identity and intimacy development in college youth. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 8, 1, 37-50.
- Hogan, R. & Nicholson, R. (1988). The meaning of personality test scores. American Psychologist, 43, 8, 621-626.
- Holt, R. (1967). Discussion: On using experiential data in personality assessment. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 31, 4, 25-30.
- Horney, K. (1945). Our inner conflicts. New York: W.W. Norton.

- Hotelling, K. & Forrest, L. (1985). Gilligan's theory of sex-role development: A perspective for counseling. Journal of Counseling and Development, 64, Nov., 183-186.
- Jacques, E. (1965). Death and the midlife crisis. International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 46, 502-514.
- James, W. (1890). Principles of Psychology. New York: Henry Holt.
- Josselson, R. (1973). Psychodynamic aspects of identity formation in college women. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 2, 1, 3-52.
- Josselson, R. (1982). Personality structure and identity status in women as viewed through early memories. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 11, 4, 293-299.
- Josselson, R. (1987). Finding herself: Pathways to identity development in women. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Jung, C. (1954). The development of personality. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Kacergius, M. A. & Adams, G. R. (1980). Erikson stage resolution: The relationship between identity and intimacy. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 9, 2, 117-126.
- Kernberg, O. (1976). Object relations theory and clinical psychoanalysis. New York: Jason Aronson.
- Klein, G. S. (1975). Psychoanalytic theory: An exploration of the essentials. New York: International Universities Press.
- Kohut, H. (1971). The analysis of the self. New York: International Universities Press.
- Krohn, A. & Mayman, M. (1974). Object representations in dreams and projective tests. Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic, 38, 445-446.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1962). The structure of scientific revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Landy, F. J. (1986). Stamp collecting versus science: Validation as hypothesis testing. American Psychologist, 41, 1183-1192.
- Levinson, D. J. (1977). The seasons of a man's life. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Lobel, T. E. & Winch, G. L. (1987). Psychosocial development, self-concept, and gender. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 149, 3, 505-411.

- McAdams, D. P. & Vaillant, G. E. (1982). Intimacy motivation and psychosocial adjustment: A longitudinal study. Journal of Personality Assessment, 46, 6, 586-593.
- McClelland, D. C. (1979). Inhibited power motivation and high blood pressure in men. Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 88, 182-190.
- McFarlane, J. W. (1942). Problems of validation inherent in projective methods. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 12, 405-410.
- Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, self, and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Meehl, P. (1945). The dynamics of "structured" personality tests. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1, 296-303.
- Miller, A. (1949). Death of a salesman: Certain conversations in two acts and a requiem. New York: Viking.
- Morgan, C. D. & Murray, H. A. (1935). A method for investigating fantasies. Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, 34, 289-306.
- Murray, H. A. (1938). Explorations in personality. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ochse, R. & Plug, C. (1986). Cross-cultural investigation of the validity of Erikson's theory of personality development. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 50, 6, 1240-1252.
- Orlofsky, J. L. (1978). The relationship between intimacy status and antecedent personality components. Adolescence, 13, 51, 419-441.
- Orlofsky, J. L., Marcia, J. E., & Lesser, I. M. (1973). Ego identity status and the intimacy versus isolation crisis of young adulthood. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 27, 211-219.
- Piatrowski, C. (1984). The status of projective techniques: Or, "wishing won't make them go away". Journal of Clinical Psychology, 40, 6, 1495-1502.
- Rasmussen, J. E. (1964). The relationship of ego identity to psychological effectiveness. Psychological Report, 15, 815-825.
- Reiff, H. J. (1989). A re-examination of the van Lennep Four Picture Test: Past applications and current usefulness. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Chicago School of Professional Psychology.
- Ricoeur, P. (1976). Interpretation theory: Discourse and the surplus of meaning. Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press.

- Loevinger, J. (1966). The meaning and measurement of ego development. American Psychologist, 21, 195-206.
- Loevinger, J. (1976). Ego development: Conceptions and theories. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Logan, R. D. (1986). A reconceptualization of Erikson's theory: The repetition of existential and instrumental themes. Human Development, 29, 125-136.
- Lyons, J. (1967). Whose experience? Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 31, 4, 11-16.
- MacHove, F. J. (1982). Differentiating affective from thought disorders by semantic analysis of Rorschach responses. Journal of Personality Assessment, 46, 12-17.
- Mahler, M., Pine, F., & Bergman, A. (1975). The psychological birth of the human infant. New York: Basic Books.
- Mann, C. H. (1985). Adult development: Individuation, separation, and the role of reality. Contemporary Psychoanalysis, 21, 2, pp 284-296.
- Mann, T. (1913). Der Tod in Venedig. Berlin: S. Fisher.
- Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego-identity status. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, 551-558.
- Marcia, J. E. (1976). Identity six years after: A follow-up study. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 5, 145-160.
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), Handbook of adolescent psychology. New York: Wiley.
- Maslow, A. H. (1968). Toward a psychology of being. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold.
- Mayman, M. (1968). Early memories and character structure. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 32, 4, 303-316.
- Mayman, M. & Faris, M. (1960). Early memories as expressions of early relationship paradigms. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 30, 507-520.
- McAdams, D. P. (1985). Power, intimacy, and the life story: Personological inquiries into identity. Illinois: Dorsey Press.

