Extension Models of Marcia's Identity Status Paradigm

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Abstract

Within the field of psychology, the nature and the process of development of identity and other related concepts like self and self-identity have attracted many researchers over decades. Studies began with Freud's early writings and they were popularised by Erikson's (1950, 1968) theoretical expositions. The work of Marcia (1966, 1980) was the first neo-Eriksonian identity model that operationalises Erikson's work. Both Cote and Levine (1988) and van Hoof (1999) construed identity status model as an excessively narrow conceptualisation of identity and called for the extension as well as expansion of identity status model. Consequently, a number of alternative models of identity have begun to come forth since 1987. The alternative identity models are divided into two categories: The extension models and the expansion models. Extension models are those models that largely complement identity status paradigm model rather than diverging from it or reconceptualising it. Expansion models are those models that may include identity status framework as a component, but go far beyond Marcia's identity status paradigm in their scope and coverage. Using these definitions, in the current paper extension models proposed by Berzonsky (1989a), Grotevant (1987; with extensions by Kerpelman, Pittman, and Lamke, 1997), and Waterman (1990) have been discussed.

Who am I?
What are my values and goals?
What is my life's purpose?
What makes me different from other people?

Am I really the same person from one year, or decade, to the next? (Schwartz, 2001)

These questions proposed by Schwartz (2001) illustrate those aspects

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of self-knowledge which are needed to form a healthy sense of identity. He describes these aspects as forming a roadmap in the development of human that ultimately gives meaning and understanding to an individual's life. The main function of identity is to provide a sense of direction in one's life. Both of these theorists based their ideas on Erikson's theory (1950, 1968), whom some consider as the father of identity conceptualisation theories. He believed that individuals move in life through various stages of psycho-social development, and one needs to complete certain psychosocial tasks at each stage-identity formation being one of them in the adolescence stage of development.

Although identity is not defined uniformly, generally we understand identity as being aware of oneself, his uniqueness, and authenticity. Erikson (1950) defined identity as, "the accrued confidence [in] the inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others." In this definition three important elements emerge as necessary for identity: first, the individual must experience the inner sameness or integrity, so that actions and decisions are not random. Defined principles and values order one's behaviour and a deviation is perceived as 'not me'; second, the sense of inner sameness is continuous over time. Actions in the past and hopes for future are experienced as related to the self of today. Third, identity is experienced within a community of important others.

According to Grotevant (1998), identity refers to the way one defines themself and the way one is recognised by other persons and to one's subjective sense of the coherence of personality and continuity over time. Bosma (1995) and Kroger (2007) viewed identity as the dynamic balance between sameness and change, and balance between subjective and objective perspective. Louw and Kail (2007) define identity as "the way a person identifies him or herself in relation to other individuals and social groups". A narrative approach in investigating identity has developed in more recent times. It has been described as the internalised storied reconstruction of one's perceptions of the past and the future towards building a sense of unity and purpose for one's life (McAdams and Cox, 2010). Schwartz et al., (2011) gave an operational definition of identity comprising of one's "chosen commitments, personal characteristics, beliefs about oneself, roles and position in relation to others, membership in social groups and categories, treasured material possessions and where one belongs in a geographical space". Though, the concept of identity has been explained by various theorists, every work generating out of Erikson's (1968) conceptualisation of identity, provides a satisfactory and reasonable explanation of identity.

ERIKSON'S CONCEPTUALISATION OF IDENTITY

Erikson (1968) provided the most widely accepted framework for

conceptualising the transformation of self during the period of adolescence. This framework is for the development of a sense of one's individuality (i.e., self-sameness) and continuity with significant others over time. Erikson (1968) described identity as "a progressive continuity between that which one comes to be during the long years of childhood and that which one promises to become in the anticipated future: between that which one conceives oneself to be and that which one perceives others to see him and to expect from him." In these lines, he described ego identity as performing a variety of functions like, sameness over time, inner coherence, the synthesis of successive identifications, and protection against experiences of sudden discontinuities that may occur by biological development or changes in various situations of life. He believed that formation of identity in adolescent period can be achieved in the form of "a coherent sense of one's roles and occupational pathway, one's self in relation to others, and one's values and purpose in life, whereas failure resulted in confusion within these self-aspects" (La Guardia, 2009).

