

# **The Identity Void and Desperate Agentive Action: Empirical Inclusion of Emotion in Identity Theory\***

RC Morris

Department of Sociology

Purdue University

RUNNING HEAD: SYMBOLIC INTERACTION, IDENTITY, DEVIANCE, & EMOTION

Word count: 6,235

Tables: 3

Figure: 1

Appendices: 1

**04/17/2008**

\*Direct correspondence to Robert Morris, Department of Sociology, 700 West State Street, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907-2059 (rmorris@purdue.edu). I want to thank the principal investigator of the National Youth Survey, Delbert S. Elliott, for use of the data. The National Youth Survey is sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health (MH41761, 82-IJ-CX-0011, and 83-IJ-CX-0063).

# The Identity Void and Desperate Agentive Action: Empirical Inclusion of Emotion in Identity Theory

## ABSTRACT

This study proposes that identities based on negative emotion increase the probability of deviant behavior. The analysis is pursued by asking how emotion impacts the components of identity theory, namely *commitment*, *identity salience*, and *role related behavior*. A review of the literature covering structural-symbolic interaction, identity theory, and emotion is considered with the intended goal of strengthening the theoretical and empirical research that works to integrate the concept of emotion into a sociological perspective. Of key interest is the inclusion of low emotion—perceived causal ability related to emotion—in a model that looks at the influence of identity and emotion on deviant behavior. The goal of this article is to consider the important influence of emotion on identity and in a final sense on behavior. The root question that frames this inquiry can be stated, does a specific emotion based on negative emotion—depression associated with feelings of worthlessness, sinfulness or guilt—increase the probability of hitting someone? Findings indicate emotional feeling about the self will result in a person's attempt at desperate agentive action, action taken as a means to exert control over their circumstances, despite role commitments that would otherwise prevent deviant behavior.

Traditional conceptions of symbolic interaction (SI) pay little attention to emotion, despite the fact that emotion plays an important part in human interaction (see Stryker 1980 42-45; Weber and Heydebrand 1994). SI scholars doing work in identity such as Burke, Giordano, Stets and Stryker have recently begun to incorporate emotion in identity theory (see Burke and Reitzes 1991; Giordano, Schroeder, and Cernkovich 2007; Hochschild 1981; Hochschild 2002; Stets 2004; Stryker 2004). Identity scholars argue that symbolic interaction is the natural home for an emotional component to human interaction.

To organize the inclusion of emotion in SI generally, and identity theory specifically, a brief review of interactionist concepts is useful. The symbolic interactionist frame can be stated as follows: society influences self influences behavior (Mead 1934). Identity theory uses the “society comes first” dictum to frame its fundamental assertions, namely that a person’s conception of who they are—the self—comes from those around them. In formal terms this starting point is called sociological-social psychology. Thus, identity theory begins from a sociological orientation; society ultimately influences behavior, mediated through the self (Cooley 1964; James 1890; Mead 1934). Put another way, if society shapes self then self must reflect society. A conception of self that reflects the complexities of post-industrial society must consider the many possibilities for self and identity. Indeed, there are as many possibilities for identities as there are groups of people to create those possibilities. Accordingly, self reflecting this reality is complex and multifaceted. James (1890) noted that individuals have as many (possible) selves as there are people and situations in which to interact.

Social interaction involves both general and significant others. Relationships with significant others, such as family and friends, represent the smallest unit of societal interaction. Significant others shape the perceptions people have about themselves. Significant others communicate the reactions and expectations they have of those around them. Individuals are keenly aware of these communications and gain a sense of who they are through this reflected image (Kinch 1963). Reflected appraisal was captured by Cooley's (1964) notion of the "looking glass self". People see themselves through the reflected image communicated by those around them. The "generalized other" is made up of the remainder of people around the individual, possessing "general" societal—or macro level—communications and expectations.

Self appraisal is also importantly tied to the roles that people occupy. Role taking occurs as individuals cognitively place themselves in the position of another and take on their perspective (Gordon and Gergen 1968; Stryker 1980). Role-taking makes possible the development of various identities (Heimer and Matsueda 1997). Identities are a constellation of roles, but identities are also an internalization of relationships and obligations connected to roles. Therefore, it is possible to play out a role without having internalized that role as an identity. For instance, a student may play out the role of student because of parental or peer pressure, but may not internalize this identity thus skipping classes and not studying.

