

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY FORMATION AND ADOLESCENT FRIENDSHIPS
IN A TIGHT-KNIT SOCIAL GROUP

BY

HERBERT VANDERBEEK

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presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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ABSTRACT

Erikson argued that identity formation represents the central developmental task for adolescents. Two processes, i.e., exploration (E) and commitment (C), contribute to identity formation. The high versus low levels of exploration and commitment determines the nature of an adolescent's identity status: (a) Identity Achievement (high E, high C); (b) Foreclosure (low E, high C); (c) Moratorium (high E, low C); (d) Identity Diffusion (low E, low C). The adolescent's social environment encourages/discourages exploration and commitment.

Erikson felt that tight-knit social groups would favour Foreclosure by discouraging exploration and by encouraging commitment. Following Erikson's theoretical framework, the thesis examines the relationship between identity formation, adolescent friendship patterns and religious commitment in two samples: (a) students attending an ethnically (Dutch) and religiously (Christian Reformed) homogeneous college characterized by tight-social networks; (b) an unselected sample of Manitoba university students.

Both groups completed the following questionnaires: (a) the Dellas Identity Status Inventory (assessing Occupational, Religious and Political Identity); (b) Miller Social Intimacy Scale (assessing closeness of friendships); (c) Measures of Religious Commitment (assessing Religious Orientation, and Function-of-Religion).

It was hypothesized that compared to the control group, the Christian Reformed students would have higher levels of Religious Foreclosure, higher levels of friendship, and higher levels of Religious Orientation and Function-of-Religion. A series of chi-square analyses showed that the religious group possessed higher levels of Religious Foreclosure, Religious Moratorium, and Political Moratorium. There were no differences between the two groups in terms of Occupational Identity. A series of one-way analysis-of-variance indicated that the religious group did possess higher levels of friendship, and higher levels of Religious Orientation and Function-of-Religion. Correlational and regression analyses on a pooled sample of the homogeneous and heterogeneous populations indicated that there were differences in regards to

various religious beliefs and practices of the respondent, the respondent's parents and the respondent's friends. A factor analysis suggested the presence of a unidimensional religion factor in the pooled sample. This unidimensional factor was used in conjunction with the Friendship variables and the three Identity Statuses in further analyses.

INTRODUCTION

The time of adolescence can basically be viewed from one of two positions: adolescence is either a time of gradual development, or it is a period of "Sturm und Drang" (storm and stress). Marcia (1980), taking the former position, states that identity formation during adolescence "usually proceeds in a much more gradual and nonconscious way. It gets done by bits and pieces..." (p. 161). The latter position is that taken by Stanley Hall (1904).

The concept of identity formation in developmental psychology received its impetus from the writings of Sigmund Freud. For Freud, with his emphasis on the child, identity was initially formed during early childhood, specifically during the phallic stage and the subsequent resolution of the Oedipus complex. Identity was fixed during the phallic stage with very little chance of subsequent major change occurring. Adolescence, for Freud, then, was a time in which identity received its final touches, and unresolved conflicts with the parents were finally resolved.

In contrast to the theory of Freud, Erik Erikson, with his focus on the adolescent, thought that the

primary period of identity formation was during adolescence. Additionally, Erikson felt that the historical period in which the person lived played an important role in the determination of the resulting ego identity. Each historical epoch affects the individual differently because of the concept of mutuality which

specifies that the crucial coordination is between the developing individual and his human (social) environment, and that this coordination is mutual.

(1959, p. 15)

Development, therefore, is a more complex relationship than the influence of the parents on the child as Freud proposed; it also encompasses the mutual influence of the individual and the surrounding society.

Erikson's theory of development was chosen as the framework for a number of reasons. First of all, it is unique in the fact that goes beyond a focusing on the individual in that it also includes the relationship of the individual to the society at large. The theory also involves a number of perspectives which are relevant when studying identity development. The genetic, adaptive, structural and dynamic functions of

the ego, which are a part of the psychoanalytic basis of Erikson's theory are included, as well as subjective or experiential factors, a sense of psychosocial reciprocity and existential questioning (Bourne, 1978a).

The psychosocial theory of development also provides a sense of continuity between a person's past, present and future, and it also provides a framework in which to analyze the various behaviours which are exhibited in the different areas of life. This theory allows for examination of those values which a person decides to adhere to, and how they bring direction and structure to that individual. It also provides a framework in which to explore the relationship between parents, peers and society, and the effects that each of these has on the developing individual (Waterman, 1985).

For Erikson, adolescence is a period marked by changes which must be examined and integrated into, or discarded from, who the individual feels he/she is. There are physical changes due to puberty accompanied by a new sexual maturity which must be dealt with. Adolescence is also a time of fluid friendships in

which it seems that friends are changed as often as clothing styles. The adolescent mind is also searching for unifying themes related to the traditions, rituals, and ideologies of the family, and of the societal group, of which they are a part. Linked to this searching are attempts to find a niche in what seems to be an ever-changing social structure. An attempt is also made to decide on a future occupation in the face of what sometimes can be overwhelming, and often confusing, career choices.

The difficulties adjusting to the expectations of the dominant culture by adolescents are also mirrored by members of ethnic minorities. In a sense, they are a type of adolescent trying to determine how best to relate to what is happening around them. Within the context of the larger culture, ethnic minorities are faced with one of two choices: they can either assimilate into the dominant culture, or they can become insular and isolate themselves in order to protect and preserve what they see as vital for their community. This can be particularly true for individuals belonging to those ethnic minorities which have strong religious beliefs as can be evidenced by

the Amish, the Hutterites, the Old Order Mennonites and so on. Their insulatory nature not only provides for the propagation of their ethnic traditions and language, but also of their religious beliefs.

But what of those ethnic minorities who do not see language and culture as being crucial for their survival, and who instead place a greater emphasis on the continuation of their religious beliefs? How does the formation of a religious identity differ in such a community from the general society?

This research project will examine such a community, and the effect which its religious belief system has on the formation of a religious identity. The relationship between various aspects of religious identity and adolescent friendships, and religious beliefs and practices will also be examined.

It is expected that since the adolescents of the religious group will be exposed to fewer alternatives in terms of beliefs, and since religious groups tend to expect conformity in terms of beliefs and behaviour, the exhibited beliefs and actions will be different from the general population.

Any beliefs and actions which do not coincide with

the norms of the group will tend not to be expressed but will rather be suppressed, perhaps out of fear of rejection and of being ostracized from the group. This course of action would be followed because it is participation and membership in the group which gives meaning and structure to the life of the individual.

While there will always be those individuals who consciously, and deliberately, go against the norm of the group in terms of beliefs and actions, the majority tend to adhere to the values of the community for a variety of personal reasons. The range of reasons for adhering to the group's norms and values span from fear of rejection by the community to personal acceptance of the norms because they are felt to be correct in terms of giving meaning and structure to life.

Identity Formation

Erik Erikson's Paradigm.

When Erik Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) speaks of the individual, he refers to the individual as being part of a society which is there to help shape the manner in which each particular stage of development resolves itself (either favourably or unfavourably) so that the

person will become a viable member of that particular society.

During the course of development, Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) postulates that the ensuing identity is much more than just the result of the effects of the parents' personal qualities. He goes much further abroad than the family when examining the shapers of identity; factors such as the socioeconomic class of the individual, and the norms, values and mores of the person's specific culture are also important. In this regard,

the growing child must derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience (his ego synthesis) is a successful variant of a group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life plan. (1959, p. 22)

But identity is more than just an identification with the group, it also includes a sense of sameness and continuity over time. Even though the person changes and grows while encountering new experiences and situations, there is still a sense of who one is, and it is this sameness which relates to the

surrounding environment (Erikson, 1959). In fact, human growth can be envisioned as encompassing conflicts, inner and outer, which the healthy personality weathers, emerging and re-emerging with an increased sense of inner unity, with an increase of good judgement, and an increase in the capacity to do well, according to the standard of those who are significant to him. (Erikson, 1959, p. 51)

Erikson's (1959, 1963, 1968) theory of psychosocial development is based upon the epigenetic principle. This principle states that all organisms have a ground plan, a master plan which governs the manner in which they develop, grow, and mature. Not only is the manner of growth regulated, but the sequence in which the parts of the organism appear are also predetermined. This master plan is in force until all parts have arrived and have formed a functioning whole.

There are two other aspects of the epigenetic principle which are essential to the understanding of Erikson's theory. First of all, each aspect of the healthy personality is related to all the other

aspects, and they all depend on the "proper development in the proper sequence of each item" (p. 53).

Secondly, each aspect exists in some form before the time in which it is to appear.

In this regard, identity is not just limited to adolescence, its roots can be traced all the way back to infancy and its influence can be evidenced even in senescence. A truly healthy crisis resolution is dependent on both the past the future.

There are four stages of development which must be resolved before the person can fully enter the fifth stage (Identity versus Identity Diffusion) which characterizes adolescence. The four prior stages are: Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust, Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt, Initiative versus Guilt, and Industry versus Inferiority. As was mentioned previously, each of these crises must be fully resolved before the individual can enter into a true exploration of identity issues. The proper resolution of each stage contributes to the formation of a healthy identity in that the sense of identity which develops during adolescence is in part a product of earlier experiences and perceptions.

The first stage of development gives to the child a sense of trust, or mistrust, not only in others but also in oneself. To the adolescent, this sense of trust enables the individual to scrutinize people and ideas in order to decide whether to have faith in them and to commit to a particular system of beliefs (Erikson, 1968).

The second stage establishes the need of being seen in terms of what can be accomplished. When this ability is used by the adolescent, it allows the individual to decide whether a certain commitment to a particular service or duty is feasible in terms of avoiding those activities which would bring shame, ridicule or self-doubt (Erikson, 1968).

A sense of guilt is necessary to help the adolescent realize when ambitious initiative has become excessive or illusory. Lastly, the drive to produce, and to produce adequately, allows the adolescent to go beyond a promising status and salary, and to look for those careers which offer personal satisfaction and uniqueness (Erikson, 1968).

During the fifth stage of the epigenetic sequence, the adolescent develops a new identity as the identity

which was associated with childhood is subordinated. The adolescent begins a period of experimenting with different roles which society has to offer in order to find a niche in the surrounding social milieu. Once this societal niche is found, a secure sense of coherence is gained which links the child of the past to the adult of the future. A reconciliation is also achieved between the view of self and the view which the community has of the self.

The final identity, then, as fixed at the end of adolescence is superordinated to any single identification with individuals of the past: it includes all significant identifications, but it also alters them in order to make a unique and a reasonably coherent whole of them. (Erikson, 1959, p. 112)

The polar opposite to Identity is Identity Diffusion (or as it is sometimes known, Identity Confusion). This Diffusion in the life of the adolescent can be characterized by a sense of doubt concerning the social group of which one is a member, and about one's gender identity. Many adolescents when they are trying on different societal roles become

confused when roles are forced upon them and subsequently become incapable of assuming a role. This confusion leads the adolescent to become distant from society by withdrawing from school, work and friends. There almost seems to be a regression into childhood so that the responsibilities of adult life can be postponed.

Identity, which is "the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity (one's ego in the psychological sense) is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (1959, p. 89) is unobtainable by the adolescent experiencing diffusion. This is to say that the individual who is experiencing diffusion does not have a sense of the sameness of self over time and does not experience positive feedback from the community regarding self.

What Erikson calls a "sense of role confusion" (1968, p. 87), or diffusion, is the result of not being able to resolve the social, sexual, ethnic and vocational crises which are currently being experienced. Rather than synthesizing the conflicts, the adolescent makes the unnecessary choice of choosing

either of the two extremes of the current dilemma.

In this regard, there are many changes which the individual must resolve in order to maintain a sense of sameness over time. First of all, there are physical changes which herald sexual maturation with its own assortment of conflicting emotions. There are also attempts to adjust to the increased demands of society to act in an adult manner, and to assume adult responsibilities. Adolescents are often torn because at the same time there are still pressures from the peer group to conform to its norms, and to find an identity within the peer group.

While society does attempt to provide structure during this time of transition, as can be more clearly seen in primitive societies which have rites of passage, it is during adolescence that peers become an important factor in an individual's life. It is the peer group, assuming the role of society, which is instrumental in serving as a buffer against the complexities of society, which can include the apparent lack of self-identity due to over-identification with the pervading culture.

A complimentary process to identity formation is

the search for an ideology (Erikson, 1968; Wright, 1982). Part of the searching involved in the formation of an identity is the search for a viable set of beliefs and values. An ideology can be compared to a *Weltanschauung*, a worldview which gives meaning and order to the emerging identity. Ideology is "a system of commanding ideas held together to a varying degree more by totalistic logic and utopian conviction than by cognitive understanding or pragmatic experience" (Erikson, 1975, pp. 206-207).

This worldview which begins to exert its influence on the adolescent is not a product of the individual but rather has its origins in society. When religious groups are considered, then ideology is inextricably bound up with the religious beliefs of the group. Ideology then becomes something which gives order to "the collective and the individual sense of identity" (Erikson, 1958, p.22).

James Marcia's Paradigm.

Marcia (1980) views both identity and adolescence as difficult topics to study and to define, because both tend to be vague and nonspecific, as well as

filled with self- and societal perceptions. But in spite of the vagueness concerning viable definitions, Marcia does offer this definition of identity: "...a self-structure--an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organization of drives, abilities, beliefs, and individual history" (1980, p. 159). The framework which Marcia uses to explain identity formation during adolescence is a modification of Erikson's psychosocial theory of development.

Identity is seen as being dynamic in nature rather than static. The elements which constitute the identity are seen as a "gestalt" which constantly shifts, and of which elements are deleted and added over time. In this regard, identity is a whole composed of a flexible unity of parts. The openness which this dynamic, flexible identity possesses allows numerous changes in the contents of the identity throughout the person's lifespan, even though the process through which it occurs is the same for individuals of all ages.

When this dynamic process of identity formation is considered, the question arises whether identity has a process or a content variable. Identity formation as a

process variable deals with the manner in which the individual examines numerous beliefs, goals, norms, and mores to determine whether each of these is suitable enough to be incorporated into the identity in terms of commitment. The content variable encompasses those areas of the individual's life to which commitments have been made and the elemental specifics of those commitments (Waterman, 1985).

While late adolescence is the time when identity is crystallized, there are antecedent variables which facilitate the formation of an identity during early adolescence: a sense of being able to work, trust that there is parental backing, and the ability to reflect on the future. While there is a great deal of uncertainty and disorganization during early adolescence, it is the task of the adolescent to transform this confusion into a sense of individuation and differentiation through the process of ego identity formation. This process is mediated through the experimentation and exploration of options and possibilities, and through the taking of risks (Marcia, 1983).

The formation of an ego identity does not occur in

a vacuum, but rather takes place in the forum of an adolescent separating self from the parents and learning to make decisions based on internalized needs and affirmations. Echoing Erikson, Marcia (1983) proposes that identity development unfolds in the context of a group; specifically with individuals with whom the person has a distinctive relationship. It is not possible to formulate an identity in isolation, as identity by its very nature is social. Even a diffuse identity, which has its ultimate roots in parental mistrust, occurs in the presence of relationships with others.

The process of identity formation is not automatic like puberty. Rather, the formation of an identity requires commitment to a vocation, an ideology (political and religious) and to a sexual, and a social orientation (Marcia, 1980; Waterman, 1985). The means through which this formation is accomplished, involves just as much affirmation as it does rejection (i.e., it involves saying "yes" to some things, and "no" to others). The various aspects and elements of self, family and society are examined and the known are often rejected and the unknown accepted. It is because of

this paradox that Marcia (1980) says that this ...is one of the reasons why some young people either do not form an identity or form only a partial one. They cannot risk saying "no" to elements of their past of which they are certain and make the affirmative leap into an uncertain future (p. 160).

This process of sorting through options which are encountered, accepting some while rejecting others, is at the heart of identity formation. The adolescent faced with a world of options must pick and choose those which are felt to be advantageous and then integrate these options into who the self is becoming. In the light of all the possible choices which can be made, the adolescent is sometimes overwhelmed because there is still an uncertainty about what is best. The risk of passing by a good choice is balanced against the risk of making a bad choice which leads to indecision and an inability to proceed further in the task of identity formation (Marcia, 1980).

The outcome of this period of the questioning of options was operationalized by Marcia (1966) and included two more possible resolutions of the crisis

experienced during adolescence beyond the two (Identity Achievement and Identity Diffusion) Erikson had outlined. The four identity statuses are: Identity Achievement, Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Identity Diffusion.

These four identity statuses are defined by the presence or absence of commitment and crisis. In Marcia's paradigm "crisis" is defined in terms of whether an active exploration of alternatives in such areas as vocation and ideology are present.

"Commitment" refers to the amount of investment which the individual places in such areas as vocation and ideology.

When the combinations of crisis and commitment are examined, it can be seen that there are four possible combinations. Each of these combinations relates to one of the four identity statuses. Since the focus of this thesis is religious identity formation, an example using religious beliefs will be used to help explain each of the identity statuses.

"Identity Achievement" is marked by an exploration of options which has been resolved and a commitment which has been made to a vocation and an ideology. A

number of options have been examined and reevaluated with the final decision being made by the individual and not by the parents. The religiously Identity Achieved has actively examined a number of different belief systems and has chosen to commit to the one which offers the most coherent view of the world and society as it is understood.

"Foreclosure" is different in that, although there is commitment, there has been no exploration of alternatives. There is very little difference between the goals and wishes of the individual and the goals and wishes of the parents. The vocation and ideology are more a reflection of the parents than of the individual. This individual has not engaged in the searching of religious options but has rather decided to adhere to the beliefs systems of the parents.

"Moratorium" is distinct because the individual is actively exploring options and has not as yet made any commitment. While there is no commitment on the part of the individual, there is an active searching and evaluation of a variety of vocations and ideologies, and a final decision will be made in the future. Those who are in a religious Moratorium will tend to have

brief encounters with a wide variety of religious beliefs without committing to any of them.

"Identity Diffusion" may or may not exhibit an exploration of alternatives. Additionally, there is no commitment to any vocation or ideology. Religiously, this person will not have any commitments and will adhere to what is expedient at the moment, not through any process of searching or crisis, but rather because a particular belief has been presented and is temporarily beneficial.

Marcia conceptualized identity status in a global way, that is, a given individual was thought to be in the same identity status in all areas of his/her life (e.g., in the vocational, political and religious domains). A person's identity status was determined on the basis of a long in-depth interview.

According to Waterman (1982) "the basic hypothesis of identity development is that the transition from adolescence involves a progressive strengthening in the sense of identity" (p. 342). The model which is proposed (Waterman, 1982, 1985) says that there is a progression in identity development from a state of Diffusion through Foreclosure and Moratorium until a

true sense of identity is achieved. Each of these states (Foreclosure and Moratorium) involves an increasing amount of either crisis or commitment until Identity Achievement is attained. To avoid the assumption that this is only a one-way process, it should be pointed out that an individual can regress to a previous state of identity if a new crisis is encountered or if a commitment is challenged to the point that it must be rethought.

While this might seem to be a cumbersome system to utilize, Marcia (1980) cites three advantages to using the four identity statuses over Erikson's paradigm. First of all, Marcia's framework offers greater variety and flexibility than does Erikson's simple dichotomy. Secondly, by using Marcia's model it is possible to examine both the pathological and the healthy aspects of each identity status with the exception of Identity Achievement. Finally, the identity statuses are more objective than are Erikson's theoretical writings, because the process of identity formation has been made explicit.

Dellas and Jernigan's Paradigm.

Because Marcia's measures of identity formation had procedural and conceptual limitations, these measures have been modified by Dellas and Jernigan (1981, 1987a, 1987b). Marcia's interview was very time consuming as it involved data collection on an individual basis. Another drawback of Marcia's method was that it relied on subjective interpretation of the information gathered from the subjects.

The principal theoretical critique of Marcia's paradigm made by Dellas and Jernigan was that an individual could simultaneously be in a variety of identity statuses depending on the specific domain. For example, a person could be religiously foreclosed while being vocationally achieved and in a political moratorium. This possibility was not tapped when using Marcia's global identity measure. Within Dellas and Jernigan's paradigm, a domain is a specific area of identity formation such as occupation, religion and politics.

To correct this drawback, Dellas and Jernigan began an expansion of Erikson's and Marcia's paradigms by examining domain-specific identity formation. Other researchers (Bourne, 1978b; Matteson, 1977; Rothman,

1978) have also advocated domain specific investigations.

Initially, the domain which was examined was occupation (Dellas and Jernigan, 1981). This examination resulted in a differentiation of Marcia's "Diffused" category into two more statuses: "Diffused-diffused" and "Diffused-luck". The "Diffused-diffused" status was characterized by a superficial search combined with no commitment, and the "Diffused-luck" status had a dependence on fate or luck and no commitment.

With a domain specific measure a "more precise assessment and better insight into the complexities of identity formation" (Dellas and Jernigan, 1987b, p. 2) could be obtained. The domains which were incorporated into the measure were Occupation, Religion, and Politics. The result was a measure which would still examine identity formation, but would yield insight into how identity is achieved in each of the three domains.

Adolescent Friendships

Since, as Erikson points out, personal development

does not occur in a vacuum, but rather in a societal context, it is therefore necessary to examine the effects which adolescent friendships have upon identity formation. While Erikson does focus upon the peer group as being instrumental in the establishment of an identity, research has tended to focus upon the effects which individual friendships have on identity formation. This next section will examine some of the inner workings of adolescent friendships.

During the period of adolescence, teens begin to learn about themselves and the world in which they live through interaction with their peers. Adolescents, with their increased peer interaction, begin to think of themselves in a different light. Coupled with this emerging new definition of self comes a new way of looking at what society has to offer in the way of lifestyle, recreation and vocation. Additionally, adolescents begin to relate to each other in an increasingly more intimate manner.

Since identity formation, according to Erikson, takes place within the context of a peer group, the role of the peer group provides a milieu for reflection on who one is in relation to self, to the group, to the

family, and to society. It can be assumed then, that those individuals who are not part of a peer group for whatever reason will not fully resolve the process or the content of identity formation, thereby culminating in either a Foreclosed or a Diffused identity status.

The process of identity formation within of a peer group is one of "simultaneous reflection and observation" (Erikson, 1968, p. 22) and occurs on all levels of mental functioning and is primarily unconscious.

The individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him. (Erikson, 1968, p. 22)

This process of judging others while considering their judgements of the self is similar to Cooley's (1902) theory of the looking-glass-self. Within this paradigm, the way in which the person views the self is dependent on how the individual views others viewing

the self. The process is also similar to Mead's (1934) concept of significant others, in which those individuals who are perceived to be important influence the manner in which the self is shaped.

During the time of adolescence, the attachment which the individual has to his/her parents grows weaker. The peers within the person's social network become the new figures to which the individual begins to attach. At first, the attachment focuses same-sex peers and later it broadens to include opposite-sex peers.

Within this new realm of peer attachment there is a great variety of attachments. There are individuals who have not separated from their parents and who are therefore still attached to them and consequently unable to attach to others. Then there are those individuals who have cut all ties with their parents. And somewhere in between are those adolescent who have ties with both their parents and their peers. This "middle-ground" of attachment is more realistic, for as Bowlby (1969) points out, "for most individuals the bond to parents continues into adult life and affects behaviour in many ways" (p. 207).

In the process of waning of attachment to the parents, it is the peer group which plays an important role. Ideally, the peer group is there to play a positive and adaptive role for the adolescent. The group allows the adolescent to make the transition from the home environment in that it permits the individual to acquire a new-found status as a unique and independent entity. Involvement in the peer group's activity also provides a forum in which new ways of relating to same-sex and opposite-sex peers becomes possible (Ausubel, 1954).

In spite of the lessening attachment to parents throughout adolescence, parents still provide greater influence than do peers when considering academic/vocational and social/ethical spheres. It should be clarified that the opinions of the parents won out over the opinions of the person considered to be the best friend. When the competing influences of the group and the best friend are considered, the stronger influence would be situationally specific and depend on the individual involved (Hunter, 1985). The situationality of attachment to, and influence of the peer group has been found in other studies (Brown,

1982; Clasen & Brown, 1985; Hunter, 1984; Sebald, 1986).

Part of the process of the group's dynamic is that it slowly becomes increasingly differentiated into subgroups which are more intimate and selective as to whom are to be allowed into the new groups. This differentiation continues to the point where individuals begin to go "steady". As a result of this increasing intimacy, the wishes and desires of the group begin to decline and the group no longer plays a major role in determining the behaviours and attitudes of the adolescent. Even though opposite-sex relationships increase in intimacy, Berndt (1982) found that same-sex relationships, for both males and females, are more intimate during late adolescence than they were in early adolescence.

