NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.
DIFFERENCES IN IDENTITY STATUS AND PERCEIVED SOCIAL SUPPORT
IN HOMOSEXUAL AND HETEROSEXUAL MALES

by

Gary Saulnier
B.A. (Honours), York University, 1986

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
Psychology

© Gary Saulnier 1990
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
March, 1990

All rights reserved. This work may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.
The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

Name: Gary Vincent Saulnier
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Differences in Identity Status and Perceived Social Support in Homosexual and Heterosexual Males
Examinign Committee:
Chair: Dr. Hal Weinberg, Ph.D.

Dr. James Marcia, Ph.D.
Senior Supervisor

Dr. Andrea Kowaz, Ph.D.

Dr. Geoffrey Carr, Ph.D.

Mr. Svend Robinson

Dr. Thomas Mallinson, Ph.D.
External Examiner
Department of Communication
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C.

Date Approved: Mar 20/90
PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Differences in Identity Status and Perceived Social Support in Homosexual and Heterosexual Males

Author:

(Gary Vincent Saulnier)

(April 19, 1980)

(date)
ABSTRACT

Many studies have employed Marcia's Identity Status paradigm to investigate the relationship of Identity resolution to various developmental factors. Identity resolution in homosexual males has been related theoretically to the presence of social support, which, due to social prejudice, may be less available to homosexual (HM) than to heterosexual (HT) individuals. However, neither the relationship between perceived social support and Identity development, nor that between HM orientation and Identity development has been adequately investigated. The present study explored these relationships.

This study investigated three hypotheses derived from Erikson's theory as they apply to Identity formation in males, viz: (1) In comparison to young HT males, young HM males perceive less social support; (2) there is a positive relationship between perceived social support and level of Identity resolution; (3) In comparison to HT males as a group, HM males as a group experience a delay in movement toward Identity Achievement.

Twenty-nine HT males and thirty-five HM males between 20 and 26 years of age completed questionnaires which included measures of Identity Status and of perceived social support. HM and HT groups were selected in equivalent ways and included both students and nonstudents. Most HM participants were also interviewed in order to gather further information.
T-test analyses showed that the HM group perceived significantly less social support than the HT group. Analyses of variance revealed that this difference was solely in the area of family, but not friend, support. Further analyses of variance revealed that there were no differences among Identity Statuses in amount of family support; however, there were differences among the Identity Statuses in amount of friend support. Achievement status men perceived greater friend support, as predicted. A difference in patterns of Status to Support for the two groups was discussed.

Finally, chi-square analyses revealed that the two groups did not differ in percentages of individuals in the three outcome statuses, Achievement, Foreclosure, and Diffusion. Thus, delay in Identity Achievement for homosexual individuals was not supported. Differences were found, however, between groups, in numbers of Moratoriums and Low Profile Moratoriums (process status and default process status). Implications of these results were discussed.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor James Marcia of the Department of Psychology, Simon Fraser University. I wish to express my appreciation to him for his advice, warm encouragement, and patience.

I also wish to express appreciation to Dr. Geoffrey Carr for his support and suggestions. Special thanks to Dr. Andrea Kowaz, and to the members of the research committee who reviewed my work during its final stages; my gratitude also to Dr. William Krane, and to colleagues John Dorward and Dan Legoff, who contributed statistical advice.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Svend Robinson for agreeing to be part of my examining committee and also for the inspiration he has provided to those working to combat stigmatization of homosexual individuals. Thanks also to Dr. Thomas Mallinson, my external examiner.

I would like to thank members of the Gay and Lesbian Centre of Vancouver for their support and for providing me with space to carry out interviews. Many thanks also to the young men who participated in the study, and to the organizations which provided access to subjects.

Finally, I would like to thank my friend Simon Hearn, who provided continuous help and support, and my partner, Brad Gough, who patiently encouraged me in the carrying out and completion of this task.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- **APPROVAL** .................................................. ii
- **ABSTRACT** ................................................... iii
- **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** ........................................ v
- **LIST OF TABLES** ................................................ ix

## A. INTRODUCTION .................................................. 1

## B. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ................................. 7

- **Erikson's Theory of Ego Identity Development** ........ 7
- **Operationalizations of Erikson's theory** ................ 11
- **Validation of the Identity Construct** ..................... 18
- **Family Characteristics of the Statuses** ................. 19
- **Male-Female Differences in Identity Processes** ....... 21
- **Sex Role Orientation and Identity** ....................... 22
- **Homosexual Issues** ......................................... 25
  - Issues in the definition of homosexuality. .............. 25
  - Homophobia, pathologization and stigmatization. .... 28
  - Psychological differences in homosexual and heterosexual samples. 31
  - Family dynamics of adolescent HM males. ............ 34
  - Homosexual identity. ..................................... 37
- **Rationale and Hypotheses of the Study** .................. 40

## C. METHOD .......................................................... 45

- **Subjects** ....................................................... 45
- **Measures** ....................................................... 46
  - Identity Status questionnaire ................................ 46
  - Social support questionnaire ................................ 48
  - Socioeconomic status index ................................ 49
Appendix D: Provision of Social Relations ...............116
Appendix E: Assessment of Sexual Orientation .............118
Appendix F: Interview Questions .........................120
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Summary of t Test Comparison of Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups on Age variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Summary of t Test Comparison of Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups on SES variable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Summary of t Test Comparison of Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups on Perceived Social Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Comparison of Means for Perceived Family and Friend Support for HT and HM Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Summary of Analysis of Variance: Perceived Family Support by Sexual Orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Summary of Analysis of Variance: Perceived Friend Support by Sexual Orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Summary of Analysis of Variance and Covariance: Achievement Scores by Sexual Orientation, with Perceived Social Support as Covariate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Summary of Analysis of Variance and Covariance: Moratorium Scores by Sexual Orientation, with Perceived Social Support as Covariate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Correlations between Identity Scores and Overall Perceived Social Support for HT and HM Groups Combined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Correlations between Identity Scores and Overall Perceived Social Support for HT and HM Groups Taken Separately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Correlations between Identity Scores and Perceived Family Support for HT and HM Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Correlations between Identity Scores and Perceived Friend Support for HT and HM Groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Summary of Analysis of Variance: Achievement Status vs Other Statuses Combined by Overall Perceived Social Support for HT and HM Groups Combined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Summary of Analysis of Variance: Achievement Status vs Other Statuses Combined by Overall Perceived Social Support for HT Group</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perceived Friend Support Scores for Subjects of Different Identity Statuses: Means and Standard Deviations ........................................68

Summary of Analysis of Variance: Perceived Friend Support by Identity Status, Homosexual Group ...68

Summary of Analysis of Variance: Perceived Friend Support by Identity Status, Heterosexual Group...69

Chi-Square Analysis of Results of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation ........................................69

Chi-Square Analysis of Results of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation: Moratorium Compared to All Other Identity Statuses Combined ............70

Chi-Square Analysis of Results of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation: Low Profile Moratorium Compared to All Other Identity Statuses Combined ........................................71

Achievement minus Diffusion Scores: Means and Standard Deviations for each Identity Status ..............72

Summary of t Test Comparisons of Identity Statuses on Achievement minus Diffusion Score ...............72
A. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to study the relationship between perceived social support and mode of identity resolution, and in particular, to determine if the stigmatization of homosexual males was associated with lower levels of identity achievement in those individuals. This study involved an investigation of three hypotheses that derive from the psychosocial theory of E. H. Erikson (1959; 1963, 1968) in combination with a wide variety of theoretical formulations on the adaptation of homosexual males to social stigma. The hypotheses to be investigated are: (1) In comparison to young heterosexual males, a matched group of homosexual males perceives less social support. (2) There is a positive relationship between level of identity resolution and perceived social support. (3) In comparison to heterosexual males as a group, homosexual males as a group experience a delay in movement to the optimal stage of ego identity resolution.

Apart from investigating the above hypotheses, an additional purpose of the present research was to gain some understanding of the processes involved in the formation of a personal identity. Consequently, this was a two faceted study: (1) empirical, using standardized measures to gather data and applying statistical analyses to these data; and (2) descriptive, using an interview format to gather
information in order to help to explain the statistical findings and to suggest areas for further research.

Erikson (1959) delineated a complex description of Identity but did not attempt to operationalize this construct in such a way as to foster empirical study, since he believed that Identity could not be measured in this way. In Erikson's formulation, each person comes to hold elements of both Identity and its polar opposite, role confusion; those who are most successful in resolving the Identity stage of development manifest a high degree of Identity and a low degree of role confusion. Marcia (1964, 1966) developed the Identity Status paradigm to empirically investigate Erikson's theoretical notions about Identity formation, suggesting four measurable ways of resolving this stage. (Note that the term "Identity" will be capitalized throughout this document when explicitly referring to the psychosocial construct defined by Erikson and operationalized by Marcia.) A questionnaire based on Marcia's operational definition of Identity was used in this study to classify individuals according to their manner of dealing with the Identity crisis.

In the twenty-five years since Marcia developed the Identity Status paradigm, approximately 200 studies based on this construct have been completed. From 1973 to 1985, over 700 empirical studies and theoretical analyses dealing with
homosexuality had been published. To date there appears to be only one small study, with six subjects, which has used Marcia's paradigm to investigate Identity development in homosexual individuals (Sohier, 1985). Considering the fact that positive Identity resolution and positive homosexual adjustment have both been theoretically associated with perceived social support, it is even more surprising that this latter construct has very rarely been systematically investigated in connection with either of the other two. In this study a questionnaire, in which good estimates of reliability and validity have been established, will be used to examine the degree of perceived family and friend support.

Erikson (1963, 1968, 1970) has made many references to the positive relationship between perceived social support and the development of ego qualities. He has maintained that the individual searches for a place of his or her own in society, where he or she can find self-expression as well as a meaningful part in society. Commitment to values and ideals in the context of a social network constitutes a major part of the Ego Identity. Merrill (1980) has provided some validation for this hypothesized relationship in the case of women; she found that women with high levels of commitment in ideological and interpersonal areas scored higher on perceived support from others than women with low
levels of commitment in these areas. Similarly, in much of the literature on homosexuality, perceived lack of social support was stated as the major source of delayed ego development in homosexual individuals (Cass, 1979; Colgan, 1987; Johnson, 1985; Lee, 1977; Minton & McDonald, 1984; Troiden & Goode, 1980). All of the latter proposed that affiliation with other homosexual individuals, who provide the missing support, is essential to resolution of identity issues in these individuals.

Troiden and Goode's (1980) study, in which homosexual males were compared according to age cohort, showed that the liberalization of societal attitudes had a profound effect on these homosexual individuals, such that age of self-disclosure, age of affiliation with other members of the gay community, and age of first love relationship were steadily and significantly decreasing. Ross (1989) compared young and older homosexual males in four cultures and found that older individuals were better adjusted, and that differences on indices of adjustment between young and older homosexual men decreased as social stigmatization decreased.

Despite signs of decreasing stigmatization, social psychology research has amply demonstrated the difficulty of developing a positive self-image in an atmosphere of prejudice (e.g., Paul, 1982). These young people have few role models to follow in exploring avenues for expression of
their sexual orientation. Other stigmatized minorities generally have at least their parents as models. Ross (1989) reported that in 20 percent of homosexual adolescents, internalized self-hatred leads to attempts at suicide. Homosexual adolescents are prey to damaging myths with little or no access to information with which to counter such beliefs. Moreover, heterosexual adolescents are encouraged to explore their sexuality in socially approved ways whereas homosexual adolescents generally feel obliged to keep their homoerotic feelings hidden from family and peers at least until they are out of high school. With 10 percent of the population estimated to be exclusively or predominantly homosexual (Isay, 1989), it would seem valuable to investigate personality variables as they relate to the paucity of social support this group receives during a vital developmental period in their lives.

This study, unfortunately, does not meet the above ideal in that it does not investigate individuals who are in the age group associated with early or middle adolescence. It was assumed that social disapproval would make it very difficult to obtain accurate disclosure of a homosexual orientation in high school students. The strategy chosen for this study was to investigate males between ages 20 to 26, a time period by which the initial identity might be expected to be developed and which is relatively stable in
terms of change in Identity status in the general population (Adams, Bennion, and Huh, 1987; Meilman, 1977; Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser, 1973). By this time, homosexual individuals would be expected to have developed more of a support system for themselves, but that would make any remaining differences found in the two groups in perceived social support all the more compelling.
Erikson's Theory of Ego Identity Development

E. H. Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) has been a very influential writer on Identity in the latter half of the 20th century. His ideas regarding Ego Identity evolved out of ego psychoanalytic theory and his own psychosocial theory of personality development. Based on the notion that the ego organizes a coherent personality with a sameness and continuity that may be perceived by others, Erikson (1968) wrote:

Ego Identity then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the style of one's individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community (p. 50 [italics in original]).