Role-taking is a constant throughout the life-course (Gecas and Schwalbe 1986). Early childhood development involves considering the role of the parent before acting. The familiar term "peer pressure", most notably associated with young adulthood, comes from the reflected self appraisals that are associated with assuming a friendship role. A student considers the role of the teacher before raising their hand. An employee considers his/her employer's role as

boss before suggesting a new product line. Individuals may not fully occupy the role (e.g, child—parent, student—teacher), but role taking will often occur before the individual occupies the position her/himself (Stryker 1980). Based on the different possibilities associated with a role people decide on lines of action (Blumer 1969; Goffman 1975). Role-taking action solidifies the salience of the identity associated with the role. A child considers the role of the parent *because* of their internalized identity as son or daughter. As identities become more salient behavior is increasingly influenced by the role positions occupied. “Recurrent role-taking experiences will generally be required to shape and solidify the self” (Giordano, Schroeder, and Cernkovich 2007).

Emotion is part of the symbolic interaction that goes on between self and others. Varied success or failure at assuming and occupying a role carries with it an emotional component. In addition to the cognitive process involved in action, Cooley observes that emotion—or a “*self-feeling*”—is central to how interaction plays out (Cooley 1964). The important point here is that although cognitive and emotional processes are internal they are deeply rooted in the social situation. Role expectations involve significant others and the meeting of expectations associated with these expectations, they “generate more or less strong and diverse forms of [emotional] expression” (Stryker 2004).

When a role is correctly portrayed the actions taken are affirmed by others. The child acts and a parent will either discourage or encourage further action. People *feel* good when they succeed at role-taking and receive praise for their actions. Conversely, people feel badly or frustrated when their actions do not result in the expected outcome. Identities that receive greater amounts of cognitive *and* emotional affirmation will become more salient.

## THEORY

Identities have a direct impact on behavior. People play out and seek verification of their identities (Stets and Burke 2005a). For example, a role commitment to the father identity may create a highly salient identity of fatherhood. Salience of this identity will result in self-congruent behavior (Burke 2006). For instance, this identity will likely cause the individual to work hard to earn a good income, stay at home on weekends to nurture his children, and attend PTA meetings instead of playing golf (Stryker 1994; Stryker and Burke 2000). Successful verification of a role also brings with it strengthened commitment to the role and the people associated with that role position. Giordano et al. (2007) note that, "Particularly in adulthood, the individual has an important role in making agentic moves in the direction of others who subsequently provide and reinforce the new [identity] definitions."

Identity theory has been developed in two branches (Stets 2005). Stryker and his colleagues stress the importance of social structural influence on the self that ultimately influences behavior (Stryker 1980; Stryker 1994; Stryker and Serpe 1983). Stryker further argues that positive emotion associated with an identity will cause this identity to be played out more often, thus moving up on the individual's salience hierarchy. In the second branch, Burke and his associates focus on the importance of internal processes that influence behavior (Burke 2004; Burke 2006; Burke and Franzoi 1988; Cast, Stets, and Burke 1999). According to Burke's Identity Control Theory Individual's seek to verify (salient) identities in an attempt to maximize positive affect. Both approaches to identity theory honor the multifaceted view of self and at their core argue the chain of causation, ultimately leading to human behavior, runs from commitments to the salience of identities, and from there to behavior (Burke and Reitzes 1991;

Gecas and Burke 1995; McCall 2003; Stets and Burke 2000; Stryker 1980). That is, people become committed to roles—the structural part of the theory—which, in turn, leads to salience of corresponding identities—the self component. Behavior is the outcome, but behavior also plays a part in the cyclical process of role commitment, self development, and identity maintenance.

