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ABSTRACT

The research described in this paper is from the fifth year of a 6-year longitudinal study investigating psychosocial and demographic factors associated with a wide range of behaviors among adolescents. The present analyses investigate the relationship between students' participation in extracurricular activities (athletic teams, musical groups, and school clubs) and their moral reasoning level and identity status. Participants were 209 high school juniors from a medium-sized southeastern town. Students' levels of moral development were assessed by the Sociomoral Reflection Objective Measure (SROM); their levels of identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion in the interpersonal and ideological domains were measured by the Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (EOM-EIS). Findings indicated that students' ability to make mature moral judgments appears to be unaffected by their extracurricular activities; membership in school clubs is related to higher levels of ideological identity achievement and lower levels of ideological moratorium and diffusion; girls are more likely than boys to score high on identity achievement; race influences moral reasoning level and identity achievement; membership in the school band or chorus is unrelated to identity formation; students who do not participate in any of the activities studied were high on both interpersonal diffusion and ideological moratorium when compared to their classmates who reported membership in at least one group; and athletic team participation is related to identity foreclosure, particularly for males. Findings suggest that school clubs facilitate development in ways other activities do not, and that the high status afforded male athletes is detrimental to their overall psychological development. Data tables are included. (Contains 52 references.) (ND)

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Running Head: EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Moral Development and Identity Formation
in High School Juniors:

The Effects of Participation in Extracurricular Activities

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Abstract

This research is from the fifth year of a six-year longitudinal study, the purpose of which is to investigate psychosocial and demographic factors associated with a wide range of behaviors among adolescents. The specific aim of the present analyses was to investigate the relationship between students' participation in extracurricular activities and their moral reasoning level and identity status. Participants were 209 high school juniors from a medium-sized southeastern town. Level of moral reasoning was found to be related to race of student, athletic participation, and club membership. Interpersonal identity achievement and foreclosure were associated with sex of student, while interpersonal identity diffusion and ideological identity foreclosure were related to athletic participation.

Moral Development and Identity Status

In High School Juniors:

The Effects of Participation in Extracurricular Activities

The research described here is based on data from the fifth year of a six-year longitudinal study, the purpose of which is to investigate psychosocial and demographic factors associated with a wide range of behaviors among adolescents. Variables that have analyzed in previous studies from the longitudinal sample include moral development (Manners & Smart, 1991), experience with alcohol and sexual intercourse (Manners & Smart, 1992), ideological identity formation (Manners & Smart, 1993), and self-rated attractiveness (Manners & Smart, 1994). The present analyses were designed to investigate the relationship between students' participation in school-sponsored extracurricular activities (athletic teams, musical groups, and school clubs) and two developmental variables, moral reasoning level and identity status.

The formation of a stable identity has long been recognized as a central developmental task of adolescence. Erikson (1963, 1968) wrote of the need for youth to establish for themselves, both internally and in relation to their culture, clear goals and positions in two areas: vocation and ideology. Marcia (1966,

1980) operationalized the notion of ego identity as identity status, based on respondents' reported degree of exploration and commitment in the areas of occupation, religion, and politics. Four statuses were proposed: identity achievement, moratorium, identity foreclosure, and identity diffusion. The identity achieved status has generally been regarded as the most adaptive (Wallace-Brosnious, Serafica, & Osipow, 1994; Waterman, 1992). In a new look at identity formation, Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia (1992) have conceptualized identity as an ongoing process, rather than as a fixed status. These researchers identified two poles, rigidity (foreclosure) and openness/flexibility (moratorium), between which individuals operate in lifelong cycles of disequilibrium and consolidation. In other words, peoples' identities are continuously polished and fine-tuned. Examining the relationship between identity status and the cognitive concept of identity style, Streitmatter (1993b) found that adolescents classified as identity achieved were similar to moratoriums, in that both groups were information oriented. In contrast, foreclosure and diffusion subjects rejected an information orientation in favor of being norm-oriented.

Investigations of sex and race differences in identity formation have been inconclusive. Streitmatter (1993a) reported no sex differences in a longitudinal study of status changes between middle school and high school, while Manners and Smart (1993) found females to be higher than males on measures of both moratorium and identity achieved status. Markstrom-Adams,

Ascione, Braegger, and Adams (1993), studying the effects of a short-term intervention designed to enhance growth in identity toward achievement and moratorium, found that males actually were strengthened in their foreclosure as a result of the program. With regard to race differences, Jones and Adams (1988) reported that White students were more likely than Mexican-American or Native American students to be identity achieved. Manners and Smart (1993), found that Black adolescents were higher than Whites on foreclosure. Clearly, there is still much to be learned about the associations between an adolescent's sex and race and his or her identity formation.