It has been suggested that the friendships of girls tend to be more exclusive and intimate than those of boys. Girls have been found to engage in more intimate disclosures of feelings and thoughts than do boys. Girls are more likely to share and help their friends than they would classmates, whereas boys would treat both friends and classmates equally. When

engaged in a reciprocal type of friendship, girls are less likely than boys to include new friends into their social network. Although the research from which this information was taken concerned early adolescence, it has been pointed out that there does not seem to be a lot of difference between the friendships found in middle childhood, early adolescence and late adolescence (Berndt, 1982).

Even though there is not a lot of difference in friendship over time, there are changes in the relationship style involved in friendship between high school and college for both sexes. Males were more likely to have the same relationship style in college as they did in high school. The male same-sex relationships could be seen as uninvolved in both settings whereas the male opposite-sex relationships were intimate and friendly. Females in college were more likely to have same-sex relationships which were high in intimacy, with an increase in the degree of intimacy from high school to college. Overall, women's opposite-sex relationships tended to be high in intimacy and friendship and same-sex relationships had an even distribution in terms of intimacy and

friendship (Fischer, 1981).

When the topic of intimacy was investigated in relation to ego-identity status during young adulthood, differences in the level of intimacy were discovered (Orlofsky, Marcia & Lesser, 1973). Those individuals who were classified as Identity Achieved had more mature, successful and intimate relationships. The level of intimacy for those who were in Moratorium was similar to that of the Identity Achieved except that the Moratorium individuals tended to have more intimate relationships with same-sex individuals and that only a few persons had lasting opposite-sex relationships. Foreclosure individuals were primarily still engaged in formal dating relationships with a few individuals involved in opposite-sex relationships portrayed by a lack of genuine closeness and depth. The Diffused group had no close friends or dating experience and tended to be isolated from their peers.

While the majority of the research regarding adolescent friendships has focused on specific variables and has not necessarily espoused any particular framework, there is research which has a specific theoretical foundation. This line of

investigation has its basis in the synthesis of the theoretical writings of Sullivan and Piaget (Youniss, 1980; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). The basic thesis forwarded in these volumes is that adults have beneficial functions in the socialization of adolescents, and that if children are left with their friends, additional positive socialization occurs. In this scenario, the friendship network facilitates the formation of mutual understanding and cooperation in an environment which allows for experimentation.

There are four characteristics which increasingly become more prevalent as the individual moves through early adolescence from childhood to late adolescence and these are due to increase of a sense of reciprocity within the framework of a friendship (Youniss, 1980). The first characteristic is that interactions between friends are such that each friend is treated as an equal. The child moves out of the framework in which there is an unequal balance of power with an adult into a relationship with a friend in which there is a more equitable sharing of power. There is more of a sense of treating others in the manner in which the individual wishes to be treated.

There is also more adjustments by the individual allowed for the other's personality traits. A recognition of differences in personality characteristics is gained and this knowledge is used to benefit both persons as there is a pooling of individual differences with the net result of granting the dyad greater power to interact with others than the individual would possess alone.

An increase in mutual understanding of each other and of society is also present. There is a sense present in children that one can teach and also learn from others. This results in both children in the friendship gaining more knowledge than if they were left on their own. A sharing of feelings is also included in this concept of mutual understanding and can be best likened to an empathy where emotions are expressed and shared by the friend. These aspects of mutuality are also combined with a sense of shared experience and knowledge which allows for the formation of what could be called a "shared identity" between the two friends (Youniss, 1980, p. 260).

Finally, there is a deepening sense of intimacy in terms of caring for each other's welfare, personal

sharing and trust. Within the realm of deepening intimacy found in friendships there are three aspects which need to be examined. First of all, there is the presence of self-revelation in which the individual reveals feelings and opinions with the knowledge that this process is complementary. Within this process there is also the knowledge that feedback is expected from the other. Coupled with this process of mutual personal disclosure is a sense of trusting the other. For without this sense of trust, the opening of the self to the other would not be possible. The final aspect of intimacy is that there is a sense of exclusivity of the friendship. There is a sense that what is being shared will not be shared with others outside the friendship and that it will not be used against the individual at a later date.

While it is conceivable that breaches of these four characteristics of friendship could result in the termination of the relationship, this is often not the case as conflicts are resolved and the friendship is reestablished. This process is due to the fact that has been too much personal involvement and investment in the friendship to allow it to discontinue. The

occurrence of the opposite result should also be noted as there are friendships which dissolve because of a breach of trust, lies, deceit and demeaning behaviours (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Friendships during adolescent can as be seen as being instrumental to personal development because "a close friendship has perhaps the greatest potential for contributing to social development simply because... it is marked by a high level of emotional involvement and importance" (Youniss & Smollar, 1985, p. 94). Friendships then, have two purposes, not only do they aid in the individual's relationship with society, but they also serve as a catalyst for personal growth. This echoes what Erikson feels the role of the peer group is for, namely for personal exploration and for finding a niche in society.

Tight-knit Social Groups

Dutch-Canadian Community.

The tight-knit social group used in this study consists of the first generation of children born to Dutch immigrants to Canada. Within this large immigrant group, there is a homogeneous religious group

which belongs to what is known as the Christian Reformed Church, a Protestant church group which can broadly be described as being Calvinists. A description of their religious beliefs will be addressed in a subsequent section.

An explanation of this religious community is included within the body of this report because not all religious communities are the same. Not only are there differences in religious beliefs and practices, but there are also differences in ethnic and racial composition. The historical events which had an impact on the individuals of the community must also be considered as they can have a substantial impact not only on the identity of an individual but also on the identity of the community.

Sociological Considerations.

When examining any social group, certain sociological concepts should be taken into consideration. This course of action is undertaken not only to clarify the dynamics of the group but also to provide insight into the actions of the individuals who comprise the group.

In order to best examine any societal group, it is necessary to explore the extent to which it is integrated into the dominant society. Religious communities and groups having varying degrees of contact with what they would term as the "outside society". There are numerous examples of religious communities in North America who have limited contact with the surrounding society. The contacts which are engaged in are done so out of necessity as the community is not able to produce or provide the goods or services desired.

The central concept to be considered is that of "institutional completeness", which, as defined by Breton (1964), is the ability of the community to "perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance" (p. 194). When examining institutional completeness, it should be remembered that institutional completeness is a matter of relative degree as opposed to absolute degree (Breton, 1964). Depending on the community, there are

differing degrees of replication of the services found in the dominant society.

In the Christian Reformed community there is a high degree of institutional completeness. The community has its own schools, senior citizen homes, media productions, trades and services. But in spite of the availability of a wide range of services, loyalty to the services provided by members of the Christian Reformed community is not absolute. If individuals can get better services, or products, from outlets which are not part of the community, then these services, or products, will be utilized.

To a certain extent, some of the services provided by, and to, the community, such as church services, children's and youth clubs, young adult's groups, are a defense against the dominant society. When these organizations are in place, they serve to limit the social contacts and relationships within the boundaries of the community. Contact outside of the group is thereby effectively minimized (Breton, 1964).

Within the Christian Reformed Church, these social organizations are in place and serve to provide the children and adolescents with social contacts in the

community other than contact with close and extended kin. From the time children reach kindergarten age until adulthood they are enroled in a variety of classes and clubs which are provided by the church. While during childhood, the children are enroled in the classes, and by the time late adolescence is reached, participation in the various age-specific groups is voluntary.

The continued, and almost exclusive, contact with other members in the group serves to integrate the individual more strongly into a series of interpersonal relationships. This integration serves to promote the cohesiveness of the group, perhaps to the detriment of contact with society (Breton, 1964). The cohesiveness of the community serves to promote a network which is "a social configuration in which some, but not all, of the component external units maintain relationships with one another" (Bott, 1957, pp. 216-217).

As Breton (1964) points out, "the ethnic group succeeds in holding its members' allegiance by preventing their contact with the native community" (pp. 198-199). What this means is that the established ethnic community will try to duplicate as many services

provided by society as possible in order to keep its members within the group. In this way the interpersonal relationships will be focused within the community.

For the members of the Christian Reformed Church, this means that there are members who have taken up various trades and businesses which are of benefit to the community. While there is a certain extent of patronizing community-held businesses, there are members who do not utilize the services provided and can look elsewhere without any fear of being ostracized by the community. Exceptions can be found in the areas of school and of marriage.

In both of these areas (school and marriage), parents are urged to send their children to the schools provided by the community and to urge their children to date and marry within the community. This is one way in which the ties to the community are strengthened. Another way in which ties are enforced and strengthened concerns the amount of contact with other religious denominations. When the Dutch immigrants came to Canada, they stayed within their own religious community, but their children, probably due to the

influence of recent religious ecumenism have looked beyond their community for friends. If friends have been found outside the Christian Reformed Church, it is because they became acquainted by being neighbours or by attending the same school. The influence of religious ecumenism has also been felt by the immigrants as they are no longer as insular as they first were when they came to Canada.

To belong in the Christian Reformed community, one must adhere more to religious standards than to ethnic or cultural standards. The first generation of Dutch-immigrant children have retained more in terms of religious beliefs than of Dutch culture, customs and language. This is because the retention of the Dutch culture was not seen as being as crucial to the survival of the community as were the religious beliefs.

It is the religious beliefs of the Christian Reformed community which are central in its dealings with society and with its members. The tenets of the Christian Reformed Church will be more fully explained in the following sections of the thesis.

Immigration to Canada.

Numerous sources document the waves of emigration from the Netherlands following the Second World War (Beijer & Oudegeest, 1952; Ganzevoort, 1988; Ganzevoort & Boekelman, 1983; Hofstede, 1964; Ishwaran, 1977; Lucas, 1955; Peterson, 1952; Steigenga, 1955; Van Belle, 1989, 1990, 1991a, 1991b; Van Belle & Disman, 1990). After the conclusion of World War II, the Dutch were faced with a shattered economy and a devastated infrastructure as the result of the occupation by Nazi Germany and of the Allied bombing raids.

In the years following the war, the Dutch government was faced with new problems. There was a rapidly growing population coupled with fewer career opportunities in a climate of economic and political turmoil. In the face of a growing population with no work and an acute housing and land shortage, the Dutch government began to actively encourage emigration to ease the burdens of the country. There were many people who looked favourably at the prospect of immigrating to a foreign country to begin life anew and to get a chance of making something of their lives, and there were some who emigrated just for adventure.

Additionally, there were fears of another devastating war in Europe. Specifically, they were afraid that the Russians would continue to advance across the European continent once their hold on Eastern Europe had been solidified (Ganzevoort, 1988; Van Belle, 1989, 1990).

The Dutch government requested reports from their embassies in Canada, the United States, South America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand in hopes of finding countries which would accept Dutch immigrants. But the countries which were considered were themselves in the midst of troop demobilization and were attempting to find employment for their own citizens. Additionally, there were also strict standards as to the number of immigrants which could be accepted at any time (Ganzevoort, 1988).

Canada was one of the few countries which would accept Dutch immigrants after the war. The wave of immigration to Canada was facilitated to a large degree by the existing community of Dutch immigrants who were willing to sponsor immigrants and by the Dutch war brides who came to Canada immediately after the war with their Canadian husbands. The Canadian government was also impressed with the quality and quantity of

work produced by Dutch immigrants who strived to become economically independent as quickly as possible upon arrival in Canada. From 1947 to 1970 almost 185,000 Dutch immigrants came to Canada. The high point of immigration was in 1953 when 20,500 people arrived in Canada. There were two peak periods of immigration: from 1945-1950 approximately 36,500 immigrants came to Canada from the Netherlands and from 1950-1954, when 77,000 Dutch people immigrated to Canada. By 1962 this number had decreased to less than 2,000. Prior to 1950 over half of the immigrants were farm labourers, but as time progressed, there were an increasing amount of immigrants who found employment in the industrial, construction and service areas of Canadian society (Ganzevoort, 1988).

According to the 1986 Canadian government census, the Dutch Canadian community is the eighth largest ethnic community in Canada with a population of 351,765. This figure includes both immigrants (142,940) and non-immigrants (208,825). An additional 520,170 people in Canada were found to have some degree of Dutch ancestry or heritage. Of the 351,765 Dutch Canadians, 112,025 are under twenty-four, 204,435 are

between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-four, and 35,300 are above the age of sixty-five.

After all of their personal belongings had been packed into crates and passage on steam ships had been purchased, there was very little money left over for the family. Additionally, the Dutch government had put a limit on how much money the emigrants were permitted to take with them. The ships which carried the immigrants across the Atlantic docked in either Halifax or Saint John, or in Montreal or Quebec City. From these points, they travelled inland via train. The three main settling points in Canada were British Columbia, Alberta, and southern Ontario (Ganzevoort, 1988; Van Belle, 1990; VanderMey, 1983).

Since the immigrants had very little buying power because of their limited funds, and because they were often sponsored, they had to make do with primitive living conditions and long hours of labour in the fields. Often their new employers would supply them with a house, although the house they were given was often a hastily renovated chicken coop, barn or tool shed. During the process of assimilation into Canadian society, the entire family often worked to provide

enough money for future economic independence. The older children worked wherever they could find employment and the younger children would work when they arrived home from school (Ganzevoort, 1988; Van Belle, 1990; VanderMey, 1983).

Even though whole families often immigrated and there were church members to socialize with, those who did immigrate often felt isolated and alone in Canada. Not only did they miss the families and friends who were left behind but the cultural values, norms and tradition with which they were raised did not fit in those espoused by the Canadian society. So, in order to fill a perceived gap in the Dutch immigrant community, and to begin businesses of their own, some immigrants became shopkeepers who specialized in the importation of goods from the Netherlands (Ganzevoort, 1988).

While proficiency in the English language came quickly for the children as they had more chances to interact with Canadians, the learning of English progressed much slower for the adults. This was due to a large degree to the fact that when they got together, either socially or for church, they primarily spoke

Dutch. Over time, English slowly began to replace Dutch as the language for the workplace and for worship. During this transition period, those immigrants whose profession was in publishing and bookbinding began a new business in Canada producing reading materials for Dutch immigrants (Ganzevoort, 1988). In fact, not only shopkeeping, bookselling and farming were acceptable professions for the new immigrants, but "every aspect of business came under the scrutiny of the immigrants and opportunities were exploited wherever possible, only limited by individual initiative and financial resources" (Ganzevoort, 1988, p. 92).

Reformed Dutch Community.

A sizable portion of the Dutch who emigrated to Canada after World War II were what can be termed "Reformed" in their religious beliefs. Of the rest of the Dutch immigrants, twenty-four percent were Roman Catholic, and seven percent had no religious affiliation (Ganzevoort, 1988). The term Reformed needs to be clarified as it serves to describe a variety of religious denominations. The Reformed group

was primarily comprised of members of the *Hervormde Kerk*, the Reformed Church, the "national" church of the Netherlands, and members of the *Gereformeerde Kerk*, the Neo-Calvinists, which was formed by two secessions from the "national" church in 1834 and in 1886 (Van Belle, 1990).

In Canada, those who are Reformed in their religious affiliation can be divided into several, often radically, different denominations. The names of the denominations are as follows: the Christian Reformed Church, the Canadian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church of America, the Free Reformed Church, the Netherlands Reformed Church, the Orthodox Christian Reformed Church and the Independent Reformed Church. While these churches all share a common heritage and common beliefs, they have varying degrees of what can be called religious conservatism or liberalism. Of the preceding churches, only the Reformed Church of America is a direct product of the state church in the Netherlands.

The Christian Reformed Church in Canada has its greatest concentrations in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario. This church group is comprised of almost

90,000 members, the majority of which (52,171) are in southern Ontario, 15,127 are in Alberta, 13,022 are in British Columbia, with the remainder scattered across the rest of Canada. There are a total of 237 churches spread across Canada, with again the majority (139) in Ontario, 43 in Alberta, 36 in British Columbia, and 19 churches in the rest of Canada (Christian Reformed Church in North America, 1991). Out of all the Reformed churches in Canada, the Christian Reformed Church is the largest (Ganzevoort, 1988).

The Christian Reformed Church traces its roots back to the time of the Reformation which started in 1517, and to the writings of the French theologian John Calvin. The Christian Reformed Church, as it stands today, is the direct product of the influence of the nineteenth century neo-Calvinist, Abraham Kuijper, a Dutch theologian and Prime Minister. Kuijper believed that God was concerned with more than just the salvation of the individual, but that God was also concerned with how people related to the each other, to their families, and to the realms of politics, labour relations, economics, science, art and education. In fact, God was interested in all areas of life and

sought through the redeeming work of Jesus Christ to bring all spheres of life into conformance with his divine will (Bratt, 1984; Kuijper, 1898; Niebuhr, 1951; Van Belle, 1990).

As a result of the influence of Kuijper's theology, the Netherlands before the Second World War was a country typified by religious pluralism dominated by three *zuilen*, or pillars: the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Neutralists. The Catholics comprised a single large group which was guided by the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. The Protestant pillar was split into two major factions: those who belonged to the state church and those who belonged to the Calvinists. The Neutralists adhered to classical liberalism and therefore rejected the influence of religion in the public sphere. The Neutralists were given this name because they advocated public school and non-religious political parties. Each of these three religious sectors of society was in and of itself institutionally complete. The result of this societal division meant that each sector had its own schools, hospitals, political parties, labour unions, etc. which cut across all economic and class barriers (Ganzevoort,

1988; Van Belle, 1990).

This trend of religious institutional completeness was also continued once a viable community was established in Canada. While some of these Reformed Dutch immigrants joined the already existing church organizations (e.g., Presbyterian, Anglican) in Canada, the group as a whole began their own church structures. This was not done to be isolationist, but rather they were repeating what had been done in the Netherlands before the war. The immigrants continued to be politically active by forming a number of organizations oriented by their religious belief system. Examples of this can be found in such structures as Citizens for Public Justice, and in the Christian Farmers Federation in Ontario which both lobby for just governmental laws and practices for all levels of Canadian society. In the 1988 Canadian federal election the Christian Heritage Party was formed and primarily comprised of individuals from a Reformed Dutch background. A labour union, the Christian Labour Association of Canada, was also formed to bring justice into the realm of labour (Ganzevoort, 1988; Van Belle, 1990).

When the Reformed Dutch came to Canada they also

began their own school system. While it would have been more advantageous for them, especially financially since they were recent immigrants with little money, to integrate with the public school system, they started a separate system of education for their children. Again, this was not done to be isolationist, but rather it was a product of their worldview, part of which stated that all areas of life are touched by one's religious beliefs and that in each of these areas an individual should be allowed expression of those beliefs. It was out of this belief system that the rationale for a separate school system flowed. The primary task of the school system then was not to evangelize or proselytize but rather to provide education from a Reformed worldview (Beverluis, 1971; Bolt, 1984).

In Canada, and also in the United States, there is a Christian school system in place to educate students from kindergarten all the way through to graduate school. Throughout Canada, but centred in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, there are 107 elementary schools, 25 high schools, two undergraduate liberal-arts institutions (in Edmonton, Alberta and in

Ancaster, Ontario) and one graduate institution (in Toronto, Ontario). These 135 schools serve the educational needs of just over 23,000 students and are all recognized by municipal, provincial and federal governments (Christian Schools International, 1991).

In addition to the numerous schools and churches, and the political activities of the Christian Reformed community, the community has also produced other institutions to serve the needs of its members. There are a number of old age and retirement homes which are spread across Canada. The production of relevant publications has not suffered, as there are a variety of magazines and newspapers which are available to the community. These publications do not focus solely on religious issues, but also include articles on economics, the visual and theatre arts, and socio-political events which are happening in Canada and in the Netherlands. All of these publications are produced in Canada (Ganzevoort, 1988).

Christian Reformed Adolescents.

The most comprehensive, and recent, study of young people in the Christian Reformed Church comes from Van

Belle (1989, 1990) who conducted a study of the Reformed Dutch community in Canada and examined the intergenerational differences of ethnic identity retention. He compared three generations of immigrants from the Netherlands to three similar generations who did not immigrate from the Netherlands.

The youth used in Van Belle's (1989, 1990) studies were the children of these Dutch immigrants to Canada and could be considered as first-generation Canadians. These youth have spent all of their lives involved with the Reformed faith, and the Christian Reformed Church in particular, in some manner. Not only did they attend church regularly, but there were also church-related activities in which they participated. Additionally, they most likely attended the local Christian grade school and high school.

Throughout their entire lives, unless the family moved, these youth were exposed to the same people, generally from their particular congregation or local school. This is not to say that friends were exclusively from the religious body, but they did constitute a major portion of their social milieu.

In spite of the differences in upbringing between

these youth and their parents, they were appreciative of their upbringing. When problems arose in the home it was more due to the parents' inability to adequately resolve a situation with which they themselves had not encountered than to intergenerational conflict.

The primary conflicts in the lives of the youth were encountered while at school. The conflicts centred around the relationships with other youth rather than with the teaching staff or the school's curriculum. Peer pressure to conform to a particular lifestyle was at the centre of the relational conflicts. There was pressure, even as early as elementary school, to perform along certain scholastic lines. The mark of popularity was not academic excellence but rather popularity was enjoyed by being athletic or by smoking and drinking.

Some students became what could be called "eccentrics" in that their form of rebellion was in not rebelling. These "eccentrics" focused on academic excellence and on being "extra good". In spite of their negative reaction to the dominant group in the schools, they were still not free to be who they wanted to be. There were pressures from within their own peer

group to conform to the group's norms.

One of the disadvantages of these peer groups was that group membership at times appeared to be uncertain at best. An individual never knew when he or she could be, or would be, rejected from the peer group. To combat this uncertainty, close and lasting relationships were avoided and the "true self" was hidden out of fear of being rejected. School life, as a whole, was lived in alienation from those who could have been good friends. Van Belle (1990) hypothesizes that "the skirmishes in the classroom and on the playground are designed to create distance between children who are just too much on top of one another" (p. 59). In this regard, withdrawal into self with the resulting decrease in interpersonal intimacy could be seen as an adaptive measure to cope with repeated contacts with those people who were disruptive to the emotional well-being of the individual.

Although there was difficulty in forming relationships with peers, this difficulty did not seem to affect the development of a religious identity. While these youth have done reflective thinking about the role of the Christian Reformed Church in their

lives and about their religious identity, they have not explored other religious beliefs as alternatives to the one with which they grew up. Rather, they sought the input of "outsiders" to "have their faith tested, in order to gain assurance of its reality" (Van Belle, 1990, p. 59).

In spite of their rebellion against the norms set down by their parents and by their church the youth do identify with their heritage. Even though they were the first generation born in Canada, they have two identities one of which is religious and the other is ethnic. Their religious identity is that of Reformed Christians, an identity which transcends cultural and national boundaries as it is neither Dutch nor Canadian. Their ethnic identity gives the youth a sense of heritage and uniqueness. The youth are proud to identify themselves as Canadians having a Dutch background (Van Belle, 1990).

Hypotheses

When incoming classes of college or university students were examined concerning identity status, the majority of the students were found to be in the

Foreclosed status of the Religion domain (Park, 1985; Philipchalk & Sifft, 1985; Waterman, 1985; Waterman & Goldman, 1976). This higher rate of Foreclosure might be due to the individual being a member of a dogmatic or sectarian group which does not allow for differentiation in terms of viable role models. Additionally, sectarian groups allow for very little deviance from the group norm and expect a high degree of group conformity (Waterman, 1982). Therefore, it is hypothesized that the homogeneous religious group, being sectarian in nature, will have a higher degree of Foreclosure in the Religious-Identity-Status domain.

Since favourable resolution of the Identity versus Identity Diffusion crisis implies that the individual can adequately resolve and restructure the complexities and inconsistencies in their own life and in their social milieu, it is hypothesized that those individuals, both religious and non-religious, who have a more favourable resolution of their identity crisis will have greater degrees of close friendship than those individuals who have not adequately resolved their identity crisis. Utilizing the Eriksonian framework of this thesis and the DISI, a favourable

resolution of the identity crisis implies, and will imply, that the individual has an "Identity-Achieved" status.

Sex differences have been noted by Fitch and Adams (1983) in regards to a domain specific identity and corresponding levels of intimacy. These sex differences will be used as the basis for the following hypothesis. It is hypothesized that for males, a favourable Occupational Identity will be predictive of a greater friendship level; for females, a favourable Religious Identity will be predictive of a greater friendship level.

Seeing that the youth in the homogeneous religious group tend to have extended contact with others in their minority group because of a common identity and because of shared experiences, it is hypothesized that there will be an overall higher degree of friendship in the youth from the homogeneous religious group.