Commitment (to roles) → Identity Salience → Behavior (related to roles)

However, this causal chain leaves out other emotional stimuli which may, in some circumstances, influence the behavior of the individual. For example, the father would typically not jump in front of a speeding bus to save an elderly person, because his salient identity (provider of sustenance for his children) would prevent such self sacrifice. However, the sequence may not go that way, as his emotion (an immediate identification with the elderly person's well-being), may take over. Role commitments may, however temporary, change dramatically. Emotions may have a decisive impact on the commitment to a given role.

Giordano et al. (2007) create a concept, *emotional identity*, to deal with the influence of emotion on behavior. They assert that like identities in general, emotional identities originate in the social act. The substance of the interaction and the (symbolic) understanding of the situation generate an emotional response. For instance, encountering a stranger who appears to have a weapon may trigger feelings of fear that emerge due to the symbolic meaning attached to “stranger” and “weapon”. Feelings of fear during such an encounter produce a salient “emotional identity” defined by the fear affect. As situations change, differing emotions emerge. The individual with an emotional identity defined by fear in the stranger situation will

possess a different emotional identity when encountering a friend or family member. At home this individual will have emotional identities of care, love, or possibly even anger (Agnew 1997).

Despite the important insights that Giordano et al. (2007) provide their work does not give a clear answer as to how or why emotion and identities correlate to influence a behavioral outcome. A better explanation—as opposed to creating a new identity term (e.g., fear identity)—is to follow Stryker’s posit for an independent effect of emotion on behavior. Emotion *independently* contributes to the commitments people have, thus to the hierarchical ordering of identities (Stryker 2004).

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

#### RESEARCH GOALS

The goal of this article is to consider the important influence of emotion on identity and in a final sense, on behavior. The root question that frames this inquiry can be stated, does a specific emotion based on negative emotion—depression associated with feelings of worthlessness, sinfulness or guilt—increase the probability of hitting someone? Given the above theoretical reasoning I offering the following hypotheses:

*Hypothesis 1:* Emotion will remain significant in each identity model and will have an independent main effect on behavior.

*Hypothesis 2:* Negative emotion will increase the probability of hitting someone.

A person who identifies self as depressive (i.e., worthless, sinful, guilty)—falling short of personal or significant others expectation—will lack strong commitments to normative role positions (Higgins, Klein, and Strauman 1985:72-73). Low emotional feeling about the self will result in a person’s attempt at desperate agentive action, action taken as a means to exert

control over their circumstances, despite role commitments that would prevent “deviant” behavior (Stets and Burke 2005a).

## METHODS

### *Sample*

The data for the current study are drawn from Wave VII of the National Youth Survey (NYS) conducted by Delbert S. Elliott (1977-1987). The NYS was a longitudinal multistage cluster sample. The NYS obtained a national probability sample of households in the United States beginning in 1976. The survey then went through several stages of sampling geographic units; the result was that 7,998 households were included in the sample. Residing within these households were 2,360 eligible youths. Seventy-three percent of those youths (1,725) agreed to participate in the survey, both parent and youth signed the consent forms. In 1977 the first wave of the survey was completed by a parent/guardian and the youth. Those who participated in the survey are “reasonably representative of the 11-17-year-olds in the United States” (Matsueda 1992:1590), in 1977. Waves of the sample proceeded from 1976, to 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1983 and concluded in 1987. Youth and adults were interviewed in order to obtain self-reports of delinquent behavior, parent’s reported appraisals of their child, and youth reflected appraisals of themselves from the standpoint of parents, friends, and teachers. I will analyze the final wave conducted in 1987. The use of Wave VII, a time point where subjects have matured into adulthood will allow for a crucial test of the hypothesis generated above, including cognitive appraisals and the significance of role commitments (e.g., respondent’s can now marry).

### *Measures*

The dependent variable is an instance of deviance taken by Elliott (1987) from a 24-item scale of general delinquency. The measure asks the respondent how often in the past 12 months they have hit someone other than a parent or spouse. Response options are 0=*Never*, 1=*Rarely* (once or twice, once every 2-3 months), 2=*Occasionally* (once a month, once every 2-3 weeks), 3=*Often* (once a week, 2-3 times a week, once a day, 2-3 times a day).