Erikson's (1963) concept of Ego Identity development fits into his larger concept of eight successive psychosocial stages which span the period from birth to old age. This concept emphasizes the mutual relationship between the developing individual and society. Each of the eight stages is associated with a specific task or crisis, and these normally arise within a particular age period. According to Erikson, the development of these stages
depends upon social interactions in which demands are placed upon the individual and his attempt to react appropriately to these demands precipitates a crisis. The crisis, defined as a turning point rather than a catastrophe, is whether the ego will prove strong enough "to integrate the timetable of the organism with the structure of social institutions" (Erikson, 1963, p. 246). In the case of the Identity crisis, the tasks involve a re-evaluation of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours adopted during childhood, primarily from one's parents or primary caregivers. If these tasks are not adequately accomplished during the late teenage years, then the individual emerges from the crisis in role confusion.

Marcia (1987) asserted that Ego Identity is "the most important single concept, and the only truly structural one, in Erikson's (1959) theory of psychosocial development" (p. 211). It has been regarded by Erikson (1963, 1968) as central to the life cycle.

The pattern of human development outlined by Erikson is referred to by him as an epigenetic sequence, by which he meant that "anything that grows has a ground plan and...out of this ground plan the parts arise, each having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have risen to form a functioning whole (1959, p. 52 [italics in original]).
To illustrate the successive stages of growth in the personality, Erikson uses an epigenetic diagram (Figure 1). The squares, along an ascending diagonal, indicate the various stages and the order in which they come into being. They depict both the ideal attitudinal outcome of each stage and its polar opposite when the tasks of that stage are failed. This should not be taken to mean that individuals emerge from each crisis in one of two diametrically opposed conditions; in Erikson's view, no stage is ever resolved in a wholly positive or negative fashion. It is when the ratio of positive to negative is higher in favor of the positive that the crisis is said to be resolved positively. (Erikson, 1968)

Identity vs. Role Confusion is the fifth of these psychosocial stages. A positive resolution of this stage results in what Erikson terms the virtue of fidelity, "the ability to sustain loyalties freely pledged in spite of the inevitable contradictions of value systems" (1964, p. 125). Unsuccessful resolution results in a sense of uncertainty.

According to Erikson, each stage is systematically related to all other stages. The resolution of any stage is influenced by the outcome of prior stages and contributes to the manner of resolution of succeeding stages (Erikson, 1959). Moreover, issues involved in any specific stage are present at every other stage both previous to and subsequent
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Conflict 1</th>
<th>Conflict 2</th>
<th>Conflict 3</th>
<th>Conflict 4</th>
<th>Conflict 5</th>
<th>Conflict 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Oral Sensory</td>
<td>Basic Trust vs. Mistrust</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Muscular-Genital</td>
<td>Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Locomotor-Genital</td>
<td>Initiative vs. Guilt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV Latency</td>
<td>Industry vs. Inferiority</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Puberty and Adolescence</td>
<td>Identity vs. Role Confusion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI Young Adulthood</td>
<td>Intimacy vs. Isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Adulthood</td>
<td>Generativity vs. Stagnation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Maturity</td>
<td>Ego Integrity vs. Despair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 1 - Epigenetic Diagram
to the stage-specific crisis. A more advanced stage can not be positively resolved until the major issues of all previous stages are resolved in a predominantly positive fashion; however, resolution of issues specific to one stage may occur during a later stage. In his incorporation of familial and social structures as sources of ego strength, Erikson went beyond the strictly intrapsychic aspects of ego development accentuated in psychoanalytic theory. His concept of ego, and specifically, of Ego Identity, is essentially a psychosocial one. The social context in which one finds oneself during the Identity stage of development, indeed during any stage of development, is extremely relevant to the process and outcome of that stage. Summarizing Erikson's view, Enright, et al. (1984) stated, "Understanding the self in relation to other people, groups, and society is the essence of identity" (p. 120).

**Operationalizations of Erikson's Theory.**

Although Erikson himself refused to operationalize his theory, others have chosen to do so. At present, the most widely accepted operationalization is that provided by Marcia (1964, 1966). Drawing on two of the major dimensions of Erikson's theory of Identity development, Marcia has conceptualized four types of Identity formation. These two dimensions involve the presence or absence of a crisis or exploration period, and the presence or absence of a clearly
defined and stable commitment to values, beliefs, and standards.

The four Identity statuses conceptualized by Marcia are as follows:

1. Identity Diffusion. This refers to individuals who do not experience a need to explore life alternatives and fail to establish interpersonal or ideological commitments, whether or not they may have experienced a decision-making period in the past.

2. Identity Foreclosure. These individuals have acquired commitments from others (usually parents) and have not tested their stated commitments for individual fit. They merely have adopted the commitments of others and made them their own without shaping or modifying them, and they show little or no evidence of "crisis".

3. Moratorium. This category includes those who are currently experiencing an Identity crisis and are exploring, but have not yet arrived at their own self-defined commitments or hold them only vaguely.

4. Identity Achievement. This refers to those who have experienced a psychosocial moratorium and have made substantial exploration prior to identifying personal and unique ideological commitments.

Although Marcia has found it convenient to investigate Identity resolution in terms of the four statuses, he and
others have at times collapsed these categories back down to Erikson's two dimensions. The two committed statuses are Achievement and Foreclosure, while the uncommitted are Moratorium and Diffusion. The two involving crisis are Achievement and Moratorium, often referred to as the higher Identity statuses, and the two lacking crisis or exploration are Foreclosure and Diffusion, often referred to as the lower Identity statuses.

The procedure developed by Marcia for determining Identity status is a semi-structured clinical interview (the Ego Identity Status Interview [ISI]) which is interpreted by way of a scoring manual. It requires about one hour to complete the interview plus another hour to listen to the taped interview and to score it. A portion of all interviews is independently scored by a separate rater. The commonly obtained interscorer reliability for this instrument is about 80%. Nearly 25 years of research using Marcia's paradigm has established construct validity for the identity statuses. Most of the research has consisted of studies dealing with personality characteristics and psychosocial developmental implications of the different Identity statuses. There have been several extensive reviews of this research (Bourne, 1978a,b; Marcia, 1980; Marcia, Waterman, and Matteson, in preparation; Matteson, 1975; and Waterman, 1982). Marcia's original interview
investigated only the areas of occupation, religion, and politics, but several revisions and extensions over the years (Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Matteson, 1975; Grotevant and Cooper, 1981; and Grotevant, Thorbecke, and Meyer, 1982) have added three more domains, viz. friendship, dating, and sex roles. A person's Identity status is obtained from this interview by ascertaining his or her exploration of and commitment to the above named value domains. The Identity domains were selected on the basis that they represent issues which are personally relevant for most people as well as being issues upon which a variety of views may be held.

Several other measures of Ego Identity have been developed over the years including: the Identity Achievement Scale (IAS; Simmons, 1970); the Ego Identity Scale (EIS; Tan, et al., 1977); the Groningen Identity Development Scale (GIDS; Bosma, 1985); the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OMEIS; Adams, Shea, and Fitch, 1979); and the Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-1, EOMEIS-2; Bennion and Adams, 1986). The IAS and EIS are questionnaires which do not differentiate among the four statuses but give only continuous scores on identity. The GIDS consists of a combined questionnaire and interview and involves a more time-consuming procedure than
Marcia's ISI. The EOMEIS-2 is a 64 item questionnaire which measures Marcia's four Identity statuses.

The EOMEIS-2 was chosen for this study. While Marcia's measure requires a large amount of time, both to administer and to score, and always involves an independent rater for at least a portion of the sample, the EOMEIS-2 can be administered and scored quickly and objectively. It shows moderate to high agreement in status classification with the Marcia Interview. Reviews of studies done to establish concurrent validity are cited in Bennion and Adams (1986).

A problem with the EOMEIS-2 is that the questions are geared exclusively to a heterosexual population. In order to use it in this study, certain changes had to be made to the format of some of these questions in order to make the measure equally valid for both homosexual (HM) and heterosexual (HT) individuals.

Apart from the advantages of the EOMEIS-2 named above, this instrument also yields, for each individual, a score on each of the four Identity statuses scales. This provides an Identity status profile as well as an overall status classification.

Even given the acceptable agreement levels between the EOMEIS-2 and the ISI, it is important to note that no exact correspondence exists. According to Adams, Bennion and Huh (1987), it is not certain whether one method is more precise.
than the other or if they each measure slightly different aspects of Ego Identity. The main limitation of the EOMEIS-2 is that it does not appear to differentiate as well as Marcia's interview between Diffusion and Moratorium. Marcia has expressed the view that "The interview, because it permits the experimenter to probe into questionable responses, possesses more flexibility, and, hence, perhaps, more validity than questionnaire methods in which subjects have no chance to explain themselves" (1989, p. 7).

Notwithstanding Marcia's valuable criticisms, the EOMEIS-2 was chosen for this study for the following reasons. First, it was deemed valuable to obtain status profiles rather than merely overall statuses for purposes of comparing two groups. Second, time constraints were a major factor for this study. Third, most of the HM individuals in the study were also given a fairly comprehensive semi-structured interview which included personal data directly relevant to the Identity formation process. This addresses Marcia's concern with understanding the Identity process; the additional interview enabled this researcher to fit numerical data to human stories of struggle and modes of resolution.

It is important to mention here that Erikson expressed strong ambivalence about the notion of investigating Identity in any way other than through the long process of
psychoanalysis. His sentiments were that "Identity and Identity crisis have in popular and scientific usage become terms which alternately circumscribe something so large and seemingly self-evident that to demand a definition would almost seem petty, while at other times they designate something made so narrow for purposes of measurement that the over-all meaning is lost, and it could just as well be called something else" (Erikson, 1968, p.15).

Craig-Bray and Adams (1986), in recognition of Erikson's misgivings, acknowledged, in reference to the EOMEIS and ISI, that "neither of the techniques of assessment are ideal comprehensive measures of the complexity of Ego Identity" (p. 203). However, considering the robustness of Marcia's paradigm and measures based upon it, in terms of having provided good predictive validity for personality correlates and social behaviours, they argued for continued efforts to improve measurement rather than abandoning the attempt.

Cote and Levine (1988) have argued that Marcia's paradigm strays too far from Erikson's Identity construct and that it suffers from "construct underrepresentation" (p. 173). Marcia (1980, 1989) has acknowledged the limitations of his paradigm and measures based on it in terms of fully representing Erikson's complex concept of Identity, but has maintained the necessity for defining essential elements of
the construct in such a way as to make empirical research into the Identity process possible. A fairly lengthy analysis of communalities and differences between the Identity Status paradigm and Erikson’s theory was presented by Waterman (1988); he persuasively defended Marcia’s paradigm and showed that there is ample justification for the claim that it is firmly based on theoretical foundations provided by Erikson.

Validation of the Identity Construct and the Identity Status Paradigm

Much of the research on Identity and Identity status has focused on establishing validity for these constructs. These studies have yielded a number of personality, interactional, and developmental characteristics which correlate with the different modes of Identity resolution. Some of the variables that have been found to be related to the Identity statuses are: anxiety, authoritarianism, self-esteem, autonomy, impulsivity, cognitive complexity, cultural sophistication, drug use, cooperation, competition, level of object relatedness, closeness to parents, degree of interaction with parents, and degree of parental control. While these research findings establish a high degree of construct validity for the statuses, there is also individual variability within each status. Several reviews,
including Marcia (1980) and Marcia, Waterman and Matteson (in preparation), have summarized this research.

**Family characteristics of the statuses**

Since the Identity stage of development occurs during adolescence, when most youth are still living at home, an obvious area of investigation was family interactions. It is generally agreed that the best family situation for assisting the Identity formation process is one where the parents foster individuation in a supportive manner. A large number of studies are consistent with this assumption and have brought to light some of the general family characteristics associated with specific styles of Identity resolution (Bary, 1978; Bosma and Gerrits, 1985; Campbell, Adams, and Dobson, 1984; Cooper, Grotevant, and Condin, 1983; Enright, et al., 1980; Grotevant and Cooper, 1985; Jordon, 1971; Kendis and Tan, 1978; and LaVoie, 1976).

In general, father-son interactions were seen to be most important for boys and all family interactions were important for girls. Diffusion individuals were found to be least attached to their families, experiencing their parents as distant and rejecting and difficult to talk to. Foreclosures were very attached, but encouraged to conform to family values rather than individuate. Moratoriums were active in family discussions, but tended to have ambivalent feelings toward their parents, engaging in oedipal, push-
pull battles. Although they did not experience their parents as distant, Schilling (1975) observed that Moratoriums often saw their parents as disappointed in them or disapproving of them. Achievements were also active in family discussions and had parents from whom they could differentiate as well as maintain a rapprochement. Overall, mother factors were seen as most important for connectedness and father factors most important for individuation.

