Assessing Identity Change: A Longitudinal Study of the Transition from School to College

Clare Cassidy
University of Strathclyde

Karen Trew
Queen's University of Belfast

The impact of a major life transition on identity change is examined in this longitudinal study. Drawing on a framework provided by symbolic interactionism and identity theory (Stryker, 1968, 1987), we examined global self-esteem, interactional commitment and the identity hierarchies of a group of students while they were in secondary school and, again one year later, when they had made the transition to further or higher education. Overall, the data suggested considerable stability across all identities. Analysis examining the relationships among interactional commitment, self-esteem and psychological centrality provided some support for the theoretical framework but also highlighted differences across identities. The implications for future models of long-term identity change are discussed.

Keywords: identity change, interactional commitment, self-esteem

Identity is a topic that has attracted and continues to attract considerable research attention. Ashmore and Jussim (1997) document the upswing on this topic not just in psychology, but, more generally, in the social sciences. The current view of identity as a key link between individual and society leads Deaux (1996) to suggest that the concept is one ‘that social psychology cannot do without’ (p. 794). As a substantive topic of mutual inquiry for psychologists and sociologists (Burke & Stets, 2000; Thoits, 1995), identity also has the potential to provide hospitable ground for the merger of the two traditions.

Despite the considerable research devoted to the topic, it has been suggested that our understanding of the various facets of identity is uneven (Deaux, 1996). One issue which has been neglected is that of identity change and...
specifically enduring identity change. If we accept a simple dichotomy between short-term or temporary change and long-term or enduring change (Banaji & Prentice, 1994; Deaux, 1996), the latter refers to fluctuations among identities across changing situations (Deaux, 1996). The central concern here is the relationship between identity and immediate social context. We have multiple identities, not all of them active at any particular time or in any situation. When we move from one situation to another, the important question is how do we choose from our repertoire of possible identities. This question has been addressed by Markus and Wurf (1987), who introduced the notion of the working self-concept. The responsiveness of self to immediate social contexts is also the focus of self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Long-term change, on the other hand, refers to more substantial, more permanent change in identity patterns. This type of change is often associated with relocation and periods of life transition. Sociologists have tended to focus on change in this context to a greater extent than psychologists (Dion, 1985; Stryker & Burke, 1999). Banaji and Prentice (1994) comment on the surprisingly few longitudinal studies demonstrating long-term change, despite the considerable number examining temporary change. Those studies that do examine long-term change tend to focus on change in one identity, ignoring the multiple identities conceptualization of self associated with research on short-term change. This paper argues that structural symbolic interactionism and identity theory provide a theoretical perspective that embraces the concept of multiple identities but also lends itself to an analysis of long-term change.

Identity theory is a substantive development from the structural symbolic interactionist framework. Developed by Stryker (1968, 1980), the theory's primary goal was to build social structure more explicitly into symbolic-interactionist explanations of the self-structure. He argues that we have identities for each of the positions occupied and roles enacted by us in organized sets of social relationships. Although Stryker's definition of identity tends to focus only on social roles such as mother, daughter, wife, doctor, other identity theorists such as Burke (e.g. Burke & Cast, 1997) have expanded this conception to include broader social categories such as race, ethnicity and gender. These identities are organized into an 'identity salience hierarchy' defined by the different probabilities that an identity will be invoked across a variety of situations (Serpe, 1987). Identity salience in turn influences the actual enactment of actual social roles; the higher the salience of a particular identity, the more time and effort one will invest in enactment, the more one will attempt to perform well, the more one's self-esteem will depend on that identity and the more one's identity performance will reflect generally shared values and norms (Thoits & Virshup, 1997). Other symbolic interactionists such as McCall and Simmons (1978) use the term psychological centrality to describe the identity hierarchy. Unlike Stryker's notion of salience, centrality is a subjective measure, referring to the importance or centrality attached by individuals to each identity in their repertoire.