According to Erikson (1968), identity is on the pole of a dimension relating to self-knowledge, and it is extended to opposite pole of identity confusion. He viewed the formation of identity as a major component which evolves in childhood and its development continues throughout the life cycle and he viewed the processes of introjections, identification and identity formation as the steps by which ego develops. Introjection refers to the incorporation of another's image which is based on experience (satisfactory) of mutuality in relationships during early years. Identifications means when the child becomes like those other significant persons with features that are admired. Whereas, according to Erikson (1968), identity formation begins only after the process of seeking identifications as the basis of one's identity ends.

According to Erikson (1968), the effective resolution of the process of identity formation results into the formation of coherent ego identity, that is characterised by a stable, clear self-definition that includes an inner continuity in values, beliefs, attitudes, and interests. Erikson's (1968) concept of identity is multidimensional in nature and has a wider scope. Erikson's (1968) work spoke of different aspects of identity like cognitive, social, cultural and moral. His main purpose was to establish a developmental-social approach of the self-covering all levels from the intra-psychic ego conflicts to different cultural and historical contexts enclosing the individual. Erikson (1968) pioneered the work of identity, but it has its roots in psychoanalytical theory that emphasises the driving mechanism of formation of identity in the form of conflicts and its resolutions (Blos,

1962). Hence, Erikson's (1968) view about the identity is in primary, theoretical and clinical terms. He provides a framework for identity, from which different other researchers attempted to operationalise its components.

MARCIA'S OPERATIONALISATION OF THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

Marcia's work (1966, 1980) was the first identity model that operationalised Erikson's concept of identity. Ego identity can be defined as "an internal, self-constructed, dynamic organisation of drives, abilities, beliefs and individual history" (Marcia, 1980). Marcia (1966) presented a status paradigm model intended to represent Erikson's theory by emphasising on personal identity. From Erikson's writing, Marcia (1980) inferred two independent dimensions of—

• Exploration
• Commitment

Exploration

It involves active questioning and consideration of different options or alternatives available. It is a process which is used by individuals so as to search for the resolutions of different issues of changing goals, beliefs about the world before actually being committed to any alternative.

Commitment

It pertains to the process of adherence to a specific set of values, norms, goals and beliefs (Marcia,

1980). A commitment showed the existence of a choice made from different options in any given domain of occupation, religion and politics, etc., (Marcia, 1980). Commitment involves the degree to which a person have explored different experiences of life and made a commitment to ideological sense of his self.

By bifurcating the dimensions of exploration and commitment into high and low levels, Marcia (1966) derived four independent identity statuses, these are—

(i) Identity Achievement Status
(ii) Identity Moratorium Status
(iii) Identity Foreclosure Status
(iv) Identity Diffusion Status

Each status of identity represents a combination of exploration and commitment levels.

Identity Achievement Status

Marcia (1966) originally considered and labelled the identity achieved status as the final state of the identity formation process. This status is characterised by high commitment following high exploration. Achievement is considered as the most mature state of identity because it is linked with strong interpersonal relationships, balanced thinking ability and effective decision-making capability. Identity achievers are considered as the 'balancers' of work, relationships and interests. The identity achieved individual is one who has gone through the process of

active exploration and has selected one or more options to adhere.

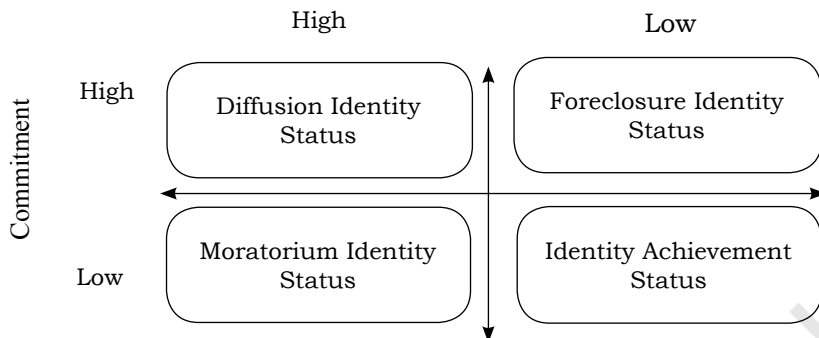reflected by their parents and society. Generally, foreclosure status of

Figure 1: Marcia's Identity Status Paradigm (1966)

Identity Moratorium Status

Identity moratorium status is the state of active exploration in the relative low commitment or absence of commitment. Kidwell et al., (1995) proposed that the moratorium status may be linked with storm and stress, consequently, individuals tend to remain for less time in this moratorium state as compared to other statuses of identity. Individuals in this status are labelled as 'daughters of crisis'. Individuals in this status experience crisis because of the active exploration of various alternatives, but have not yet chosen any alternative.