Both connectedness to the family and separation from the family were found to be related to identity development. Cooper and Grotevant (1987) reported that separateness in family interactions led to more exploration for females and that connectedness, especially with the father, led to more exploration for males. Their interpretation of this was that the sexes require different types of key experiences in order to overcome the limitations of traditional gender roles.

Summarizing the findings of several studies, Grotevant and Cooper (1985) stated that "adolescents' level of ego development was associated with patterns of family interaction involving high amounts of sharing of perspectives, and challenges in the context of support" (1985, p. 425).
Male-Female Differences in Identity Processes

Although the present study involved only male subjects, the research on identity comparisons between the sexes has produced results which may be relevant to the current investigation. At least some of the differences found are attributable to differences in societal role expectations for the sexes and to differential support for these roles (Archer, 1985). Marcia (1980) stated "So long as society maintains different expectations according to different genital configurations, one must evaluate identity development with respect to the individual's unique style of coming to terms with those expectations" (p. 179).

As stated earlier, Marcia and others modified instruments for measuring identity so that they would be more accurate in determining the identity style of women as well as men. Marcia stated that the identity status approach works "only more or less, when applied to women" (1980, p. 178). Nevertheless, Bilsker, Schiedel, and Marcia (1988), using the ISL, found no significant differences between men and women in level of overall identity status. However, this same study revealed that the sexual-interpersonal status showed higher concordance with overall identity status for women than did the ideology status, and the results were the reverse for men.
According to Craig-Bray, Adams, and Dobson (1988), Gilligan (1982), Josselson, Greenberger, and McConochie (1977), Marcia, Waterman, and Matteson (in preparation), and others, Identity and Intimacy are probably merged for girls. Josselson, et al. also stated that female development is quieter and subtler than for males. Archer (1985) has suggested that women have a more complex identity to establish than men. This may be increasingly true as societal expectations for women continue to change. Marcia, et al. (in preparation) pointed out that in early studies, Achievement and Foreclosure women scored similarly on dependent variables, as did Moratorium and Diffusion women. He attributed this primarily to the fact that Foreclosure used to be a socially adaptive status for women. More recent studies have shown high Identity versus low Identity correlations similar to the results for men, again presumably because choice and struggle are now becoming more adaptive than Foreclosure for women.

**Sex Role Orientation and Identity**

Bem (1974) found that, independent of gender, individuals can be either primarily masculine, feminine, androgynous, or undifferentiated in their subscription to sex role attitudes. Characteristics labelled as masculine include autonomy, independence, and assertiveness. Some of those labelled as feminine are understanding, warmth, and
tenderness. Androgynous individuals are those high in both sets of attributes, while undifferentiated persons are low in both. Several Identity researchers have investigated the relationship between sex role orientation and Identity in both men and women and have obtained interesting and replicable results.

Early studies (Deldin, 1977; Orloffsky, 1977) showed that masculinity and androgyny were related to Identity Achievement in both college men and college women. Undifferentiated individuals were most often diffuse in Identity. Schiedel and Marcia (1985) replicated and extended these findings; they observed that masculinity was especially important for Identity development in women and that femininity was especially important for Intimacy development in men. Their androgynous subjects tended to be high in both Identity and Intimacy. A study by Crown (1985) supported all of these findings except for the femininity-Intimacy relationship.

Waterman and Whitbourne (1982) found that masculine sex-typed individuals scored highest on all of the psychosocial stages but Intimacy, where femininity was more important. When the Intimacy stage was included, androgynous individuals were found to be highest in overall psychosocial development, with masculine sex-typed persons next highest. They too found that masculinity was important
for Identity and femininity for Intimacy. Della Selva and Dusek (1984) reported that androgynous subjects had higher Identity scores than those with other sex role orientations. They concluded that, in terms of Identity development and overall adjustment, it is best to be androgynous, but that it is better to be sex-typed than undifferentiated. These findings confirmed the results of Fannin's (1979) earlier study, and were replicated by Grotevant and Thorbecke (1982) and Tzuriel (1984).

Although not specifically studying Identity, Orlofsky and O'Heron (1987) contributed to the above findings in their observation that masculine traits related most strongly to adjustment on a variety of indices. Feminine traits also related to adjustment and surpassed masculine traits on the expressive sociability and self-esteem components. Masculine interests and behaviour related to all adjustment indices, accounting for more variance than feminine interests and behaviours on all but congeniality/sociability. Undifferentiated individuals were most often low in self-esteem. Androgynous individuals were high on all adjustment measures. Feminine sex-typing in men was associated with low adjustment. More specific to the present study, they found that HM individuals had a somewhat greater likelihood of exhibiting less stereotypical sex role characteristics and behaviours, but having atypical sex role
characteristics was not a good predictor of homosexuality. This finding confirmed the results of a study by Carlson and Steuer (1984) in which HM men were more often androgynous than heterosexual men although more heterosexual men were masculine sex-typed. Again, the best predictor of psychological well-being and high self-esteem was self-perceived masculinity, the same predictor in the above-mentioned studies of high Identity. Della Selva and Dusek (1984) attributed this correspondence to the necessity for instrumental (masculine) skills in the positive resolution of the industry stage, the stage immediately preceding Identity. It may also be, as Carlson and Steuer (1984) suggested, that instrumental behaviours are simply valued more highly than feminine expressive behaviours in this society; this would support the notion that adolescent adjustment is correlated to the perception of one's behaviour as something which is valued by society.

Homosexual Issues

Issues in the definition of homosexuality.

Schwanberg (1985) reported that from 1973 until the publication of her article, over 700 articles on homosexuality had appeared in health care literature. One would expect that over that period of time, a consensus would have been reached on a conceptual and operational definition of sexual orientation; however, Coleman (1987)
and Klein, Sepekoff and Wolf (1985) reported that no clear definition existed. Anna Freud (1971) maintained that the criterion for ascertaining sexual preference was the individual’s masturbatory fantasies. Similarly, Isay (1989) defined homosexuality as a predominant erotic attraction to others of the same sex; and stated that it could be determined by examining a person’s sexual fantasies.

Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin (1948) settled for either sexual attraction or behaviour and gave evidence that sexual orientation was not a dichotomous construct; they used an equal interval scale from 0 to 6 to place individuals on a continuum with exclusive heterosexuality on one end and exclusive homosexuality on the other. De Cecco (1981), Klein et al. (1985) and Coleman (1987) have argued that Kinsey’s scale is still very simplistic and does not reflect the dynamic nature of sexual orientation. They chose to look at a combination of many variables: sexual attraction, behaviour, fantasy, social and emotional preference, self-identification, and lifestyle, as well as change over time.

Perhaps one reason for the difficulty in definition is that the structure underlying sexual orientation varies between individuals; Bell and Weinberg (1978) spoke of homosexualities and argued that there are many and diverse forms of homosexuality among men and women. The present study does not attempt to resolve this complex issue; the
criterion used as a basis of discrimination here was subjects' self-identification. Those who identified as predominantly or exclusively HT or HM were accepted and those who identified as being somewhere in the middle range were not included. If indeed HM individuals are not a homogeneous group, it would be expected that any overall differences between HM and HT groups would be difficult to find, other than those differences relating to the effects of social stigmatization, something experienced by all HM persons.

The way in which homosexuality is defined is a major factor in determining the proportion of the population estimated to be homosexual. Some researchers (e.g., Saghir & Robbins, 1973; Bell & Weinberg, 1978; and Masters & Johnson, 1979) have generally grouped bisexual individuals with those who are homosexual. For the most part, statistics from the Kinsey studies (1948) are accepted. In that study, 50% of the males identified as exclusively heterosexual, 4% were exclusively homosexual, and the remaining 46% fell between 1 and 5 on the Kinsey scale. They also reported that 37% of American males had at least some homosexual experiences to the point of orgasm during their adult lives. In regard to adolescents, Deisher (1989) stated that in the USA there were about 30 million young people between 10 and 20 years old, and that 10% of these were felt to be exclusively or
primarily homosexual. It is possible that in certain towns and cities known to provide a more supportive milieu for HM individuals, the percentage of adult HM persons may be somewhat larger due to migration (Tripp, 1975).

**Homophobia, pathologization and stigmatization.**

The term "homophobia" is assumed to originate with George Weinberg (1972) who defined it as a dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals; Hudson and Ricketts (1980) expanded the term to refer to the hostile attitudes of societies toward homosexuals. In much of the literature on homosexuality (e.g. Isay, 1989) it is also used to refer to the frequently internalized rejection of homosexuality by HM individuals themselves. Isay stated that it is not so much homosexuality that is feared and hated as femininity in men, and that "all homosexuals are perceived as 'feminine' simply because they desire to have sex with and love other men" p. 78). Chodorow (1978) gave a psychodynamic explanation for men's contempt of femininity:

Dependence on his mother, attachment to her, and identification with her represent that which is not masculine; a boy must reject dependence and deny attachment and identification... A boy represses those qualities he takes to be feminine inside himself and rejects and devalues women and whatever he considers to be feminine in the social world. (p. 181)
Since it is difficult to logically justify a hatred of femininity, other rationalizations for this highly negative attitude have been espoused over time. Tripp (1975) and others have documented the religious, social and psychological inventions for substantiating this prejudices. Bullough (1976) has identified religion as the greatest source of negative attitudes toward homosexuality in our culture.

Although Freud (1937 letter cited in Jones, 1957) asserted that homosexuality was neither a neurosis nor an illness, many subsequent psychoanalysts, beginning with Rado (1940), came to the conviction that homosexuality was profoundly pathological, representing a phobic response to an overbinding mother. In DSM-I (American Psychiatric Association, 1952), homosexuality was classified as a sociopathic personality disturbance. Bieber (1962) and Socarides (1968) were among the most vocal proponents of this pathological view of homosexuality and fought against its demedicalization. They argued for therapeutic intervention aimed at heterosexual shift, in spite of the fact that they were never able to provide adequate evidence of success in this endeavor (Paul, 1982; Tripp, 1975). Despite strong opposition, social factors both within and without medical practice led to the demedicalization of homosexuality by the American Psychiatric Association in
1973, a position endorsed by the American Psychological Association the following year (Bayer, 1981). The illness view had been strongly criticized as lacking empirical support and serving only to maintain oppression of HM people. The arguments against the illness view did not convince most psychiatrists, however. Cornett and Hudson (1985) reported that 67% of American psychiatrists viewed homosexuality as a psychopathological adaptation; and Isay (1989), a psychoanalyst, asserted that he represented a minority in his profession in the view that homosexuals as a group were no more pathological than heterosexuals. Erikson (1959) was no exception; he viewed homosexuality as a negative Identity and spoke of gay relationships as "mutual narcissistic mirroring". Schwanberg's (1985) examination of a decade of articles on homosexuality in health care literature revealed that most psychologists, on the other hand, took a positive view of homosexuality and believed that individuals who are unhappy with their sexual orientation should be aided in accepting themselves as they are. Tripp (1975), Davison (1976), Ross (1977), Silverstein (1977), Begelman (1977), Freund (1977) and others have attested to the disastrous results of attempts to change individuals' sexual orientation as well as to the power of the psychiatric community to influence social attitudes toward homosexuality. Most psychiatrists saw no connection,
however, between their illness perspective and the justification of social and legal oppression of HM men and women, let alone the helplessness and self-hatred they promoted in HM individuals themselves (Pillard, 1982).

It should be pointed out that less than 40 years ago the word "homosexual" was largely taboo and could not be used on television or radio (Tripp, 1975). Television interviews 20 years ago showed homosexual individuals with bags over their heads to prevent recognition (Lee, 1977). Law reforms in England in 1967, and in America, following the homosexual protest marches after the 1969 riot at the Stonewall Inn, helped many HM individuals to step into the public view. Sadly, with the onset of AIDS, the public was given another means of justifying their condemnation of homosexuality. As late as 1980, 73% of Americans viewed sexual relations between two adults of the same sex as always wrong (Davis & Smith, 1980). It appears that prejudice against homosexuality is a tradition in our culture not easily dispelled, a situation which may well pose additional challenges for adolescent HM persons working to construct a positive identity.

Psychological differences in homosexual and heterosexual samples.