- Ricoeur, P. (1981). Hermeneutics and the human sciences: Essays on language, action, and interpretation. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Riley, M. W. (1986). The dynamics of life stages: Roles, people, and age. Human Development, 29, 3, 150-156.
- Rosenthal, D. A., Gurney, R. M., & Moore, S. M. (1981). From trust to intimacy: A new inventory for examining Erikson's stages of psychosocial development. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 10, 6, 525-537.
- Rothman, K. M. (1978). Multivariate analysis of the relationship of psychosocial crisis variables to ego identity status. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 7, 93-105.
- Sarbin, T. R. (1986). The narrative as a root metaphor for psychology. In T. R. Sarbin (Ed.), Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct (pp 3-21). New York: Praeger.
- Schafer, R. (1981). Narration in the psychoanalytic dialogue. In W.J.T. Mitchell (Ed.), On narrative (pp 25-50). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Schiedel, D. G. & Marcia, J. E. (1985). Ego identity, intimacy, sex role orientation, and gender. Developmental Psychology, 21, 149-160.
- Schippers, L. (1978). The permanence change and the adolescent experience. Adolescence, 13, 49, Spring, 143-148.
- Scholes, R. & Kellogg, R. (1966). The nature of narrative. New York: Oxford Press.
- Shakespeare, W. (1970). The tempest (2nd ed.). Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Simmons, D. (1970). Development of an objective measure of identity development status. Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 34, 241-244.
- Spence, D. (1982). Narrative truth and historical truth. New York: Norton.
- Stewart, A. J., Franz, C., & Layton, L. (1988). The changing self: Using personal documents to study lives. Journal of Personality, 56, 1, 41-74.
- Sullivan, H. S. (1953). The interpersonal theory of psychiatry. New York: W.W. Norton.

- Tellegen, A. (1982). Brief manual for the Differential Personality Questionnaire. Unpublished manuscript, copyright 1982.
- Thomas, D. (1979). Naturalism and social science: A post-empiricist philosophy of science. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, R. H. (1975). Is there a quest for identity? Sociological Quarterly, 16, Spring, 148-161.
- Vaillant, G. E. (1977). Adaptation to life. Boston: Brown & Co.
- Viney, L. L. (1983). The assessment of psychological states through the content analysis of verbal communications. Psychological Bulletin, 94, 3, 542-563.
- Waterman, A. S. (1982). Identity development from adolescence to adulthood: An extension of theory and a review of research. Developmental Psychology, 18, 3, 341-358.
- Webster's Third New International Dictionary, unabridged (1986). Springfield, MA: Merriam Webster.
- Wheelis, A. (1958). The quest for identity. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Whitbourne, S. K. & Tesch, S. A. (1985). A comparison of identity and intimacy statuses in college women and alumni. Developmental Psychology, 21, 6, 1039-1044.
- Whitbourne, S. K. & Waterman, A. S. (1979). Psychosocial development during the adult years: Age and cohort comparisons. Developmental Psychology, 15, 4, 373-378.
- White, R. W. (1952). Lives in progress. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- White, H. (1981). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. In W.J.T. Mitchell (Ed.), On narrative (pp 1-24). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wildman, B. G. & Erickson, M. T. (1977). Methodological problems in behavioral observation. In J.D. Cone and R. P. Hawkins (Eds.), Behavioral assessment: New directions in clinical psychology (225-273). New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Wyatt, F. (1967). How objective is objectivity? Journal of Projective Techniques and Personality Assessment, 31, 5, 3-19.

VITA

Patricia Marterer was born in Avalon, Pennsylvania, on December 21, 1954. She attended elementary school in Bellevue, Pennsylvania, and was graduated from Mary Fuller Frazier Memorial High School in Perryopolis, Pennsylvania, in 1972. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Psychology from California State College in California, Pennsylvania, in 1976.

Ms. Marterer entered the Clinical Psychology Graduate Program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in the Fall of 1986. She received her Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology in August, 1991, after completing an internship at Tulane Medical Center in New Orleans, Louisiana.