Roles and commitment are measured using three items that ask respondent if they currently occupy a specific role position. These are first, *marital status* measured by "Are you currently married?" Second, *students status* measured by, "Are you currently a student in an academic or other (including vocational) program?" The first two measures have been coded 0=No and 1=Yes. The final role measure is *son/daughter*. This survey assumes that everyone is a son or daughter therefore role commitment as son/daughter is drawn from a scale of importance of parental influence measured by, "How much influence do your parents have in your life?" Response options are 1=very little, 2=not too much, 3=some, 4=quite a bit, 5=a great deal.

Measures relative to each role commitment were run in three separate models to capture the hierarchal ordering of unique identities. These measures were designed to test a respondent's sense of personal attachment or commitment to a given identity. Salience of a *married identity* is tested first by asking the respondent three questions. The first measure asks the respondent, "How important are activities with your partner," with response options 1=very important, 2=pretty important, 3=somewhat important, 4=not too important, and 5=not important at all. The second question asks, "How much influence does your partner have in your life," with response options 1=very little, 2=not too much, 3=some, 4=quite a bit, 5=a great

deal. The final question asks respondents to engage in reflected appraisal to evaluate how the role of spouse will influence a deviant behavior. The question asks, “How would your spouse react if you hit someone?” Response options are 1=strongly disapprove, 2=disapprove, 3=neither approve nor disapprove, 4=approve, 5=strongly approve.

The next model tested is *student identity*. Respondents are asked, “How important has school/college been in the last 12 months? Response options are 1=very important, 2=pretty important, 3=somewhat important, 4=not too important, 5=not important at all. The next question attempts to get at the strength of commitment—reflecting the salience of the student identity—by asking, “How much time do you typically spend studying on weekends?” Response options are 1=very little, 2=not too much, 3=some, 4=quite a bit, 5=a great deal. The final question asks respondents to engage in reflected appraisal to evaluate how the role of student will influence a deviant behavior. The question asks, “How would your close friends react if you hit someone?” Response options are 1=strongly disapprove, 2=disapprove, 3=neither approve nor disapprove, 4=approve, 5=strongly approve.

The final model tested is *son/daughter identity*. Respondents are asked, “How important are activities with your parents,” with response options 1=very important, 2=pretty important, 3=somewhat important, 4=not too important, and 5=not important at all. The second question asks, “How much influence do your parents have in your life,” with response options 1=very little, 2=not too much, 3=some, 4=quite a bit, 5=a great deal. The final question again asks respondents to engage in reflected appraisal to evaluate how the role of son/daughter will influence a deviant behavior. The question asks, “How would your parents

react if you hit someone?” Response options are 1=strongly disapprove, 2=disapprove, 3=neither approve nor disapprove, 4=approve, 5=strongly approve.

Emotion is tested with a single item measure. This measure was designed to discover a respondent’s feelings of worthlessness, sinfulness, or guilt. The item measure is, “During the past three years, has there been a period of two weeks or more when you felt worthless, sinful or guilty?” Response options are: the emotion is present, 0=No and 1=Yes<sup>1</sup>.

#### ANALYTIC STRATEGY

Analysis began with a parallel lines test in ordinal logistic regression to examine the construct measures (i.e., commitment, identity salience, emotion, deviance). The test results demonstrate the regression coefficients were not the same for all response categories ( $X^2 = 75.284$ ). Therefore, the assumption of parallelism is rejected and the analysis proceeds with multinomial logistic regression.

Multinomial-Logistic Regression (MLR) with maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) was used to analyze these data. The use of MLE maximizes the log likelihood, which reflects how likely it is (the odds) that the observed values of the dependent variable may be predicted from the observed values of the independent variables. MLR will allow for probabilities of the dependent variable on the basis of the continuous and/or categorical independent variables in each construct.

These data are analyzed in three stages based on the different identity models. Each identity model (i.e., married, student, and son/daughter) with the commitment measures, the

---

<sup>1</sup> Self and reflected appraisals are inherently more difficult to measure given the complexities involved in cognitive processes Rosenberg, Morris. 1965. *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press..

identity salience measures including reflected appraisals, and the emotion measure are regressed on deviance. At each phase non-significant variables are dropped and analysis re-run.