The person who is Religiously Foreclosed will view religious beliefs as having a beneficial role in society. Religion will be seen as helping maintain and enforce those values which the individual sees as being important, but religion will also help to further

personal acceptance and realization. This view of religion will not be because certain religious beliefs have been explored, but rather because religion has always played this role in society. It is hypothesized that since the majority of incoming college and university students are Religiously Foreclosed, those individuals who are Religiously Foreclosed will have higher levels of Religious Orientation and of Religious Functionality.

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were recruited from three educational institutions. The first group of people ($n=173$), which formed the heterogeneous secular group, came from Introduction to Psychology courses at the University of Manitoba. This group was comprised of 96 females and 77 males. These students were asked to volunteer for this study and were given credit for their participation.

The second group of students ($n=90$), the religious homogeneous group, came from two Reformed Christian liberal-arts colleges in Canada. This second group was comprised of 61 females and 29 males. Students from each of these two institutions were asked to volunteer to participate in the study, and credit for participating in the study was not given. Their help was solicited by the investigator through the giving of a brief presentation to a wide variety of classes.

Subject Demographic Information.

Of the secular institution, 53.8% of the students were 18 years of age, 21.4% were 19, 12.7% were 20, and

12.7% were over 21 years of age. Of the religious institution, 23.3% of the students were 18 years of age, 21.1% were 19, 20.0% were 20, and 35.5% were over 21 years of age (see Table 1).

When the year of study in which the student was enrolled in was examined (see Table 1), of the secular institution 77.5% were in their first year, 16.8% were in their second, 4.6% were in their third, and 1.2% were in their fourth, or higher, year. In the religious institution, 24.4% were in their first year of study, 27.8% were in their second year, 32.2% were in their third year, and 15.6% were in their fourth, or higher year.

When asked about the level of Christian education attained (see Table 1), of the secular institution 16.9% had Christian education since, or only in, elementary school, 8.7% since, or only in, junior high, 6.4% since, or only in, senior high, 4.7% since, or only in a post-secondary institution, and 63.4% had never received any sort of Christian education. In the religious institution, 73.3% have had Christian education since, or only in, elementary school, 6.7% since, or only in, junior high, 1.1% since, or only in,

Table 1

Student Characteristics

	Secular		Religious	
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
<u>Age</u>				
18	93	53.8	21	23.3
19	37	21.4	19	21.1
20	22	12.7	18	20.0
21+	21	12.1	32	35.5
<u>Year of study</u>				
1	134	77.5	22	24.4
2	29	16.8	25	27.8
3	8	4.6	29	32.2
4+	2	1.2	29	32.2
<u>Level of Christian Education Attained</u>				
Since elementary school	29	16.9	66	73.3
Since junior high	15	8.7	6	6.7
Since senior high	11	6.4	1	1.1
Post-secondary only	8	4.7	16	17.8
Never	109	63.4	1	1.1

senior high, 17.8% since, or only in a post-secondary institution, and 1.1% have never had any kind of Christian education.

Of the secular institution, 80.3% had parents who were still married, 9.2% had parents who were divorced, 6.4% had parents who were remarried, 1.7% had parents who live common-law, and 2.3% had a parent who was widowed. Of the religious institution, 94.4% had parents who were married, 2.2% had parents who were remarried, and 3.3% had a parent who was widowed (see Table 2).

Of the secular institution, 84.4% saw themselves as belonging to a racial majority and 15.6% saw themselves as belonging to a racial minority. Of the religious institution, 100% saw themselves as belonging to a racial majority (see Table 2).

In terms of the community in which they were raised (see Table 2), 58.4% of the secular institution were raised in an urban setting, and 41.6% were raised in a rural setting. Of the religious institution, 54.4% were raised in an urban setting, and 45.6% were raised in a rural setting. When the size of the community was considered (see Table 2), 11.6% of the

Table 2

Student Background

	Secular		Religious	
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
<u>Parent's Marital Status</u>				
Married	139	80.3	85	94.4
Divorced	16	9.2	0	0
Remarried	11	6.4	2	2.2
Commonlaw	3	1.7	0	0
Widowed	4	2.3	3	3.3
<u>Member of a racial majority</u>				
Member of a racial majority	146	8.4	90	100
<u>Member of a racial minority</u>				
Member of a racial minority	27	15.6	0	0
<u>Urban raised</u>				
Urban raised	101	58.4	49	54.4
<u>Rural raised</u>				
Rural raised	72	41.6	41	45.6
<u>Community size</u>				
0-999	20	11.6	15	16.7
999-9,999	40	23.1	22	24.4
9,999-99,999	27	15.6	26	28.9
99,999-999,999	60	34.7	22	24.4
999,999+	26	15.0	5	5.6

secular institution came from a community with a population less than 999, 23.1% came from a community less than 9,999, 15.6% came from a community less than 99,999, 34.7% came from a community less than 999,999, and 15% came from a community with a population larger than 999,999. Of the religious institution, 16.7% came from a community with a population less than 999, 24.4% came from a community less than 9,999, 28.9% came from a community less than 99,999, 24.4% came from a community less than 999,999, and 5.6% came from a community with a population larger than 999,999.

When questioned about their ethnic identity, 2.3% of the secular institution fully identified with their ethnic group 4.6% fully identified with their ethnic group yet saw themselves as Canadian, 16.8% identified with their ethnic group and saw themselves as Canadian, 12.7% identified themselves as being fully Canadian and also identified with their ethnic group, and 63.6% identified themselves as being fully Canadian. Of the religious institution, 1.1% identified themselves fully with their ethnic group, 2.2% fully identified with their ethnic group yet saw themselves as Canadian, 26.7% identified with their ethnic group and saw

themselves as Canadian, 27.8% identified themselves as being fully Canadian and also identified with their ethnic group, and 42.2% identified themselves as being fully Canadian (see Table 3).

Table 3

Student Ethnic Identity

	Secular		Religious	
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
Ethnic Identity				
Fully ethnic	4	2.3	1	1.1
Fully ethnic and Canadian	8	4.6	2	2.2
Ethnic and Canadian	29	16.8	24	26.7
Fully Canadian and Ethnic	22	12.7	25	27.8
Fully Canadian	110	63.6	38	42.2

InstrumentationDellas Identity Status Inventory (DISI):

This measure was developed by Dellas and Jernigan (1981) originally to measure Occupational Identity

status. It was later expanded (Dellas and Jernigan, 1987) to include religious beliefs and political ideology. The scale measures Identity-Status development by having the subject answer 21 sets of five forced-choice questions for a total of 105 questions.

Each set contains one answer corresponding to each of the five identity statuses (Achievement, Foreclosure, Moratorium, Diffusion-luck, and Diffusion-diffusion). There are seven sets of questions pertaining to each of occupational investigation, religious beliefs and political ideology.

To determine the Identity Status of the individual, the subject is asked to choose one question from each set which is "...most LIKE YOU". This is done for all twenty-one sets of questions. The Identity Status for each of these three areas is determined by scoring each set of seven questions. If the subject scores at least four out of the seven sets in favour of a particular status, that status is assigned to the subject for that area.

Since all individuals cannot be adequately classified by using a forced-answer measure, provision

will be made for proper classification of these individuals. The DISI category of an individual is obtained if an individual answers four of the seven sets in a similar manner. If this is not the case, and for example, the subject answers three sets in a similar manner, that subject will be given the category label of "Unclassified".

The latest study by Dellas and Jernigan (1990) gave the following alpha coefficients for each of the statuses (Achieved, Moratorium, Foreclosure, Diffused-diffused, Diffused-luck): .92, .76, .90, .66, and .55 for the DISI-O (Occupation); .87, .91, .90, .90, .93 and .86 for the DISI-P (Politics); and .93, .88, .95, .92 and .91 for the DISI-R (Religion).

An additional note concerning this particular scale is that the wording has been modified in the scale measuring Political Identity Status. The words "political right/left" or "liberal/conservative" have been substituted with "political beliefs." This was done because, unlike in the United States where the political right/left and conservative/liberal are clearly differentiated, the political right/left and conservative/liberal carry completely different

connotations in Canada. So to preclude any confusion on the part of the subjects, the terminology was changed while still maintaining the integrity of the measure.

Miller Social Intimacy Scale (MSIS):

Miller and Lefcourt's (1982) Miller Social Intimacy scale (MSIS) measures the level of intimacy presently experienced. Due to the broadness of the scale, the amount of intimacy experienced can be applied to either friendship or to a marriage relationship.

The first six questions of the scale measure the frequency of certain behaviours, whereas the last eleven questions assess the degree to which certain behaviours are exhibited. The behaviours which are tapped by the MSIS include time spent together, personal disclosure, personal satisfaction with, and importance of, the relationship, support felt and affection.

The subjects are asked to report their relationship with their closest friend, with the subsequent ratings scores summed to yield a total

intimacy score. Each question is answered by choosing a number on a Likert-type scale. Examples of the questions would be "When you have leisure time how often do you choose to spend it with him/her?", and "How satisfying is your relationship with him/her?".

In terms of reliability, the Cronbach alpha coefficients (.91 and .86) reveal that a single construct is measured by the seventeen items of the scale. This scale shows a two month test-retest reliability of $\underline{r} = .86$ ($\underline{p} < .001$), with a one month test-retest reliability is $\underline{r} = .84$ ($\underline{p} < .001$). These figures would seem to say that the test is stable over time.

Convergent validity was determined by also administering the Interpersonal Relationship Scale (IRS) and the UCLA Loneliness Scale to different group of subjects than those who performed the reliability study. Results showed that those who scored high on the MSIS also scored high on the IRS ($\underline{r} = .71$, $\underline{p} < .001$), and those who scored low on the MSIS also scored low the UCLA ($\underline{r} = -.65$, $\underline{p} < .001$).

Discriminant validity was determined through the administration of a self-concept scale and the Crown-

Marlowe Need for Approval Scale. The results between the comparison of the MSIS and the self-concept scale showed a moderate positive correlation ($\underline{r} = .48, \underline{p} < .002$). The Crown-Marlowe scale produced a correlation of .36 for males, and a correlation of .02 for females. Neither of these correlations were statistically significant.

Construct validity was established by using comparisons between descriptions of the subjects' closest friends and the subjects' casual friends. The mean MSIS scores were significantly greater for subjects' descriptions of their closest friends than for their casual friends ($\underline{t} = 9.18, \underline{p} < .001$). When a group of married students was examined, the mean MSIS score was significantly greater for the married group than for the single group of students ($\underline{t} = 8.17, \underline{p} < .001$).

No factor analysis of this scale was performed.

In the context of this study, this scale was repeated twice: the first time the questions focused on the relationship with the opposite-sex best friend, and the second time the questions focused on the relationship with the same-sex best friend.

Religious Beliefs and Practices Scales:

The first series of questions (#66-70) of the religiosity scales asks for a subjective rating of the religious commitment of self, father, mother, and closest opposite and closest same-sex friends. The second series of questions (#71-82) taps the extent of participation in religious activities. Religious activities in this case would be those behaviours which are external in nature and which do not necessarily reflect the personal commitment of the individual to their particular belief system. These would include such items as frequency of reading religious documents and engaging in various forms of religious devotion, such as frequency of worship and frequency of prayer. Again a subjective rating is asked for in regards to self, father, mother, and closest opposite-sex and same-sex friends.

Gustafsson Function-of-Religion Scale:

The third series of questions (#83-92) is a modification of the Gustafsson (1974) Function of Religion Scale. The modification of this particular

scale lies in the fact that some of the terminology was changed to make the scale more comprehensible. Additionally, the term "the Christian faith" was replaced with the more generic term "religion" to more accurately reflect the variety of creedal statements possible in a heterogeneous group. This measure consists of ten questions, half of which tap the functional side of religion and the other half tap the dysfunctional side of religion. An example of a modified functional question is: "Religion gives people good and tenable morals." An example of a modified dysfunctional question is: "Religion furthers bigoted morals that do not reach far in the modern world."

Hoge Religious Orientation Scale:

The fourth series of questions (#93-105) is a modification of the Hoge Intrinsic/Extrinsic Religious Orientation scale (Hoge, 1972). When the scale was modified (E. H. Schludermann, personal communication, February 27, 1992), the language was revised to make the measure more comprehensible to adolescents. These same modifications were used at the time of testing. Additionally, the scale was also modified by reducing

the number of questions asked while still maintaining the integrity of the measure. An example of one of the questions is: "I think that God is interested in all aspects of my life." The Modified Hoge Intrinsic/Extrinsic Religious Orientation scale was found to correlate positively with a beliefs and practices scale and with the Gustafsson (1974) scale.

Furthermore, when the research using these modified items was conducted it was found that all intrinsic items were grouped together. Two extrinsic items (life satisfaction and self-esteem) were correlated with the intrinsic grouping. The remainder of the extrinsic items were unrelated to each other and to the intrinsic items. It was suggested that it might be more helpful in the light of the results obtained that religion be viewed as being important to the individual rather than being intrinsic or extrinsic in orientation (Schludermann, Schludermann & Coley, 1988, pp. 5-9).

Procedure

The subjects were tested in groups up to 50 people. Each individual was given a Questionnaire

booklet consisting of 11 pages covering 105 questions, and one blank I.B.M. sheet. All 105 questions were answered on the one I.B.M. sheet.

The instructions on the cover sheet of the booklet were read aloud, and the subjects were asked if there are any questions before they began the questionnaire. The subjects were informed that, if needed, clarification would be given and also that they would receive no penalty if they wished to no longer participate in the study.

The Questionnaire booklet was arranged in the following manner. The first page was a cover page and the second served to gather demographic information. The third through the eighth pages contained questions from the Dellas Identity Status Inventory which measured Occupational Identity, Religious Identity and Political Identity. The ninth and the tenth pages contained the Miller Social Intimacy Scale asking questions concerning closest opposite-sex and closest same-sex relations respectively. The eleventh page had questions pertaining to religious practices and beliefs of self, closest same-sex and opposite friends, and of mother and father. The final page had questions

pertaining to Function-of-Religion and Religious
Orientation.

RESULTS

Introductory remarks

Some introductory remarks need to be made to clarify issues which might be encountered while reading the Results section.

First of all, the level of significance has been set at $p < .05$. This is not an arbitrary decision, but rather it is based on an accepted convention. It is also helpful to have a less stringent level of significance since this is a new study which is more concerned with the exploration of possible relationships than with verifying existing theories. Moreover, the study deals with several variables and relatively few subjects. In such a situation, a very stringent level of significance might hide genuine relationships.

It should also be noted that when higher or lower levels of significance are reported, this does not mean that these relationships are stronger or weaker, but rather it indicates the level at which the findings became significant.

A Chi-square analysis (χ^2) was used where the

variables are discreet. An example would be the use of gender, institutional affiliation, and Identity Statuses where each grouping is comprised of a number of specific categories. Wherever significant overall results were discovered on a χ^2 analysis, a series of follow-up analyses were performed for each of the five Identity Statuses to determine if there were any significant differences between the two populations. This analysis involved comparing the two populations on each of the individual Statuses separately: for instance, religious and secular students were compared with respect to their Achieved Identity Status.

On the other hand, wherever the dependent variable was continuous (e.g., Friendship scores), an analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedure was used. Whenever the overall ANOVA was discovered to be significant, Scheffé's post-hoc test was used to identify those mean scores which were significantly different from each other. While a Tukey analysis could have been used since there are pair-wise comparisons, a Scheffé analysis was utilized, since in many cases the post-hoc analysis involved sets of pair-wise comparisons. The Scheffé analysis was used in

simple pair-wise comparisons for the sake of continuity and ease of interpretation.

In order to aid the ease of interpretation of the results, a series of graphs have been generated and will be referred to in the body of the text. Underneath each graph, the relevant statistical information for both overall and individual significant differences are reported. In each case, only the significant results are recorded. The bar graphs, used to report the information from the χ^2 analyses, indicate the percentage of individuals in each population who are to be found in that particular category. For those graphs in which discrete categories such as sex or institution are compared against continuous variables such as Friendship or Religious orientation, the circle indicates the mean (i.e., average) score obtained by that particular group with the markings above and below the circle showing the average range of standard deviations from the mean score.

Identity Statuses of Diffused-diffused and Diffused-luck had to be consolidated into one Identity Status now known as Diffusion, because these two

Identity categories had too few subjects to be analyzed independently.

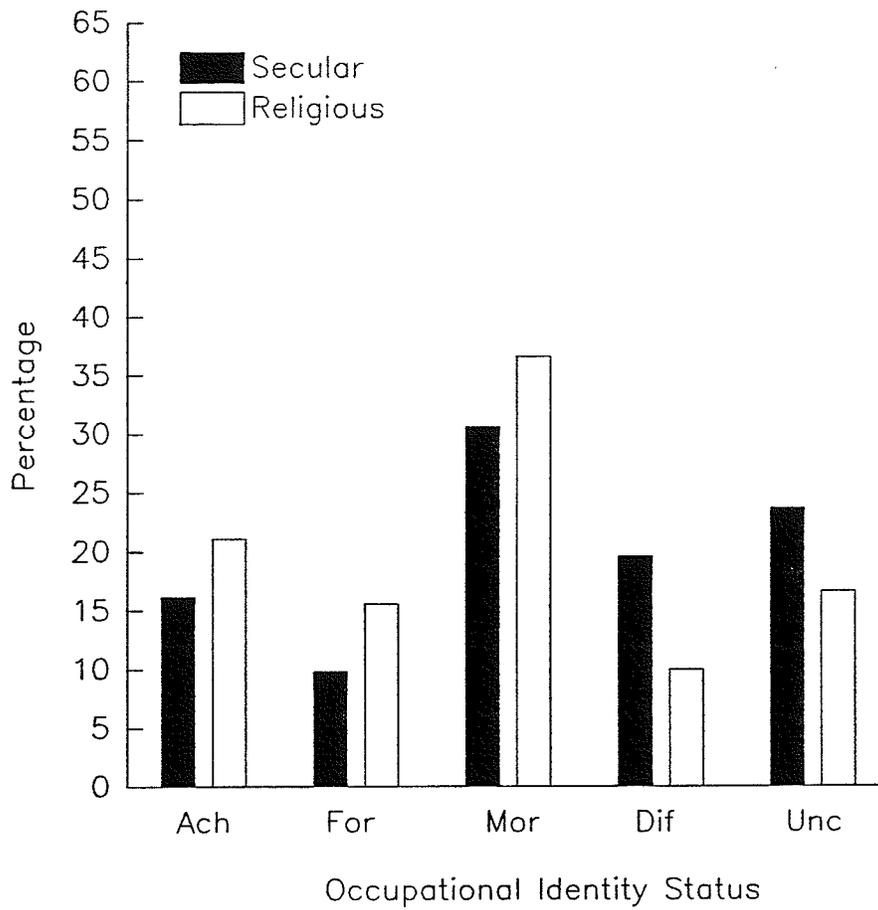
Domain-specific Identity Status

The two populations, religious and secular, were compared in terms of their Identity Status. The three different domains of Identity as assessed by the Dellas Identity Status Inventory (DISI) were: Occupational, Political and Religious. A 2-by-5 (i.e., 2 institutions x 5 statuses) χ^2 analysis was used to determine levels of significance in comparisons concerning frequencies found in the Identity-Status Domains.

An overall χ^2 of Occupational Identity produced no significant differences between the religious and secular institutions (see Figure 1). This finding means that there are no significant differences between students from a homogeneous or a heterogeneous population in terms of exploration of, and commitment to, a particular Occupational Identity.

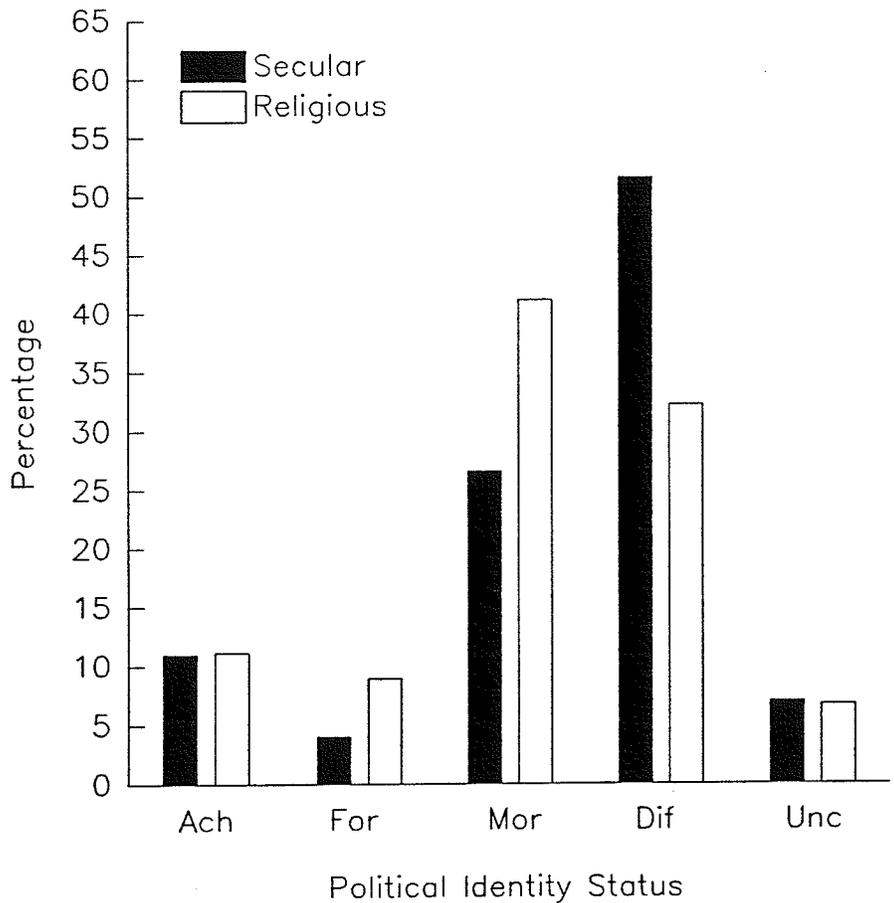
When Political Identity was examined, the χ^2 analysis showed that, overall, there were differences between the two institutions (see Figure 2). Further

Figure 1. Overall differences in the Occupational Identity Status.



No significant overall differences.

Figure 2. Overall differences in the Political Identity Status.



Overall: $X^2 (4, 263) = 11.27, p < .024$

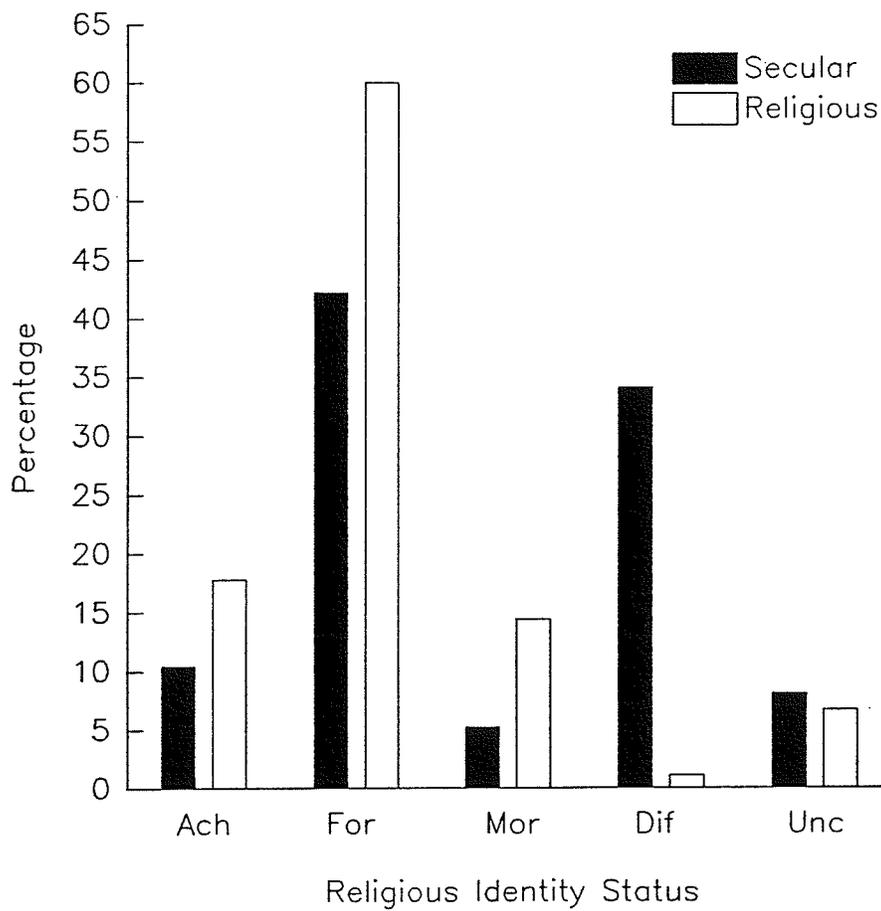
Moratorium: $X^2 (1, 83) = 3.95, p < .05$

Diffusion: $X^2 (1, 118) = 4.87, p < .05$

analyses showed that there were differences between the religious and secular institutions in regards to Moratorium and Diffusion. For the religious institution, 47.11% of the individuals were in Moratorium and 32.22% were in Diffusion. The secular institution had 26.59% of the individuals in Moratorium and 51.45% in Diffusion. This finding indicates that in spite of belonging to a sectarian population, the religious students are more likely to engage in the exploration of Political options than are secular students who are more likely not to be engaged in any kind of Political exploration or commitment.