Although it is easy to see how stigmatization might have an effect on the adjustment of HM individuals, one
might argue that if it is indeed a pathological adaptation, that, in itself, might be a significant factor in any differences in Identity resolution found between HT and HM men. After all, individuals suffering from schizophrenia are also stigmatized, but that may not be the greatest of their problems. Bychowski (1945, 1956) and Socarides (1978), in fact, reported that HM psychic structures were very similar to those of paranoid schizophrenia and paranoia. Cornet and Hudson (1985) have challenged these findings, arguing that they used no standardized measures in their analyses, that they were biased in their conceptualization of homosexuality beforehand, and that they had no control group for their ego-dystonic HM patients. Hooker (1957), using projective tests with experimenters who were blind to the sexual orientation of subjects found no overall differences in maladjustment between equal groups of HM and HT men. Studies using standardized measures with good reliability and validity have also resulted in findings that there is no significantly pathological difference between the psychic structures or ego functioning of HT and HM individuals (e.g., Bell and Weinberg, 1978; Kimmel, 1978; Myers, 1980; Saghir and Robins, 1973; Weinberg and Williams, 1975; West, 1977). Once again, it should be mentioned that neither HM males nor HT males are homogeneous as a group; failure to find differences may be related to a failure to
classify subtypes within each group. Using Bem's (1974) Sex-Role Inventory, Carlson and Steuer (1984) found that there were significantly more HM males who were androgynous and significantly fewer who were undifferentiated but also fewer than half as many who were masculine sex-typed than in a group of HT males; HM and HT groups might appear equivalent in overall adjustment, but examination of subgroups would certainly uncover differences. The sex-role configuration of HM groups, at least, is different from that of HT groups, leading one to predict that certain kinds of problems would be more frequently found in one group than the other, despite lack of differences in overall level of pathology.

With regard to nonpathological differences, Friedman and Stern (1980) reported a lack of conformity to conventional male behaviour, including less aggressiveness and less interest in competitive activities, in HM males as a group. Wayson (1985) replicated the finding that HM males as a group were less competitive both interpersonally and physically than HT males as a group. Kinsey (1948) reported that, on the average, HM men have many more different sexual partners in their life-times than do HT men, but that they also have less frequent sexual contacts than do HT men. Isay (1989) suggested several factors which may account for this, including the fact that there are no legal sanctions
such as marriage to bind HM men and the possibility that men are generally more promiscuous than women and will take advantage of that when the partner is not a female. He also reported that the AIDS crisis has changed some of the sexual habits of HM men so that most are now contenting themselves with less variety. In any case both of the differences mentioned here may contribute to differences in Identity scores when the measure used includes examination of exploration and commitment in recreational and dating areas.

**Family dynamics of adolescent HM males.**

Due to the difficulty in labelling and gaining access to homosexual child or adolescent subjects, the bulk of developmental research in this area is retrospective rather than longitudinal. According to Boxer and Cohler (1989), the longitudinal studies which have been done (viz. Green, 1987, and Kagan and Moss, 1962) are too limited and too methodologically flawed to be generalizable to the HM male population. A problem with the retrospective studies, according to Gergen (1982), is that subjects reconstruct those events from childhood and adolescence which help them to maintain a sense of continuity and coherence in relation to their present experience of life. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, it seems profitable to examine some of the data obtained from these studies.
Isay (1989) observed that the majority of the HM men who enter therapy reported that their fathers were distant toward them during childhood. Rather than interpret this as causal, Isay maintained that this is a psychological defence against early erotic attachments to the father. Bell, Weinberg, and Hammersmith (1981) noted strong manifestations of early childhood cross-gendered behaviour in their retrospective study. Silverstein (1981), having found the absent or distant relationship with fathers in his nonclinical sample, explained it as a result of the father's response to the son's nonmasculine role orientation rather than the cause of such behaviour. Fling and Manosevitz (1972) reported that many parents discourage sex-inappropriate behaviour; and according to Colgan (1987):

The greatest obstacle to optimal identity development and intimacy functioning is the experience of being rejected or emotionally abandoned by primary caregivers. Pre-homosexual boys appear to have ample opportunity for either to occur, especially when the boy is gender non-conforming. (p. 106)

Block (1973, cited in Colgan, 1987) reported that gender nonconforming adults who are socially well-adjusted were raised by parents who were secure in their own identities, comfortable with nontraditional sex-role
behaviours, and both nurturant and involved in their sons' socialization.

With regard to mothers, Isay (1989) stated that there was much more variety in HM men's reports. Those men who had a positive sense of themselves generally reported having mothers who were "good enough". Regarding those who described their mothers as having been overbearing, he suggested that this was sometimes due to the son's envy of her closeness to the father.

Coleman (1987) maintained that most difficulties within the family related to stigmatization. Many of his subjects reported no problems within the family prior to their becoming aware of the son's homosexuality. In some cases the son was reintegrated into the family after a brief adjustment period. In those cases where the families were unable to accept the sexual orientation of their sons, a frequent outcome was "reinforcement of secrets, enhanced detachment, and breakdown of communication in the family" (p. 33). In those HM men who sought therapy, one-third had suffered violence because of their sexual orientation and 49% of this violence was at the hands of the family. As mentioned earlier, Bell and Weinberg (1978) reported that 20% of their respondents attempted suicide before the age of 20. This coincides with Coleman's findings; he suggested
that the main reason for these attempts was cognitive isolation and a lack of appropriate role models.

**Homosexual identity.**

For nearly two decades, numerous theoretical analyses and empirical studies have focused on the construct of homosexual identity (e.g., Cass, 1979; Coleman, 1981; Dank, 1971; Habermas, 1979; Lee, 1977; Minton & McDonald, 1984; Plummer, 1975; Troiden, 1979). Cass (1983) insisted that the concept is a very important one but that it is badly in need of a common definition; she has argued for a multidisciplinary approach to the issue. For the most part, these authors refer to homosexual identity not as a stage separate from Erikson's Identity stage but merely as an identity formation process which includes incorporation of one's homosexual orientation into one's personal and social identity. Just as Phinney (1988) asserted that exploration and commitment in the area of ethnic identity is necessary for positive Identity resolution in individuals belonging to an ethnic minority, those who employ the concept of homosexual identity have agreed that overall identity achievement for HM individuals can not be said to have occurred until homosexual issues have been resolved. If this is so, then present measures of Eriksonian Identity are inadequate for these groups.
Troiden and Goode (1980) have verified the essentially developmental nature of homosexual identity formation, observing in their samples that this identity is not embraced immediately but stepwise over an extended period. They stated, "Informants took a number of years to come to regard homosexuality (and, by implication, themselves) as normal...these individuals needed to ready themselves emotionally before incorporating into their self-conceptions a definition of self previously viewed as negative" (p. 391).

One of the models which outlines a sequential development process for homosexual identity is that of Habermas (1979). Habermas has borrowed from several theoretical traditions including ego psychoanalytic (Erikson, 1959), cognitive developmental psychology (Piaget, 1952; Kohlberg, 1969), and symbolic interaction theory (Mead, 1934). He has outlined four stages of ego development: symbiotic, egocentric, sociocentric-objectivistic, and universalistic. It is during the sociocentric stage, beginning at about seven years of age that societal norms are internalized and begin to affect the process of personal identity formation. However, the full impact of sexual norms is not consciously experienced until puberty. At this time, any discrepancy between the person's homosexual thoughts, feelings, and behaviour and his
conferred identity is experienced as identity confusion. Cass (1979) has suggested several strategies which may be employed to resolve this confusion: 1. The person may accept his feelings as natural and proceed to obtain information about homosexuality; 2. He may inhibit any homosexual behaviour and avoid the whole issue as much as possible; and, 3. He may continue to engage in homosexual behaviour while denying that this means that he is homosexual.

According to Cass, to the extent that the individual can tolerate being different from others and resist the pressure of societal norms, he may be able to tentatively accept a homosexual self-definition. If this process continues, then the individual emerges into the universalistic stage of identity development. This, the last of Habermas's stages, involves the ability to separate particular norms from the general principles upon which all norms are based, and to commit oneself to an identity which is experienced as consistent and unified, even in the face of social condemnation.

Cass (1979) has offered somewhat stricter requirements than Habermas for homosexual identity formation. Even though a person may have achieved a personal awareness and acceptance of being homosexual, if he keeps this personal acknowledgement concealed from society, with perhaps the exception of a few well-chosen friends, the identity process
is incomplete. She did state that many HM individuals stop there, and that many of these live fairly satisfactory lives. She added, however, that sufficient pride in one's identity leads to social disclosure, bringing one's public identity in line with one's private identity. Along with pride in one's HM orientation comes a concomitant devaluation of HT persons. According to Cass, an individual may backtrack from this stage if he can not tolerate the negative reaction this defiant disclosure of homosexuality often provokes in family or friends or social contacts. However, if the HM individual refuses to return to anonymity, he enters the final stage of identity synthesis. Through increasing contact with supportive HT individuals, he comes to value these individual more while devaluing only unsupportive HT persons. Eventually, he comes to realize that no clear dichotomy exists between HT and HM worlds. Finally, the person is able to integrate his "homosexual identity with all other aspects of self. Instead of being seen as the identity, it is now given the status of being merely an aspect of self. This awareness completes the homosexual identity formation process" (p. 235 [italics in original]).

Rationale and Hypotheses of the Study

Erikson's Identity stage is an integral part of a model of human development which he terms psychosocial. As a
psychosocial construct, Identity develops in a social context and, according to Erikson (1963, 1968, 1970), this development is consistently linked to social support. Although the relationship between Identity and social support has frequently been alluded to in theoretical discussions, it has rarely been studied empirically (Merrill, 1980). The present study represents, in part, an attempt to explicitly examine this relationship.

An equally important area of investigation here was the Identity development of homosexual males. As a highly stigmatized minority, it was hypothesized that this group would manifest lower levels of perceived social support than the general population. HM individuals, in general, experience lack of acceptance not only from society as a whole but from their families as well. It is also a group which, including those who are predominantly rather than exclusively homosexual, represents 10% of the population of any given area of the continent, certainly too large a group to be consistently neglected in research on personality development (Isay, 1989). In the present study, a group of 35 HM males between 20 and 26 years of age was compared with a group of 29 HT males in the same age category. It was predicted that there would be overall differences in perceived social support between the two groups and that
there would be corresponding differences in styles of Identity resolution.

The Identity Status paradigm, developed by Marcia (1966), has been used extensively to study Erikson's Identity construct; due to the validity established for it and the wide acceptance it has gained, it is this formulation of the Identity construct which was chosen for the research purposes of this study. Several measures of Identity status, incorporating either a structured interview or an objective format, or both, have been used in the past. For the purposes of this study, it was judged most suitable to use an objective format, and the EOMEIS-2 was chosen as the best of these; apart from taking less time than an interview measure, this objective measure allows for examination of the relative mixture of modes of resolution in each individual studied. Thus both overall Identity status and separate scores for each mode of resolution could be compared to the degree of perceived social support reported by subjects.

In order to compare social support with Identity development, the former construct had to be quantified and a measure was required which could also differentiate perceived family support (particularly relevant for reasons given above) from perceived support from other sources. The Provision of Social Relations (PSR) measure was chosen
because it provided both a number for overall perceived support and separate numbers for perceived family and friend support.

In selecting members for the two groups to be studied, it was important to differentiate those individuals who were exclusively or predominantly heterosexual from those who were exclusively or predominantly homosexual. Although sexual orientation is a complex construct, not easily defined or measured (Klein, et al., 1985), the issue was simplified in this case by obtaining from subjects a self-identification as belonging to one of the above categories, and as not belonging to the category of "bisexual". According to Tripp (1975) and others, most HM individuals are not readily identifiable as such, and so the stigmatization is experienced either in response to disclosure or through witnessing the disparagement of a group of which one believes oneself to be a member. In other words, it is primarily the self-identification as a HM individual that leads to one's experience of stigmatization, and thus other aspects of a person's sexual orientation configuration were considered less important for the present study. The Assessment of Sexual Orientation did include questions about sexual relationships and comfort with one's sexual orientation, but this data was obtained for descriptive purposes rather than for statistical analysis.
In order to gain a deeper understanding of the processes involved in identity development in HM individuals, an interview was given to a majority of HM subjects. This interview was designed to gather data in such areas as family history, sexual and nonsexual relationships, emotional and psychological processes, "coming out" experiences, and adaptation to stigmatization. It was hoped that this information might suggest areas for further research as well as contribute to a better understanding of the statistical findings.

The hypotheses to be investigated in this study are:
(1) In comparison to young heterosexual males, a matched group of homosexual males perceives less social support. (2) There is a positive relationship between level of identity resolution and perceived social support. (3) In comparison to heterosexual males as a group, homosexual males as a group experience a delay in movement to the optimal stage of ego identity resolution.
Subjects

Seventy-three males between the ages of 20 and 26 inclusive participated in the study. Of these, nine were eliminated from the study because they either failed to complete the questionnaire, or were not primarily or exclusively HT or HM, or they invalidated the BOMEIS-2 by answering the questions randomly. The final sample consisted of 29 HT males (mean age = 23 years, 5 months; SD = 2 years, 2 months) and 35 HM males (mean age = 24 years; SD = 1 year, 11 months).