Results of the regression models are displayed in three parameter estimate output tables. Row headings order deviant behaviors in three frequency categories 1=*rarely*, 2=*occasionally*, and 3=*often*. Frequency of deviance indicates how often a respondent hit someone during the past 12 months.

## RESULTS

### TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Table 1 presents results of analyses in which the spouse identity is regressed on deviance. The role question asking if a respondent is currently *married* and the *spousal influence* question are both non-significant and are dropped from the model. The remaining measures in the model are *emotion*, *importance of activity with spouse*, and *spouse opinion of hitting*. Respondents who reported *rarely* hitting someone (HIT category 1) are 2.556 ( $P < .05$ ) times *more* likely to hit someone if they have experienced the negative emotion and .602 ( $P < .05$ ) times *less* likely to hit someone as the importance of spouse activity increases.

Respondents who reported *occasionally* (HIT category 2) hitting someone are 5.908 ( $P < .05$ ) times more likely to hit someone if they felt the negative emotion than those who have not. For the *occasional* occurrence of hitting, spousal opinion of hitting is significant. A respondent who believes their spouse approves of hitting is 3.811 ( $P < .05$ ) times more likely to hit someone.

Finally, respondents who reported *often* (HIT category 3) hitting someone are 41.635 (P<.05) times more likely to hit someone if they believe their spouse approves of hitting.

Results of the marital status model support both hypothesis, (1) Emotion is significant and remains in the final model, thus having an independent main effect on the probability of hitting someone, and (2) negative emotion increased the probability a respondent would hit someone. Married respondents are more likely to hit someone if they have experienced feelings of worthlessness, sinfulness, or guilt. Respondents were also more likely to hit someone if they believed a partner approved of hitting.

#### TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Table 2 presents results of analysis in which the student identity is regressed on deviance. The role measure asking if a respondent is currently a *student* and the questions *amount of time studying on weekends* and *importance of school* are non-significant and drop from the model. The remaining measures are *emotion* and *friend opinion of hitting*. Respondents who reported *rarely* hitting someone (HIT category 1) are 2.679 (P<.001) times more likely to hit someone if they have experienced the negative emotion and 1.988 (P<.001) times more likely to hit someone as their perception of friend approval increases.

Respondents who reported *occasionally* hitting someone (HIT category 2) are 5.402 (P<.05) times more likely to hit someone if they have experienced the negative emotion as compared to those who have not. Respondents are 3.520 (P<.001) times more likely to hit someone as perception of their friends approval regarding hitting increases.

Respondents who reported *often* hitting someone (HIT category 3) are 5.240 (P<.05) times more likely to hit someone as perception of approval increases.

Results of the student model again support both hypothesis, (1) Emotion is significant and remains in the final model, thus having an independent main effect on the probability of hitting someone, and (2) negative emotion increased the probability a respondent would hit someone. Respondents who reported occupying a student role are more likely to hit someone if they have experienced feelings of worthlessness, sinfulness, or guilt. Respondents were also more likely to hit someone if they believed a close friend approved of hitting.

#### TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Table 3 presents the results of running the son/daughter identity model on deviance. As noted above this survey assumes that everyone is a son or daughter therefore role commitment to son/daughter was drawn from importance of time spent with parents, however, this measure is non-significant and is dropped from the model. The remaining measures are *emotion*, *importance of activity with parents*, and *parental opinion of hitting*. Respondents who reported *rarely* hitting someone (HIT category 1) are 2.973 ( $P < .001$ ) times *more* likely to hit someone if they have experienced the negative emotion and .693 ( $P < .05$ ) times *less* likely to hit someone as their perception of importance of parental activity increases.

Respondents who reported *occasionally* hitting someone (HIT category 2) are 6.624 ( $P < .05$ ) times more likely to hit someone if they have experienced the negative emotion as compared to those who have not.

Respondents who reported *often* hitting someone (HIT category 3) are .006 ( $P < .05$ ) times *less* likely to hit someone as perception of parental disapproval increases.