An examination of Religious Identity yielded slightly different results. An overall χ^2 comparison showed that there were differences between the two institutions (see Figure 3). Additional χ^2 analyses indicated that there were significant differences between religious and secular populations with respect to Foreclosure, Moratorium, and Diffusion. The religious institution had 60% of its individuals in Foreclosure, 14.44% in Moratorium and finally, 1.11% in Diffusion. In contrast, the secular institution had 42.2% of its individuals in Foreclosure, 5.2% in

Figure 3. Overall differences in the Religious Identity Status.



Overall: $X^2 (4,263) = 40.82, p < .000$
 Foreclosure: $X^2 (1,127) = 3.89, p < .05$
 Moratorium: $X^2 (1,22) = 6.05, p < .02$
 Diffusion: $X^2 (1,60) = 28.25, p < .001$

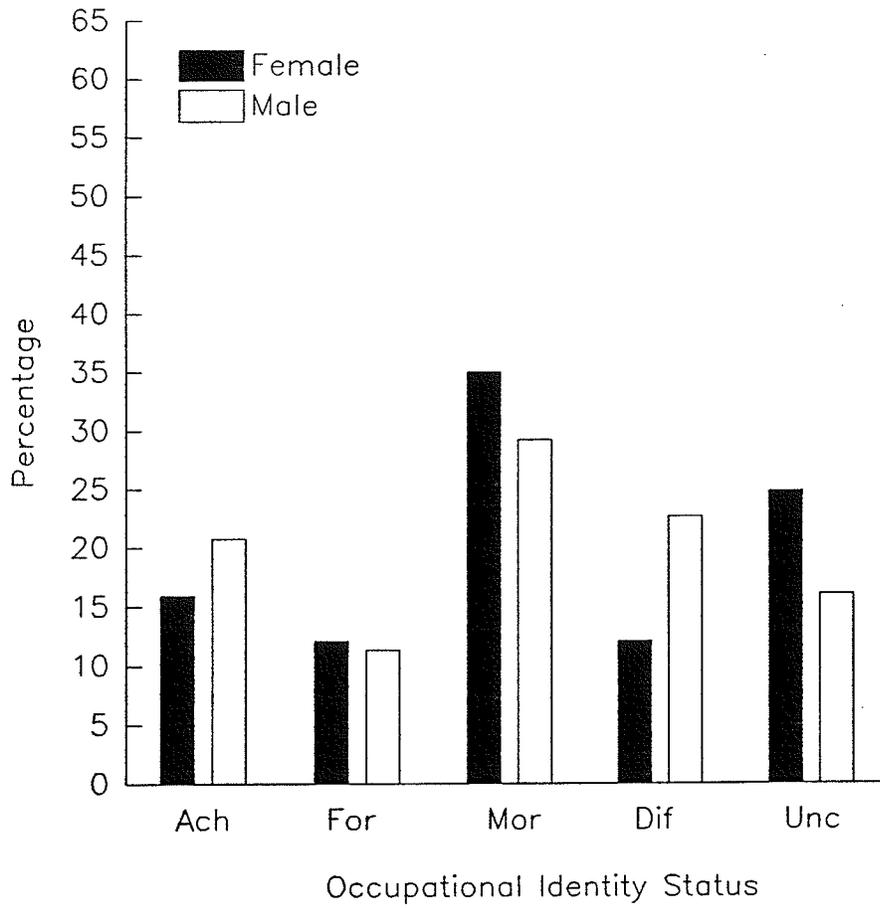
Moratorium and 34.1% in Diffusion. These findings support the first hypothesis in that a higher frequency of Foreclosure in the Religious Identity Status domain would be found in the homogeneous religious population.

There was an overall trend which applied to all three Identity Domains. Even though the institution differences were not always significant in all three Domains, compared to secular students, a higher percentage of religious students were in the Achieved, Foreclosed and Moratorium statuses and a lower percentage of religious students were in the Diffusion and Unclassifiable statuses.

Gender Differences in Identity.

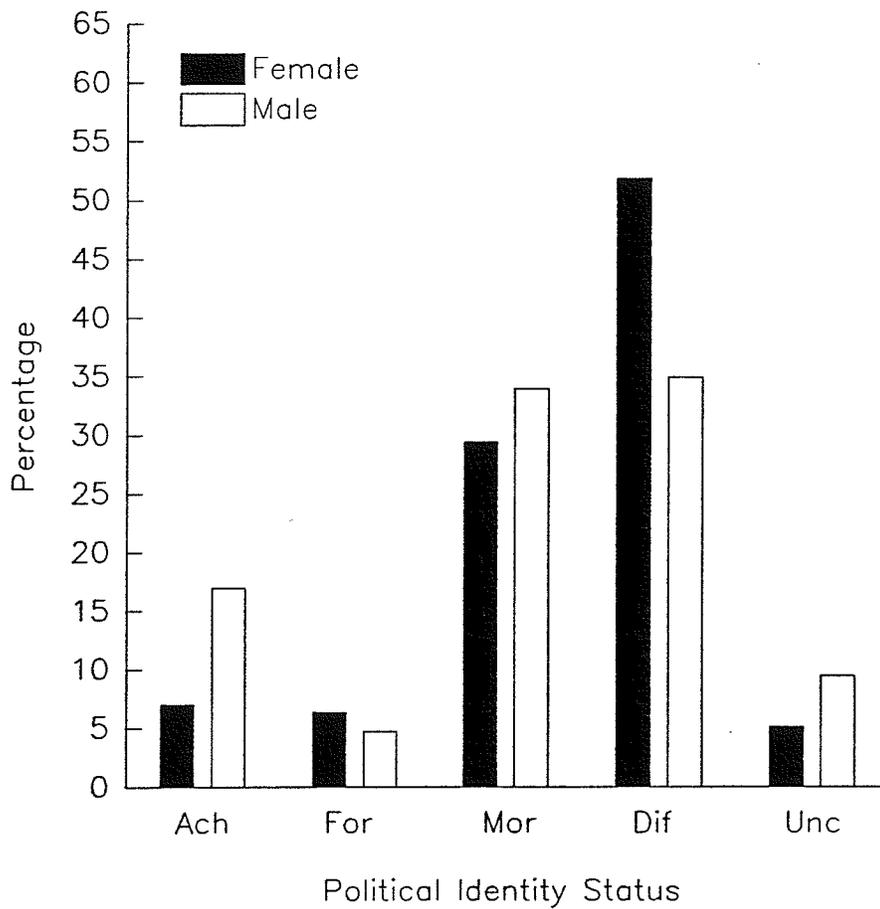
Further χ^2 analysis of the identity domains revealed that there were no significant overall differences between the sexes for Occupational Identity (see Figure 4). An examination of Political Identity did show that there are significant differences between the sexes (see Figure 5), with the Achieved and Diffusion statuses showing significant differences. For males 16.98% of the individuals were in Achieved and 34.91% of the individuals were in Diffusion. These

Figure 4. Gender differences in the Occupational Identity Status.



Overall : $X^2 (4, 263) = 8.11, p < .088$

Figure 5. Gender differences in the Political Identity Status.



Overall: $X^2 (4, 263) = 12.01, p < .017$

Achieved: $X^2 (1, 29) = 5.71, p < .02$

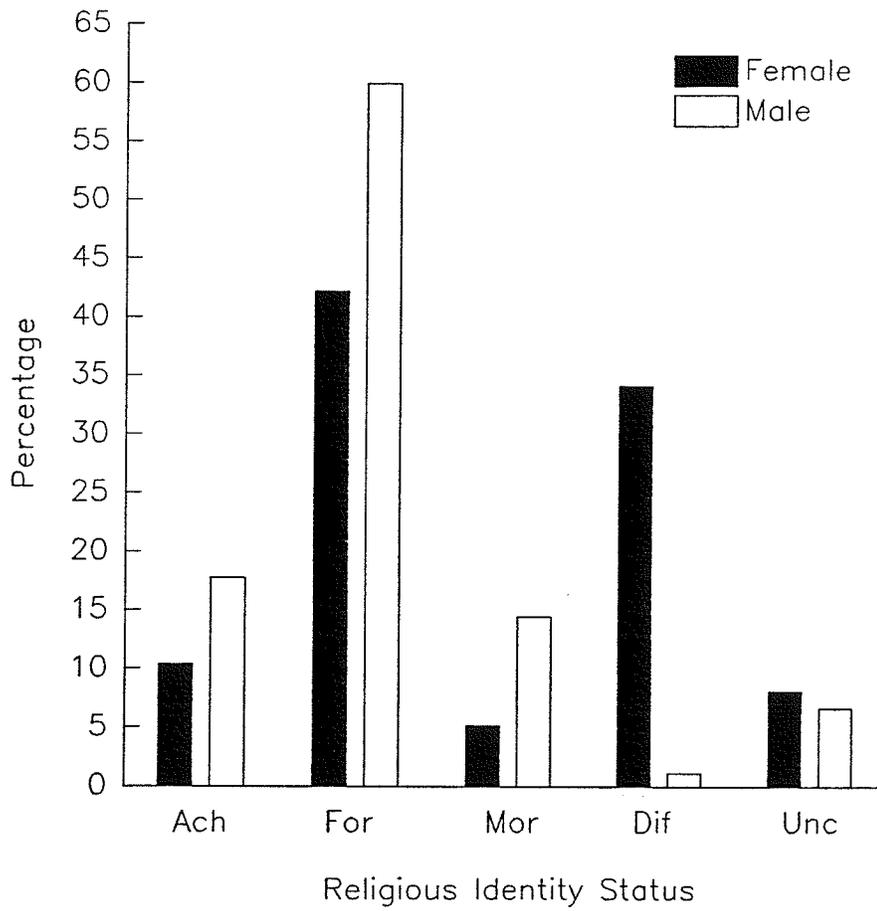
Diffusion: $X^2 (1, 118) = 3.92, p < .05$

figures can be contrasted with females, where 7.01% of the individuals were in Achieved, and 51.59% of the individuals were in Diffusion. These results suggest that males are more likely to adhere to a specific Political Identity (or party/ideology), than do females. There were no significant overall differences between the sexes for Religious Identity (see Figure 6).

When only the male data were examined, it was discovered that for males there were significant institutional differences in Political Identity (see Figure 7). Status differences showed that for the religious institution, 55.17% of the males were in Moratorium, and 13.79% of the males were in Diffusion. Conversely, the secular institution had 25.97% of its males in Moratorium, and 42.86% of its males in Diffusion. Analysis of the female data did not reveal any corresponding institutional differences.

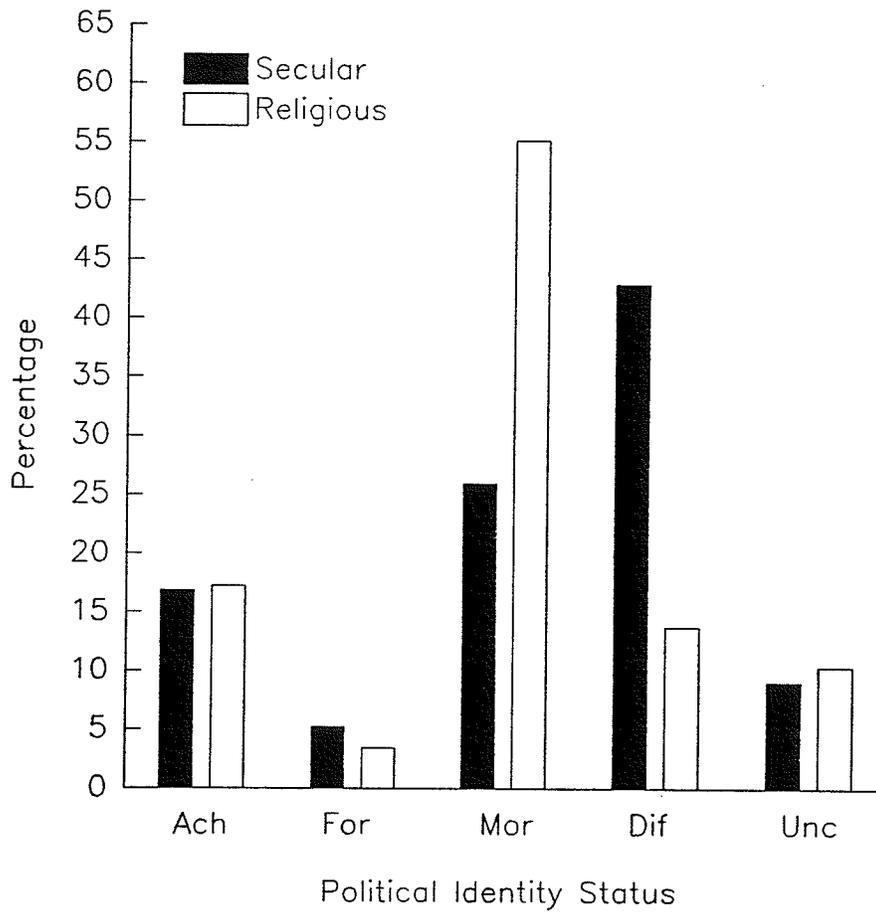
For Religious Identity, significant differences occurred for both genders. Overall, for males was a significant overall differences between religious and secular students (see Figure 8), with the secular institution having 32.47% of its individuals in

Figure 6. Gender differences in the Religious Identity Status.



Overall: $\chi^2 (4, 263) = 4.43, p < .352$

Figure 7. Political Identity Status and institutional differences for males.

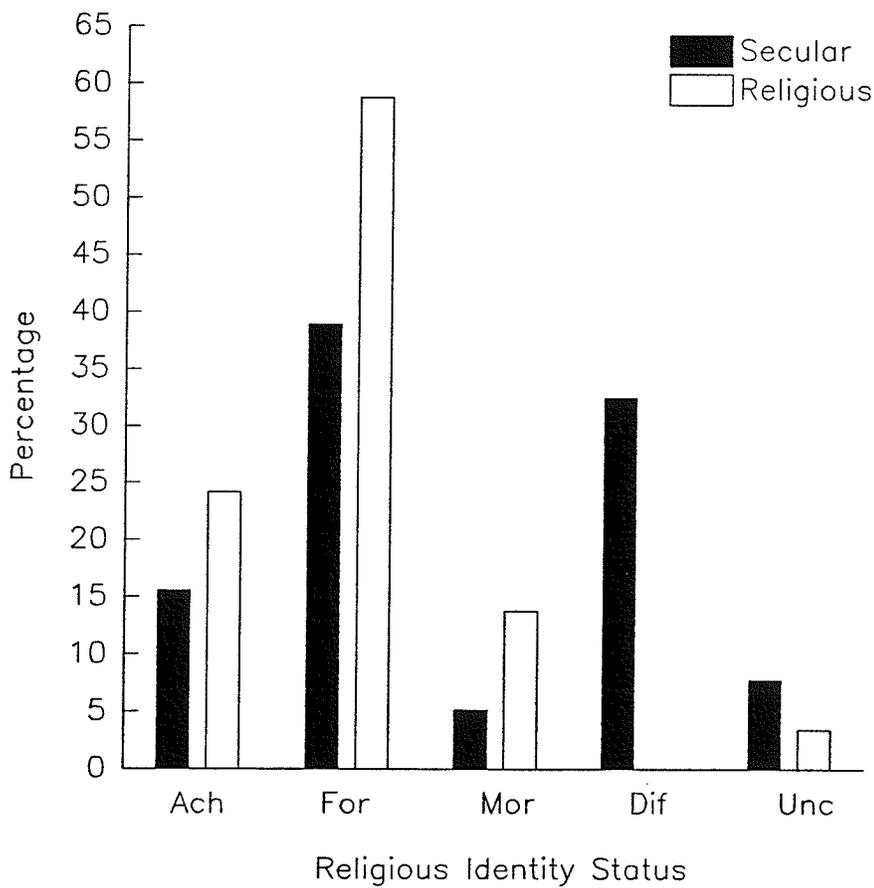


Overall: $X^2 (4, 106) = 10.60, p < .032$

Moratorium: $X^2 (1, 36) = 5.15, p < .05$

Diffusion: $X^2 (1, 37) = 5.17, p < .05$

Figure 8. Religious Identity Status and institutional differences for males.



Overall: $X^2 (4, 106) = 14.78, p < .005$

Diffusion: $X^2 (1, 25) = 9.15, p < .01$

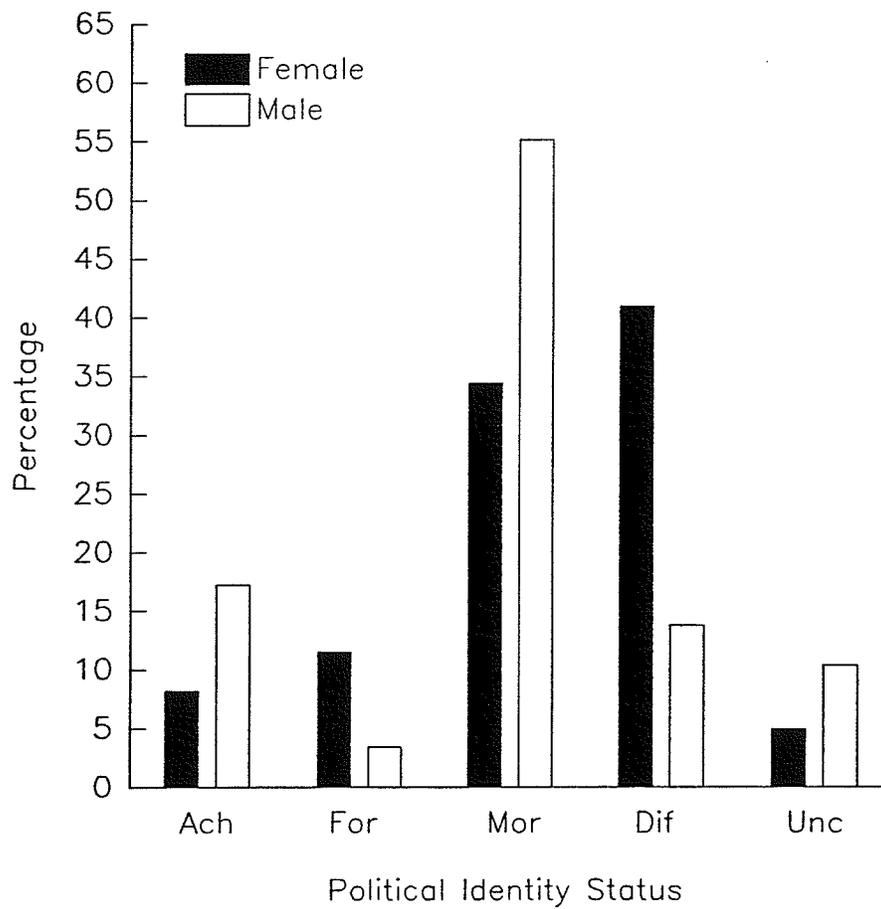
Diffusion as compared to 0% of the religious institution. Females, on the other hand, had significant overall differences, with the secular institution having a Diffusion rate of 35.42% as compared to a Diffusion rate of 1.64% for the religious institution (see Figure 9).

When only the religious-student data were analyzed in terms of Political Identity, 40.89% of the females were in Diffusion, as compared to 13.79% of the males (see Figure 10).

The results suggest that institutional differences in Religious Identity are greater than are gender differences. This trend was true regardless of the kind of analysis performed. These institutional differences may reflect the educational impacts of religious colleges, or the academic entrance standards set by religiously-based colleges. The institutional differences in Religious Identity may also be a reflection concerning the trend of students with strong religious beliefs to attend those academic institutions which would further their religious growth and development.

Moreover, gender differences are also greater than

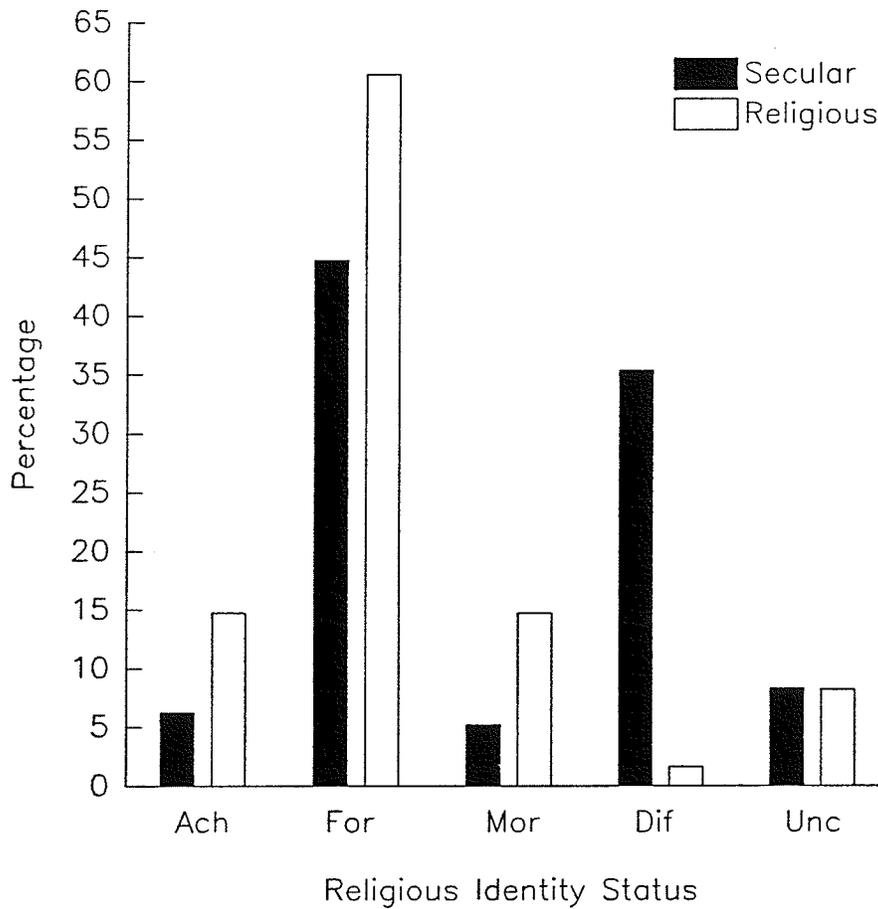
Figure 9. Political Identity Status and gender differences for the religious institution.



Overall: $X^2 (4, 90) = 10.31, p < .036$

Diffusion: $X^2 (1, 29) = 4.51, p < .05$

Figure 10. Religious Identity Status and institutional differences for females.



Overall: $X^2 (4, 157) = 27.57, p < .000$

Diffusion: $X^2 (1, 35) = 19.09, p < .001$

institutional differences with respect to Political Identity. This trend probably reflects the emphasis of Christian Reformed colleges in sensitizing their students to social-justice issues.