Identity Foreclosure Status

Identity foreclosure status is characterised by making commitments to a particular set of beliefs, norms, values and standards without any active exploration. Foreclosure status individuals are 'culture bearers', i.e., they maintain the commitments

identity is associated with some degree of closed-mindedness, rigidity and self-satisfaction as mentioned by Marcia (1980). Marcia (1966) mentioned that the individuals who are in foreclosure status of identity tend to be authoritarian and they show conflict-free as well as smooth relationships with their parents as compared to the individuals of other statuses.

Identity Diffusion Status

Identity diffusion status is the state that is characterised by the relative lack of both exploration and commitment. Diffused identity status individuals are generally apathetic and disinterested (Marcia, 1980). Berzonsky (1989a) mentioned that the individuals of diffused identity status are often at high risk for a number of maladaptive outcomes, like academic problems and drug problems. So, individuals in diffusion status are labelled as 'apathetic wanderers'. In general terms, identity

diffusion is basically a lack of basic identity structure which might hold the person together and afford that person a solid basis in choosing different paths of life.

The identity status paradigm appears to be better characterised as character types than the developmental stages given by Erikson (Cote and Levine, 1988; Grotevant, 1987). The controversy exists about which status out of moratorium and foreclosure should be placed next to identity achievement status on the continuum of identity status. Marcia (1966, 1980) himself admitted that the identity statuses somehow deviated from the concept of identity given by Erikson, and this identity status model focused mainly on personal identity. Numerous theorists (Cote and Levine, 1988; Meeus, 1996; Meeus et al., 1999; Waterman, 1982) have also questioned the conceivable nature of the identity status paradigm model as a developmental theory. As addressed by these researchers, the specific weaknesses of the identity status model are cross-cultural validity (the failure of these four statuses to differentially relate to comparison variables), and the use of distinct status categories so as to represent identity.

Both Cote and Levine (1988) and van Hoof (1999) construed identity status model as an excessively narrow conceptualisation of identity and called for the extension as well as expansion of identity status model. Consequently, a number of alternative models of identity have begun to come forth since 1987. The alternative identity models are divided into two categories— the extension models and the expansion models. Extension models are those models that largely complement identity status paradigm model rather than diverging from it or reconceptualising it. Expansion models are those models that may include identity status framework as a component but go far beyond Marcia's identity status paradigm in their scope and coverage. Using these definitions, extension models have been proposed by Berzonsky (1989a), Grotevant (1987; with extensions by Kerpelman, Pittman, and Lamke, 1997), and Waterman (1990).

EXTENSION MODELS OF MARCIA'S IDENTITY STATUS PARADIGM

The different extension models given by different theorists are fairly divergent from one another. Grotevant (1987), established an in-depth examination of the exploration process. Berzonsky (1989a) proposed an individual differences perspective on identity formation, which is based on people's preferable methods of solving different problems and making decisions. Waterman (1990), added a new dimension of self-discovery to the identity status approach.

BERZONSKY'S SOCIO-COGNITIVE MODEL OF IDENTITY

Berzonsky (1989a) has stressed the importance of considering the process of identity development in

addition to its structure. He said that by focusing on only one aspect of identity, i.e., statuses as an operationalisation of structure, some of the complexity of identity is lost. Berzonsky (1989a, 1990) proposed an individual differences perspective on identity formation, which is based on people's preferable methods of solving various problems and making decisions related to different issues of self. Berzonsky (1989a, 1990) has propagated a process-oriented paradigm of identity formation that is based on a constructivist theoretical perspective. The identity processing styles that are displayed by the individuals are actually their chosen preferences.

Three identity processing styles proposed by Berzonsky are:
  (i) Informational Identity Processing Style
 (ii) Normative Identity Processing Style
(iii) Diffuse-Avoidant Identity Processing Style

Informational Identity Processing Style

The informational identity processing style represents deliberately seeking-out, processing and evaluating their identity related information. The individuals using informational identity processing styles are self-explorers, means these individuals are more open to new ideas and are willing to suspend their judgements related to their own self. They function as scientific self-theorists, who are keen to learn new things about themselves and to find accurate self-diagnostic information. They are considered as rational agents who seek rational, informed explanations and reasons for the choices they make and actions committed by them.