From Stryker's perspective, the structure of self is assumed to be relatively stable over time as a consequence of the stability of social relationships (Serpe, 1987). It is further assumed that changes in the structure of self are related
directly to the person's movement within the social structure, either by choice or by force of circumstances, including normal life changes (Wells & Stryker, 1988). Thus, the theory assumes stability in the structure of self insofar as one's relationships within the social structure remain constant and change in the structure of self insofar as these relationships are altered. Stryker explains change and stability in identity by invoking the concept of commitment. Commitment is defined in terms of social relationships associated with a particular identity. He differentiates between 'interactional commitment', the number of relationships affected if an identity is given up and 'affective commitment', which refers to the emotional cost involved in losing an identity. 'A man is committed to the role of "husband" in the degree that the number of persons and the importance to him of those persons requires his being in the position of husband and playing that role' (Stryker & Serpe, 1982, p. 207).

Stryker's empirical work has focused on commitment and its link to the importance of specific identities such as the parent identity (Stryker, 1968), religious identity (Stryker & Serpe, 1982) and student identity (Serpe, 1987; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). One study (Stryker & Serpe, 1982) showed that the salience of the religious identity was directly related to commitment. The larger the number of and the more important the associated relationships, the greater the salience of this identity. Serpe (1987) also provides longitudinal evidence of the link between salience and commitment in a study of various identities (academic, athletic/recreational, extracurricular, friendship, dating) among first year university students. Analysis showed that the impact of commitment (affective and interactional) on identity salience was primary, i.e. that commitment's impact on salience was significantly stronger across identities than the impact of salience on commitment. Despite the possibility that change might be maximized by the process of settling into a new environment, the data suggested considerable stability over time across the identities. The academic identity showed highest levels of stability while the athletic/recreational and dating identities suggested most change. Differences in patterns of change were explained in terms of social structural constraints. Some identities, such as the athletic/recreational identity, afford the individual more choice about whether to engage in role-related behaviors than others, such as the academic identity. Subsequent analysis by Serpe and Stryker (1987) examined social relationships more explicitly and showed that individuals who showed high levels of stability across identities were those who sought out social relationships that were cognitively central to aspects of their lives in prior locations.

The study also found that the Hispanic identity retained its importance for those individuals who sought out social relationships linked to this identity in their new environment. While ethnic identity was supported initially by family background, high school friends and neighborhood, these students had engaged in the process of 'remooring' the identity in the university context. They had formed new relationships with other Hispanic students as friends or as members of Hispanic organizations. Those students who did not make these efforts showed a decrease in Hispanic identification.

A second concept linked to stability and change in the self-concept is self-esteem. While not introduced systematically into Stryker's identity theory, the concept of self-esteem is invoked widely by symbolic interactionists, such as Rosenberg (1979, 1981), McCall and Simmons (1978) and Burke (1991). The early writings of Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) argue that society affects our self-concept because we view the world from the viewpoint of others. We come to see ourselves as others see us, or more accurately, as we think others see us. In what has become known as the principle of reflected appraisals, it is held that, as a consequence of seeing ourselves from the perspectives of others, our self-concepts will come to...
correspond at least partially to other people’s views of us (Rosenberg, 1981). McCall and Simmons (1978) also state that our self-esteem is dependent on the extent to which others with whom we interact – ‘one’s boss, peers, relatives, friends, experts’ (p. 75) – support and validate our identities. It follows that a change in patterns of social interaction may have implications for how individuals evaluate themselves.

Rosenberg (1981) draws on James (1890) to argue that global self-esteem is more likely to be dependent on performance in central than in peripheral roles. Furthermore, he argues that our sense of who we are tends to hinge more importantly on central than on peripheral identities. To lose the identity of husband or wife after the death of one’s spouse or the identity of teacher or engineer upon forced retirement may have profound implications for self-definition and self-evaluation. The loss of peripheral identities, on the other hand, may have little effect. It thus follows that change in identities considered important to the individual will have more impact on self-esteem than change in those identities considered less important.

The aim of the present study is to examine stability and change in identity. This longitudinal analysis draws on structural symbolic interactionism and identity theory, to examine the multiple identities of young people as they made a significant life transition, the transition from secondary school to university. This transition usually involves a radical change from one social context and physical setting to another one and has been used successfully to examine the processes of change and adjustment (e.g. Cantor, Norem, Niedenthal, Langston, & Brower, 1987; Deaux & Ethier, 1998; Serpe, 1987). Including a number of identities provides an opportunity to examine the variation among identities, which the work of Deaux and her colleagues has highlighted (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi, & Ethier, 1995). Their analyses showed important differences in the type of identities that people claim on a range of dimensions relating, for example, to status (high versus low), mode of acquisition (achieved versus ascribed), relational-non-relational, individualistic–collective.