Identity Status and Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns

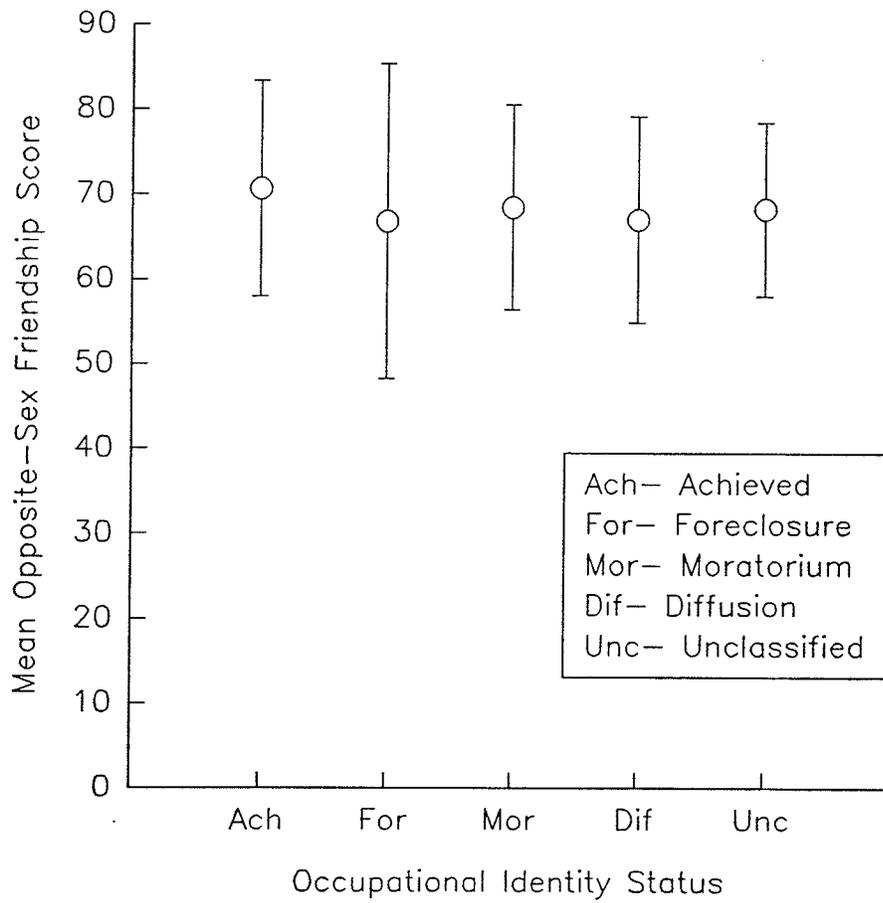
For each of the three Identity Domains (i.e., Occupational, Political, and Religious) separate ANOVA's were performed. In each analysis, the five levels of Identity Statuses (i.e., Achieved, Foreclosure, Moratorium, Diffusion, and Unclassifiable) constituted the independent variable, and Opposite-Sex Friendship level the dependent variable.

Achieved Identity Status and Friendship.

According to the second hypothesis, it was expected that students with an Achieved Identity would possess the highest Friendship score. This was the case only in the Occupational-Identity domain (see Figure 11), but there were no significant differences in Friendship scores between the five Identity Statuses.

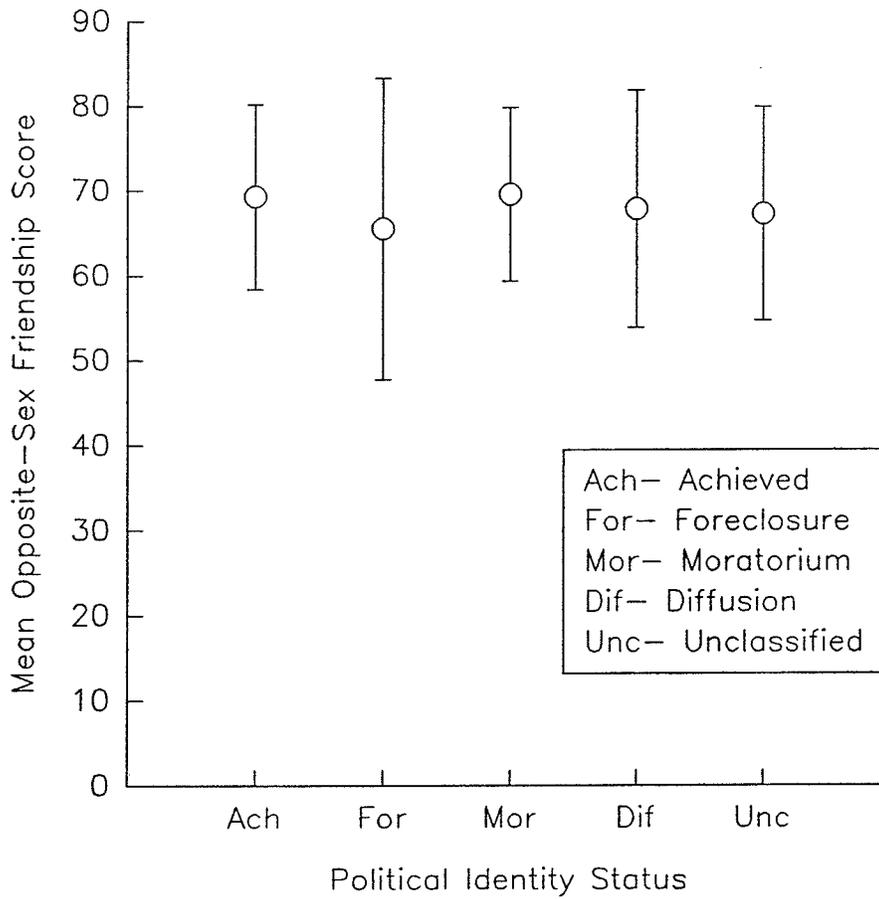
Both the Political- and Religious-Identity domains

Figure 11. Occupational Identity Status and Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns.



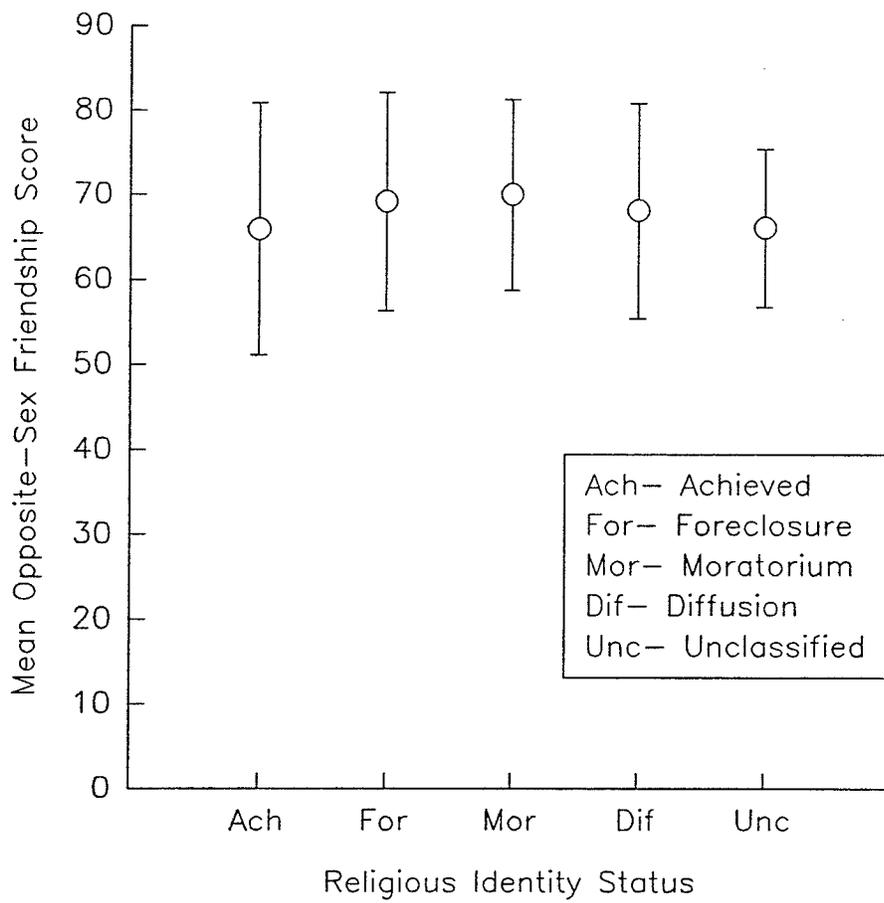
No significant overall differences.

Figure 12. Political Identity Status and Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns.



No significant overall differences.

Figure 13. Religious Identity Status and Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns.



No significant overall differences.

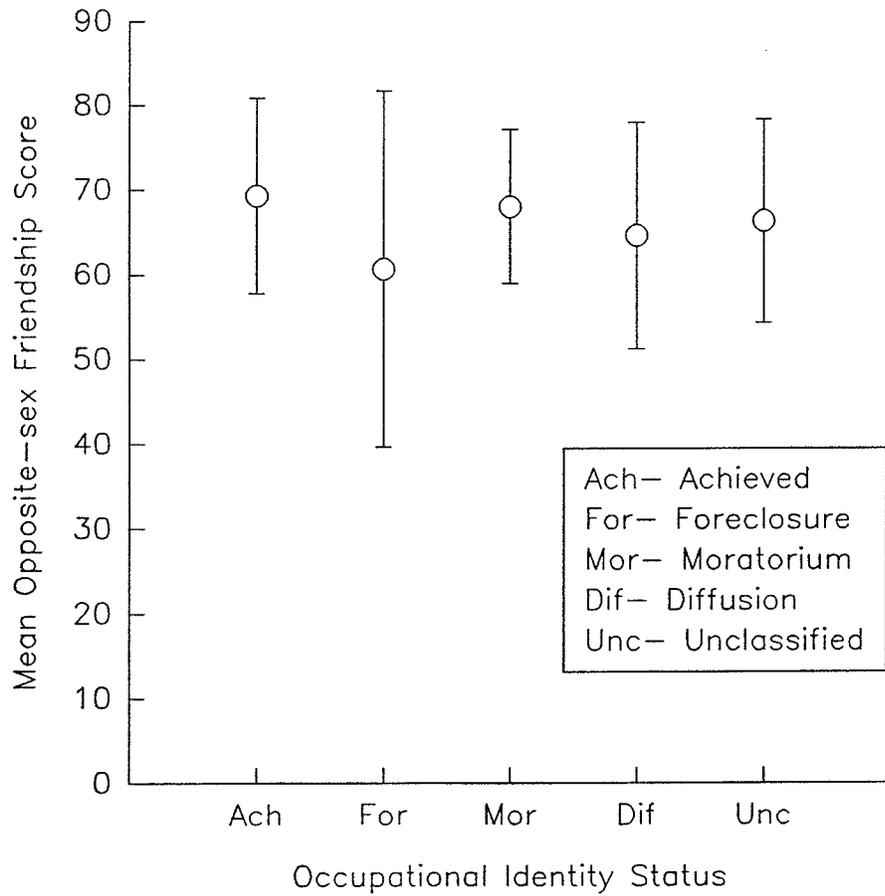
showed that individuals who were in Moratorium possessed the highest average Opposite-Sex Friendship score (see Figures 12 and 13). These findings do not support the second hypothesis which stated that those individuals who have an Achieved resolution of their identity crisis would have higher degrees of Opposite-Sex Friendship patterns.

Gender Differences in Identity and Friendship.

The third hypothesis also stated that for males an Achieved Occupational-Identity would be predictive of highest Friendship scores. The results showed this the expected trend, but the hypothesis was not supported as there were no significant Friendship-score differences between the Identity Statuses for this domain (see Figure 14).

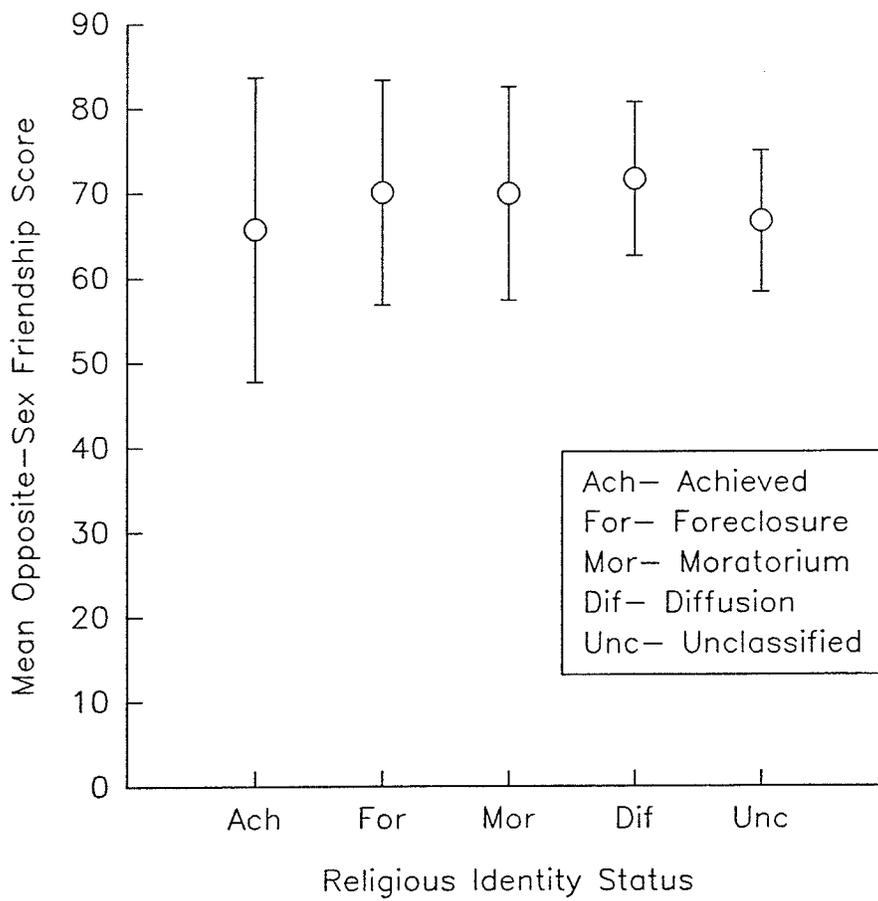
The third hypothesis stated, that for females, an Achieved Religious-Identity would be predictive of greater Friendship levels. This hypothesis was not supported as the Diffused Religious Identity contained the greatest Opposite-Sex Friendship scores for Religious Identity (see Figure 15). Moreover, there were also no significant score differences between the

Figure 14. Occupational Identity Status and Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns for males.



No significant overall differences.

Figure 15. Religious Identity Status and Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns for females.



No significant overall differences.

individual statuses.

Identity and Same-Sex Friendship Patterns

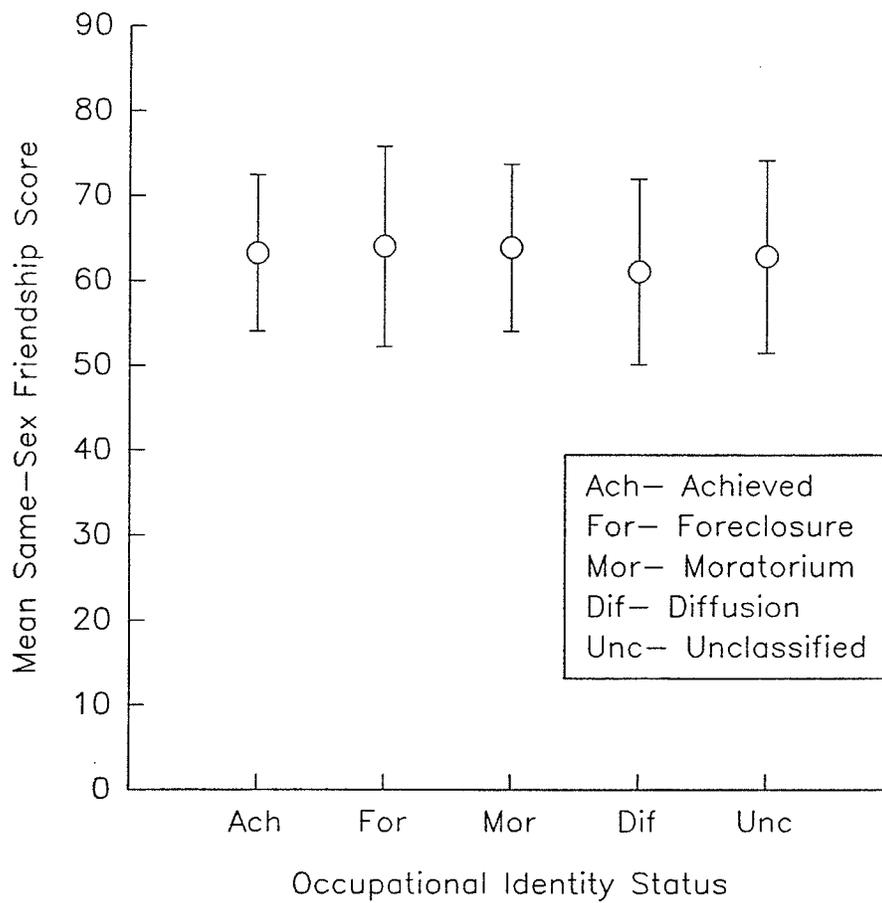
For each of the three identity domains (i.e., Occupational, Political, and Religious) separate ANOVA's were performed. In each analysis, the five levels of Identity Statuses (i.e., Achieved, Foreclosure, Moratorium, Diffusion, and Unclassifiable) constituted the independent variable, and Same-Sex Friendship level the dependent variable.

Achieved Identity Status and Friendship.

According to the second hypothesis, it was expected that students with an Achieved Identity would possess the highest Friendship score.

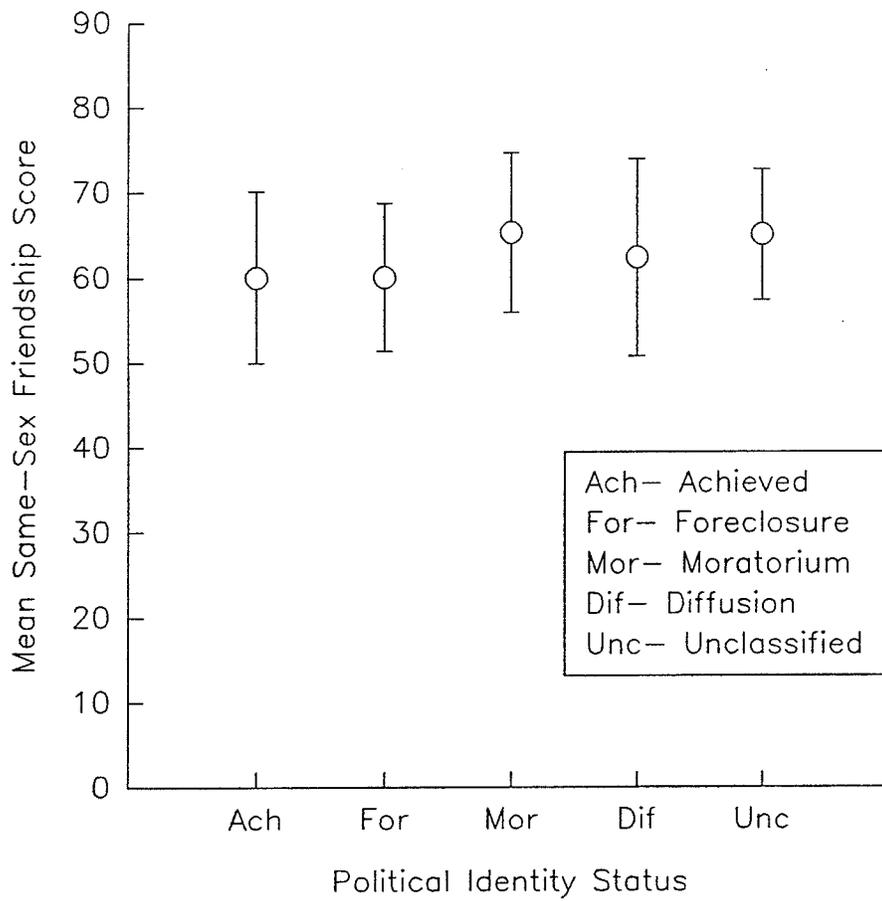
An examination of each of the domains reveals that Foreclosure had the highest Same-Sex Friendship score for Occupational Identity (see Figure 16), Moratorium possessed the highest Same-Sex Friendship score for Political Identity (see Figure 17), and Unclassifiable had the highest Same-Sex Friendship score for Religious Identity (see Figure 18). In order to clarify the graph, it should be noted that the Unclassifiable

Figure 16. Occupational Identity Status and Same-Sex Friendship Patterns.



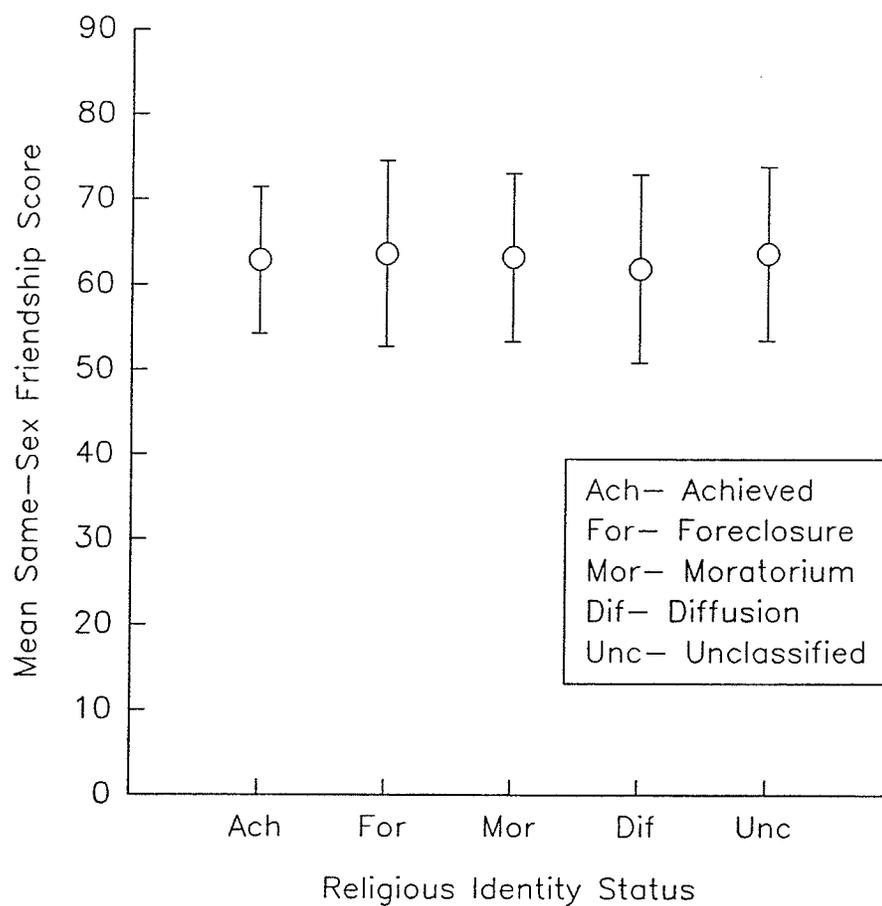
No significant overall differences.

Figure 17. Political Identity Status and Same-Sex Friendship Patterns.



No significant overall differences.

Figure 18. Religious Identity Status and Same-Sex Friendship Patterns.



No significant overall differences.

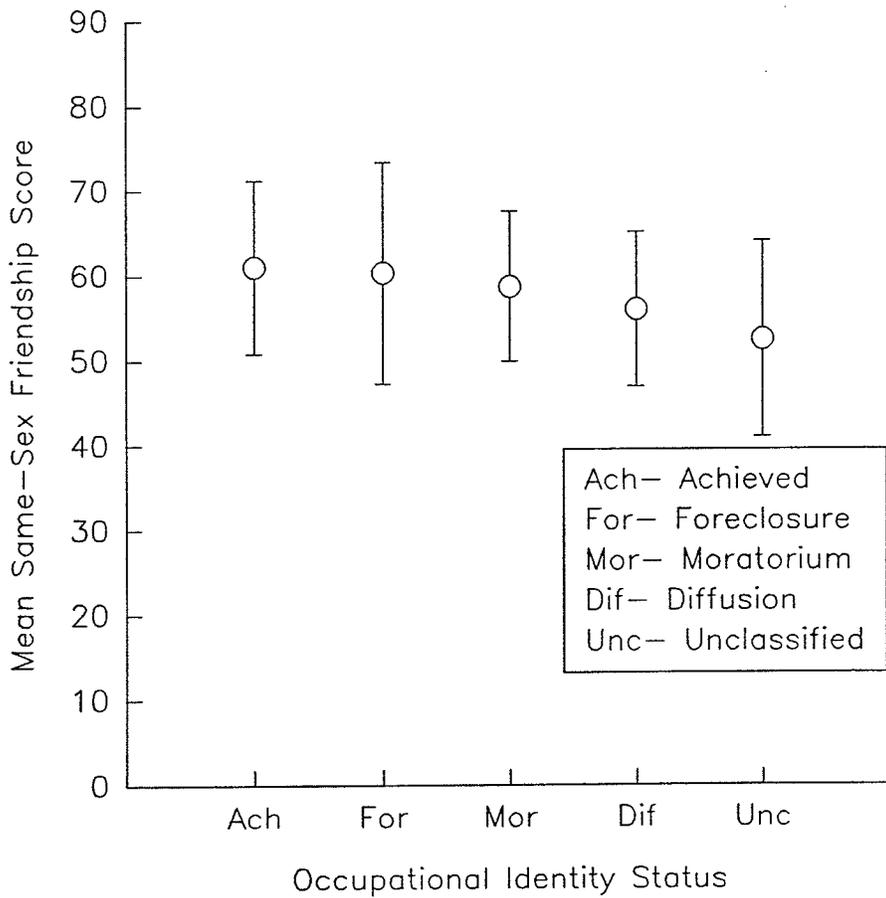
average score was greater by 0.31 than the Achieved average score. Additionally, for all three domains, there were no significant Same-Sex Friendship score differences between the individual Identity Statuses for each domain. These findings do not support the second hypothesis which stated that those individuals, both religious and non-religious, who have an Achieved resolution of their identity crisis would have higher degrees of Same-Sex, and Opposite-Sex, Friendship patterns.