The subjects were recruited through newspaper advertising, University News Service, posters in establishments frequented by both HM and HT individuals, sports groups, Christian groups, gyms, dance schools, vocational schools, universities, public beaches, and by chaining from individuals obtained through these sources. The call for subjects referred to a personality study in which attitudes and beliefs on a variety of topics were to be examined.

In order to reduce selection bias, subjects were offered $5.00 each for participation in the study. This was designed to serve as a common motivating factor for both HT and HM individuals and also to induce the participation of
individuals in the lower Identity statuses who might otherwise not have responded to the request.

One source of selection bias that must be mentioned involves the fact that HM participants were disclosive of their sexual orientation and were for the most part affiliated with other HM persons; thus, isolated HM individuals, who may constitute a large percentage of the HM population, are not represented in this study. Therefore, less differences in perceived friend support might be found than would otherwise be the case if those HM individuals who deny or hide their sexual orientation could be identified and included in the study. This may be unavoidable in studies such as the present one, where nonclinical samples are used.

**Measures**

*Identity status (see Appendix C).*

The revised Extended Version of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOMEIS-2; Bennion and Adams, 1986), was used to assess Identity. The EOMEIS-2 is a 64-item questionnaire which employs a Likert-scale format ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 6 (strongly disagree) and measures both ideological and interpersonal domains of Identity development. The ideological domain includes content areas of occupation, religion, politics, and philosophy; the interpersonal domain includes issues of
friendship, dating, sex role, and recreation. There are two Diffusion, two Foreclosure, two Moratorium, and two Achievement items for each of the four ideological and each of the four interpersonal content areas. The raw scale scores for each subscale are derived by summing responses for the appropriate items. Cutoff points for each subscale, representing one standard deviation above the mean, determine whether or not the individual can be classified in the status represented by that particular subscale. Both Ideological status and Interpersonal status can be computed, or the two may be combined to give one overall Identity status. If no cutoff points are reached, then the person is classified as a Low Profile Moratorium, the characteristics of which are more similar to the Moratorium status than to any other status according to Adams, Bennion and Huh (1987). A person classified as having a Low Profile Moratorium status would be one who, like the Moratorium status individual, is experiencing an Identity crisis and is moving toward Identity Achievement. These researchers define a Transition status as one in which the subject's Identity score falls at or above the cutoff for two statuses; if one overall status is to be assigned, the lower status is chosen (Diffusion < Foreclosure < Moratorium < Achievement). When more than two cutoffs are reached or exceeded, the subject is not considered to have discriminated properly between
items and the profile is reasoned to be invalid. Estimates of reliability and validity have been published in Adams, Bennion and Huh (1987). If the overall means on all subscales are low for a particular sample, then it is permissible, according to Adams, to lower the cutoff points by one-half of a standard deviation in order to adequately discriminate between the statuses; this provides a slightly more liberal estimate of status classification (personal communication, September 28, 1988). This modification of the cutoff points was used in the present study.

Another modification of the EOMEIS-2 was made in order that questions about sex roles would be equally applicable to both HT and HM subjects. For example, question number 35 was originally worded "I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me"; the revised wording was "I've spent some time thinking about each partner's roles in marriage (or other long-term love relationship) and I've decided what will work best for me."

Social support (see Appendix D).

The Provision of Social Relations (PSR; Turner, Frankel, & Levin, 1983). This is a 15-item instrument which has good internal consistency and good concurrent validity with other measures of social support. It was chosen because it is short, and it discriminates between perceived family
and friend support. The measure employs a Likert-scale format ranging from 1 (Very much like me) to 5 (Not at all like me); using this format, subjects are asked to respond to such questions as: "No matter what happens, I know that my family will always be there for me should I need them"; and, "I have at least one friend I could tell anything to".

Socioeconomic status.

The Blishen and McRoberts (1976) socioeconomic index for occupations in Canada was used to ensure that homosexual and heterosexual subjects were evenly matched. Each subject was required to provide his occupation so that this instrument could later be used to match the groups.

Sexual orientation (see Appendix B).

An abbreviated version of the Assessment of Sexual Orientation questionnaire developed by Coleman (1987), was given to all subjects. This measure consists of a four questions with a choice of several answers for each. The questions are: 1. What is your current relationship status? (example of a given choice is, "Coupled, living together (Relationship permits other partners under certain circumstances)); 2. In terms of my sexual orientation, I identify myself as ...(an example of a given choice is, "Predominantly heterosexual"); 3. In the future, I would like to identify myself as...(choices same as previous question); and, 4. In terms of comfort with my current
sexual orientation, I would say that I am ... (choices include, "Very comfortable", "Mostly comfortable", etc.). This was scored independently of, and preliminary to the above measures, so that no time would be spent scoring the questionnaires of those who did not pass this screening; only those subjects who were either exclusively or predominantly HM or HT were retained.

**Interview (see Appendix F).**

A structured interview was developed for the present study and was administered to HM subjects in order to gain more information about the characteristics of the sample. HM respondents were asked a set of questions which related specifically to their homosexuality, for example, how long they had known about their own sexual orientation, whom they had told, and how this had affected their lives. The interview also included questions about group affiliations, family relationships, and problems encountered in coming to terms with stigmatization. Most of the interviewing was done at the Gay and Lesbian Centre of Vancouver although subjects were also interviewed at other locations when it was inconvenient for them to go to the Centre.

**Procedure**

Most of the subjects for the study were approached directly at their place of work, study, recreation, or religious meeting place. Those who were informed of the
study by a friend or by newspaper contacted the investigator by phone and a meeting was arranged. All subjects were informed that the information was confidential, and that they could discontinue their participation or withdraw their data at any time. They were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix A). While HT subjects were required only to fill out a brief questionnaire, a majority of the HM respondents were, in addition, required to participate in an interview aimed specifically at gaining information on their experience of being homosexual in this society. This interview information was gathered in order to throw light on the questionnaire findings and provide material for a prospective study.

All subjects filled out the questionnaire, consisting, in the order given here, of a Statement of Purpose, the EOMBIS-2, the PSR, the Assessment of Sexual Orientation, and a final page requesting age, occupation, and options for provision of name, phone number, and consent to additional interview. Most of the HM respondents complied to the request for an interview, and the time and place were arranged. Although the same questions were asked of all HM subjects, the length of the interview varied from 25 minutes to 90 minutes depending on how lengthy the responses were and how much added information they volunteered.
Once data collection was completed, those respondents who had given their names and phone numbers were contacted and their own results made available to them.

**Preparation of the Data for Analysis**

Following the scoring guidelines in the reference manual for the EOMEIS-2 (Adams, Bennion and Huh (1987)), a computer program was developed to sum each subject's Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, and Diffusion scores in each of the ideological and interpersonal domains. The ideological and interpersonal scores for each status area were then summed for each subject in order to examine cutoffs for overall Identity status. Rules for obtaining one overall status classification were followed and invalid profiles were rejected. Due to the low overall means for the sample, Gerald Adams was contacted and it was his recommendation that the cutoffs be lowered by one-half of a standard deviation (rationale given above). The profiles were then assigned the appropriate status classification of Identity Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, Diffusion, or Low Profile Moratorium.
D. RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to examining the individual hypotheses, some preliminary analyses were performed to assess the degree to which the HT and HM groups were evenly matched on the demographic variables of age and socioeconomic status.

No significant differences were found between the two groups in either age (t = -1.10; n.s.) or SES (t = .97; n.s.). The mean scores, standard deviations, and t test statistics are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Since the two groups were found to be matched on these demographic variables, neither age nor SES was included in further analyses.

Statistical Testing of the Hypotheses

Differences in social support between groups.

A t test analysis was performed to determine whether there were differences between HT and HM groups in overall perceived social support. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3. The mean perceived social support for the HM group was found to be significantly lower than the mean for the HT group, consistent with the first hypothesis.

Analyses of variance revealed that the differences in social support related to perceived family support and not to perceived friend support. The HM group perceived significantly less family support than the HT group. Means
and standard deviations are presented in Table 4; analyses of variance are presented in Tables 5 and 6.

Identity scores and perceived social support.

Initial indications that perceived social support was related to mode of Identity resolution emerged from an analysis of variance and covariance in which the four Identity scores were the dependent variables, sexual orientation was the grouping variable, and perceived social support was the covariate. This analysis revealed that perceived social support varied significantly with Achievement scores ($p = .005$) and with Moratorium scores ($p = .036$). Summaries of the analyses of variance and covariance are presented in Tables 7 and 8. The relationship between perceived social support and Diffusion scores also approached significance ($p = .073$).

Correlations between Identity scores and perceived social support are reported in Table 9. Achievement scores were positively correlated with perceived social support; the magnitude of this correlation was significant at the .01 level. Thus the second hypothesis, that a positive relationship exists between perceived social support and Identity achievement, received support.
Table 1
Summary of t Test Comparison of Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups on Age Variable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HT Group</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23.41</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM Group</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23.97</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t(62) = -1.10; p = .27 \]

Table 2
Summary of t Test Comparison of Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups on SES Variable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HT Group</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42.07</td>
<td>9.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM Group</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>39.74</td>
<td>9.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ t(62) = 0.97; p = .34 \]
Table 3

Summary of t Test Comparison of Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups on Perceived Social Support.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HT Group</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>25.97</td>
<td>5.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM Group</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30.45</td>
<td>7.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$t(62) = -2.52; p = .0144$

Note. Social support scores were inversely related to perceived social support; i.e., the lower the score, the greater the perceived support.

Table 4

Comparison of Means for Perceived Family and Friend Support for Heterosexual and Homosexual Groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mfam</th>
<th>Mfr</th>
<th>SDfam</th>
<th>SDfr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10.00*</td>
<td>15.97</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>4.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13.60*</td>
<td>16.86</td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. fam = perceived family support
fr = perceived friend support

* denotes the means which differed significantly from one another; p < .01
Table 5
(N = 64)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups</td>
<td>205.54</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>205.54</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>.0033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups</td>
<td>1366.40</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>22.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1571.94</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>227.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6
(N = 64)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups</td>
<td>12.608</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.608</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>.475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups</td>
<td>1225.251</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19.762</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1237.859</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7
Summary of Analysis of Variance and Covariance: Achievement Scores by Sexual Orientation, with Perceived Social Support as Covariate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Orientation</td>
<td>2.828</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.828</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>.845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Social Support</td>
<td>611.899</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>611.899</td>
<td>8.35</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>4325.478</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>73.313</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8
Summary of Analysis of Variance and Covariance: Moratorium Scores by Sexual Orientation, with Perceived Social Support as Covariate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Orientation</td>
<td>144.613</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>144.613</td>
<td>1.12</td>
<td>.295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Social Support</td>
<td>597.114</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>597.114</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>7625.350</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>129.243</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Moratorium scores and Diffusion scores were negatively correlated with perceived social support; the magnitudes of these correlations were significant at the .05 level.

The correlations between Identity score and overall perceived social support for HT and HM groups taken separately are presented in Table 10. Identity scores of the HT group are more highly correlated with perceived social support than are those of the HM group. For the HT group, perceived social support increased as Achievement scores increased, and decreased as Moratorium scores increased. For the HM group, perceived social support decreased as Diffusion scores increased, but the magnitude of the correlation reached a level of significance of only .06 due to the decrease in degrees of freedom caused by dividing the sample into HM and HT groups.

The relationship between Identity scores and perceived social support was examined more closely, as perceived social support was divided into perceived family support and perceived friend support. Correlations between Identity scores and perceived family support for the two groups are presented in Table 11. Correlations between Identity scores and perceived friend support for the two groups are presented in Table 12. No significant correlations were found between Identity scores and perceived family support for either the HT or the HM group. For both groups,
Achievement scores were significantly correlated with perceived friend support scores (HT: $r = -.63; p < .01$, and HM: $r = -.36; p < .05$). For the HT group, Moratorium scores were also significantly correlated with perceived friend support scores ($r = .63; p < .01$). For the HM group, Diffusion scores correlated with perceived friend support at a magnitude which did not reach significance but may be worthy of note ($r = .32; p < .07$).

In summary, perceived family support scores did not correlate significantly with any of the Identity scores for either group. Perceived friend support scores correlated significantly with Achievement scores for both groups, but the highest correlation was in the HT group. Perceived friend support scores correlated significantly with Moratorium scores for the HT group only, with Moratorium scores rising as perceived social support decreased. For the HM group, Diffusion scores increased as perceived friend support decreased.

**Identity Status and perceived social support.**

An analysis of variance revealed no significant differences in overall perceived social support for each status, when HT and HM groups were combined.

A second analysis of variance compared Achievement status with other statuses combined. This test revealed a significant difference ($p = .032$) in perceived social
Table 9
Correlations between Identity Scores and Overall Perceived Social Support for HT and HM Groups Combined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Score</th>
<th>Perceived Social Support Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>-.326**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>.262*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>-.088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>.250*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Perceived social support scores were inversely related to perceived social support, so that "-" sign actually indicates positive correlation with perceived social support, and "+" sign indicates negative correlation with perceived social support.