Results of the final model also support both hypothesis, (1) Emotion is significant and remains in the model, thus having an independent main effect on the probability of hitting

someone, and (2) negative emotion increased the probability a respondent would hit someone. Respondents who reported occupying a son/daughter role are more likely to hit someone if they have experienced feelings of worthlessness, sinfulness, or guilt. Respondents were also less likely to hit someone if they believed time spent with parents was important and that a parent would disapprove of hitting.

## DISCUSSION

This study investigated the influence of emotion—within identity theory—on behavior. The goal has been to reemphasize the importance of including emotion in identity work. An interesting finding, though not a specific goal of this study, is the comparison between measures that ask a respondent to indicate their role commitments and the measures of identity salience associated with the role. For instance, the measure that asks respondents if they are married—coded 0=no and 1=yes—is a non-significant indicator of behavior. However, within the same model a measure that asks an identity salience question *about* spousal influence *is* significant. These data show that a better indicator of commitment to a role is the salience of the identity associated with the role. Occupancy of a role alone does not indicate strong commitment. This finding supports the research of Stryker and his colleagues who posit that self and particularly identities are more than just a constellation of roles. Identities *are* a constellation of roles, but identities are *also* an internalization of relationships and obligations connected to roles (Stryker 2007; Stryker and Serpe 1983).

The results of all three models indicate there is a significant positive relationship between emotion and the probability of a respondent hitting someone. A negative or low

emotion of depression has an independent main effect on the behavior of the respondent. In this sample negative emotion increases the probability a respondent will hit someone.

These data also suggest that salience is based on a situational context. Identity theory posits that people's most salient identities have trans-situational qualities (Burke and Reitzes 1981; Burke and Reitzes 1991), meaning people's most important identities are carried between situations. In most cases a father will not risk death to save an old man from being hit by a speeding bus. However, if this individual's identity of father is not salient in the moment where action must be taken, creating an identity void, or the individual's emotion mitigates the fatherhood identity, he may indeed step in front of the bus. Burke and Stets have begun to test a possible identity void using classic experimental design methods in an attempt to deal with self-report limitations (Burke 2006; Stets and Burke 2005b). The intention is to stimulate an individual's identities *and* emotions in order to observe congruence (or otherwise) of behavior. Analyzing the influence of emotion and the possibility of an "identity void" is an important direction for future developments in identity theory.

#### CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS, AND NEW DIRECTIONS

The amount of money, time, and resources (see Western 2006) that are dedicated to deviant populations of America call for a comprehensive understanding of deviant behavior. This understanding will be strengthened by symbolic interactionist approaches to identity and emotion. Emotion is a major part of everyday interaction. People feel happy and say "hello" to everyone they see. People feel sad and seclude themselves from others. And, people feel mad and hurt those around them. Crimes of passion are very difficult to study let alone predict.

Introducing emotion as an independent piece of identity theory will help fill in some of the disparity created by a purely cognitive concentration.

This study uses a measure for emotion asking respondent's if they have felt worthlessness, sinfulness, or guilty for a period of two weeks or more in the past three years. On the surface this measure of emotion may seem to confuse the causal ordering of effect. It is possible that an individual who feels worthless, sinful, for guilty feels this way *because* they have struck someone in the past year. The intent of this paper is to select a specific theoretical ordering to demonstrate that emotion needs to be added to current identity models. Identity theory models need to make room for emotion having an independent influence on all other identity theory conceptual constructs. Modeled results show that regression main effects for emotion *do* have an effect and *are* significant.

The finding of role occupancy as non-significant and measures that investigate identity salience as significant may suggest a lot depends on whether a given spouse actually approves of "hitting someone" and whether the respondent believes that their spouse would consider if there are ever good reasons to hit someone. This is possibly due a selection effect in marriage. Some portion of this finding may be a product of that selection effect. I.e., the "hitting" types tend not to get married and, when they do, tend not to take their marriage seriously.

To deal with possible limitations suggested, future research will benefit from mixed method analysis. Using various methodological tools that respect the longitudinal aspects of self and behavior is necessary to fully appreciate emotion and identity (see Lopata 1973a; 1973b; 2000). Measures that track respondent's over successive waves, following shifts in commitments, identities and their associated feelings is what is needed to answer the call

issued by Stryker (Stryker 2004), and to follow the important inroads being made by Burke and Stets (Stets and Burke 2005b).