Our analysis examines three constructs derived from identity theory and symbolic interactionism: psychological centrality, commitment and self-esteem. These constructs were measured at two distinct points in time, separated by one year. Most previous studies of self-concept change have been limited to only one dimension of self, usually self-esteem (Schafer & Keith, 1999). Psychological centrality is favored over identity salience because of the difficulties in operationalizing salience as conceptualized by Stryker (see Stryker & Serpe, 1994). In this analysis, we focus on interactional commitment, the number of relationships associated with particular identities. Our study considers global self-esteem because of the nature of our research questions but also because of the difficulties involved in measuring identity specific self-esteem for multiple identities.

In addition to examining change in these concepts over time, the analysis explores the link between commitment and psychological centrality. Identity theory would predict that those experiencing changes in social relationships tied to a particular identity will experience change in the salience/centrality of that identity. Negative change in commitment will be associated with decreased centrality for the relevant identity while positive change in commitment will be associated with increased levels of centrality. The link between self-esteem and centrality will also be examined. Rosenberg (1979, 1981) would argue that correlations between global self-esteem and centrality will hold only for those identities accorded high levels of importance within the identity hierarchy. Analysis will focus also on the relationship between commitment and self-esteem. Symbolic interactionists would suggest that negative change in the individual’s social relationships will have a negative impact on self-esteem levels.

Method

Respondents
The original cohort comprised 292 upper sixth form (final year) students from four co-educational grammar schools in the Greater Belfast area. The modal age was 18 years with a range of 17 to 19 years. The first questionnaire
was administered in each school in December/January of the students’ final year. A follow-up questionnaire was administered by post to students’ home addresses in December of the following year. A total of 210 students participated in both stages of the study, which represented a 72 percent response rate. The final sample comprised the majority of the original cohort (70%) who went on to attend university.1

The final sample was similar in terms of gender and identical in terms of religious background to the original cohort: 55 percent (n = 82) were female and 45 percent (n = 66) were male (compared with 57% and 43% respectively for the original cohort); 51 percent (n = 75) were Catholic and 49 percent (n = 73) were Protestant.

Measures
Each of the measures was used to assess 11 identities: son/daughter, sibling, friend, boy/girlfriend, student, religious identity, three national identities (British, Irish and Northern Irish) and two political identities (nationalist/unionist and republican/loyalist). Previous studies have suggested that these are the most frequently claimed identities in Northern Ireland (Trew & Benson, 1996) and among students (Ethier & Deaux, 1990; Hoelter, 1985). All measures were completed at Times 1 and 2 with the exception of the interactional commitment measure which was included at Time 2 only.

Psychological centrality This measure was adapted from the work of McCall and Simmons (1978) and tapped the individual’s perception of the importance or centrality of an identity to his or her sense of self. Respondents were asked to rate the importance of each of the identities, on a 10-point Likert format scale ranging from 1 (not important at all) to 10 (very important). An additional point (0) was added to the scale for all of the identities with the exception of the son/daughter and student identities to indicate non-applicability.

Interactional commitment This measure was adapted from one developed by Hormuth (1990). Respondents were provided with a list of common role relationships (e.g. with mother, father, sibling, best friend, boy/girlfriend, university friends, old school friends) and asked to indicate which of the role relationships had most significantly changed since leaving secondary school. On a 5-point scale, respondents were asked to indicate whether the relationship had changed negatively through a greater distancing (–1) or termination of the relationship (–2), not changed at all (0) or had changed positively through a getting closer (+1) or beginning phase in relationship formation (+2). If change was indicated, respondents were asked also to specify the number of relationships which had been secondarily affected by the change.