The development of moral reasoning, as conceptualized by Kohlberg (Gibbs, Basinger, & Fuller, 1992; Kohlberg, 1983; Muuss, 1988), has been studied extensively over the past four decades, despite often daunting methodological problems (Brock, 1991; Snarey & Keljo, 1994). Recent studies have found tentative links between the cognitive components of moral development and identity formation (Boyes & Chandler, 1992; Hernandez & Diclemente, 1992), although most attempts to find associations between these two developmental variables have been frustrating (see Boyes & Chandler, 1992).

The role of extracurricular activities in the psychosocial development of adolescents has been investigated by several authors. Goodenow (1993) discussed the importance of a sense of belongingness for adolescents' educational development, while Fertman and Chubb (1992) noted the significance of participation

in extracurricular activities as an outlet for exploration of roles. Using an experience sampling method, Rathunde (1993) found that extracurricular activities are a consistent source of interest and challenge for students, teaching that important work is not always drudgery. Substance use and abuse have been found to be less common among students who are involved in extracurricular activities (Shilts, 1991; Van Nelson, Thompson, Rice, & Cooley, 1991). Brown and Steinberg (1991) reported more positive academic outcomes among students who participated in school-sponsored clubs, leadership activities, and interest groups. Gender and school size emerged as significant factors in Henson's (1989) study of students' perceptions of the importance of extracurricular activities, with males and rural students reporting more positive attitudes than females or urban students. Similar findings were reported by Holland and Andre (1994), who also found an association between participation in activities and higher self-esteem. Murtaugh (1988) examined differences between students who were seriously involved in extracurricular activities and those who were not, using a sample comprised of average and special education students, but no high achievers. Results suggested that extracurricular activities can be an important alternate path to achievement and self-esteem for adolescents who do not excel academically. Further support for the link between extracurricular activities and self-esteem comes from Jones, Bibbins, and Henderson (1993), and Kinney (1993). We may conclude, then, that adolescents' involvement in school-

sponsored non-classroom activities has positive effects on academic, social, and intrapersonal development.

When the extracurricular activity studied is athletics, results are more ambiguous. For female adolescents, participation in sports has been related to higher self-esteem (Brown, Morrow, & Livingston, 1982), and to more positive self-images (Covey & Feltz, 1991). Similar results have been found for small-school males, for whom athletic participation was a significant predictor of self-esteem (Holland & Andre, 1994). Exploring the link between sports and teenage drinking in two communities, Tjepkas and Hayden (1991) found that in one Iowa town, athletes were less likely to drink, while the opposite relationship held in the Washington community studied. Generally lower scholastic performance has been found among males who participate in the "glory" sports (e.g. football and basketball) in which coaches and school officials are perceived as being more concerned with winning rather than providing a positive academic climate for team members (Brown & Steinberg, 1991). Similar conclusions were reached by Snyder and Spreitzer (1992).

The moral development level of athletes has been found to be generally lower than that of nonathletes (Bredemeier, Weiss, Shields, & Cooper, 1986). Pooley (1989) discussed this relationship in the context of increased levels of violence in youth sports, concluding that the fault lies with the system, which views a game as something to be won rather than enjoyed.

Pooley (1989) argued that the system, in making coaches all-powerful, absolves young players from responsibility for the consequences of their aggression. Chambers (1991) concurred, noting that when sport is interpersonal and includes opportunity for dialogue and negotiation, moral development may actually be enhanced. Unfortunately, this desirable outcome is less likely in high contact sports such as football (Chambers, 1991). In a recent intervention study of 250 Division I athletes, Stoll and Beller (1993) found that a treatment group having an 18-week moral reasoning training course showed a rise in scores on the Defining Issues Test (Rest, 1975), whereas the control group showed a drop in DIT scores. Self-reports from the treatment group indicated that prosocial behaviors, especially in group situations, increased, as did GPA's, while the incidence of fighting decreased (Stoll & Beller, 1993). A similar effort, aimed at junior high basketball players, was unsuccessful, however (Wandzilak, Carroll, & Ansorge, 1988).

The effects of participation in school-sponsored athletics on adolescents' identity formation have been examined by several authors. Danish, Petitpas, and Hale (1990) called for sport programs specifically designed to promote self-knowledge, noting that existing programs too often lead to identity foreclosure. In a later review, Danish, Petitpas, and Hale (1993) suggested that the danger of identity foreclosure is due to a young athlete's choice not to explore other areas of endeavor, rather than to direct effects of team membership.

Goldberg (1991) noted that athletes do not have to seek an identity, because one is thrust upon them by virtue of their athletic ability. Pooley (1989) concurred, placing the onus on coaches who do not encourage players to make independent decisions. Some authors (Frey & Eitzen, 1991; Spreitzer, 1994) have argued that rather than promoting identity foreclosure directly, school sports may simply attract students who are high on conventionality. Thus, some students may be drawn to athletics because it does not demand the self-examination that is associated with identity achievement and moratorium. The young athletes, especially boys in the high-prestige sports, who already have the values and behaviors demanded by coaches are the ones who make the team. Frey and Eitzen (1991) further noted that conventionality is reinforced by sports media, which reflect the values of conservatism, authoritarianism, and nationalism that are endorsed by the audience. Given the overwhelming empirical and theoretical evidence to the contrary, we are dismayed that the "sports-builds-character" myth shows no signs of being dispelled.