## APPENDIX: CODEBOOK QUESTIONS

### Deviance:

Q: How often have you hit someone other than a spouse or coworker in the past 12 months?

A:

0=Never

1=Rarely (once or twice, once every 2-3 months)

2=Occasionally (once a month, once every 2-3 weeks)

3=Often (once a week, 2-3 times a week, once a day, 2-3 times a day)

### Roles and role commitments:

Q: Are you currently married?

A: 0=No 1=Yes

Q: Are you currently enrolled in an academic or vocational school?

A: 0=No 1=Yes

Q: How much influence do your parents have in your life?

A:

1=Very little

2=Not too much

3=Some

4=Quite a bit

5=A great deal

### Identity Saliency:

STUDENT

Q: How important is school?

A:

5=Not important at all

4=Not too important

3=Somewhat important

2=Pretty important

1=Very important

Q: How much time do you spend studying on weekend?

A:

1=Very little

2=Not too much

3=Some

4=Quite a bit

5=A great deal

Q: Fill in the blank with the most accurate description. Do you think a close friend would \_\_\_\_ if you hit someone?

A:

- 1=Strongly disapprove
- 2=Disapprove
- 3=Neither approve nor disapprove
- 4=Approve
- 5=Strongly approve

#### RELATIONSHIP

Q: How important is spending time with your partner?

A:

- 5=Not important at all
- 4=Not too important
- 3=Somewhat important
- 2=Pretty important
- 1=Very important

Q: How much influence does your partner have in your life?

A:

- 1=Very little
- 2=Not too much
- 3=Some
- 4=Quite a bit
- 5=A great deal

Q: Fill in the blank with the most accurate description. Do you think your partner would \_\_\_\_ if you hit someone?

A:

- 1=Strongly disapprove
- 2=Disapprove
- 3=Neither approve nor disapprove
- 4=Approve
- 5=Strongly approve

#### FAMILY

Q: How important is spending time with your parents?

A:

- 5=Not important at all
- 4=Not too important
- 3=Somewhat important
- 2=Pretty important
- 1=Very important

Q: How much influence do your parents have in your life?

A:

- 1=Very little
- 2=Not too much
- 3=Some
- 4=Quite a bit
- 5=A great deal

Q: Fill in the blank with the most accurate description. Do you think your parents would \_\_\_\_\_ if you hit someone?

A:

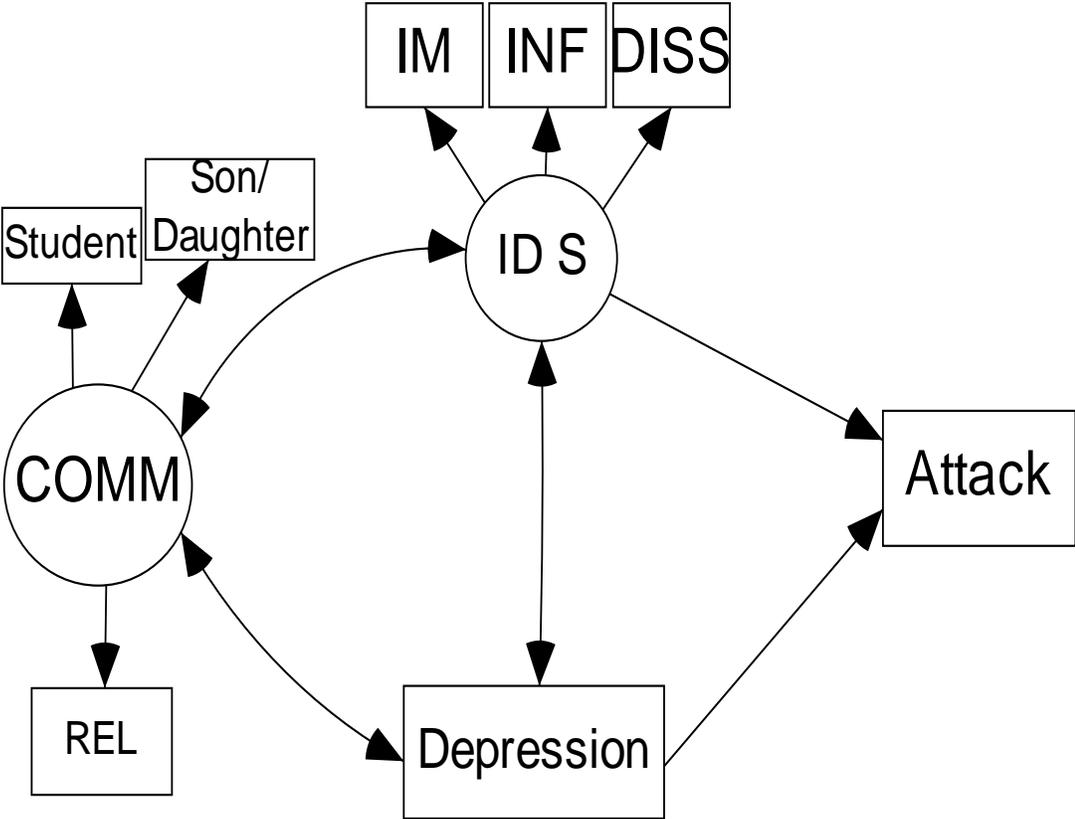
- 1=Strongly disapprove
- 2=Disapprove
- 3=Neither approve nor disapprove
- 4=Approve
- 5=Strongly approve