* p < .05. ** p < .01.

Table 10
Correlations between Identity Scores and Overall Perceived Social Support for HT and HM Groups Taken Separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Score</th>
<th>Perceived Social Support Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homosexual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>-.215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>-.146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>.332*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Perceived social support scores were inversely related to perceived social support, so that "-" sign actually indicates positive correlation with perceived social support, and "+" sign indicates negative correlation with perceived social support.

* p < .06. ** p < .05. *** p < .01.
Table 11
Correlations between Identity Scores and Perceived Family Support for HT and HM Groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Score</th>
<th>Perceived Family Support Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homosexual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>-.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>-.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>-.209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>.200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Perceived social support scores were inversely related to perceived social support, so that "-" sign actually indicates positive correlation with perceived social support, and "+" sign indicates negative correlation with perceived social support.

Table 12
Correlations between Identity Scores and Perceived Friend Support for HT and HM Groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Score</th>
<th>Perceived Friend Support Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homosexual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>-.360**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>.257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>.319*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Perceived social support scores were inversely related to perceived social support, so that "-" sign actually indicates positive correlation with perceived social support, and "+" sign indicates negative correlation with perceived social support.

* p < .05    ** p < .01    *** p < .01
support scores between Achievement status subjects (N = 9; M = 23.56; SD = 4.61) and subjects in the other statuses combined (N = 55; M = 29.22; SD = 7.49). A summary of the analysis of variance is presented in Table 13.

Thus, when HM and HT groups are combined, individuals in the Achievement status were found to have significantly more perceived social support than individuals in the other statuses.

When the same analyses were done for HM and HT groups taken separately, it was found that the difference held true for the HT group but not for the HM group. The analysis of variance for the HT group revealed a significant difference (p = .044) in overall perceived social support scores between Achievement status subjects (N = 5; M = 21.20; SD = 2.49) and subjects in the other statuses combined (N = 24; M = 26.96; SD = 5.93). The result of the analysis of variance for the HT group is presented in Table 14.

Further analyses of variance revealed significant differences in perceived friend support, but not perceived family support, between subjects of different Identity statuses, both in the HT group and in the HM group. Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 15, while summaries of the analyses of variance are presented in Tables 16 and 17. In both HM and HT groups, Achievement status subjects perceived the greatest amount of friend
support. For the HM group, the pattern of perceived friend support was: A > LPM > M > D > F. For the HT group, the pattern of perceived friend support was: A > D > F > LPM > M.

Comparisons of homosexual and heterosexual groups in level of Identity resolution.

A chi-square analysis was performed to test the hypothesized relationship between sexual orientation and Identity status. An overall Pearson chi-square analysis for all Identity statuses combined showed no significant differences between HT and HM groups. This analysis is represented in Table 18.

Separate Fisher Exact Test (2-tailed) analyses were then carried out for the Moratorium status and for the Low Profile Moratorium (LPM) status. Table 19 displays a significantly greater percentage of Moratorium status individuals in the HT group (34.5%) than in the HM group (11.4%); p = .0354. While the percentage of Low Profile Moratorium men in the HM group (48.6%) was about twice that of the HT group (24.1%), the difference did not reach significance (p = .069); the result was close enough to warrant mentioning however (see Table 20).

Thus the results indicate that while HT and HM groups do not differ significantly in overall Identity status, there appears to be some difference either in the process of
exploration leading to Identity achievement or in the process variables in focus during exploration. While there are more than twice as many Moratoriums in the HT group as the HM group, there are more than twice as many Low Profile Moratoriums in the HM group as in the HT group.

The analysis of variance and covariance referred to earlier included a test to determine whether Identity scores differed significantly between HT and HM groups. The results indicate that there is no significant difference between the two groups in Achievement, Moratorium, Foreclosure, or Diffusion scores.

Thus, comparisons between HM and HT groups in Identity status classifications and Identity scores both revealed lack of significant differences in level of Identity resolution.

Additional exploration of Moratorium – Low Profile Moratorium distinction.

Adams, et al. (1987) have stated that Low Profile Moratorium status is more similar on a variety of indices to Moratorium status than to any other status. It was decided that some examination of this premise would be of value in the present study since the percentage of subjects in this study who obtained an LPM status classification was fairly high (37.5%). Multiple t-tests were performed comparing the statuses on degree of positive Identity resolution using a
created variable, Achievement score minus Diffusion score, as the index of positive resolution. Differences on this index were tested for the following four combinations: LPM status and Achievement status; LPM status and Moratorium status; LPM status and Diffusion status; Diffusion status and Moratorium status. A Bonferroni test was employed to adjust significance levels for multiple comparisons. Means and standard deviations of this Identity resolution index for each Identity status are presented in Table 21. Table 22 displays a summary of the t-test results. LPM status (N = 24; M = 22.08) was found to differ significantly from both Achievement status (N = 9; M = 42.46; p < .001) and Diffusion status (N = 15; M = 8.53; p < .01), but no significant difference was found between LPM status and Moratorium status (N = 14; M = 19.00; n.s.) on this index of positive Identity resolution. A significant difference was also found between Diffusion and Moratorium status (p < .05). Thus Low Profile Moratorium was seen to resemble Moratorium status more than any other Identity status on this index of positive Identity resolution.
Table 13
Summary of Analysis of Variance: Achievement Status vs Other Statuses Combined by Overall Perceived Social Support for HT and HM Groups Combined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups</td>
<td>248.01</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>248.01</td>
<td>4.80</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups</td>
<td>3203.60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>51.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14
Summary of Analysis of Variance: Achievement Status vs Other Statuses Combined by Overall Perceived Social Support for HT Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups</td>
<td>137.21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>137.21</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups</td>
<td>833.76</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30.88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Status</th>
<th>Friend Support (HM)</th>
<th>Friend Support (HT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Profile</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups</td>
<td>242.86</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60.71</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups</td>
<td>503.42</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>746.08</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between groups</td>
<td>176.32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44.08</td>
<td>3.50</td>
<td>.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within groups</td>
<td>302.65</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>478.97</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18

Chi-Square Analysis of Results of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>LPM</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17.2%) (34.5%) (3.4%) (20.7%) (24.1%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11.4%) (11.4%) (2.9%) (25.7%) (48.6%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(14.1%) (21.9%) (3.1%) (23.4%) (37.5%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary data of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation

1. Chi-Square = 6.948; df = 4; P = 0.1387

Note. Achievements (A)
Moratoriums (M)
Foreclosures (F)
Diffusions (D)
Low Profile Moratoriums (LPM)
Table 19

Chi-Square Analysis of Results of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation: Moratorium compared to all other Identity Statuses Combined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Moratorium</th>
<th>Other Identity Statuses</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19 (65.5%)</td>
<td>34 (34.5%)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31 (88.6%)</td>
<td>4 (11.4%)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50 (78.1%)</td>
<td>14 (21.9%)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary data of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation: Moratorium compared to other Identity Statuses Combined

1. Chi-Square = 4.932; df = 1; p = 0.0264
2. Fisher Exact Test (2-Tail): p = 0.0354
Table 20

Chi-Square Analysis of Results of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation: Low Profile Moratorium compared to all other Identity Statuses, Combined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>Low Profile Moratorium</th>
<th>Other Identity Statuses</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>7 (24.1%)</td>
<td>22 (75.9%)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td>17 (48.6%)</td>
<td>18 (51.4%)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>24 (37.5%)</td>
<td>40 (62.5%)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary data of Identity Status by Sexual Orientation: Low Profile Moratorium compared to other statuses combined

1. Chi-Square = 4.040; df = 1; \( p = 0.044 \)
2. Fisher Exact Test (2-Tail): \( p = 0.069 \)
### Table 21
Achievement minus Diffusion scores: Means and Standard Deviations for each Identity Status.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Status</th>
<th>Achievement minus Diffusion Scores (Index of Positive Identity Resolution)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moratorium</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreclosure</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Profile</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>22.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 22
Summary of t Test comparisons of Identity Statuses on Achievement minus Diffusion Score.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LPM &amp; Achievement Status</td>
<td>5.77</td>
<td>.0000 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPM &amp; Moratorium Status</td>
<td>-0.96</td>
<td>.3413 n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPM &amp; Diffusion Status</td>
<td>-4.31</td>
<td>.0001 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diffusion Status &amp; Moratorium Status</td>
<td>2.95</td>
<td>.0046 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Significance level < .05; Bonferoni test .01250
** Significance level < .01; Bonferoni test .00250
*** Significance level < .001; Bonferoni test .00025
E. DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study was to examine the relationship between perceived social support and Identity development in males. In order to investigate this relationship, a group of highly stigmatized individuals, homosexual males, was compared with a group more representative of mainstream society, heterosexual males.

Before examination of the hypotheses, it should be noted that efforts were made to eliminate possible contamination by extraneous sources of variance. HM and HT subjects were chosen in equivalent ways, with roughly equal numbers of each chosen from sports groups, universities, dance companies, etc. Statistical analysis showed that the groups were evenly matched for age. Another variable thought to be a possible unwanted source of variance and therefore chosen for statistical analysis was socioeconomic status (SES), although Wiess (1984) found no relationship between SES and Identity status in the case of women. The groups were also evenly matched on SES. It is certainly possible that other unseen threats to internal validity existed, and some caution must be advised in interpretation of results since completely random assignment of subjects was not possible in this study.
Comparisons of Perceived Social Support between Homosexual and Heterosexual Males

The first hypothesis, that HM males, as a stigmatized minority, would perceive less social support than HT males, was supported. When perceived social support was broken down further into its two components of perceived family and friend support, analysis showed that while perceived friend support was equivalent in both groups, it was in perceived family support that the HM group scored significantly lower.

It was not surprising to find that perceived family support was low for HM males, since their minority status is generally not shared by their parents and previous studies have shown that a high percentage of HM individuals are rejected by one or both of their parents once their sexual orientation becomes evident.

The finding that perceived friend support was roughly equivalent in the two groups is also easily understood, since most subjects were chosen from groups with which they were affiliated. The HM subjects were also relatively disclosive of their sexual orientation which sets them apart from those HM individuals who are fearful of disclosing and thus avoid becoming intimate with others. It can not be known exactly what percentage of HM individuals are so fearful of disclosure that they would never join a gay recreational group or participate in a study such as this.
however, it is probable that the perceived friend support results are not generalizable to the HM population as a whole.

It should also be noted that perceived social support is not limited to family and friend support although the measure used here was confined to these two aspects of support. It would certainly be interesting to look at other aspects of perceived support such as perceived peer or group support, or the sense of being accepted within one's culture, but the latter at least would be much more difficult to measure reliably since the referents are more abstract.

Before proceeding further, a brief note: In order to facilitate discussion of results, the signs associated with correlations will be reversed, since scores for perceived social support were inversely related to actual perceived social support.

Comparisons of Mode of Identity Resolution and Perceived Social Support

The second hypothesis, that Identity achievement was positively correlated with perceived social support, was supported. Since each person receives an Achievement score, this variable was chosen as a good operationalization of the concept of Identity achievement for purposes of performing a correlational analysis. The magnitude of the correlation
between Achievement score and overall perceived social support \( (r = .326) \) was significant at the .01 level. Correlations between perceived social support and Moratorium scores \( (r = -.262) \) and with Diffusion scores \( (r = -.250) \) were significant at the .05 level. Thus, as commitment in the various Identity domains increased, so did perceived social support; as exploration or crisis increased, and as role confusion increased, perceived social support decreased.

Analysis of covariance, with perceived social support as the covariate, also revealed that perceived social support varied significantly with Achievement scores \( (p = .005) \). Since Identity status is a nominal or possibly an ordinal variable, it was not possible to investigate correlation between Identity Achievement status (as contrasted with Identity Achievement score) and perceived social support. However, the finding that the mean perceived social support for Identity Achievements was significantly greater than the mean for the other statuses combined was consistent with the above finding for the relationship between perceived social support and Achievement scores.

It is not possible from these results to assume a causal relationship in either direction. Does an increasing perception of social support lead one to slow the
exploration process and form commitments to the supported elements of the Identity under construction, or does commitment to a set of beliefs and values following a period of exploration lead to greater support from family or friends? For the present, this question remains unanswered.

Breaking down perceived social support into its two components once more, it was interesting to find significant correlations between Identity scores and perceived friend support, but not between Identity scores and perceived family support. Since both groups perceived equivalent amounts of friend support, these results predict that the third hypothesis, that HM males between 20 and 26 years of age are not as advanced in Identity resolution as their HT counterparts, will not be supported. Earlier, it was shown that the groups differed in perceived family support, but surprisingly, perceived family support did not predict Identity scores, and subjects of different Identity statuses did not differ significantly in perceived family support. Rather, perceived friend support appeared to account for the differences found.