In the present investigation, we expected that, overall, participation in extracurricular activities would be related to higher levels of moral development and higher scores on identity achievement, across race and sex. Following Streitmatter (1993a), we predicted no differences by race or sex.

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 209 students, the entire eleventh-grade class, enrolled during the 1993-94 academic year at the only high school in a medium-sized southeastern town. One hundred thirty-five participants were White, 70 were Black, and 4 reported mixed ethnicity. For the purposes of all analyses reported here, race is divided into White (64.6%) and Black (35.4%). The sample was evenly split between females (48.8%) and males (51.2%). All demographic data were obtained from school records.

Instruments

Moral development. Students' levels of moral development were assessed by the Sociomoral Reflection Objective Measure (SROM), developed by Gibbs and associates (see Gibbs, Widaman, & Colby, 1982). The SROM is a paper and pencil questionnaire that has been shown to yield results congruent with Kohlberg's moral reasoning interview (Gibbs et al., 1982).

Ego identity status. The Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status - Final Revision (EOM-EIS), was used to measure participants' levels of identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion in the interpersonal and ideological domains (Adams, Bennion & Huh, 1987). The EOM-EIS has been validated against Marcia's (1966) Identity Status Interview (Adams, Abraham, & Markstrom, 1987; Grotevant & Adams, 1984).

Extracurricular activities. Students' self-reports of their participation in three activities (athletic teams, school band or chorus, and school clubs) were extracted from a 34-item experience checklist constructed by the first author and school officials. Participants indicated whether they had engaged in each extracurricular activity within the past year or past month. We collapsed across categories of participation, so that data were coded as either "member" or "non-member" for each of the three activities.

Procedure

Data were collected by the authors, a professional colleague, and three undergraduate research assistants over two consecutive days. Students were brought to the school library by their teachers during their regular English class period; groups ranged from 25 to 40 students in size. Written parental and participant consent was obtained by the school counselor during the previous week. On the first day of data collection, students completed the SRQM and a family configuration checklist that is not relevant to the present analyses. On the second day, participants completed the EOM-EIS and the experience checklist. All instruments were deposited by the students through a slot in a sealed box, to insure their confidentiality. At the end of the second day's data collection, students were given the opportunity to ask any questions they had about the study. Classroom teachers did not participate in the data collection process, and were not in the room during that time.

Analyses

We performed a series of univariate analyses of variance using level of moral development (SROMS) as the dependent measure. In the full sample, the design was a 2(race) X 2(sex) X 2(membership status) factorial analysis for each of the three activity groups (athletic team, musical group, and club membership). SROMS data were also analyzed separately by race and sex for the three activity groups, and by dividing the participants into "active" and "nonactive" subgroups.

A multivariate design was used to analyze the effects of participation in extracurricular activities on students' identity formation. The EOM-EIS yields scales for interpersonal identity status (comprised of dating, friendship, sex role, and recreation), ideological identity status (occupation, religion, politics, and philosophy), and total identity status (the sum of scores on the other two scales). MANOVAs were performed for each scale, with the four identity statuses (achievement, moratorium, foreclosure, and diffusion) as dependent measures, and the demographic and activity variables as independent measures. Thus, a 2(race) X 2(sex) X 2(membership status) MANOVA was performed for each identity scale and activity group. Further analyses of the three identity scales were performed by race and sex of participant for each activity group, and by "active" and "nonactive" designations. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

Results

We performed a Chi-square analysis to determine how much overlap among activity groups was present. Results indicated that those students who participated in musical groups were also likely to be members of school clubs ($\chi^2\{1, N = 203\} = 5.46, p = .019$). There was no significant association between participation in sports and membership in either musical or club groups, however. This result is consistent with that of Danish et al. (1993), who found that high school athletes often choose not to be involved in other activities.

Moral Reasoning Level

Because of a large number of invalid questionnaires, analyses of SROMS data were limited to the responses of 114 participants. Seventy-five (66%) of these students were White, and 39 (34%) were Black; males and females were equally represented. Thus, the students completing valid SROM questionnaires did not differ demographically from the full sample.

No difference in moral reasoning level was found between males and females, nor between students designated as "active" and "nonactive". A significant difference by race emerged, with White students scoring higher ($F\{1, 110\} = 9.25, p = .003$). There were no effects for membership in any activity group.