In addition, two dichotomous variables were derived from this measure to examine change in interactional commitment across all role relationships for each respondent. The first variable, type of change, indicated whether overall change in an individual’s role relationships was on balance positive or negative. The second variable, degree of impact on social network, was based on the total number of relationships secondarily affected by the change and was categorized as either low (equal to or below median) or high (above median).

Self-esteem This measure unlike the other two measures was not identity-specific but provided an index of global self-esteem. The Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1965) consists of 10 items with four answer categories. A fifth neutral category was added, and the scale was scored following the Likert method. Cronbach’s alpha coefficients for the scale at Times 1 and 2 were .75 and .76 respectively.

Results
All of the identities were claimed at both time points, with the exception of the boy/girlfriend identity. Sixty respondents (41%) claimed the identity at both time points while 29 (20%) did not claim the identity at Time 1 or Time 2. Forty-nine respondents (33%) did not claim the identity at Time 1 but did at Time 2 while a much smaller number (n = 8) claimed the identity at Time 1 but not at Time 2.
Analysis of the interactional commitment measure suggested that the majority of respondents tended to report positive rather than negative or no change in their role relationships. For example, positive change in the sibling relationship was reported by 49 percent of respondents with 12 percent reporting negative change and 39 percent reporting no change; 44 percent reported positive change in the relationship with their best friend, 34 percent negative change and 22 percent reported no change. The exception, not unexpectedly, was in relation to old school friends for which most students (66%) reported a negative change.

Figure 1 presents the means for the centrality measure at both occasions of testing. The student identity and those identities based on personal relationships were associated with higher levels of centrality than the religious, national and political identities at both time points. A series of univariate tests (t tests) were performed to examine change in mean levels of centrality. Analysis suggested a significant difference between Time 1 and Time 2 for five of the identities: the friend identity, the religious identity and the three national identities. The results suggested a decline in centrality for each of these identities. There was no difference in mean levels of self-esteem from Time 1 (M = 37.95) to Time 2 (M = 37.16).

As shown in Table 1, psychological centrality was only moderately stable for all of the identities. Multiple pairwise comparisons suggested significant differences in levels of stability between some identities. Correlations for the student identity and relationship identities (with the exception of the boy/girlfriend identity) tended to be lower than for the religious, national and political identities. The stability coefficient for the son/daughter identity ($r = .31$), for example, was significantly lower than for the religious identity ($r = .64; z = 3.67, p < .001$). Similarly, the student identity ($r = .37$) yielded a significantly lower stability coefficient than the unionist/nationalist identity ($r = .54; z = 2.63, p < .001$). Analysis suggested moderate stability for the self-esteem measure ($r = .60, p < .001$).
Commitment and centrality
The link between interactional commitment and psychological centrality was explored by relating change in role relationships to levels of centrality. A series of one-way analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) (controlling for Time 1 centrality scores) was performed with interactional commitment as an independent variable (with three levels: negative, positive and no change) and centrality as the dependent variable. Because none of the respondents reported negative change in the relationship with university friends, the three levels were no change, some positive change and major positive change. Identity theory would predict that those reporting positive change in a role relationship, with their mother, for example, will rate the corresponding identity (i.e. son/daughter) higher in centrality than those reporting negative or no change. While the data tended to show this trend, a significant effect of commitment was found for the student identity only. As predicted, those who reported major positive change in their relationship with university friends rated their student identity higher in centrality ($M = 7.39$) than those reporting some positive change ($M = 6.70$) and those reporting no change ($M = 4.82$; $F(2, 139) = 7.96$, $p < .001$). An effect approaching significance was observed for the sibling relationship. Again, those reporting positive change in the sibling relationship tended to rate the sibling identity higher in centrality ($M = 7.38$) than those reporting no change ($M = 6.61$) or negative change ($M = 5.88$; $F(2, 132) = 3.76$, $p < .05$).