Gender Differences in Identity and Friendship.

The third hypothesis stated that for males an Achieved Occupational Identity would be predictive of highest Friendship scores. Occupationally Achieved males had the greatest Same-Sex Friendship scores, as hypothesized, but there were no significant score differences between the Identity Statuses in this domain (see Figure 19). This result does not support the third hypothesis that an Achieved Occupational Identity would be predictive of greatest Same-Sex Friendship scores.

The third hypothesis also stated, that for

Figure 19. Occupational Identity Status and Same-Sex Friendship Patterns for males.



No significant overall differences.

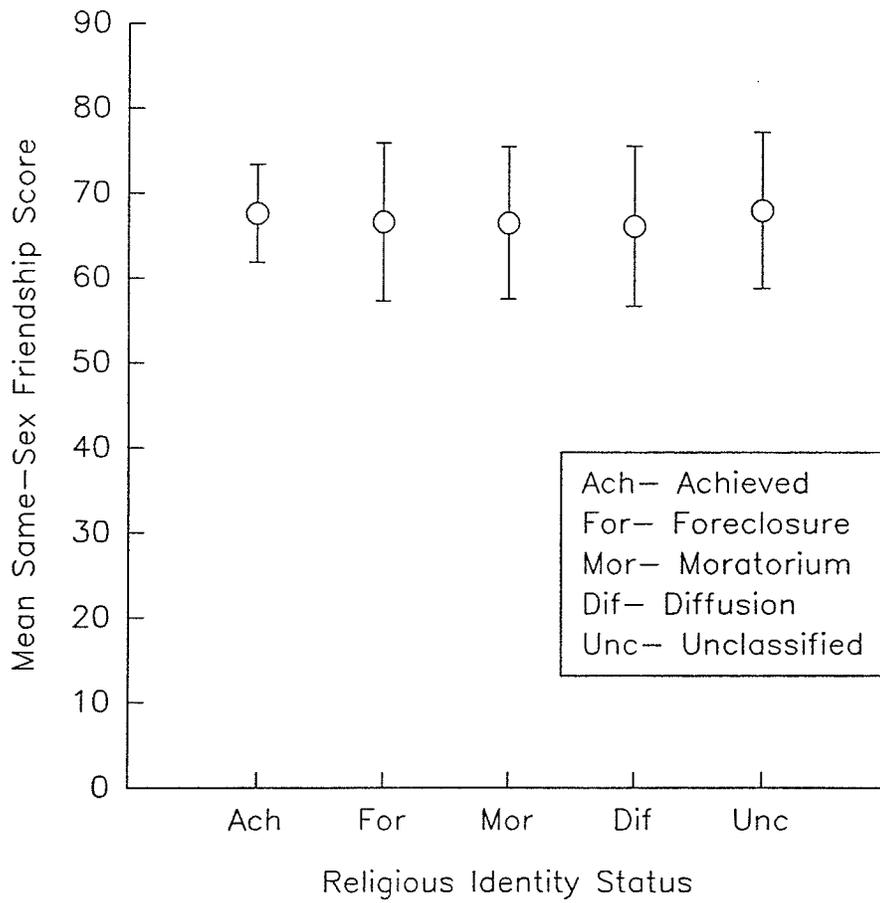
females, an Achieved Religious Identity would be predictive of the greatest Friendship levels. Religiously Unclassifiable females were found to have the greatest Same-Sex Friendship scores (see Figure 20). In order to clarify the graph, it should be noted that the Unclassifiable average score was greater by 0.4 than the Achieved average score. Therefore, the third hypothesis which stated that for females, an Achieved Religious-Identity would be predictive of greater Friendship scores, is not supported by these findings.

Institutional Differences in Friendship Patterns

The fourth hypothesis stated that students from the homogeneous religious institution would have greater Friendship levels than students from the heterogeneous secular institution. For both Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex Friendship patterns, the individuals who attended the homogeneous religious institution had the greater average Friendship scores.

Only Same-Sex Friendship patterns showed significant differences with the religious institution having a greater score than the secular institution

Figure 20. Religious Identity Status and Same-Sex Friendship Patterns for females.



No significant overall differences.

(see Figure 21). The results of this analysis indicate that the fourth hypothesis, which stated that there would be an overall higher degree of Friendship levels in the homogeneous religious youth, is partly true. In order for the fourth hypothesis to be completely true, significant differences would have to have been found for both Opposite-Sex and Same-Sex friendship patterns.

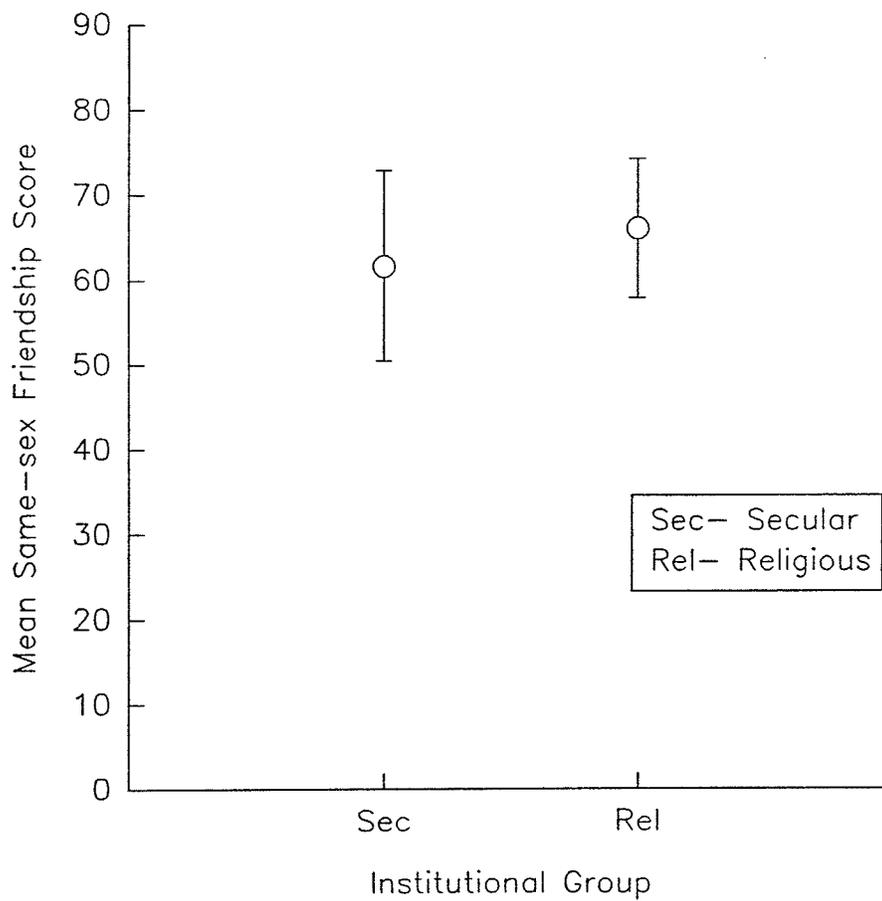
In an analysis to examine gender differences in the two Friendship patterns, significant differences between the genders was found only in Same-Sex Friendship patterns (see Figure 22). A post-hoc analysis indicated that females had significantly greater Same-Sex Friendship scores than males.

Interaction Effects Between Gender and Institution.

Significant gender-by-institution differences were discovered through the use of an ANOVA for both types of Friendship patterns.

For Opposite-Sex Friendship patterns, the post-hoc analysis revealed that religious males had significantly greater scores than religious females and secular males (see Figure 23).

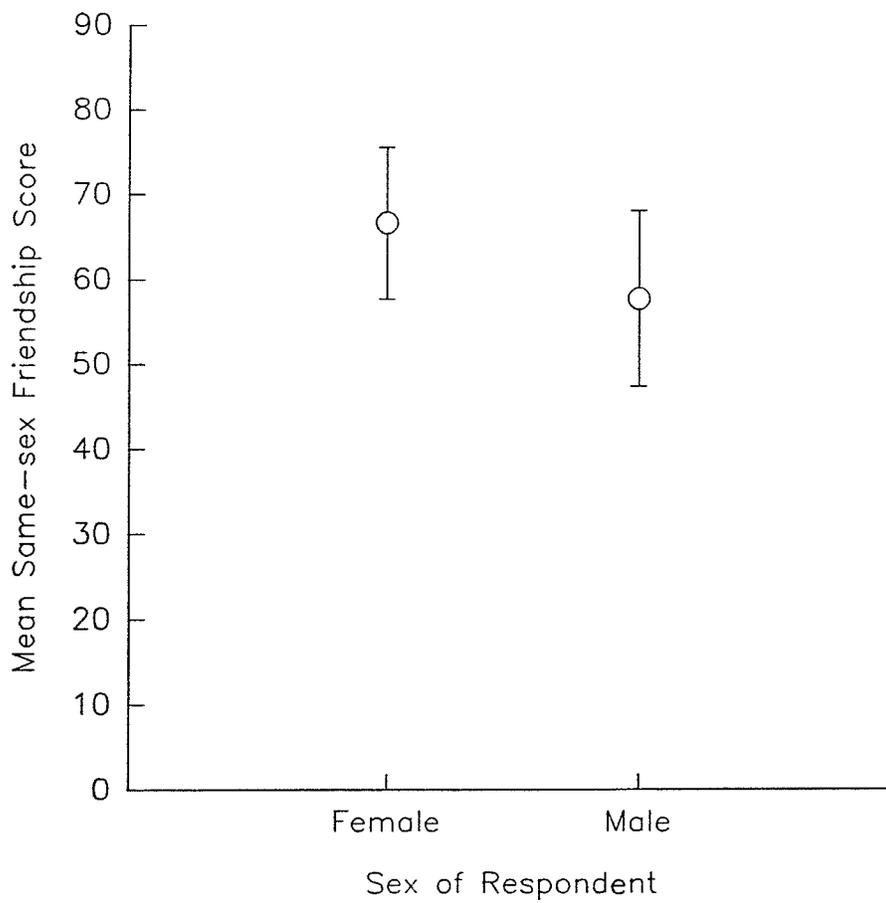
Figure 21. Institutional differences in Same-Sex Friendship Patterns.



Overall: $F(1, 261) = 10.94, p < .0011, \omega^2 = .0367$

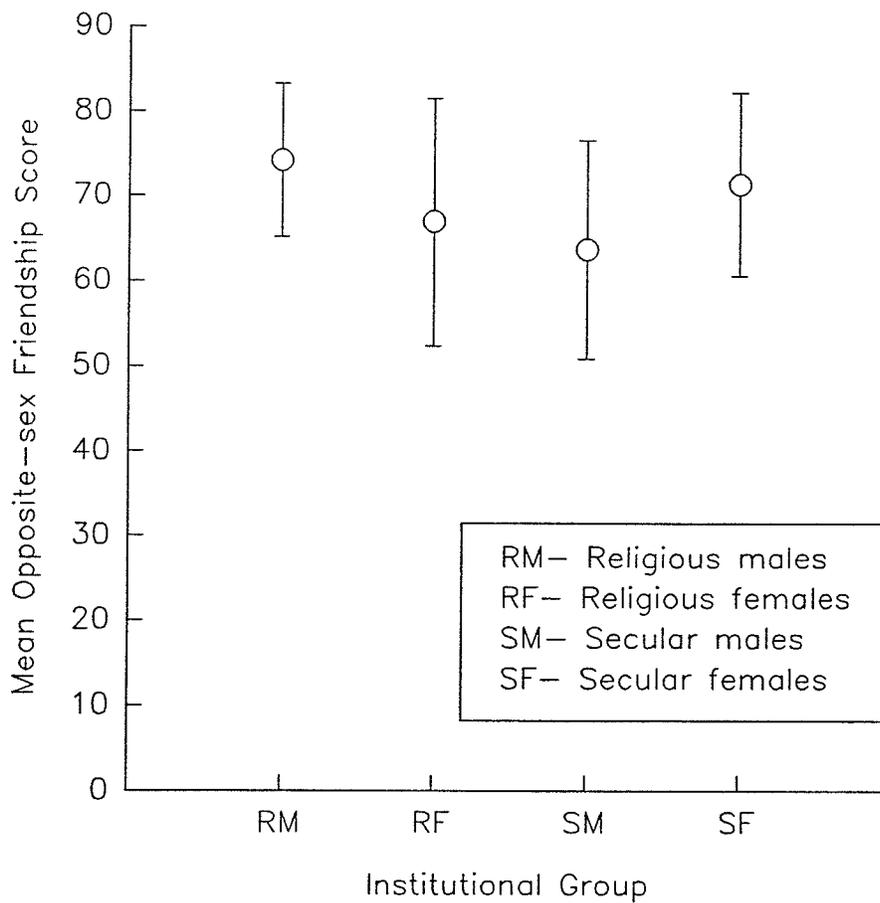
Rel > Sec: $F(1, 259) = 6.73, p < .01$

Figure 22. Gender differences in Same-Sex Friendship Patterns.



Overall: $F(1, 261) = 54.42, p < .0001, \omega^2 = .169$
Female > Male: $F(1, 259) = 15.67, p < .0001$

Figure 23. Gender-by-institution interactions for Opposite-Sex Friendship Patterns.



Overall: $F(1, 256) = 19.46, p < .0001, \omega^2 = .067$
 RM > RF: $F(1, 252) = 15.63, p < .0001$
 RM > SM: $F(1, 252) = 15.63, p < .0001$
 SF > RF: $F(1, 252) = 6.74, p < .01$
 SF > SM: $F(1, 252) = 15.63, p < .0001$
 RF > SM: $F(1, 252) = 3.88, p < .05$

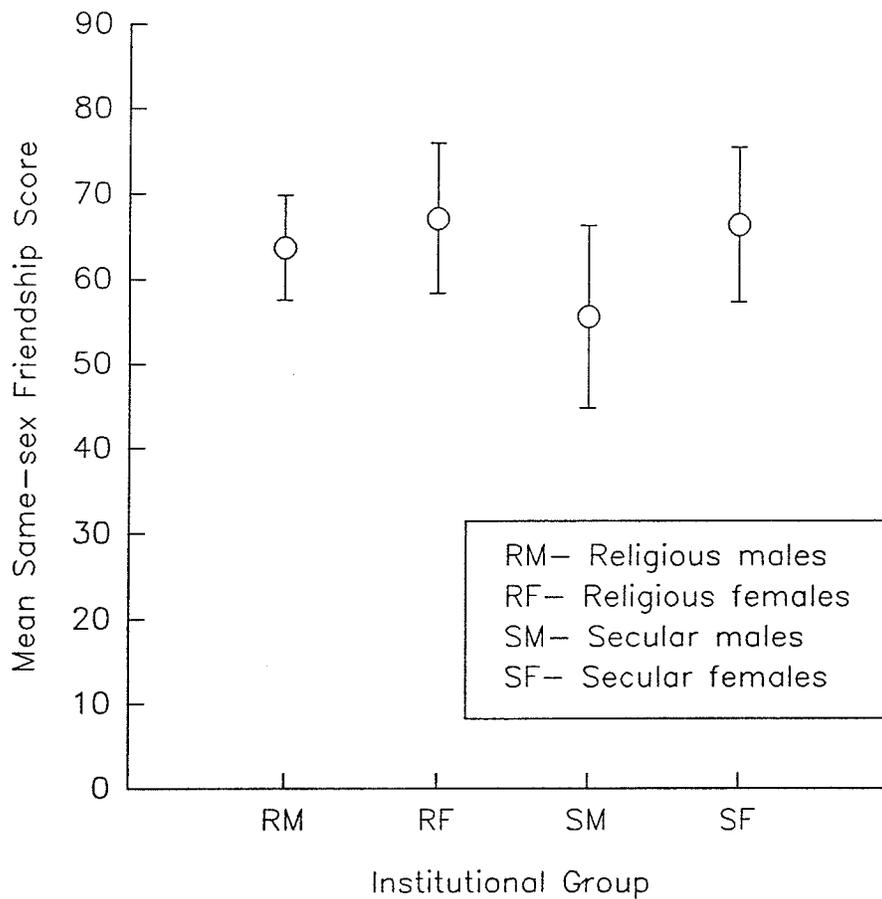
The post-hoc analysis of Same-Sex Friendship patterns indicated that religious females had significantly greater scores than religious males and secular males (see Figure 24).

Religious Identity and Religious Orientation

The fifth hypothesis stated that those individuals who were Religiously Foreclosed would have the highest Religious Orientation scores when compared to the other Religious Identity Statuses.

An analysis-of-variance using Religious Identity as the independent variable and the modified Hoge Religious Orientation Scale as the dependent variable indicated significant differences between the Religious Identity Statuses (see Figure 25). Further analysis showed that while Foreclosure had the greatest score, it was only significantly different from Diffusion and from Unclassifiable. These findings support the fifth hypothesis in that those individuals who are in the Foreclosed status possess the greatest Religious Orientation score.

Figure 24. Gender-by-institution interactions for Same-Sex Friendship Patterns.



Overall: $F(1, 261) = 8.28, p < .0043, \omega^2 = .027$

RF > SM: $F(1, 257) = 15.62, p < .0001$

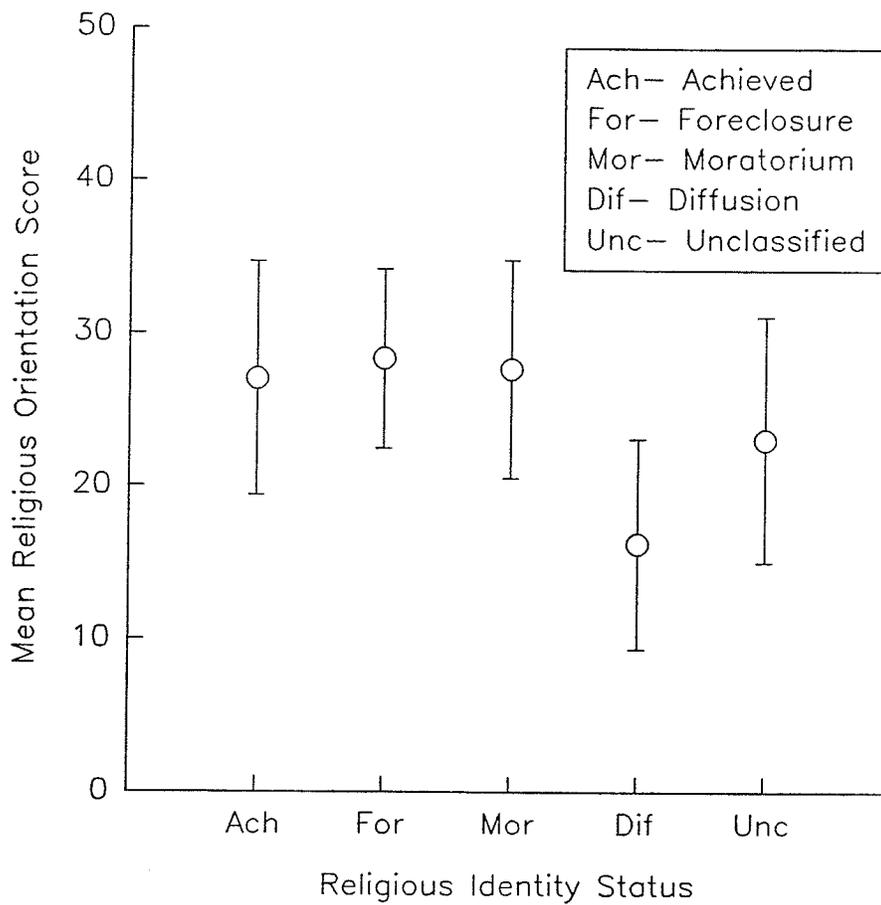
RF > RM: $F(1, 257) = 6.74, p < .01$

SF > SM: $F(1, 257) = 15.62, p < .0001$

SF > RM: $F(1, 257) = 3.88, p < .05$

RM > SM: $F(1, 257) = 15.62, p < .0001$

Figure 25. Religious Identity Status and Religious Orientation.



Overall: $F(4, 260) = 157.43, p < .0001, \omega^2 = .3474$
 Ach > Dif: $F(4, 255) = 6.13, p < .0001$
 For > Dif: $F(4, 255) = 6.13, p < .0001$
 For > Unc: $F(4, 255) = 2.41, p < .05$
 Mor > Dif: $F(4, 255) = 6.13, p < .0001$
 Unc > Dif: $F(4, 255) = 3.39, p < .01$

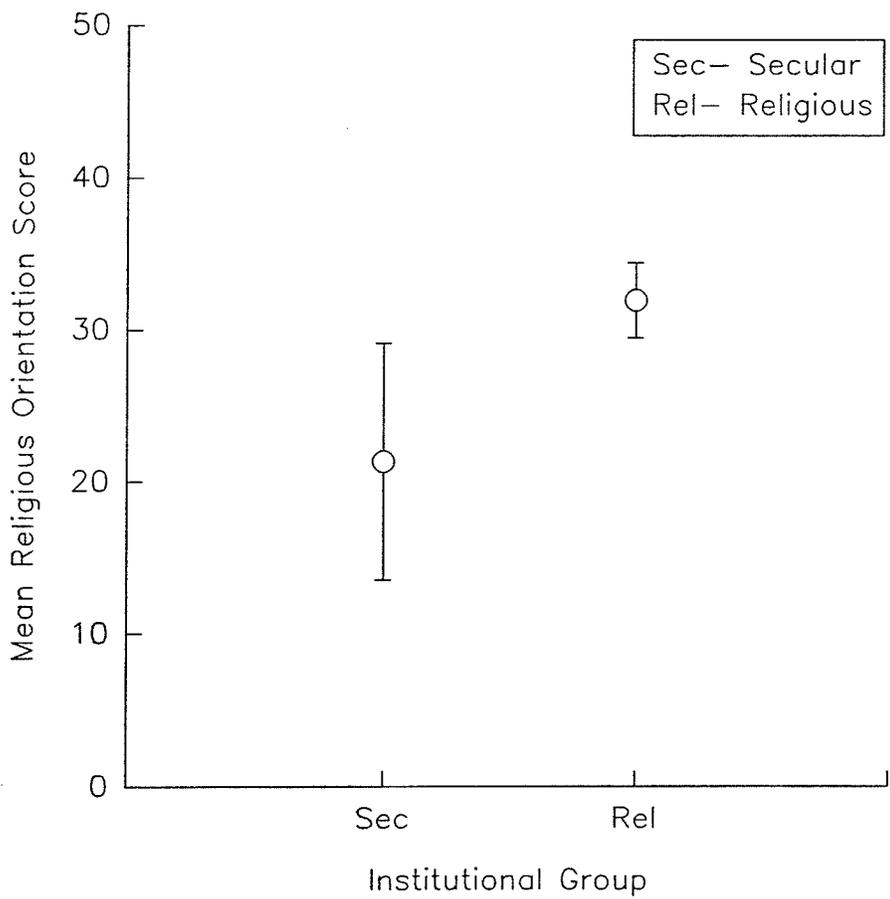
Institution and Gender Differences in Religious Orientation (Hoge).

When differences between the institutions were investigated, it was discovered by using a post-hoc analysis that the students from the religious institution possessed significantly greater Religious Orientation scores than the students from the secular institution (see Figure 26).

It was also interesting to note that the students from the religious institution have a very narrow range of Religious Orientation scores compared to the students from the secular institution. This finding indicates that the students from the religiously homogeneous population possess a greater consensus concerning a religious orientation.