Separate analyses by race and sex for the three activity groups yielded a race effect, with Whites scoring higher, among club members ($F\{1, 64\} = 6.41, p = .014$) and athletes ($F\{1, 43\} =$

12.2, $p = .001$), and a race X sex interaction for athletes ($F_{\{1,43\}} = 4.65$, $p = .04$). No significant effects were found among members of musical groups.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Interpersonal Identity

Achievement. Six EOM-EIS questionnaires were incomplete, and thus were dropped from the analyses. In the full sample ($N = 203$), females scored higher than males on interpersonal identity achievement ($F_{\{1,201\}} = 8.10$, $p = .005$). There were no effects for any activity group, and no significant interactions in the full sample. The difference by sex held when musicians ($n = 49$) were analyzed separately ($F_{\{1,45\}} = 5.32$, $p = .025$), as well as for athletes ($n = 88$, $F_{\{1,84\}} = 5.09$, $p = .027$) and for club members ($n = 124$, $F_{\{1,120\}} = 9.22$, $p = .003$). There were no effects by race in the full sample, nor within any activity group.

Moratorium. No effects by race, sex, or activity group were found in the full sample, nor when subjects participating in musical groups, sports, or clubs were analyzed separately.

Foreclosure. In the full sample, males scored higher than females on identity foreclosure ($F_{\{1,201\}} = 6.93$, $p = .009$). No other significant differences emerged in the full sample, nor in any separate activity group.

Diffusion. There were no race or sex effects in any analyses of interpersonal identity diffusion. In the full sample, an effect was found for participation in sports, with nonathletes scoring higher than athletes ($F \{1,194\} = 2.29, p = .029$). Overall, students who did not participate in extracurricular activities were higher in diffusion than were students active in any of the groups ($F \{1,201\} = 4.44, p = .036$).

Insert Table 2 About Here

Ideological Identity

Achievement. One difference by activity group was found in the full sample. Club members scored higher on ideological identity achievement than did nonmembers ($F \{1,201\} = 5.31, p = .02$). A race X club interaction also emerged ($F \{1,201\} = 4.75, p = .03$). White members scored highest, while White nonmembers scored lowest, and Black nonmembers scored higher than Black members. Thus, the expected advantage of club membership with regard to ideological identity formation held for Whites but not Blacks (see Figure 1). There were no effects in the full sample for race, sex, musical group or athletic participation, nor between students defined as "active" and "nonactive".

In the separate analyses for activity groups, females scored significantly higher than males among athletes ($F \{1,85\} = 6.21, p = .015$), and among club members ($F \{1,121\} = 4.56, p = .035$),

but not among musicians. No race differences or interactions were found for any of the activity groups.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

Moratorium. A significant effect was found in the full sample for club membership, where nonmembers scored higher on ideological moratorium than did members ($F \{1,194\} = 9.72, p = .002$). Similarly, students defined as "nonactive" scored higher than did "active" students ($F \{1,201\} = 4.28, p = .04$). There was no significant race difference, nor any effect for participation in sports or music in the full sample. There was a significant sex effect in the full sample, with females scoring higher than males ($F \{1,201\} = 4.72, p = .03$).

One sex difference within the three activity groups was found. Among club members, females scored higher than males on ideological moratorium ($F \{1,120\} = 7.23, p = .008$). No sex differences were found among musicians or athletes, and no race differences or interactions were found in any of the groups.

Foreclosure. In the full sample, there were no effects for membership in clubs or musical groups, race, or sex, and no significant interactions. There was a difference by sports, with athletes scoring higher than nonathletes on ideological identity foreclosure ($F \{1,194\} = 5.86, p = .016$); and between "active" and "nonactive" students, with active students scoring higher ($F \{1,201\} = 4.48, p = .036$). There were no differences by race or

sex within any of the three activity groups.

Diffusion. We found only one significant result on ideological identity diffusion. In the full sample, there was an effect for club membership, with nonmembers scoring higher than members ($F \{1,194\} = 8.06, p = .005$). There were no significant effects for race or sex for any activity group, and no difference between "active" and "nonactive" students.

Insert Table 3 About Here

Total Identity

Achievement. There were two significant effects by sex on total identity achievement, with females scoring higher than males among athletes ($F \{1,84\} = 6.95, p = .01$) and club members ($F \{1,120\} = 9.26, p = .003$). There were no sex effects in the full sample, or among musicians, no race or interaction effects in any analyses, and no difference between "active" and "nonactive" groups.

Moratorium. There were no significant results in any analyses of total moratorium scores.

Foreclosure. Students classified as "active" scored higher on total identity foreclosure than did students who did not report participation in any of the three activity groups ($F \{1,201\} = 4.23, p = .04$). No differences were found by race, sex, or participation in musical groups, sports, or clubs in the full sample; nor by race or sex within any of the activity

groups. No significant interactions emerged.

Diffusion. There were no effects in the full sample for membership in musical groups or clubs on total identity diffusion. However, nonathletes scored higher than athletes ($F_{\{1,194\}} = 8.50, p = .004$), and "nonactive" students scored higher than their classmates who participated in at least one activity ($F_{\{1,201\}} = 4.12, p = .044$). There were no differences by race or sex in the full sample, or within any of the three activity groups.