Commitment and self-esteem
To explore the link between commitment and self-esteem, the analysis used the two variables derived from the interactional commitment measure: type of change and degree of impact on social network. A two by two (change type by network impact) ANCOVA, controlling for Time 1 self-esteem scores, revealed two effects approaching significance. There was a main effect of change in line with the symbolic interactionist prediction. Those experiencing primarily positive change in their role relationships had higher self-esteem ($M = 37.13$) than those experiencing primarily negative change ($M = 35.14$; $F(1,132) = 2.87$, $p < .10$). As shown in Figure 2, there was also a change type by network impact interaction ($F(1,132) = 2.87$, $p < .10$). Post hoc analysis (Tukey HSD test) suggested that when change was negative, there was no difference in levels of self-esteem between those reporting high impact on their social network ($M = 34.44$) and those reporting low impact ($M = 35.83$). When change was positive, however, those reporting high impact ($M = 38.61$) had significantly higher levels of self-esteem than those reporting low impact ($M = 35.64$).

Self-esteem and centrality
Correlational analysis was conducted to examine the extent to which global self-esteem was related to psychological centrality. Table 2 shows that, when Time 1 levels of centrality were controlled for, there was a significant positive relationship between self-esteem at Time 1 and centrality at Time 2 for four of the identities: the son/daughter identity ($r = .27$, $p < .001$), the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Pearson's $r$</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>Pearson's $r$</th>
<th>N</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son/daughter</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Northern Irish</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boy/girlfriend</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Unionist/Nationalist</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Republican/Loyalist</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic/Protestant</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>140</td>
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Note: All correlations are significant at $p < .01$. 

**Table 1.** Stability coefficients for centrality, Time 1 to Time 2
sibling identity ($r = .21$, $p < .001$), the friend identity ($r = .26$, $p < .001$) and the Irish identity ($r = .19$, $p < .05$). The pattern of coefficients suggests that, to some extent, global self-esteem was positively related to centrality for those identities accorded high levels of importance. Inconsistencies were evident, however, particularly in relation to the boyfriend/girlfriend and student identities for which very weak relationships between centrality and self-esteem were observed.

Discussion
This study assessed change in a number of identities held by a group of students as they made the transition from secondary school to university. Our approach, derived from a symbolic interactionist and identity theory framework, focused on stability and change in three constructs: self-esteem, psychological centrality and interactional commitment. Analysis also explored the relationships among these concepts. Findings provided only moderate support for identity theory and symbolic interactionism. Interactional commitment was related to psychological centrality for the student identity and, to a lesser extent, the sibling identity. Self-esteem was positively related to centrality for some but not all of those identities rated high in importance. Finally, there was evidence to

Table 2. Partial correlations between Time 1 self-esteem and Time 2 centrality

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>$r^2$</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Identity</th>
<th>$r^2$</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>143</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>.19*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibling</td>
<td>.21**</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>-.02</td>
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<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>.26**</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>Northern Irish</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyfriend/girlfriend</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Unionist/ Nationalist</td>
<td>.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student</td>
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<td>Republican/ Loyalist</td>
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<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catholic/ Protestant</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>136</td>
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* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.
* Controlling for Time 1 centrality scores.
suggest that type of change in interactional commitment was associated with participants' self-esteem. Furthermore, for those experiencing positive change, the extent of the change was linked also to self-esteem levels.

Overall, the results suggested considerable stability over time across the 11 identities. While a significant decline in centrality was indicated for some of the identities, correlational analysis suggested moderate to high levels of stability. There was no change in self-esteem levels. Most students, however, did report change in various role relationships. Why a decline in centrality was observed for a number of identities is not clear. For most of these students, university provides a much more heterogeneous social context in terms of religious and national identification than their secondary schools, which were segregated on the basis of ethnicity.

The work of McGuire and his colleagues (e.g. McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978) would suggest that this contrast would result in an increase rather than a decrease in the salience of the religious and national identities. Other research has suggested, however, that these identities are not important to students at university who may be more concerned with developing their image as a student (e.g. Cassidy & Trew, 1998; Trew & Benson, 1996).

These overall findings indicating stability are consistent with the studies of Ethier and Deaux (1994) and Serpe (1987), both of whom found considerable stability over time. Serpe (1987) interpreted similar findings as supporting the identity theory assumption that the self-structure is relatively stable over time. We conclude that it is possible to feel a sense of identity that is enduring, which perhaps has more fundamental implications for our self-concept and behavior when major changes such as life transitions occur. This type of identity change tends to be ignored by many theorists of identity, particularly those working within self-categorization theory who prefer to focus on ‘psychological plasticity in microtime’ (Condor, 1996, p. 302). It is argued that future research needs to deal more explicitly with the issue of chronic change, to use methodologies that focus, not only on momentary fluctuations in identity salience, but also on longer-term change on a range of identity dimensions.