The importance of perceived friend support is perhaps understandable, but the apparent lack of importance of perceived family support to Identity resolution is less clear. It may be that in the age group studied, perceived family support is less important because most of these young
men are not living at home, although one would expect that a current Identity configuration would have been influenced by the preceding amount of perceived family support. It may also be that other aspects of family dynamics are more important to the Identity process than perceived support. Another possibility is that the formation of an Identity is really more dependent on how one feels one is perceived outside of the family than inside the family, since the Identity stage occurs at a time of life when one is preparing to move out of the family and into other larger groupings. Finally, it is possible that the instrument used (Provision of Social Relations) does not measure those aspects of perceived family support which are most closely related to Identity development, or that it can not distinguish defensive answers motivated by loyalty to the family from more candid ones.

Another interesting finding was that perceived friend support was more highly correlated with Achievement scores and with Moratorium scores for the HT group than for the HM group. One might have expected that, perceiving less family support, HM individuals would be more dependent on perceived friend support for the establishment of a viable Identity. A possible explanation is that a large proportion of HM individuals become more dependent on internal judgments than external judgements of the acceptability of their values;
they may have come to expect less support, partly because they perceive less in their families, and partly because they are aware of societal attitudes toward homosexuality. It may be that they rely more on internal sources of gratification. Many HT individuals, on the other hand, may have learned to depend more on external rewards, and external indicators of progress in Identity formation, because more support was forthcoming for them in the past, and they may have greater expectations of external support for the future than do HM individuals. Thus Achievement scores are highly positively correlated with perceived friend support ($r = .631; p < .01$), while Moratorium scores are highly negatively correlated with perceived friend support ($r = -.628; p < .01$), for the HT group. In the HM group, the correlations are lower, although the correlation between Achievement score and perceived friend support is significant and the correlation between Diffusion score and perceived friend support is close to significance. It may be that the desire for greater social support increases as dissatisfaction with Identity status increases in the HT group; this does not mean that they actually receive less support but that they perceive less, because they are aiming for so much more. Higher Diffusion scores in the HT group may indicate less pressure to conform to social expectations, lessening the importance of social support;
the nature of Diffusion may contribute to a lack of awareness of social support deficits as well. In the HM group, feelings of isolation due to being HM may increase as Diffusion scores increase, to a point where perception of lack of support is noticeable to a larger number of HM with elevated Diffusion scores.

Perceived friend support differences between Identity statuses were also found for each of the two groups, as shown in Tables 15, 16 and 17. For the HM group, the pattern of perceived friend support was: $A > LPM > M > D > F$. For the HT group, the pattern of perceived friend support was: $A > D > F > LPM > M$. ($A = $ Achievement, $M = $ Moratorium, $D = $ Diffusion, $F = $ Foreclosure, $LPM = $ Low Profile Moratorium). Since only one Identity Foreclosure was identified in each group, it is not possible to make any generalizations based on the results for those individuals. If, for the moment, Moratorium and Low Profile Moratorium subjects are viewed as being similar in Identity style, as Adams, Bennion, and Huh (1987) maintained, then the above results can be represented more simply as HM: $A > M > D$; and HT: $A > D > M$. These results might be explained in the same way as the correlations between Identity scores and perceived friend support were explained above since it follows the same pattern.
Comparisons of HM and HT Groups in Mode of Identity Resolution

The overall chi-square analysis of Identity status by sexual orientation was not significant, and the third hypothesis was not supported. Confirming this was the fact that no significant differences were found to exist between HM and HT groups in Identity scores.

Rather than stop with this result, it was decided to examine possible differences between the groups in numbers of Moratoriums and Low Profile Moratoriums, hoping to gain more insight into the latter category than is provided by Adams, et al. (1987) who stated that "In all of our research we have found the pure and low profile moratorium status individuals to appear as very similar in their attitudes, values, behaviors, and developmental trajectories" (p. 25). Posthoc chi-square analyses which singled out Moratorium status for comparison to other statuses combined, and Low Profile Moratorium status for comparison to other statuses combined, produced interesting results. There were significantly more Moratorium status individuals in the HT group (34.5%) than in the HM group (11.4%); approaching statistical significance as well was the difference in percentages of Low Profile Moratoriums in the HT group (24.1%) and in the HM group (48.6%).
Although it is not possible to form firm conclusions about these differences, it would be interesting to see if such differences are replicated in future studies. If these differences are real, several possibilities may be suggested to explain them. It may be that measures of identity status, including the one used here, are not ideally suited to investigation of identity development in HM males since the domains being investigated do not include a major focus for these individuals, namely the whole issue of homosexuality. Thus, HM individuals, while experiencing an identity crisis and in the midst of exploration, may to some extent put issues such as occupation and politics on hold while they try to come to terms with their homosexuality. They would be in moratorium, but instruments which did not tap their major area of exploration would find less exploration present than in fact existed. This might help explain why research has previously found few differences between Moratoriums and Low Profile Moratoriums. It was the impression of this investigator that, in general, Moratorium and LPM status individuals were more talkative and extended the interview time more than any of the other statuses, a behavioural quality associated in past studies with Moratorium status individuals.

Semi-structured interview methods of assessment would certainly be more amenable to adaptation to HM individuals
than questionnaire methods, but less emphasis would have to be placed on the other domains for scoring purposes.

A second possibility is that HM individuals with a Low Profile Moratorium status are actually somewhat closer to Achievement status than to Moratorium status, but that LPM status individuals have made a commitment in the area of homosexuality, while they are still lacking in achievement in the other domain areas. The interview data provide some support for this explanation. The four Moratorium status individuals all expressed dissatisfaction with their sexual orientation and active struggle in coming to terms with it. Of the twelve LPM subjects interviewed, nine spoke of having undergone crises in the past in regard to their sexual orientation, but expressed satisfaction with their orientation in the present. Most of these individuals impressed this observer as being open, philosophical, less confident than the Achievement individuals but more satisfied than the Moratorium individuals. They differed from the Diffusion individuals in that the latter often appeared rather apathetic and less thoughtful than the former. Also, LPM men like Moratorium and Achievement men, frequently expressed cognizance of stigmatization and expressed anger toward it, whereas a high proportion of Diffusion men, though not all, seemed to be relatively oblivious of discrimination.
Using Achievement score minus Diffusion score as an index of positive Identity resolution, it was found that the LPM status group did not differ significantly from the Moratorium status group, although the mean for the LPM group was somewhat higher. The LPM status group was significantly lower than the Achievement group on this index, and significantly higher than the Diffusion group. Thus previous findings of similarity between LPM status and Moratorium status individuals received support.

While nearly half of the HM group fell into the LPM category, it is important to note that nearly one quarter of the HT group, a sizable quantity in itself, also fell into this category, and certainly a focus on sexual orientation can not be assumed to completely account for these results. While it is assumed that HM individuals comprise about 10 percent of the population, they are certainly not the only minority or the only group of people with issues to resolve that go beyond those included in Identity measures. It may be that a percentage of the HT men who fell into the LPM category are dealing primarily with Identity issues not addressed by the ECOMEIS-2; however, the percentage of HT men in the LPM status appears too high to be explained solely in this way. Other possibilities are that the instrument is not able to accurately assess a certain portion of individuals who interpret the questions in a way slightly
different from the way they were meant to be interpreted, or
that having been normed in the U.S.A., the cutoffs for each
status are incorrect for Canadian individuals.

Apart from the large number of individuals who fell
into the LPM category, the percentages of individuals in
each of the other statuses appears to be somewhat atypical.
Although percentages differ from sample to sample, it is
surprising to find such a low incidence of Foreclosure, only
one in each group. It is not so surprising in the case of
HM men, since one would assume that realizing one's sexual
orientation to be different from one's parents would tend to
move one away from Foreclosure, either into Diffusion or
Moratorium. The present findings for HT men remain
unexplained, but one may ask if the measure used adequately
discriminated Foreclosure status men from some other group.

Additional Findings from the Interview with HM Men

In keeping with previous findings of studies on suicide
in HM men, it was found that of 23 gay men asked about
suicide, 17 (73.9%) stated that they had considered it at
some point in their lives, and of these, 5 (21.7%) had
attempted it. This finding is consistent with the fact that
homosexuality is highly stigmatized in this society, and
while the findings of this study suggest that this
stigmatization is not necessarily related to the achievement
of Ego Identity, other deleterious consequences may well derive from it.

Overall, for the gay men interviewed, the relationship with father was more often bad than good, a finding which supports previous research indicating that HM orientation and disclosure of this orientation are often detrimental to the father-son relationship. It should be noted that in some cases the relationship with the father was reported as being excellent as well. The relationship with mother was more often good than bad, although there were also exceptions to this. It was interesting that no Diffusion status subject reported a good relationship with father. This finding is in keeping with previous research on family dynamics associated with each of the Identity statuses.

Implications of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

The fact that differences between HT and HM groups in perceived family support were found, but that these differences were not reflected in Identity outcomes, should not be taken to mean that perceived family support is not important to the Identity formation process. The interviews revealed that most HM men had a good relationship with their mothers but the relationship was father was more often bad, and the father-son relationship was bad for all of the Diffusion men interviewed. Previous research has indicated
that the father-son interaction is more important to the identity formation process in males than overall family interactions. The measure used here did not specifically access father-son relationship but dealt with overall perceived family support, which might include siblings as well. In future investigations, it would appear valuable to gauge perceived father support as an important component of perceived family support.

In the area of perceived friend support, the lack of differences between the two groups may be due to a major limitation in studies of this kind: it is difficult to identify or gain access to those HM men who are afraid of being identified as such. It is these very men, possibly a large component of the HM population, who are likely to be psychologically and emotionally isolated. Differences in perceived friend support were found to correlate with Identity scores in both groups, so one would expect that those HM men who have isolated themselves from both HM and HT groups will not have resolved the Identity stage in a positive direction. If these individuals could be identified and a determination of their perceived friend support obtained, it is certain that a better understanding of similarities and differences in Identity development between existing HM and HT populations would be acquired.
Unfortunately, accessing the hidden segment of the HM population is very difficult in a nonclinical population; such measures as the MMPI or projective tests are probably unreliable for purposes of identification of homosexuality (Hendlin, 1976; Horstman, 1975). For the present, it seems that researchers must rely on self-report of homosexual orientation.

The lack of differences between groups in outcome Identity categories is consistent with previous findings of lack of differences in degree of adjustment between HM and HT individuals. It would seem that under optimal friend support conditions, at least, this is the case. However, it would be interesting to compare HM individuals from a city such as Vancouver, where attitudes toward homosexuality, though often negative, are perhaps relatively liberal compared to the rest of Canada, to HM individuals from a mid-Western city. Ross (1989) reported that HM youth from Sweden were better adjusted than HM youth from Ireland; perhaps Identity development might also be affected by such differences in regional attitudes.

The differences between HT and HM groups in numbers of Low Profile Moratorium and Moratorium status men suggests a promising direction for further research. LPM status men were measured as being lower in exploration than Moratorium status men, and lower in commitment than Achievement status
men. However, on an index of positive Identity resolution constructed by subtracting the Diffusion score of each man from his Achievement score, the LPM status men were significantly more advanced than the Diffusion status men and very similar to the Moratorium status men. Data from interviews with HM men showed that most LPM status men had already struggled intensely with the issue of their sexual orientation and had positively resolved it while the Moratorium status men were still actively dealing with it. This would suggest that the LPM status men were actually Identity achieved in at least this one area, but that they were lacking in exploration and commitment to the areas previously chosen for investigation by Identity researchers. A possible difference between LPM status men and Moratorium status men is that the former deal with issues in a more sequential fashion while Moratorium status men struggle with many different issues simultaneously. In any case, future investigations of Identity resolution involving a minority group (black, homosexual, deaf, etc.) would be enhanced by inclusion in the Identity measure of the domain which is distinctively salient for that group. With measures improved in this way, it is the belief of this author that fewer individuals would be categorized as Low Profile Moratorium, perhaps being relatively equivalent in majority and minority groups. If they continued to be found in large
numbers, then a division of Moratorium status into two categories (for example, sequential and simultaneous processors) might be considered.

Another point in regard to measures of Identity, particularly objective measures, is that some of the domains are specifically directed at a heterosexual population. In particular, questions about sex role attitudes and dating values are either not given priority or not relevant to many HM men. While more HM males are being very careful in their selection of partners since the threat of AIDS became a fact of life, rules of courtship are less established than for the HT population, and may be less of an area of focus for HM men. Sex role attitudes in general are not an Identity issue for HM males. Failure to show exploration or commitment in these areas will lower Identity scores for HM males; and, to repeat, with a 10% incidence of homosexuality in the population, Identity measures which do not recognize differences in focus of this group may produce results with reduced accuracy.