Insert Table 4 About Here

Discussion

It is difficult to make generalizations regarding the effects of participation in extracurricular activities on adolescents' moral development. The scoring criteria on the SROM are very stringent, leading to a large number of invalid questionnaires (see Brock, 1991; Snarey & Keljo, 1994). In view of the high level of missing data, results in this area must be interpreted cautiously. The only conclusion we are comfortable in drawing is that students' ability to make mature moral judgments appears to be unaffected by their membership in musical groups, school clubs, or athletic teams. Given the findings of other researchers, particularly with regard to sports (Bredemeier et al., 1986), we recommend continued study of possible effects of participation in extracurricular activities on adolescents' level

of moral reasoning.

Overall, girls are more likely than boys to score high on identity achievement, the status generally considered to be the most adaptive (Wallace-Brosious et al, 1994; Waterman, 1992). This is particularly true for the interpersonal components of identity. Although we did not predict sex differences on identity formation, the results on identity achievement, as well as on moratorium, provide indirect support for adolescent females' greater psychosocial maturity.

Membership in school clubs is related to higher levels of ideological identity achievement, and lower levels of ideological moratorium and diffusion. Our findings are consistent with those of Fertman and Chubb (1992) and Rathunde (1993), who discussed the importance of exploration in extracurricular activities. Further research in this area might focus on the voluntary, non-academic credit aspect of club membership as a facilitator of role exploration leading to identity achievement.

We are especially interested in the link between participation in sports and ideological identity formation. Overall, being on an athletic team is related to identity foreclosure, a result consistent with previous findings (see Danish et al., 1993). When analyzing results from athletes alone, however, we find that females are significantly higher than their male counterparts on ideological identity achievement. Our speculation is that for girls, joining an athletic team involves a deliberate exploration of alternatives, followed by a

conscious decision to venture outside the traditional feminine role - precisely the process necessary to arrive at identity achievement. Thus, identity foreclosure among athletes may be specific to males, who are more likely to step into the "jock" identity without question. Further support for this notion comes from our finding of athletes' low rates of participation in other school activities.

One particularly unexpected finding is that being a member of the school band or chorus is unrelated to identity formation. Previous authors' findings suggested that participation in extracurricular activities, including musical groups, would be associated with role exploration among adolescents (see Rathunde, 1993). Further research exploring the effects of high school band and chorus on identity is warranted.

Students who do not participate in any of the activities studied (the "nonactive" group) are high on both interpersonal diffusion and ideological moratorium, when compared to their classmates who report membership in at least one group. With regard to interpersonal identity, we suggest that the nonactivity of these students may be due to their inability or unwillingness to form relationships with their peers - in short, their identity diffusion. Such a conclusion is consistent with Goodenow's (1993) discussion of the importance for adolescents of a sense of belongingness. Their higher scores on ideological moratorium, on the other hand, may be interpreted more positively as indicative of their deliberate search for involvement with new activities,

if not new relationships.

Our expectation that participation in extracurricular activities would be related to higher levels of moral development and identity achievement was only partially fulfilled. We are confident in concluding that school clubs facilitate development in ways that other activities do not, and that membership in them ought to be encouraged by teachers and administrators. Further, the range of clubs available should be extended so that students who are not presently active might find an interest group that suits their needs. We also conclude that the high status afforded male athletes is detrimental to their overall psychosocial development. It is unlikely that small-town high schools will abandon competitive sports, but greater efforts could be made to involve team members in additional activities in order to foster their identity formation.

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Table 1

Means of SROM score, by subjects' sex, race, and activity group

| Full Sample (N = 114) | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| Group | <u>n</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
| Sex | | | |
| M | 57 | 319.02 | 42.56 |
| F | 57 | 305.98 | 46.37 |
| Race | | | |
| B | 39 | 295.69 _a | 41.76 |
| W | 75 | 321.24 _a | 44.06 |
| Sports | | | |
| P | 28 | 317.00 | 44.52 |
| N | 82 | 309.49 | 45.09 |
| School Clubs | | | |
| P | 64 | 311.83 | 46.05 |
| N | 26 | 320.96 | 47.18 |
| Any Activity | | | |
| P | 88 | 310.00 | 44.03 |
| N | 26 | 320.96 | 47.18 |

(table continues)

Table 1

Means of SROM score, by subjects' sex, race, and activity group

| Group | <u>n</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
|----------------------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| Athletes (<u>n</u> = 47) | | | |
| Sex | | | |
| M | 25 | 311.8 | 38.99 |
| F | 22 | 304.23 | 43.76 |
| Race | | | |
| B | 19 | 286.11 _b | 39.79 |
| W | 28 | 323.29 _b | 35.08 |
| Musicians (<u>n</u> = 32) | | | |
| Sex | | | |
| M | 13 | 313.54 | 54.95 |
| F | 19 | 324.79 | 35.08 |
| Race | | | |
| B | 8 | 310.50 | 35.32 |
| W | 24 | 323.46 | 46.45 |

(table continues)

Table 1

Means of SROM score, by subjects' sex, race, and activity group

| Group | <u>n</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
|-------------------------------|----------|---------------------|-----------|
| Club Members (<u>n</u> = 68) | | | |
| Sex | | | |
| M | 30 | 323.76 | 47.69 |
| F | 38 | 305.66 | 43.27 |
| Race | | | |
| B | 22 | 294.23 _c | 38.35 |
| W | 46 | 322.93 _c | 46.56 |

Note. P = participant NP = non-participant

Means with same subscript are significantly different.