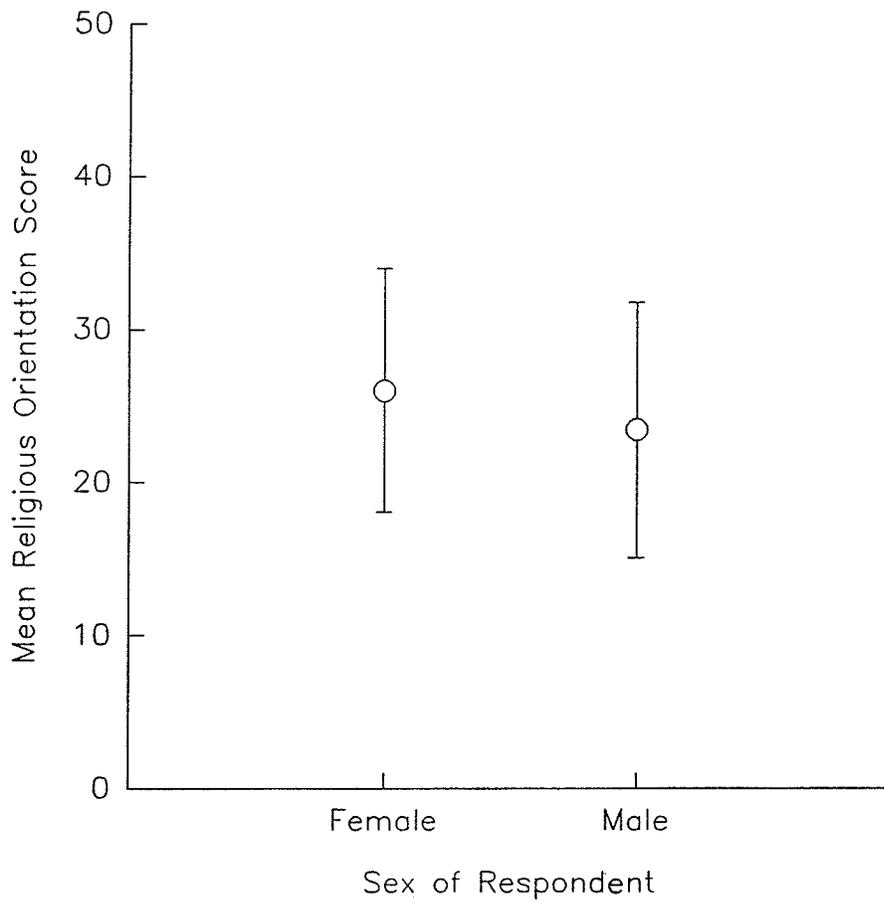
Analysis concerning gender differences revealed that there were overall significant differences (see Figure 27), but the post-hoc analysis did not show any significant Religious Orientation score differences between the genders. There were no significant gender-by-institution interaction effects.

Figure 26. Institutional differences in Religious Orientation.



Overall: $F(1, 260) = 157.43, p < .0001, \omega^2 = .376$
 Rel > Sec: $F(1, 258) = 15.62, p < .0001$

Figure 27. Gender differences in Religious Orientation.



Overall: $F(1, 260) = 6.31, p < .0126, \omega^2 = .020$

Religious Identity and Function of Religion

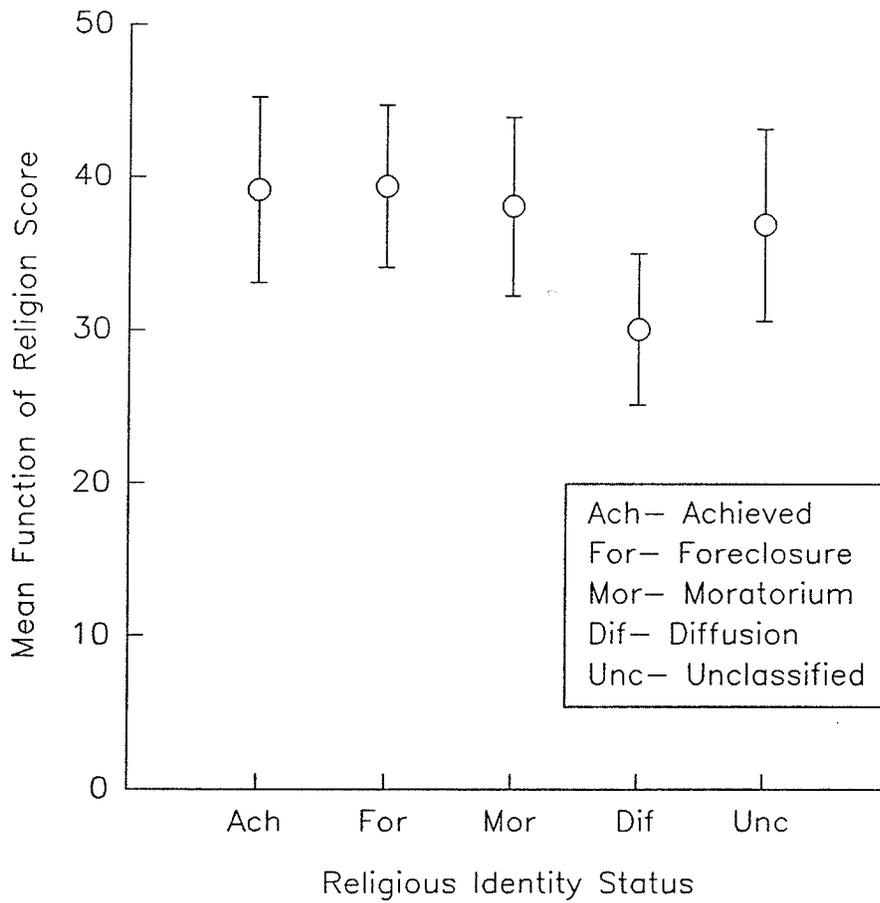
The fifth hypothesis stated that those individuals who were Religiously Foreclosed would have the highest Function of Religion scores when compared to the other Religious Identity Statuses.

Using Religious Identity as the independent variable, and the modified Gustafsson Function of Religion Scale as the dependent variable, an ANOVA indicated that there were significant Function-of-Religion score differences between the individual Identity Statuses (see Figure 28). A post-hoc analysis showed that while Foreclosure contained the greatest score, it was only significantly different from Diffusion. These findings support the fifth hypothesis in that those individuals who are Religiously Foreclosed have the greatest Function of Religion score.

Institution and Gender Differences in Function-of-Religion (Gustafsson).

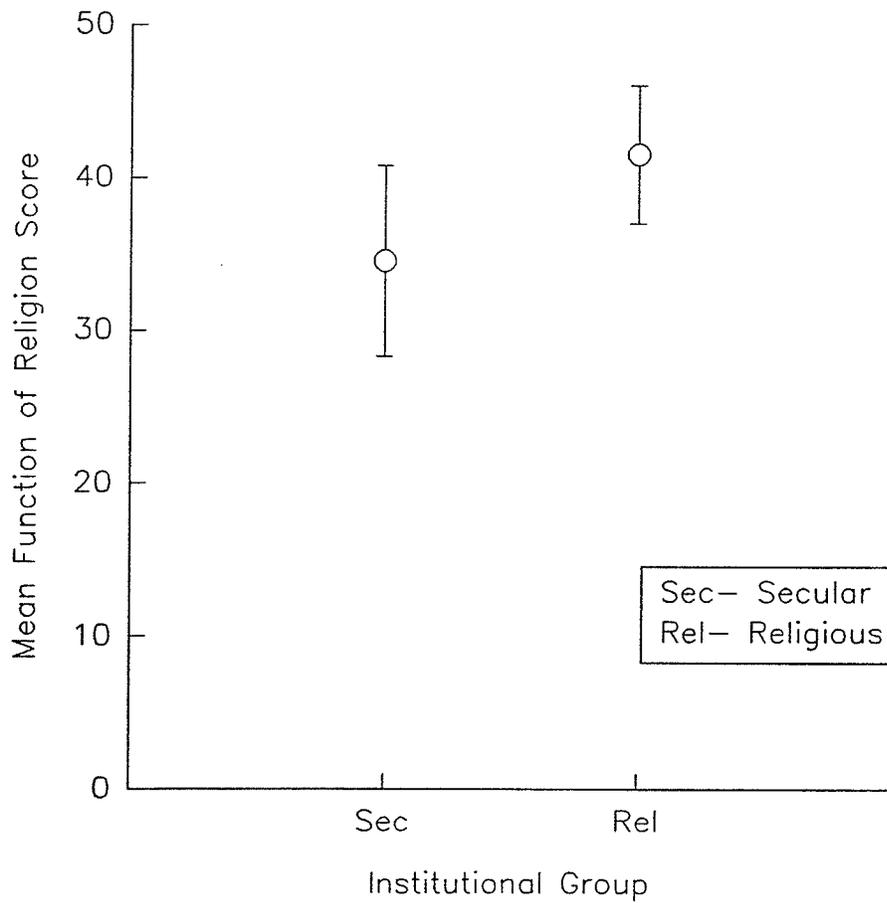
Significant Function-of-Religion score differences were found between the institutions (see Figure 29), with a post-hoc analysis indicating that the religious

Figure 28. Religious Identity Status and Function-of-Religion.



Overall: $F(4, 259) = 30.92, p < .0001, \omega^2 = .316$
 Ach > Dif: $F(4, 254) = 6.13, p < .0001$
 For > Dif: $F(4, 254) = 6.13, p < .0001$
 Mor > Dif: $F(4, 254) = 6.13, p < .0001$
 Unc > Dif: $F(4, 254) = 4.77, p < .001$

Figure 29. Institutional differences in Function-of-Religion.



Overall: $F(1, 259) = 87.83, p < .0001, \omega^2 = .251$

Rel > Sec: $F(1, 257) = 15.62, p < .0001$

institution had significantly greater scores than the secular institution.

An analysis for gender differences showed that there were significant differences between the genders (see Figure 30). The post-hoc analysis showed that females had greater Function-of-Religion scores than males. There were no significant gender-by-institution interaction effects.

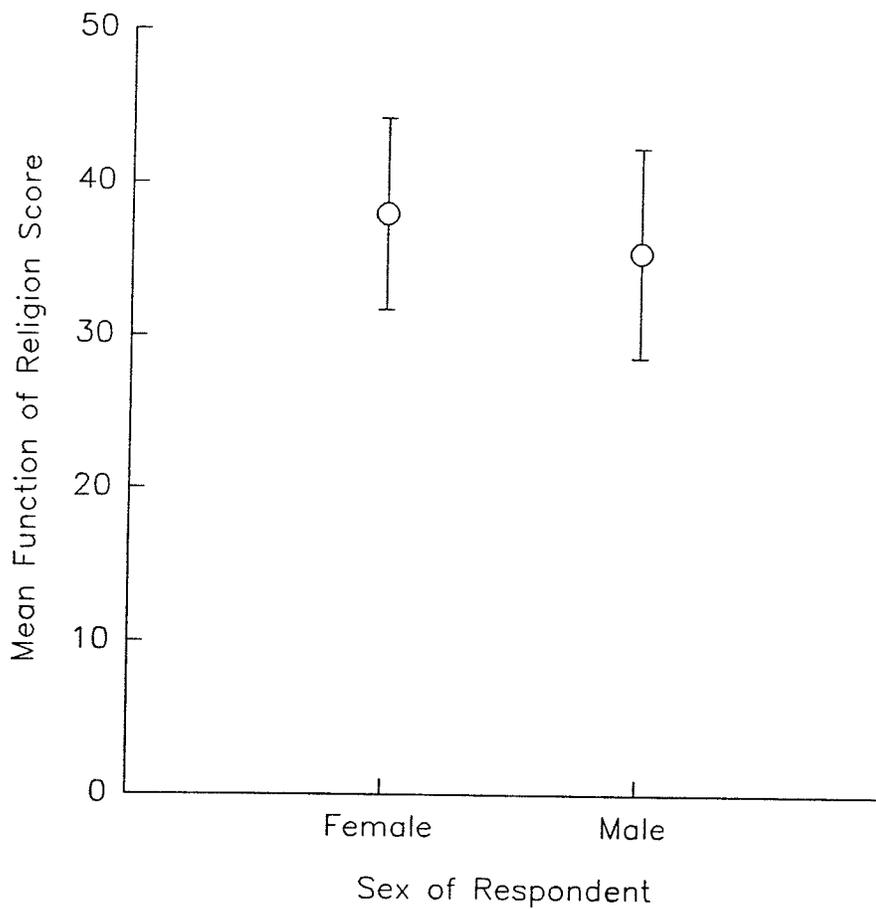
Summary of the Primary Results

Domain-specific analyses revealed that there is a higher degree of Religious Foreclosure with homogeneous religious students than with heterogeneous secular students. This finding validates Hypothesis One.

An analysis regarding the relationship between levels of Friendship and Identity Status revealed that those individuals who are Religiously Achieved do not have higher Friendship levels. This was true for both same-sex and opposite-sex friendships. This finding does not validate Hypothesis Two.

Sex differences in regards to specific identities and corresponding levels of Friendship were found to be true only for males, but not for females. This finding

Figure 30. Gender differences in Function-of-Religion.



Overall: $F(1, 259) = 9.17, p < .0027, \omega^2 = .031$
Female > Male: $F(1, 257) = 6.73, p < .01$

validates only part of Hypothesis Three.

Overall analyses found that higher levels of Friendship were present in the homogeneous religious population than they were in the heterogeneous secular population. This finding validates Hypothesis Four.

In an overall analysis, those individuals who were Religiously Foreclosed were found to have higher levels of Religious Orientation and of Religious Functionality. This finding validates Hypothesis Five.

Summary of Religious Beliefs and Practices

The variables involved in the examination of Religious Beliefs and Practices fall within three areas: (a) commitment to a religious belief system; (b) attendance of religious services; and (c) prayer and reading of religious scriptures and family devotions in the home.

Three different statistical analyses were utilized to analyze the data. First of all, correlations were used to determine relationships between the respondent, the father, the mother, the closest opposite-sex friend and the closest same-sex friend within three areas: Secondly, a step-wise regression procedure was also

performed on the three categories previously mentioned. Finally, a factor analysis and a correlation matrix were performed on five variables (Religious Orientation, Function-of-Religion, Devotion patterns of the respondent, Commitment of the respondent, and Attendance of the respondent) to determine their relationship to each other.

As has been mentioned before, the secular institution was very heterogeneous with respect to religious variables. In contrast, the religious institution was highly homogeneous with respect to religious variables. This high homogeneity of the religious institution greatly lowered any correlations between religious variables for this institution. In order to enhance the relationships between religion variables, all correlational, regression, and factor analyses (mentioned below) involved the pooled sample of the secular and religious institutions.

Religious Commitment.

Using the pooled sample of secular and religious students, a correlation matrix between the variables of religious commitment of respondent, paternal religious

commitment, maternal religious commitment, religious commitment of opposite-sex friend, and religious commitment of same-sex friend showed that the highest correlation was between parental religious commitment (Paternal: $r = 0.72$ and Maternal: $r = 0.71$) and religious commitment of respondent (see Table 4).

A step-wise regression procedure used religious commitment of the respondent as the dependent variable and paternal religious commitment, maternal religious commitment, opposite-sex friend religious commitment and same-sex friend religious commitment as the independent variables. The regression was done on standard (z) scores of the dependent and independent variables. The regression analysis indicated that all four independent variables had a significant ($p < .0001$) influence on the commitment of the respondent with same-sex friend religious commitment showing the strongest influence on the commitment of the respondent to a religious belief system (see Table 5).

This finding seems to be in agreement with Erikson's postulations that during the time of adolescence, the peer group becomes more influential than the parents in determining a belief system. In

Table 4

Religious commitment of respondent, parents, and friends

	Comsel	Compat	Commat	Comosf	Comssf
Comsel	1.00				
Compat	0.72	1.00			
Commat	0.71	0.79	1.00		
Comosf	0.65	0.55	0.48	1.00	
Comssf	0.69	0.54	0.52	0.59	1.0

Note. All these correlations were significant at $p < .0001$. $N = 263$. Abbreviations: Comsel: Religious commitment of the respondent; Compat: Paternal religious commitment; Commat: Maternal religious commitment; Comosf: Religious commitment of opposite-sex friend; Comssf: Religious commitment of same-sex friend.

Table 5

Regression analyses of parental and friend's religious commitment on religious commitment of respondent

Beta	$R^2 = 0.702$
+0.304	Commitment of same-sex friend
+0.255	Maternal commitment
+0.231	Paternal commitment
+0.223	Commitment of opposite-sex friend

Note: An F value at p < .0001 was used as the criterion to stop the regression.

fact, the results of this analysis indicates that the same-sex best friend seems to have the greatest influence on what an individual believes.

Attendance of Religious Services.

Using the pooled sample of secular and religious students, a correlation matrix between the variables of attendance of respondent, paternal attendance, maternal attendance, attendance of opposite-sex friend, and attendance of same-sex friend showed that the highest correlation was between maternal attendance of

religious services and attendance of respondent (see Table 6).

Table 6

Attendance of religious services by respondent, parents and friends

	Atttsel	Attpat	Attmat	Attosf	Attssf
Atttsel	1.00				
Attpat	0.82	1.00			
Attmat	0.86	0.83	1.00		
Attosf	0.70	0.61	0.61	1.00	
Attssf	0.74	0.67	0.63	0.61	1.00

Note. All these correlations were significant at $p < .0001$. $N = 263$. Abbreviations: Atttsel: Attendance of respondent; Attpat: Paternal attendance; Attmat: Maternal attendance; Attosf: Attendance of opposite-sex friend; Attssf: Attendance of same-sex friend.

A step-wise regression procedure used attendance of respondent as the dependent variable and paternal

attendance, maternal attendance, attendance of opposite-sex friend and attendance same-sex friend as the independent variables. The regression was done on standard (\underline{z}) scores of the dependent and independent variables. The regression analysis indicated that all four independent variables had a significant ($\underline{p} < .0001$) influence on the attendance of respondent, with maternal attendance showing the strongest influence on the attendance of religious services by respondent (see Table 7).

Table 7

Regression analyses of parental and friend's attendance on attendance of respondent

Beta	$\underline{R}^2 = 0.829$
+0.456	Maternal attendance
+0.219	Attendance of same-sex friend
+0.192	Paternal attendance
+0.173	Attendance of opposite-sex friend

Note: An \underline{F} value at $\underline{p} < .0001$ was used as the criterion to stop the regression.

Prayer and Reading of Religious Scriptures.

Using the pooled sample of secular and religious students, a correlation matrix between the variables of paternal prayer and reading patterns, maternal prayer and reading patterns, prayer and reading patterns of opposite-sex friend, prayer and reading patterns of same-sex friend, paternal participation in family devotions, maternal participation in family devotions, and participation in family devotions by respondent showed that the highest correlation was between maternal participation in family devotions and participation in family devotions by respondent (see Table 8).

Overall Relationships Between Religious Variables.

Using the pooled sample of secular and religious students, a correlation matrix between the variables of religious commitment of respondent, attendance of respondent, participation in family devotions by respondent, the Religious Orientation score (Hoge), and the Function-of-Religion score (Gustafsson) showed that the highest correlation was between commitment of respondent and attendance of respondent (see Table 9).

Table 8

Prayer and reading of religious scriptures

	Praypat	Praymat	Prayosf	Prayssf	Devpat	Devmat	Devsel
Praypat	1.00						
Praymat	0.84	1.00					
Prayosf	0.71	0.65	1.00				
Prayssf	0.68	0.67	0.76	1.00			
Devpat	0.67	0.62	0.59	0.52	1.00		
Devmat	0.57	0.58	0.48	0.46	0.89	1.00	
Devsel	0.54	0.49	0.51	0.53	0.81	0.85	1.00

Note. All these correlations were significant at $p < .0001$. $N = 263$. Abbreviations: Praypat: Paternal prayer and reading patterns; Praymat: Maternal prayer and reading patterns; Prayosf: Prayer and reading patterns of opposite-sex friend; Prayssf: Prayer and reading patterns of same-sex friend; Devpat: Paternal participation in family devotions; Devmat: Maternal participation in family devotions; Devsel: Respondent participation in family devotions.

Table 9

Religious beliefs and practices of respondent

	Hoge	Gus	Devsel	Comsel	Attset
Hoge	1.00				
Gus	0.70	1.00			
Devsel	0.50	0.36	1.00		
Comsel	0.78	0.66	0.50	1.00	
Attset	0.77	0.67	0.49	0.80	1.00

Note. All these correlations were significant at $p < .0001$. $N = 263$. Abbreviations: Hoge: Religious Orientation Score; Gus: Function-of-Religion Score; Devsel: Participation in family devotions by respondent; Comsel: Religious commitment of respondent; Attset: Attendance of respondent.

A principal factor analysis (with squared-multiple correlations as communality estimates) was done on the following set of variables: religious commitment of respondent, attendance of respondent, participation in family devotions by respondent, the Religious Orientation score, and the Function-of-Religion score.

An eigenvalue > 1.0 was used as the criterion to identify the last common factor. The factor analysis resulted in a clear single factor solution where this principal axis factor accounted for all of the common variance (see Table 10). The factor analysis suggests the existence of a unidimensional "Religiosity" factor; this means, that persons who are religious/nonreligious according to one criterion also will tend to be religious/nonreligious according to another criterion.

Overall Religion Factor.

On the basis of the results generated by the factor analysis, that is the discovery of a unidimensional religion factor, further analyses were conducted by constructing an "Overall Religion Factor." This factor was generated by dividing the Hoge Religious Orientation Score by a factor of 7, by

Table 10

Principal axes factor analysis of religion variables

Factor Loadings	F ₁
Religious Orientation	0.881
Commitment of Respondent	0.878
Attendance of Respondent	0.875
Function-of-Religion	0.750
Respondent Participating in Family Devotions	0.535
Eigenvalue	3.160
Proportion of common variance	100%

dividing the Gustafsson Function-of-Religion Score by 10, and by taking these generated numbers and adding them to the scores for each of Attendance of Respondent, Commitment of Respondent, and Participation in Family Devotions by the Respondent. This process was repeated for each data set in the entire sample. The resulting Religion (Factor) scores had a range from 5 to 25.

In order to discover whether there is a relationship present between Religion and Friendship, an overall correlation matrix using the variables of Overall Religion Factor, Same-sex Friendship, and Opposite-sex Friendship indicated that there was only a significant correlation between Same-sex and Opposite-sex Friendships ($p < .0008$, $r = .21$), but not between Religion and Friendship scores.

When this procedure was repeated in the examination of gender differences, significant differences were found for males between the Overall Religion Factor and Opposite-sex Friendship ($p < .0025$, $r = .30$) and between Opposite-sex Friendship and Same-sex Friendship ($p < .0001$, $r = .38$). No significant differences were found between the three variables for females.

When this procedure was repeated in the examination of institution differences, a significant correlation for the secular institution was found between the Same-sex and Opposite-sex Friendship, ($p < .0004$, $r = .27$). No significant correlations between the three variables were found for the religious institution.

The Overall Religion Factor was also used as the dependant variable in a two-way ANOVA (institution vs. sex) which yielded the result that the religious institution had significantly greater Religion scores than the secular institution at $p < .0001$. A series of one-way ANOVAs with Identity as the independent variable and the Overall Religion Factor as the dependent variable showed that for Occupational Identity, Moratorium had a significantly greater score than Diffusion at $p < .05$. When Religious Identity was examined, the analysis indicated that Diffusion had significantly lower scores than Identity Acheived, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Unclassified at $p < .0001$. However, there were no significant differences between Identity Achieved, Foreclosure, Moratorium and Unclassified. An examination of Political Identity showed no overall significant differences between the individual Identity Statuses. When only that data from the religious institution were analyzed, there were no significant correlations between Religion and the Friendship variables, or between Same-sex and Opposite-sex Friendships.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between identity status, i.e., how one has resolved one's identity crisis, and friendship. In order to better study how identity status affects friendship, the general category of friendship was separated into opposite-sex and same-sex friendships. Rather than use a global definition of identity status, this study utilized a concept of identity status which was comprised of three separate and distinct domains: Occupation, Politics and Religion.

Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis stated that a higher frequency of Foreclosure was to be expected in the homogeneous religious institution. This assertion was made on the basis that individuals who are a part of a sectarian institution have high expectations placed upon them to conform to the standards of the group. The results found during the testing of this hypothesis also concurs with other research studies in which the majority of an incoming class to a postsecondary institution are in a Religiously-Foreclosed status

(Park, 1985; Philipchalk & Sifft, 1985; Waterman, 1985; Waterman & Goldman, 1976).

Since Christian Reformed youth have limited exposure to a variety of religious options because they are members of a tight-knit religious group, it is not surprising that there is a high rate of Foreclosure (e.g. 60%). It would seem that these youth, for the most part, are content to trust in, and to assume, the faith of their parents without actually exploring what that faith entails.

Another significant finding was that the religious institution possessed a higher frequency of religious Moratorium (e.g. 14%) than did the secular institution. This result was not expected of a religious sectarian population, but could rather be the result of the educational impacts of the Reformed worldview which has encouraged some Christian Reformed youth to explore religious options.

The final significant finding discovered during the exploration of the first hypothesis was that students from the secular institution had a higher frequency of religious Diffusion than did students from the religious institution. This could be due to the

rationalistic-materialistic emphasis of the public-school system which discourages religious commitment and religious exploration. There also could be involved the concept of religious relativism in which all religious beliefs are equally valid, thereby making no one set of beliefs any better or worse than any other. In the context of this mindset, it is not surprising that very little religious exploration and commitment occurs.

Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis stated that those individuals, both religious and nonreligious, who had an Achieved Identity resolution of their identity crisis would have higher levels of friendship. The results of this study did not support this hypothesis. This was true for both opposite-sex and same-sex friendships.

When the results are considered, they would seem to indicate that an Achieved-Identity status does not necessarily facilitate, or aid, interpersonal relationships. This could be an indication that regardless of the exploration of, or commitment to

options, close friendships can, and will be, formed. In fact, when the results are examined, they show that any Identity Status (with the exception of Diffusion) was compatible with close friendships.

The findings on Diffusion adolescents seem to indicate that since those individuals who are in Diffusion find it difficult to commit to options in their search for an identity, they may also find it difficult to commit to a close friendship. Perhaps this is because since they cannot scrutinize their own life, they cannot accept others examining their life, so they withdraw from, and avoid, close friendships.

Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis stated that an Achieved Occupational identity would be predictive of greater friendship levels for males, and that an Achieved Religious identity would be predictive of greater friendship levels for females. These expectations were not realized for females, but they were for males. But with the males, the Identity Achieved scores were not significantly different from the scores of the other statuses.

Again, these results would seem to indicate that when the genders are examined, the individual's identity status is not an indicator of close friendship patterns. Although, this may be the case more for females than it is for males. Perhaps for males, an Achieved Occupational Identity being more predictive of closer friendship patterns could be indicative of a better, or more complete, resolution of Erikson's Industry versus Inferiority stage of development. If the completion of this stage, which just precedes the stage under investigation (Identity vs. Diffusion), gives the person a sense of purpose in terms of work, then it would seem that males having an Achieved Occupational Identity are better prepared to engage in close friendships.

Hypothesis Four

The fourth hypothesis stated that those individuals in the homogeneous religious population would have greater levels of friendship than those individuals who belong to the heterogeneous secular population. An analysis of the data partially supported this hypothesis as only same-sex friendships

showed significant results.

It was hypothesized that the difference in friendship patterns would be due to membership within a group in which there was a common identity and there were also shared experiences. Whether this was the case is hard to tell as the measures utilized in this study did not tap this area. In any case, the difference between the two institutions for same-sex friendships, although significant, was not that great. This could lead to the speculation that friendship patterns between members of the same-sex are really not that much different regardless of the institution to which one is a part. Since there were no significant differences between the two institutions for opposite-sex friendships, the previous statement would be more applicable to this type of friendship.

An examination of the results of the same-sex friendship analysis shows that the Christian Reformed youth had a slightly greater average score than did the youth from the general society. While this fact is important, what needs to be considered is that the spread of scores for the Christian Reformed youth is less than that of other youth. This indicates that

there is less variation in the same-sex friendship patterns for those youth who are members of a tight-knit social group. The tighter grouping of scores could be the result of the individuals having grown up with each other and are therefore more likely to have a more intimate style of relating to each other within the context of their friendship.

Hypothesis Five

The fifth hypothesis stated that those individuals who are Religiously Foreclosed would have the highest scores in both Religious Orientation and Function-of-Religion. This hypothesis was supported through the analysis of the data. When the results are more closely examined, it can be noted that the Foreclosure status is significantly different from the status of Diffusion, but not from the statuses of Achieved and Moratorium. When this is taken into consideration, it would seem to indicate that higher scores in Religious Orientation and in Function-of-Religion are better predicted by those statuses which are characterized by commitment or exploration, and not by the lack of these two characteristics.

Contributions and Conclusions

This study has contributed to the investigation of identity formation, specifically religious identity formation. The unique aspect of this study was that it broadened the knowledge of religious identity formation by examining a specific religious body. Contributions have also been made in the area of identity and friendship, and in differences in friendship patterns, between general society and a group which is marked by a religious belief system and by a cultural, or ethnic, heritage.

There are some implications to this study which should be considered. The first concerns friendship and membership within a minority group. Research needs to discover whether there is a relationship between the number of friends a person has and continued membership within the group. If a person has more friends who are part of the minority group, is the likelihood of the individual remaining in that group increased or decreased?

Research also needs to be conducted on the relationship between occupational identity and those groups which possess a high work ethic. How do people

of varying degrees of occupational identity fit into a social network which has high expectations regarding careers? Is there a penalty of some sort for not possessing the same work ethic as the group?

Future studies could benefit from an investigation of the relationship between friendship and interpersonal identity as measured by the Extended Object Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS) (Bennion & Adams, 1986). In this avenue of investigation, the data generated by the interpersonal subscale of the EOM-EIS would be compared to the data obtained from Millar and Lefcourt's (1982) Social Intimacy Scale. The comparison of data generated by these two scales could give insight into the dynamics of interpersonal relationships and how they develop.

In terms of distinguishing between the religious beliefs of secular and religious individuals, improvements could be best made by utilizing measures which tap those variables which give meaning to life rather than variables which tap religious orientation or religious functionality. A scale which might of use in this endeavour is Antonovsky's (1987) Sense of Coherence Questionnaire.

It is interesting to once again note the finding of this study that religion-related variables had highly significant correlations. The factor analysis on the corresponding religion variables suggests that there is an underlying religion factor. This is to say that students, both religious and secular, can be meaningfully classified along a dimension of being religious to being non-religious. As was expected, the students in the religious institution had much higher religion scores than did students in the secular institution.

This study could be expanded by utilizing a variety of different religious groups in order to better understand how identity is manifested in distinct groups. The study of friendship would also benefit from this same recommendation as these variables would develop differently depending on group membership.

Finally, research needs to be conducted to examine the relationship between the amount of education obtained and deviance from the expectations of the social group. For some minority (both ethnic and religious) groups, higher education is discouraged

because it might lead to the estrangement from the group by the individual. It needs to be established to what extent this is true for a variety of groups.

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APPENDIX: Questionnaire Booklet

Please do not write on this Questionnaire Booklet. Write only on the IBM Response Sheet handed to you with this questionnaire booklet.

Thank you for volunteering to participate in this study. The general purpose of this study is to look at the relationship of a number of variables and issues relevant to college-age youth. There are no right or wrong answers. We are simply interested in your personal opinion and the degree to which you agree or disagree with a given statement as it relates to your experience.

Since the data gathering process for this project is spread over several weeks, it is not possible for me at this time to share with you detailed information as to the specific variables and hypotheses involved in this study. However, you may obtain a brief description of the project when the completed questionnaire is handed in. A written statement concerning the nature and overall findings of this study will be sent to you if you leave your name and address at the front.

Before responding to the questions, please turn the page and respond to the questions concerning demographic information. When you are answering the questions in the Questionnaire Booklet please be careful not to miss any questions or statements, and please take time to carefully read the instructions at the beginning of each questionnaire.

Thank you again for participating.

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

1. Your sex:
a. Female b. Male

2. Your age:
a. 18 c. 20 e. 22
b. 19 d. 21

3. The year of your program:
a. 1 c. 3 e. 5
b. 2 d. 4

4. The type of educational institution which you are attending:
 - a. Public institution
 - b. Private religious institution

5. How long have you attended, if ever, religiously based education?
 - a. Since (only) in elementary school
 - b. Since (only) in junior high school
 - c. Since (only) in senior high school
 - d. Since (only) in post-secondary education
 - e. Never

6. Status of your parents:
 - a. Married
 - b. Divorced/separated
 - c. Remarried
 - d. Common-law
 - e. Widowed (but not remarried)

7. Do you consider yourself a member of a racial minority? (e.g., African, Arabic, Indian, Native, Oriental)
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

8. I consider myself to be...
 - a. Fully a member of an ethnic minority.
 - b. Fully a member of an ethnic minority, but yet Canadian.
 - c. Fully Canadian and fully a member of an ethnic group.
 - d. Fully Canadian, but a member of an ethnic minority.
 - e. Fully Canadian.

9. The size of the community in which you were raised.

a. 0 - 999	d. 100,000 - 999,999
b. 1,000 - 9,999	e. 1,000,000 +
c. 10,000 - 99,999	

10. The type of community in which you were raised.
 - a. Rural
 - b. Urban

In this first questionnaire, each question is a set consisting of 5 statements. The statements pertain to attitudes and perceptions about vocations, and religious and political ideas generally. They do not pertain to any specific religion or political group. You are asked to select those statements that apply to you. There are no "right" responses, only responses that are accurate about yourself.

In each of the 5 statements, select the ONE statement that is MOST LIKE YOU. Please fill in the appropriate dot on your answer sheet. Please do not write on the questionnaire.

11. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
 - a. I'm presently seriously investigating several vocations, so I'll be happy in the career I finally select.
 - b. I've explored different kinds of work, have selected my career, and am happy with my choice.
 - c. I'm keeping my options open regarding a vocation, because I think it's too early for me to make a choice.
 - d. I've long known what my career will be, so I haven't had to spend time checking occupations to match up with them.
 - e. I'm waiting to see what comes along, because I'm still pretty much undecided what work I want to get into.

12. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
 - a. I'm hanging loose on a career choice because I don't want to make a hasty decision before things are right.
 - b. Things will probably fall into place, even though it's a little hard for me to get it all together to decide on a vocation.
 - c. Getting it all together wasn't ever one of my problems, I'm going to do what I planned on doing since I was a kid.
 - d. I'm still exploring a few channels and areas to help me focus on the vocation I want to follow.
 - e. There were several vocations I was exploring, but now I know what I'm going to do.

13. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. They say school changes your ideas about the job you want to do, but that didn't happen to me. I'm still going into the work I wanted to do when I was a child.
 - b. Careers tend to work themselves out, so I can't get myself too worried about a vocation.
 - c. My school experiences have helped me examine some things but I'll have to test some others before definitely deciding on a career.
 - d. Right now I'm open-minded on vocational choice because I don't want to get locked in and miss any opportunity.
 - e. I've given a lot of thought to my vocation, and have even considered the ideas of others, and now I definitely have selected my career.
14. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I've questioned the suitability of several vocations for me, but I've resolved these questions and now I'm certain of my vocational goal.
 - b. Several vocations complement my talents, so right now I'm exploring which one is meaningful for me.
 - c. I'm hanging loose with respect to a career choice, because there are different things around and deciding too soon is something I want to keep away from.
 - d. Things will probably work out a certain way, no matter how much thinking I do about different occupations.
 - e. There was never any doubt in my mind about the vocation I would follow and I've pursued this vocational goal steadily.
15. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I can't picture myself in any job right now, but I guess things will work out for me.
 - b. I've always wanted to be a teacher or lawyer, etc., and never had to give a thought to other vocations.
 - c. I've checked into different careers, and now I clearly picture myself in the career I've selected.

- d. I'm getting close to choosing a career, even though sometimes I think I should be one thing because I'm good at that, and then other times I think I should be something else to use other talents.
 - e. I've some ideas about a career choice, but I'm leaving my options open right now.
16. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. No need investigating jobs, I've known what work I've wanted to do since I was a kid.
 - b. I'm staying flexible and open regarding a career because I want to be able to change easily for all possibilities that come up, but I'll probably start deciding soon.
 - c. I'm waiting to see what happens because luck has a lot to do with the kind of job you get into.
 - d. After exploring different kinds of jobs, I now know definitely what my career will be.
 - e. I've narrowed the field on my career choice, but I still want to look into a few others to be sure I pick the one that suits me.
17. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I'm just taking courses because the way I see it who I know will probably play a big part in determining my career.
 - b. School influenced my ideas as to the vocation I was going into and now I know what I'm going to do.
 - c. School helped me recognize what I'm good at, but I still have to decide in which vocation I should use these abilities.
 - d. I'm bouncing different vocations about in my mind while in school, because I don't want to get into something before I know what I'm into.
 - e. My school experiences have just confirmed the vocational goal I've had since childhood.
18. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. My ideas about religion are indefinite, but someday when I have time I'm going to look into this area.

- b. The religion I was raised with is fulfilling for me and I see no reason to deviate from it.
 - c. After having examined a number of religious beliefs and ideas, I now know what's best for me and I have adopted definite religious views.
 - d. I am now looking closely and seriously at different religious beliefs and ideas so that I can decide where I stand.
 - e. I haven't resolved anything about religions, but what will happen will happen.
19. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. My religious beliefs are those I grew up with and I find they satisfy my needs.
 - b. After carefully analyzing different religious ideas, I have adopted those that I believe are right for me.
 - c. I haven't made any decisions regarding religious beliefs, but someday I plan to look at what's around on this subject.
 - d. So far as religion goes, I can take it or leave it, because whatever will be will be.
 - e. Right now, I'm closely examining different religious ideas so that I can decide which ones are appropriate for me.
20. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. The religion I was raised in provides a good basis for me, and a sense of roots, and I find it very satisfying.
 - b. I have explored various religious ideas, have made choices, and I'm happy with the ones I've chosen.
 - c. I can't see getting involved in religion, because I think religion tends to take its own direction.
 - d. My religious beliefs are rather indefinite, but someday I'll firm them up.
 - e. I am now seriously evaluating religious ideas to determine their meaning for me, because I think some resolution is important to my life.
21. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.

- a. I'm giving serious thought to forming my religious beliefs and I'm digging in trying to get answers to questions that keep coming up in my mind.
 - b. I haven't had a chance to really think about religious beliefs, but someday I'll probably get into this subject.
 - c. Religion is something that tends to come to you, so I don't think about it.
 - d. The religion I grew up with meets my needs and I see no reason to question it.
 - e. I've thoroughly examined different religious beliefs, I know what is right for me, and I have definitely selected these beliefs.
22. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I haven't got any particular religious position as yet because I haven't given much thought to this subject, but I'm going to.
 - b. Right now, I'm carefully examining several religious issues and ideas before deciding on the beliefs I will hold.
 - c. I'm comfortable with the religious views I was raised with, and I feel I don't have to explore others.
 - d. I thoroughly explored various religious views and ideas before adopting the religious beliefs I now hold.
 - e. I think religious beliefs eventually fall into place, so I don't pay any attention to these things.
23. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. After checking into various religious beliefs, I now have a clear picture of what is right for me and I have adopted these views.
 - b. Someday I want to look into the different religious ideas that are around, because nothing's firm in my mind yet.
 - c. I'm working on developing my religious beliefs, and I'm giving serious thought to a number of ideas, before I make any decisions.
 - d. I haven't deviated from the religious beliefs I was raised with, because they give me much moral support.

- e. I don't have any definite religious beliefs, but I don't really think it make much difference what one believes.
24. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I'm serious investigating several religious ideas and orientations so that I can clarify my thoughts and make up my own mind on the subject.
 - b. After examining different religious ideas, I have selected those views that I agree with.
 - c. Religious beliefs aren't something I've paid much attention to, because I think religion simply happens, or it doesn't.
 - d. I agree with the religious beliefs I was raised with, and they provide a sense of security to my life.
 - e. I haven't decided on any particular religious beliefs as yet, and I've hardly looked around at what's available on the subject, but I plan to sometime.
25. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. There's not much you can do about politics, so I don't think about these things and I don't concern myself with them.
 - b. I was raised in the political beliefs I now hold and I firmly believe in these ideas.
 - c. Right now, I'm closely examining different political issues, so I can decide on which ones I will adopt.
 - d. I don't have any particular views on politics, and I don't really want to get involved in political activities or ideas right now.
 - e. I've spent a lot of time examining political questions and I know what's best for me and I have definite political views.
26. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I've always agreed with the political beliefs I grew up with, because these ideas suit me and I'm comfortable with them.
 - b. I don't know much about different politics, because I haven't had time to get into this, but I probably will, when I get time.

- c. After a great deal of thought and observation, I have formed the political beliefs I now hold.
 - d. I'm studying the different political ideas I hear and read about, because I'm trying to firm up my ideas and thoughts on politics.
 - e. I don't pay any attention to what I hear about politics, because I think these things are out of my control anyway.
27. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I don't have any kind of political views right now, because I've hardly looked into this area, but probably someday I will.
 - b. I have investigated different political ideas, and I have made my selections, so now I have a definite political viewpoint.
 - c. I think political views tend to take their own direction, so I say why take time thinking about them.
 - d. Several political views seem to me to have some merit, so now I'm analyzing them and trying to decide which ones I agree with.
 - e. The political orientation I grew up with suits me and I am satisfied with it.
28. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. My political ideas have the same focus as those I was raised with, so I've had no need to change them.
 - b. I'm pretty much undecided about my political beliefs, because I haven't focused my attention on this subject, but I will.
 - c. I'm looking closely at different political ideas and have eliminated some, so that I can more easily focus on making the right choice for myself.
 - d. After examining what was involved in various political views, I have focused on the political beliefs I'm in agreement with.
 - e. Whatever is going to happen will happen, so why spend a lot of time focusing on political beliefs.
29. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.

- a. I've done some reading in the political literature--newspapers, books, etc.,--and examining the thoughts presented helped me form the views I now have.
 - b. I'm too much involved in other things to have any definite political ideas, but someday I'll look into this.
 - c. I guess my political ideas stem from my home and family and I find I'm comfortable with these beliefs and they suit me.
 - d. I think deciding on political ideas by flipping a coin is as good as anything else, because politics are like a weathervane--they go as the wind blows.
 - e. I'm seriously trying to develop my own views regarding political questions, rather than just reacting against others, so I'm scrutinizing various political issues now.
30. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I haven't formulated any political ideas, but one of these days I'll probably look into this.
 - b. Before adopting the political views I now hold, I've spent a lot of time investigating different political issues and ideas.
 - c. In my life, politics are neither here nor there, because it doesn't make much difference what you think, so it's not worth the effort.
 - d. I've narrowed the field on my political choice, but I'm still exploring a few ideas before I decide which ones I'll adopt.
 - e. Getting my political views together hasn't been a problem for me, since they are the political beliefs I was raised with.
31. Select ONE statement MOST LIKE YOU.
- a. I'm getting close to developing a political philosophy, but there are a few more ideas I'm weighing before I make an adoption.
 - b. I can't see giving much thought to political beliefs because politics are like a game of chance which doesn't seem worth the effort.

- c. I have checked into different political ideas and beliefs, and now I have a clear picture of my political orientation.
- d. My political orientation is the one I was raised with, so I haven't had to spend time exploring this area.
- e. Politics are a complicated area; my knowledge of the subject is limited, so I don't want to make any decisions about political views right now.

PLEASE ENSURE THAT AT THIS POINT YOU HAVE ANSWERED 31 QUESTIONS

MILLER SCALE

These questions refer to your relationship with the person you would consider to be your closest same-sex friend. Also remember that the closest same-sex friend is not to be a brother or a sister.

Please read each statement and choose the one that best tells how true the statement is for you now. Please answer each question by blackening the appropriate space on the I.B.M. sheet provided.

- A. Very rarely/Very little
 - B. Rarely/A little
 - C. Some of the time/Somewhat
 - D. A lot of the time/A lot
 - E. Almost always/A great deal
- 32. When you have leisure time how often do you choose to spend it with him/her alone?
 - 33. How often do you keep very personal information to yourself and do not share it with him/her?
 - 34. How often do you show him/her affection?
 - 35. How often do you confide very personal information to him/her?
 - 36. How often are you able to understand his/her feelings?
 - 37. How often do you feel close to him/her?
 - 38. How much do you like to spend time alone with him/her?
 - 39. How much do you feel like being encouraging and supportive to him/her when he/she is unhappy?
 - 40. How close do you feel to him/her most of the time?

41. How important is it to you to listen to his/her very personal disclosures?
42. How satisfying is your relationship with him/her?
43. How affectionate do you feel towards him/her?
44. How important is it to you that he/she understand your feelings?
45. How much damage is caused by a typical disagreement in your relationship with him/her?
46. How important is it to you that he/she be encouraging and supportive to you when you are unhappy?
47. How important is it to you that he/she show you affection?
48. How important is your relationship with him/her in your life?

PLEASE ENSURE THAT AT THIS POINT YOU HAVE ANSWERED 48 QUESTIONS.

MILLER SCALE

These questions refer to your relationship with the person you would consider to be your closest opposite-sex friend. Also remember that the closest opposite-sex friend is not to be a brother or a sister.

Please read each statement and choose the one that best tells how true the statement is for you now. Please answer each question by blackening the appropriate space on the I.B.M. sheet provided.

- A. Very rarely/Very little
 - B. Rarely/A little
 - C. Some of the time/Somewhat
 - D. A lot of the time/A lot
 - E. Almost always/A great deal
49. When you have leisure time how often do you choose to spend it with him/her alone?
 50. How often do you keep very personal information to yourself and do not share it with him/her?
 51. How often do you show him/her affection?
 52. How often do you confide very personal information to him/her?
 53. How often are you able to understand his/her feelings?

54. How often do you feel close to him/her?
55. How much do you like to spend time alone with him/her?
56. How much do you feel like being encouraging and supportive to him/her when he/she is unhappy?
57. How close do you feel to him/her most of the time?
58. How important is it to you to listen to his/her very personal disclosures?
59. How satisfying is your relationship with him/her?
60. How affectionate do you feel towards him/her?
61. How important is it to you that he/she understand your feelings?
62. How much damage is caused by a typical disagreement in your relationship with him/her?
63. How important is it to you that he/she be encouraging and supportive to you when you are unhappy?
64. How important is it to you that he/she show you affection?
65. How important is your relationship with him/her in your life?

PLEASE ENSURE THAT AT THIS POINT YOU HAVE ANSWERED 65 QUESTIONS.

Please read each statement and choose the one that tells how true the statement is for you now. For those questions which ask about your thoughts concerning your religious beliefs and practices, answer by using what you consider to be the religious orientation of your life.

For the following questions (#66-70), use this set of answers:

- a. Not a religious person.
 - b. Interested in a variety of religions, but not committed to any particular one.
 - c. Belong(s) to a specific religion, but not deeply committed.
 - d. Deeply committed to a religion, or philosophy of life, other than Christianity (e.g., Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, New Age).
 - e. Deeply committed to Christianity.
66. How religious are you?
 67. How religious is your father?

68. How religious is your mother?
69. How religious is your closest opposite-sex friend?
70. How religious is your closest same-sex friend?

For the following questions (#71-75), use this set of answers:

- a. Almost never
 - b. Only on major festivals (e.g., Christmas, Hannukah, Ramadan)
 - c. Once or twice a month
 - d. Almost weekly
 - e. At least once a week
71. How frequently do you attend religious services?
 72. How frequently does your father attend religious services?
 73. How frequently does your mother attend religious services?
 74. How frequently does your closest opposite-sex friend attend religious services?
 75. How frequently does your closest same-sex friend attend religious services?

For the following questions (#76-82), use this set of answers:

- a. (Almost) never
 - b. Only on major festivals (e.g., Christmas, Hannukah, Ramadan)
 - c. Once or twice a month
 - d. Almost weekly
 - e. (Almost) daily
- In the home situation...
76. How frequently does your father pray and read religious scriptures at home?
 77. How frequently does your mother pray and read religious scriptures at home?
 78. How frequently does your closest opposite-sex friend pray and read religious scriptures at home?
 79. How frequently does your closest same-sex friend pray and read religious scriptures at home?
 80. How often does your father participate in family devotions at home?
 81. How often does your mother participate in family devotions at home?

82. How often do you participate in family devotions at home?

For the following questions (#83-105), use this set of answers:

- a. Strongly disagree
 - b. Disagree
 - c. Uncertain
 - d. Agree
 - e. Strongly agree
83. Religion gives people good and tenable morals.
84. Religion furthers bigoted morals that do not reach far in the modern world.
85. Religion gives people safety in life and confidence in eternity.
86. Religion gives people false consolation and discourages people from social and political involvement.
87. Religion helps people to find and accept themselves.
88. Religion deprives people of their capacity of realizing themselves.
89. Religion gives personal contact with God and thus with people around.
90. Religion draws people's interest from other people's needs to their own salvation.
91. Religion gives people a strong political engagement.
92. Religion takes people away from social and political affairs.
93. I think that God is interested in all aspects of my life (e.g., school, family, friendships, entertainment).
94. It doesn't matter so much what I believe as long as I am a good person whom others respect.
95. When I make an important decision I should think about what God wants me to do.
96. In my daily life I sometimes feel that God is near me.
97. Although I go to church and religion classes, I do not let my religion tell me what I should do at home, in school, or when I am with my friends.
98. Although I believe in my religion, I feel that having good friends and getting along with my parents are more important.

99. I participate in church activities mostly, because I need comfort and help when I find life difficult.
100. I sometimes do not do what I want to do because such action would go against my religion.
101. Belonging to my church helps me to lead a happy life.
102. I want to become the person God is calling me to be.
103. I try hard to follow God's will when making decisions within my family, in school, or with my friends.
104. I participate in church activities in order to please my parents.
105. My relationship with God influences what I think about the life I lead.

PLEASE ENSURE THAT AT THIS POINT YOU HAVE ANSWERED 105 QUESTIONS.