Normative Identity Processing Style

The normative identity processing style represents imitation and conformity. The individuals using normative identity processing styles are conformed to standards, value patterns, directions and prescriptions of other significant persons in an automatic manner. It means they make premature commitments without critically evaluating the informwation. They show a low tolerance for ambiguity and have a high need to maintain structure and cognitive closure (Berzonsky, 1990). Individuals who use this protectionist approach function as dogmatic self-theorists, whose main objective is to conserve and maintain self-views, and to guard their self against the information that may threaten their 'hard core' values and beliefs.

Diffuse-Avoidant Identity Processing Style

A diffuse-avoidant identity processing style involves a reluctance to confront and deal with identity related conflicts and issues. If anindividual procrastinates too long, then their actions and choices will be decided by situational demands and consequences.

Such context-sensitive adjustments are more likely to involve ephemeral acts of verbal or behavioural compliance rather than stable, long-term revisions in the self-theory. This identity processing style is postulated to be linked with diffused identity status given by Marcia. Individuals with a diffuse-avoidant identity processing style adopt an unplanned, situation-specific approach to self-theorising, which leads to a fragmented set of self-constructs with limited overall unity (Berzonsky, 1990).

The three identity processing styles add a process component to the Marcia's identity status paradigm framework (Berzonsky, 1990; Berzonsky and Adams, 1999). Berzonsky's (1989a, 1990) processing style approach is more closer to the Erikson's ego synthesis angle that reflects more of an ongoing process than a stationary event. The greater level of continuity inherent in identity processing style makes this construct more closer to Erikson's (1966) notion of continuity of character than the identity status approach.

Grotevant Model: Exploration As The Work of Identity Formation

Grotevant (1987) proposed a process model of identity formation. He referred to exploration as "the work of the identity exploration process". By this view, he opined that exploration was the process variable within Marcia's model of identity status paradigm, and with commitment is an outcome index (Bosma, 1992). Therefore, he designated the process of exploration as the phenomenon behind development identity. Grotevant's main emphasis was on exploring the components, antecedents, and concurrents of exploration. Two principal components of identity exploration were discovered by Grotevant (1987). He postulated that exploration was a function of "those abilities and orientations that individuals bring to bear on the identity formation process". The abilities were assumed to be skills like problem solving, perspective taking, and critical thinking. Orientations referred to attitudinal factors like rigidity and procrastination that will determine the willingness or unwillingness of a person to involve in the process of exploration. Grotevant assumed that abilities and orientations are two independent components of exploration, it means, the presence or absence of one component will not affect the presence or absence of the other component.

A two-by-two matrix can be framed by taking on the x-axis, the presence or absence of abilities and on the y-axis, the favourability or unfavourability of one's orientations toward exploration. The condition having the presence of critical skills and favourable orientations would be best conducive for promoting exploration, in comparison to the condition having only the presence of critical skills or favourable orientations.

According to Grotevant, 1987 both the problem-solving skills and orientations make separate contributions in promoting the

exploration, and for the greatest degree of exploration to occur, both components need to be present. To identify two principal components of identity exploration, Grotevant (1987) discovered five antecedents to the process of exploration, these are: (a) information-seeking tendency, (b) the presence or absence of competing forces in the life of a person, (c) satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's current identity, (d) expectations for the exploration process, and (e) willingness to explore. Each of these components contributes in identity exploration. Once exploration has started, the various antecedent factors continue to guide, affect and even stop the process (Kerpelman et al., 1997). After an initial period of exploration, individuals can often stop to reflect on the process and decide how or if it should continue. For example, if, after a brief period of exploration, one is satisfied with the identity that one has created, one is more likely to stop exploring (Grotevant, 1987). However, a continued orientation to exploration, without satisfying the current sense of identity, can lead to new searches for identity after re-evaluation. These reassessments are crucial to the exploration process, as they represent changes in the course of exploration prescribed by changes in circumstances, the growth of the individual, or any other new information (Grotevant, 1987).

Out of the five proposed antecedents of exploration, seeking information, expectations and willingness to explore would be expected to facilitate the exploration process, while satisfaction with the level of identity and interfering factors are expected to hamper exploration. Information gathering has proven to be an important aspect of exploration (Marcia, 1966, 1980; Waterman, 1982, 1993). Berzonsky's style of information processing based on the active search for information has been found to be linked to exploration (Schwartz, 2006). It is theoretically credible that expectations regarding the exploration process affect the intensity and results of the process. This means that a person who expects to solve problems through the exploration process would be more likely to have a better chance of doing so than one who does not expect to solve his problems. However, there is no empirical study to support this proposition. Willingness to explore has not been directly found to precede exploration, but rather reluctance to explore, particularly Berzonsky's normative identity processing style has been found to inhibit identity exploration (Schwartz, 2006), and the use of the normative identity processing style has been found to suppress the relationship between problem-solving skills and exploration (Berman et al., 2001).