Table 2
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Full Sample (N = 114) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------|------------|--------------------|-----------|----------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--|
| | | Achieved | | | | Moratorium | | | | Foreclosed | | | | Diffused | |
| | | <u>N</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | M | 104 | 30.84 _a | 6.62 | 25.72 | 6.08 | 18.62 _b | 7.29 | 21.16 | 6.81 | | | | | |
| | F | 99 | 33.53 _b | 6.84 | 25.21 | 5.27 | 16.11 _b | 6.20 | 20.10 | 6.62 | | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | 73 | 32.14 | 7.77 | 25.75 | 6.27 | 16.71 | 6.93 | 21.36 | 7.07 | | | | | |
| | W | 130 | 31.15 | 6.30 | 25.32 | 5.36 | 17.78 | 6.84 | 20.25 | 6.51 | | | | | |

(table continues)



Table 2
Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Full Sample (N = 114) | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----------------------|------|------------|------|------------|------|--------------------|------|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sports | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 87 | 32.85 | 6.44 | 25.15 | 5.74 | 18.32 | 7.08 | 19.03 _c | 6.60 |
| NP | 115 | 31.57 | 7.13 | 25.74 | 5.70 | 16.65 | 6.68 | 21.87 _c | 6.62 |
| Music | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 48 | 32.77 | 6.96 | 25.92 | 5.27 | 18.46 | 6.07 | 20.44 | 7.00 |
| NP | 154 | 31.92 | 6.83 | 25.35 | 5.84 | 17.03 | 7.10 | 20.71 | 6.68 |

(table continues)



Table 2
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| Full Sample (N = 114) | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
| Clubs | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 123 | 32.85 | 6.63 | 25.36 | 5.50 | 17.92 | 7.05 | 19.84 | 6.14 |
| NP | 79 | 30.99 | 7.08 | 25.68 | 6.04 | 16.52 | 6.57 | 21.91 | 7.45 |
| Any Activity | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 164 | 32.43 | 6.90 | 25.47 | 5.74 | 17.82 | 6.97 | 20.16 _a | 6.59 |
| NP | 39 | 30.95 | 6.53 | 25.49 | 5.56 | 15.59 | 6.20 | 22.67 _a | 7.00 |

(table continues)

Table 2
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Athletes (n = 88) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|--|--|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | | | | | |
| | n | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 52 | 31.67 _e | 6.64 | 25.63 | 5.97 | 19.44 | 7.70 | 19.85 | 6.95 | | | | |
| F | 36 | 34.67 _e | 5.73 | 24.39 | 5.30 | 16.81 | 5.73 | 17.89 | 5.85 | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 33 | 32.12 | 7.66 | 26.09 | 6.36 | 17.15 | 6.94 | 19.88 | 6.48 | | | | |
| W | 55 | 35.36 | 5.57 | 24.55 | 5.25 | 19.09 | 7.07 | 18.5 | 6.62 | | | | |

(table continues)

Table 2
Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Musicians (n = 49) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|------|------------|------|------------|------|----------|------|---|----|---|----|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | | | | | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 22 | 30.41 _f | 7.39 | 26.09 | 5.50 | 18.86 | 6.75 | 21.00 | 8.57 | | | | |
| F | 27 | 34.85 _f | 5.91 | 25.67 | 5.10 | 18.26 | 5.48 | 19.96 | 5.37 | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 10 | 32.10 | 8.82 | 27.10 | 6.90 | 16.30 | 6.73 | 22.10 | 6.31 | | | | |
| W | 39 | 33.05 | 6.46 | 25.54 | 4.78 | 19.10 | 5.78 | 20.00 | 7.09 | | | | |

(table continues)



Table 2
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Club Members (n = 124) | | | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------|------|------------|------|------------|------|----------|------|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 54 | 30.96 _g | 6.22 | 25.50 | 5.78 | 19.31 | 7.61 | 20.65 | 6.13 |
| F | 70 | 34.37 _g | 6.57 | 25.21 | 5.28 | 16.90 | 6.41 | 19.21 | 6.07 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 43 | 32.09 | 7.60 | 25.05 | 5.82 | 16.53 | 6.94 | 20.91 | 6.20 |
| W | 81 | 33.31 | 6.04 | 25.49 | 5.33 | 18.70 | 7.00 | 19.27 | 6.02 |

Note. P = participant NP = non-participant
 Means with same subscript are significantly different.