The findings provided only moderate support for Stryker's argument that commitment is related to identity importance. Stryker states that an identity assumes its place in the identity hierarchy based on the person's commitment to that identity. It is further suggested that any changes in an identity's position in the hierarchy will be reflected in the individual's commitment to relationships associated with that identity. While our analysis did not address causal direction, findings did suggest that change in commitment was related to change in the centrality of the student and sibling identities. Our study did not measure affective commitment, the other component of commitment identified by Stryker. Affective commitment which focuses on the importance or value of the relationships associated with a given identity may be more important than interactional commitment in predicting centrality for some identities. In their study of first time mothers, for example, Nuttbrock and Freudiger (1991) found a relationship between salience of the mother identity and affective commitment only. There was no relationship between salience and the number of relationships associated with the mother identity.

The results suggested a link between self-esteem levels and centrality for a number of identities. These identities, as predicted by Rosenberg (1979), tended to be those rated highest in importance by participants. Inconsistencies point to a more complex pattern, however. The work of Thoits (1992, 1995) also points to a less than straightforward relationship between identity salience and psychological well-being. She tested the hypothesis that highly salient identities have a greater impact on psychological well-being than less salient identities. Her results suggested that the relationship between salience and well-being depended on the type and combination of identities held by the individual. Thoits makes a distinction between identities similar to Deaux et al.'s (1995) mode of acquisition dimension. Thoits found that voluntary or easier-to-exit identities (e.g. friend, churchgoer) had a stronger impact
on psychological well-being than difficult-to-exit identities (e.g. parent, son/daughter-in-law). While those findings do not appear to explain the current data, it is possible that there are individual differences in how easy it is perceived to ‘exit’ an identity. A more comprehensive test of this possibility would include a measure of individual perceptions.

Finally, evidence for a link between interactional commitment and self-esteem was provided by the data. Those who experienced a positive change in their role relationships displayed higher levels of self-esteem than those experiencing negative change. This finding provides supports for symbolic interactionists such as McCall and Simmons (1978) who argue that our self-esteem is dependent on the amount of support and validation we receive for our identities from significant others. The extent of impact exerted by the change also has implications when the change is positive. Hormuth (1991), using a similar measure of interactional commitment, also showed that the size of the social network affected by the change is linked to what he terms satisfaction with self. It is difficult to speculate why, unlike Hormuth (1991), degree of impact does not have a similar effect in the current study for those experiencing negative change. Different self-esteem measures and samples in the two studies may offer some explanation.

In conclusion, this study represents one of the few longitudinal studies examining naturally occurring change in a range of identities. The analysis suggests the merits of an approach derived from identity theory and symbolic interactionism. The findings also suggest, however, that relationships suggested by this framework do not hold for all identities. This variability across identities supports the work of Deaux et al. (1995) and suggests that future models of identity change will have to account for the variations in identity categories.

Notes
1. The remainder comprised those pursuing other forms of full-time education or training (22%), those in employment (7%) and those ‘taking a year out’ (n = 2).
2. A Bonferroni type adjustment was made for inflated Type 1 error (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996); (α = .001). It was not possible to run MANOVA because some respondents did not claim all identities yielding a considerable missing-data problem.
3. Fisher’s z transformation of r was used with a Bonferroni type adjustment to minimize Type 1 error (α = .001).
4. Again, because centrality scores were not obtained for identities not claimed by respondents MANCOVA faced a problem of missing data. A Bonferroni type adjustment was made with the univariate tests (α = .005).

References


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Biographical notes

CLARE CASSIDY received her PhD from the Queen's University of Belfast and is currently a research fellow in the Department of Psychology at University of Strathclyde. Her research interests include identity and self-concept change, helping behaviour and prejudice.

KAREN TREW is a senior lecturer in the School of Psychology at the Queen's University of Belfast. Her research interests are mainly in the area of applied social psychology.