In addition, with respect to competing factors, a person who has a large number of current commitments is likely to be in foreclosure status or identity achieved statuses. The foreclosure and identity achieved

statuses have been shown to be less likely to involve solving critical problems than the diffuse identity and moratorium statutes (Berman et al., 2001). People in foreclosure are not likely to explore unless they are forced out of their comfort zone (Marcia, 1995). Individuals, who have achieved their identity, even if they tend to use the information processing style, are unlikely to explore significantly due to less use of problem-solving skills, which means they have already found what they were looking for (Marcia, 1994). It also shows that once a person has explored enough to reach the status of identity achievement, they stop exploring (Grotevant, 1992).

IDENTITY CONTROL THEORY AS AN EXTENSION OF GROTEVANT'S PROCESS MODEL OF IDENTITY

The process-based identity model of Grotevant (1987) clarifies the elements that make up and guide the exploration process and provides for repeated re-evaluations of this process, but it "does not specify the proximal causes of continuous exploration" (Kerpelman et al., 1997. In addition, the criteria for periodic re-evaluations of exploration and emerging identity are mentioned in the Grotevant model, but specific events that facilitate or inhibit exploration on a weekly and daily basis are not mentioned. Control theory has been introduced in identity literature in order to identify the microprocesses that stimulate or inhibit exploration

and development of identity. He proposed, with emphasis on reciprocal causality and mutual influence, that singular interpersonal interactions and their intrapsychic consequences drive exploration and identity development (Kerpelman and Lamke, 1997; Kerpelman et al., 1997). In simple terms, we can say that the constant and continuous interactions between the developing identity of the adolescent and his social environment, and more particularly the congruence or incongruence between the identity of his ego, his personal identity or his social identity and the comments we receive regarding aspects of identity, are said to drive or inhibit the process of exploration. If the vision one has of oneself is consistent with the comments received from a person, exploration is unlikely to happen. On the other hand, if the feedback a person receives from important people is not incompatible with one's identity, then exploration is likely to occur.

Grotevant (1997) supported this revision and extension of its process model, stating that the methodological and conceptual approaches advised should "move the field forward". Berzonsky (1994) proposed adding an aspect of individual differences to the theory of identity control, which was integrated by Kerpelman et al., (1997) in a revised version of the model. Simply put, an informational style using individuals should be more open to comments that do not match their identity. The normative style

using individuals must be closed to such comments and seek only those which correspond to their identity (Nurmi et al., 1997). The diffuse-avoiding style using individuals should be heedless of any feedback offered to it. Identity control theory is proposed primarily in the context of interpersonal relationships, although feedback refers to any domain of identity content, namely ego-personal, social-structural, personal-social or all of these models.

Adams and Marshall (1996) pointed out two main shortcomings of this approach: first, the theory of identity control does not specify the origins of the initial identity. Kerpelman et al., (1997) have stated that this initial identity finds its origin through parental introjects as well as identifying mechanisms or according to the concept of attachment theory according to which the initial self is formed by a parental mirror (Bowlby, 1980). The second criticism concerning the reciprocal causal nature of the theory of control and this reciprocal causality could suggest a mechanistic-contextualist vision of human development which is incompatible with the orientation based on the choice of the Eriksonian tradition. Kerpelman et al., (1997) placed the theory of control completely in the contextual world view. It is important to note that the behavioural model, which emphasises the choice and the ability of individuals to guide their own life path, is placed in the contextual worldview. Reciprocal determinism

does not seem to authorise self-direction. Identity control theory has therefore been criticised on this issue.

WATERMAN: THE PERSONAL EXPRESSIVENESS CONSTRUCT

Waterman (1990) found that even in the same identity status, there is great variability in the quality of exploration in which individuals are engaged and the commitments they have made. Individuals who achieved their identity tended to group themselves into two broad general categories—the first category included individuals who derived a high degree of personal significance from the different identity alternatives they had explored and committed to. The second category included individuals whose goals, values and beliefs appeared to have been more externally motivated, although they had sorted out a number of different options and selected one or more to engage (Waterman, 1992).