Table 3
Ideological Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

Full Sample (N = 203)

| | n | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
|------|-----|----------|------|--------------------|------|------------|------|----------|------|
| | | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 104 | 32.48 | 6.57 | 24.62 _a | 5.87 | 20.08 | 6.66 | 23.73 | 6.57 |
| F | 99 | 33.96 | 5.57 | 26.50 _a | 6.46 | 18.72 | 5.83 | 22.44 | 6.03 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 73 | 33.32 | 5.35 | 25.09 | 6.21 | 20.53 | 6.46 | 22.32 | 5.54 |
| F | 130 | 33.13 | 6.55 | 25.33 | 6.24 | 18.78 | 6.13 | 23.55 | 6.71 |

(table continues)

Table 3
Ideological Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

Full Sample (N = 203)

| | | Achieved | Moratorium | Foreclosed | Diffused |
|--------|----------|----------|------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | <u>N</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
| Sports | | | | | |
| P | 87 | 33.77 | 5.76 | 24.57 | 5.57 |
| | | | | 20.78 _b | 6.13 |
| NP | 115 | 32.98 | 5.67 | 26.28 | 6.62 |
| | | | | 18.42 _b | 6.27 |
| Music | | | | | |
| P | 48 | 33.44 | 5.66 | 25.23 | 7.04 |
| | | | | 19.38 | 6.41 |
| NP | 154 | 33.29 | 5.74 | 25.64 | 5.98 |
| | | | | 19.45 | 6.29 |
| | | | | 23.06 | 6.26 |
| | | | | 23.13 | 6.39 |

(table continues)

Table 3
Ideological Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Full Sample (N = 203) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|
| | | Achieved | | | Moratorium | | | Foreclosed | | | Diffused | | |
| | <u>n</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> |
| Clubs | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 123 | 34.12 _c | 5.56 | 24.65 _d | 6.27 | 19.09 | 6.17 | 22.06 _e | 6.37 | | | | |
| NP | 79 | 32.08 _c | 5.74 | 26.95 _d | 5.95 | 19.97 | 6.50 | 24.76 _e | 5.99 | | | | |
| Any Activity | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 164 | 33.48 | 5.83 | 25.10 _f | 6.23 | 19.87 _g | 6.36 | 22.82 | 6.32 | | | | |
| NP | 39 | 32.03 | 7.12 | 27.39 _f | 5.93 | 17.51 _g | 5.67 | 24.31 | 6.32 | | | | |



Table 3
 Ideological Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Athletes ($n = 88$) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|--------------------|------|-------|------------|-------|------|-------|------------|-----|------|-----|----------|--|
| | | Achieved | | | | Moratorium | | | | Foreclosed | | | | Diffused | |
| | | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | M | 52 | 32.08 _h | 7.58 | 24.21 | 6.00 | 21.19 | 6.70 | 23.23 | 6.55 | | | | | |
| | F | 36 | 35.53 _h | 4.52 | 25.06 | 4.83 | 20.13 | 5.19 | 21.25 | 5.08 | | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | B | 33 | 32.97 | 5.75 | 25.76 | 5.15 | 21.85 | 5.84 | 21.94 | 5.07 | | | | | |
| | W | 55 | 33.77 | 7.25 | 23.84 | 5.69 | 20.04 | 6.24 | 22.71 | 6.58 | | | | | |

(table continues)

Table 3
Ideological Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Musicians (n = 49) | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|------|------------|------|------------|------|----------|------|---|----|---|----|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | | | | | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 22 | 31.48 | 8.77 | 23.82 | 7.67 | 20.18 | 7.31 | 23.27 | 7.20 | | | | |
| F | 27 | 34.15 | 5.57 | 26.30 | 6.27 | 18.56 | 5.54 | 22.81 | 5.39 | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 10 | 32.80 | 4.52 | 26.10 | 9.02 | 17.60 | 5.38 | 23.80 | 5.39 | | | | |
| W | 39 | 32.95 | 7.85 | 24.95 | 6.47 | 19.72 | 6.60 | 22.82 | 6.44 | | | | |

(table continues)

Table 3
Ideological Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

Club Members (N = 124)

| | N | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
|------|----|--------------------|------|--------------------|------|------------|------|----------|------|
| | | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 54 | 32.62 _i | 7.06 | 22.91 _j | 5.69 | 19.13 | 6.70 | 22.44 | 6.45 |
| F | 70 | 34.91 _i | 5.45 | 25.97 _j | 6.37 | 19.00 | 5.75 | 21.74 | 6.28 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 43 | 33.28 | 5.12 | 25.47 | 6.63 | 20.09 | 6.76 | 21.91 | 5.68 |
| W | 81 | 34.23 | 6.83 | 24.20 | 6.03 | 18.51 | 5.78 | 22.12 | 6.70 |

NOTE. P = participant NP = non-participant

Means with same subscript are significantly different.