Although the present study was designed in part to further understanding of the process of Identity development, this was cross-sectional research and was therefore limited in its capacity to explore process variables. A longitudinal study, which initially measures Identity status, perceived social support, and other
relevant variables in a large group of high school students and then several years later investigates the same variables along with sexual orientation, would contribute much more to an understanding of the Identity formation process. Perhaps if the findings of this study, that a relationship exists between perceived social support and Identity resolution, are replicated in other cross-sectional studies, then a longitudinal study may be seen as feasible.

In the future, hopefully, the stigmatization of homosexual individuals will have been reduced to the point where these people are no longer chosen for a study such as this as ideal representatives of a group deprived of social support. For the present, however, it appears that the homosexual population continues to be a valuable resource for research in this area.
REFERENCES


with late adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 1*, 183-198.


APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM
INFORMED CONSENT BY SUBJECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT OR EXPERIMENT

Note: The University and those conducting this project subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection of all participants and subjects. This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures, risks, and benefits involved. Your signature on this form will signify that you have received the document described below regarding this project, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the project.

Having been asked by ________________________________ of the ________________________________ Faculty/School/Department of Simon Fraser University to participate in a research project/ experiment, I have read the procedures specified in the document entitled:

________________________________________________________________________

I understand the procedures to be used on this experiment and the personal risks to me of taking part.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this experiment at any time.

I also understand that I may register any complaint I might have about the experiment with the chief researcher named above or with

________________________________________________________________________

Dean/Director/Chairman of ________________________________ Simon Fraser University

Copies of the results of this study, upon its completion, may be obtained by contacting:

________________________________________________________________________

I agree to participate by

________________________________________________________________________

(state what the subject will do)

as described in the document referred to above, during the period:

at

(place where procedures will be carried out)

NAME (Please print): ________________________________

ADDRESS:________________________________________

SIGNATURE: ________________________________ WITNESS: ________________________________

DATE: ________________________________

Once signed, a copy of this consent form and a subject feedback form should be provided to you.
APPENDIX B

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE
Purpose of the Study and Subjects' Rights

This is a study of the development of attitudes and beliefs in males. In general, a person's basic approach to life is fairly stable between the ages of 20 to 26, and it is individuals in this age group who will be employed in the present research.

Subjects will be asked to fill out a questionnaire and possibly to participate in a brief interview. The interview will involve questions of a personal nature.

None of the information given is attached to subjects' names, and no names will be published with the results of the study. Data gathered in the study will simply be coded to prevent identification of the subjects. However, subjects may ask that their name be kept by the experimenter if they desire to contact him and receive feedback on their own results once all of the data have been analyzed.

Subjects may withdraw participation or data at any time without necessity of explanation.

All questions are straightforward and no attempt will be made to deceive subjects. None of the procedures used involve a threat to physical safety, and none are designed to produce psychological stress.
APPENDIX C

ORIGINAl AND MODIFIED VERSIONS OF EOMEIS-2
Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings. If a statement has more than one part, please indicate your reaction to the statement as a whole.
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree  
B = moderately agree 
C = agree 
D = disagree 
E = moderately disagree 
F = strongly disagree

1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at whatever is available until something better comes along. A - B - C - D - E - F

2. When it comes to religion, I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look. A - B - C - D - E - F

3. "My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously work for me." A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative: 3. My ideas about roles in a love relationship are identical to my parents'. What's good enough for them is obviously good enough for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another. A - B - C - D - E - F

5. There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own. A - B - C - D - E - F

7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned whether I date or not. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:
7. I haven't really thought about approaching love relationships in a particular way. I'm not too concerned whether I see anyone on a regular basis or not. A - B - C - D - E - F

8. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about, because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in. A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree
B = moderately agree
C = agree
D = disagree
E = moderately disagree
F = strongly disagree

9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what jobs will be right for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other. A - B - C - D - E - F

11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:
11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage (or other long-term love relationship). I'm trying to decide what will work for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style" view, but haven't really found it yet. A - B - C - D - E - F

13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on. A - B - C - D - E - F

14. While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets to identify one I can truly enjoy. A - B - C - D - E - F

15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:
15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of relationship I want to have with the person I'm going out with. A - B - C - D - E - F

16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much. A - B - C - D - E - F

17. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but there's never really been any question since my parents said what they wanted. A - B - C - D - E - F

18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe. A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree
B = moderately agree
C = agree
D = disagree
E = moderately disagree
F = strongly disagree

19. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:
19. I've never really seriously considered each partner's roles in marriage (or other long-term love relationship). It just doesn't seem to concern me. A - B - C - D - E - F

20. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective. A - B - C - D - E - F

21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to choose my friends. A - B - C - D - E - F

22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices. A - B - C - D - E - F

23. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it as it comes. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:
23. I don't think much about who to go out with. I just kind of take it as it comes. A - B - C - D - E - F

24. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such. A - B - C - D - E - F

25. I'm really not interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available. A - B - C - D - E - F

26. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet. A - B - C - D - E - F

27. My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further. A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree
B = moderately agree
C = agree
D = disagree
E = moderately disagree
F = strongly disagree

Alternative:

27. My ideas about roles in a relationship have come right from my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further. A - B - C - D - E - F

28. My own views on a desirable lifestyle were taught to me by my parents and I don't see any need to question what they taught me. A - B - C - D - E - F

29. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now. A - B - C - D - E - F

30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly. A - B - C - D - E - F

31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:

31. I go out with different people and try out different relationship styles. I just haven't decided what is best for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

32. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out. A - B - C - D - E - F

33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career. A - B - C - D - E - F

34. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

35. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me. A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree
B = moderately agree
C = agree
D = disagree
E = moderately disagree
F = strongly disagree

Alternative:
35. I've spent some time thinking about each partner's roles in marriage (or other long-term love relationship) and I've decided what will work best for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self exploration. A - B - C - D - E - F

37. I only pick friends my parents would approve of. A - B - C - D - E - F

38. I've always liked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else. A - B - C - D - E - F

39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:
39. The characteristics of the people I go out with are very similar to those my parents would find most suitable. A - B - C - D - E - F

40. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe. A - B - C - D - E - F

41. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans. A - B - C - D - E - F

42. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual. A - B - C - D - E - F

43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision. A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree
B = moderately agree
C = agree
D = disagree
E = moderately disagree
F = strongly disagree

Alternative:

43. I've been thinking a lot about the roles that partners in a marriage (or other long-term love relationship) play these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision. A - B - C - D - E - F

44. My parents' views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else. A - B - C - D - E - F

45. I've had many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what to look for in a friend. A - B - C - D - E - F

46. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends. A - B - C - D - E - F

47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:

47. My preferences about love relationships are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet. A - B - C - D - E - F

48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in. A - B - C - D - E - F

49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career. A - B - C - D - E - F

50. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why. A - B - C - D - E - F

51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me. A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:

51. There are many ways that couples can divide up responsibilities in the relationship. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me. A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree
B = moderately agree
C = agree
D = disagree
E = moderately disagree
F = strongly disagree

52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

53. I don't have any close friends.  I just like to hang around with the crowd.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational activities in hopes of finding one or more I can really enjoy for some time to come.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

55. I've dated different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F
   Alternative:  
   55. I've gone out with different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for seeing someone are and whom I will go out with.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation.  There are so many that have possibilities.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

58. I've never really questioned my religion.  If it's right for my parents it must be right for me.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

59. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F
   Alternative:  
   59. Opinions on appropriate roles in a relationship seem so varied that I don't think much about it.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own life style will be.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F

62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else.  
   A - B - C - D - E - F
Indicate your answer at the end of each question by circling one of the following responses.

A = strongly agree  
B = moderately agree  
C = agree  
D = disagree  
E = moderately disagree  
F = strongly disagree

63. I date only people my parents would approve of.  A - B - C - D - E - F

Alternative:

63. When it comes to love relationships, I only go out with people who have the personality characteristics my parents would most approve of.  A - B - C - D - E - F

64. My folks have always had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they have.  A - B - C - D - E - F
APPENDIX D

PROVISION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE
We would like to know something about your relationships with other people. Please read each statement below and decide how well the statement describes you. For each statement, show your answer by indicating to the left of the item the number that best describes how you feel. The numbers represent the following answers.

1 = Very much like me
2 = Much like me
3 = Somewhat like me
4 = Not very much like me
5 = Not at all like me

1. When I'm with my friends, I feel completely able to relax and be myself.
2. I share the same approach to life that many of my friends do.
3. People who know me trust me and respect me.
4. No matter what happens, I know that my family will always be there for me should I need them.
5. When I want to go out to do things I know that many of my friends would enjoy doing these things with me.
6. I have at least one friend I could tell anything to.
7. Sometimes I'm not sure if I can completely rely on my family.
8. People who know me think I am good at what I do.
9. I feel very close to some of my friends.
10. People in my family have confidence in me.
11. My family lets me know they think I am a worthwhile person.
12. People in my family provide me with help in finding solutions to my problems.
13. My friends would take the time to talk over my problems, should I ever want to.
14. I know my family will always stand by me.
15. Even when I am with my friends I feel alone.
APPENDIX E

ASSESSMENT OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION QUESTIONNAIRE
Please place an x before the statements that apply to you.

What is your current relationship status:

___ Single, no sexual partners
___ Single, one committed partner
___ Single, multiple partners
___ Coupled, living together (Committed to an exclusive sexual relationship)
___ Coupled, living together (Relationship permits other partners under certain circumstances)
___ Coupled, living apart (Committed to an exclusive sexual relationship)
___ Coupled, living apart (Relationship permits other sexual partners under certain circumstances)
___ Other _______________________________________________________________

In terms of my sexual orientation
I identify myself as . . . In the future, I would like to identify myself as . . .

___ Exclusively heterosexual
___ Predominantly heterosexual
___ Bisexual
___ Predominantly homosexual
___ Exclusively homosexual
___ Unsure
___ Exclusively heterosexual
___ Predominantly heterosexual
___ Bisexual
___ Predominantly homosexual
___ Exclusively homosexual
___ Unsure

In terms of comfort with my current sexual orientation, I would say that I am . . .

___ Very comfortable
___ Mostly comfortable
___ Comfortable
___ Not very comfortable
___ Very uncomfortable
APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
Coming Out

1. At what age did you begin to think you might be homosexual?

2. At what age did you decide that you were in fact gay?

3. Have you disclosed this information to your family? If so, at what age(s) and to which members? How has this affected your relationships with your family members?

4. How open are you in disclosing your sexual orientation to others, both heterosexual and homosexual? If you are fairly open about sharing this information about yourself, at what age did you make the decision to do so?

5. In general, do you feel that most people would suspect that you were gay if you did not tell them? Why or why not?

Family

6. Briefly, how would you describe your relationship to each of your parents?

7. Briefly, how would you describe your relationship to your brothers and sisters?

Friends

8. Are most of your friends gay or straight?

9. Are most of your friends male or female?

10. Do most or all of your friends know you are homosexual?

11. How many of your friends do you consider to be very close?

12. Are you content with the number and types of friends that you have? (Please explain)

Sexual relations

13. Are you or have you been sexually active? At what age did you begin? How active have you been? With males, females, or both?

14. Have you ever had a long-standing love relationship? If so, how long ago, and how long did it (they) last?
15. In your relationships with others do you find it difficult to form close attachments, do you tend more toward becoming overly attached, or do you generally achieve a comfortable balance?

16. Are you content with your sexual functioning at the present time?

**Discrimination**

17. Have you ever been refused living accommodation because of your sexual orientation?

18. Have you ever been refused a job or dismissed from a job because of your sexual orientation? (please specify)

19. Have you ever suffered physical violence or threat of violence because of your sexual orientation? If so, when and how?

20. Have you ever been discriminated against in other ways because of your sexual orientation? (please specify)

21. In general, to what extent do you feel that discrimination against gay people affects your life?

**Emotional and psychological adjustment**

22. Are you satisfied with your sexual orientation? If so, has there ever been a time that you were unhappy with your sexual orientation; at what age(s)?

23. If your feelings about your sexual orientation have changed, to what would you attribute this change?

24. Have you ever had suicidal ideas or attempted suicide? If so, briefly describe what you believe to be contributing factors.

25. How would you characterize your relationship to alcohol and other drugs?

26. What are your feelings, positive or negative, about homosexuality? Please explain.

27. How would you characterize your emotional and psychological state at the present time?

28. In general, how do you feel about yourself?
Religious

29. Do you consider yourself to be religious? If so, briefly describe.

30. Does your sexual orientation present any conflicts with your religious beliefs? If so, how?

Political

31. Are you active in combatting discrimination against gay people? If so, please describe briefly.

32. Which term do you prefer in reference to your sexual orientation, "gay" or "homosexual" or some other term? Why?