According to Waterman, the personal meaningfulness dimension did not apply to persons who were in moratorium and foreclosure identity statutes to the extent that it was to those who had achieved identity status. He hypothesised that this was due to the limited number of alternatives or options explored in the foreclosure status and the incomplete nature of the personal identity inherent in the identity status of the moratorium. Individuals with a diffuse identity had not explored or made any commitments, the personal meaningfulness

dimension did not seem to apply at all to individuals with diffuse identity status. Waterman (1990) named this personal meaningfulness dimension as personal expressiveness. Waterman (1990, 1992) defined personal expressiveness as the feelings of an optimal experience which accompany the discovery of its daimon or its best potentials and the participation in activities which reflect the daimon. According to Aristotle's tradition, personal expressiveness stems from a "theory of ethics, calling on people to recognise and live in accordance with their daimon" (Waterman, 1992, p. 58). It is considered a form of happiness, personal expressiveness extends beyond pure enjoyment as it involves a sense of purpose, direction and accomplishment. Personal expressiveness not only implies happiness and pleasure, but it also implies an intense sense of personal direction in a person's life.

Because the statuses of foreclosure, moratorium and identity achieved have been found in both expressive and instrumental (not personally expressive) variants (Waterman, 1999). In light of this, personal expressiveness can be considered as a third dimension of identity development with exploration and engagement (Waterman, 1992). Personally expressive individuals are classified more in identity achieved status than in one of the other three statuses, the presence of exploration as well as engagement alone does not provide any kind of guarantee

that the personal identity formed will be personally expressive. However, the absence of exploration and commitment (the diffuse status) guarantees that the personal identity of the individual will not be personally expressive. You have to have a reasonable idea of the best potentials before you can identify various identity alternatives that can be personally expressive (Waterman, 1992).

There are a number of reasons why individuals explore and engage in instrumental identity alternatives. Waterman (1992) discovered four reasons why individuals explore and engage in instrumental identity alternatives: first, their environment can limit the range of prospective choices. Second, competing social factors may force individuals to make choices that are more socially acceptable rather than seeking their inner potential. Third, a person can be distracted by pleasures incompatible with the pursuit of their unique excellences or goals (Waterman, 1992). Fourth, one can refuse the possibility of pursuing one's optimal self because of the potential difficulties involved in identifying and realising one's inner potentials (Waterman, 1992). Like Grotevant's (1987) process model, personal expressiveness is an additional component of the identity status paradigm model (Waterman, 1992). The difference between the goals, beliefs and values that resonate with the true and original self and those chosen for other reasons provides insight into the search for

identity. The personal expressiveness versus instrumentalism dimension can help clarify the motivations of individuals to explore and engage in a given set of ideals.

Personal expressiveness is supposed to come entirely from personal identity. On the other hand, the daimon, on which various activities of personal expression are based, is a component of the identity of the ego. Living a daimon-like life represents continuity of personal character, means that an individual's decisions and behaviours are likely to become more and more stable and consistent as they become more familiar with their daimon (Waterman, 1992). From Erikson's point of view, the identity of the ego represents the heart of the self. In terms of status as the most basic aspect of self and its unconscious nature, the identity of the ego seems to closely match the daimon.

Educational Implications

The present study can have practical implications for young people in their adolescent years. The research can serve as a framework for development of identity enhancement programs for adolescents. Under this program it is recommended that the quality of educational experiences should be improved so as to contribute in making adolescents' sense about their 'self.' It is suggestive that the schools, teachers and parents should become proactive in supporting and creating congenial learning atmosphere in the school as well as home context that should provide opportunities and experiences that are sensitive to processing systems and identity processing styles. Adolescents should be provided opportunities that promote active engagement in real life experiences that they can incorporate into their understanding of the sense of 'who they are?' Hence, the curricular and co-curricular activities should be aimed at promoting adolescents' sense about their 'self.'

Conclusion

A critical analysis of all these models suggests that there are structural and process components involved in identity. Structurally, identity can be meaningfully organised into different domains—general, physical, psychological, social, and spiritual. Identity formation also involves dynamic processes because identity evolves along with person's development throughout their life span. Identity is dependent on extra personal factors like environmental changes, life experiences and intrapersonal identity processes including exploration, commitment, and reconsideration. There is also evidence that other variables like gender, age, and culture patterns at different times affect the identity development. The specific weaknesses of the identity status model include the cross-cultural validity (the failure of these four statuses to differentially relate to comparison variables), and the use of distinct status categories so as to represent identity.

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