Table 4
Total Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Full Sample (N = 203) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|----|---|----|----------|----|
| | | Achieved | | | | Moratorium | | | | Foreclosed | | | | Diffused | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 104 | 63.43 | 10.62 | 50.87 | 10.96 | 38.77 | 12.66 | 45.01 | 10.88 | | | | | | |
| F | 99 | 67.38 | 10.69 | 51.73 | 10.29 | 34.42 | 11.06 | 42.65 | 10.52 | | | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 73 | 65.19 | 11.49 | 52.27 | 11.47 | 37.25 | 11.96 | 43.95 | 10.25 | | | | | | |
| W | 130 | 65.45 | 10.46 | 50.73 | 10.12 | 36.32 | 12.17 | 43.81 | 11.05 | | | | | | |

(table continues)

Table 4
Total Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

Full Sample (N = 203)

| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
|--------|-----|----------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sports | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 87 | 66.39 | 10.78 | 49.77 | 9.97 | 39.20 | 11.79 | 41.61 _a | 10.80 |
| NP | 115 | 64.48 | 10.80 | 52.48 | 11.02 | 34.72 | 12.04 | 45.58 _a | 10.47 |
| Music | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 48 | 66.21 | 11.08 | 51.15 | 10.73 | 37.00 | 11.68 | 43.50 | 11.40 |
| NP | 154 | 65.02 | 10.74 | 51.36 | 10.65 | 36.54 | 12.27 | 43.99 | 10.60 |



Table 4
Total Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| Full Sample (N = 203) | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--|
| | | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | | |
| | <u>N</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | <u>M</u> | <u>SD</u> | |
| Clubs | | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 123 | 66.82 | 10.23 | 50.50 | 10.87 | 36.99 | 12.24 | 41.91 | 10.43 | |
| NP | 79 | 62.94 | 11.32 | 52.58 | 10.22 | 36.11 | 11.95 | 46.92 | 10.65 | |
| Any Activity | | | | | | | | | | |
| P | 164 | 65.74 | 10.93 | 50.93 | 10.83 | 37.49 _b | 12.23 | 43.12 _c | 10.67 | |
| NP | 39 | 63.77 | 10.30 | 52.77 | 9.71 | 33.10 _b | 10.84 | 46.97 _c | 10.65 | |

(table continued)

Table 4
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Athletes ($n = 88$) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|------|-----|------|----------|------|
| | | Achieved | | | | Moratorium | | | | Foreclosed | | | | Diffused | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 52 | 64.15 _a | 11.45 | 49.85 | 10.37 | 40.79 | 12.79 | 43.31 | 11.60 | | | | | | |
| F | 36 | 69.92 _a | 8.82 | 49.56 | 9.37 | 36.83 | 9.67 | 39.14 | 8.96 | | | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 33 | 64.79 | 12.38 | 51.79 | 10.03 | 39.00 | 11.49 | 42.42 | 10.57 | | | | | | |
| W | 55 | 67.55 | 9.67 | 48.49 | 9.74 | 39.27 | 11.96 | 41.11 | 10.91 | | | | | | |

(table continues)



Table 4
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

Musicians (n = 49)

| | n | Achieved | | Moratorium | | Foreclosed | | Diffused | |
|------|----|----------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|----------|-------|
| | | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 22 | 63.27 | 11.06 | 49.90 | 11.67 | 39.05 | 12.13 | 44.27 | 13.41 |
| F | 27 | 69.00 | 10.60 | 51.96 | 9.86 | 35.33 | 11.01 | 42.78 | 9.44 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 10 | 64.90 | 10.64 | 53.20 | 13.27 | 33.90 | 11.09 | 45.90 | 6.24 |
| W | 39 | 66.82 | 11.28 | 51.49 | 10.00 | 37.79 | 11.68 | 42.82 | 12.24 |

(table continues)



Table 4
 Interpersonal Identity Status by Subjects' Sex, Race, and Activity Group

| | | Club Members ($n = 124$) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|-------|--------------------|-------|------------|------|-----|------|----------|------|
| | | Achieved | | | | Moratorium | | | | Foreclosed | | | | Diffused | |
| | n | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| M | 54 | 64.00 _a | 9.87 | 49.44 | 11.50 | 38.59 | 13.37 | 42.94 | 10.33 | | | | | | |
| F | 70 | 69.14 _a | 10.00 | 51.24 | 10.30 | 35.76 | 11.14 | 41 _b 10 | 10.43 | | | | | | |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | 43 | 64.93 | 10.87 | 51.63 | 12.13 | 36.63 | 12.58 | 42.81 | 9.19 | | | | | | |
| W | 81 | 67.95 | 9.78 | 49.84 | 10.09 | 37.19 | 12.05 | 41.42 | 10.99 | | | | | | |

Note: P = participant N = non-participant

Means with same subscript are significantly different.

Figure 1. Ideological Identity Achievement - Race X Membership Interaction