Emotion:

Have you felt worthless, sinful, or guilty for a period of two weeks or more in the past three years?

- 0=No
- 1=Yes

FIGURE 1: Theoretical Model



**TABLE 1 – SPOUSE IDENTITY MODEL: Parameter Estimates**

HIT <sup>a</sup>	B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	Intercept	.579	1.036	.312	1	.576		
	Emotion (yes=1)	.938*	.333	7.920	1	.005	2.556	1.330 4.913
	PtnrOpnHIT	.126	.306	.169	1	.681	1.134	.622 2.067
	ImptActPartner	-.507*	.184	7.593	1	.006	.602	.420 .864
2	Intercept	-4.985	2.702	3.403	1	.065		
	Emotion (yes=1)	1.776*	.854	4.329	1	.037	5.908	1.108 31.493
	PtnrOpnHIT	1.338*	.653	4.199	1	.040	3.811	1.060 13.704
	ImptActPartner	-.280	.409	.468	1	.494	.756	.339 1.685
3	Intercept	-15.153	9.248	2.685	1	.101		
	Emotion (yes=1)	1.372	1.824	.566	1	.452	3.945	.110 140.919
	PtnrOpnHIT	3.729*	1.841	4.104	1	.043	41.635	1.129 1535.677
	ImptActPartner	.516	1.024	.254	1	.614	1.675	.225 12.453

a. The reference category is: .00. \* P < .05 \*\* P < .001

**TABLE 2 – STUDENT IDENTITY MODEL: Parameter Estimates**

HIT <sup>a</sup>	B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	Intercept	-3.010	.364	68.344	1	.000		
	Emotion (yes=1)	.986**	.243	16.501	1	.000	2.679	1.665 4.311
	FriendOpnHit	.687**	.163	17.754	1	.000	1.988	1.444 2.736
2	Intercept	-6.898	1.044	43.655	1	.000		
	Emotion (yes=1)	1.687*	.704	5.743	1	.017	5.402	1.360 21.466
	FriendOpnHit	1.258**	.341	13.650	1	.000	3.520	1.806 6.862
3	Intercept	-9.148	2.209	17.151	1	.000		
	Emotion (yes=1)	.827	1.458	.322	1	.571	2.287	.131 39.849
	FriendOpnHit	1.656*	.631	6.899	1	.009	5.240	1.522 18.033

a. The reference category is: .00. \* P < .05 \*\* P < .001

**TABLE 3 – SON/DAUGHTER IDENTITY MODEL: Parameter Estimates**

HIT <sup>a</sup>	B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	Intercept	1.590	1.559	1.040	1	.308		
	Emotion (yes=1)	1.090**	.334	10.657	1	.001	2.973	1.546 5.720
	ImptAct	-.367*	.180	4.170	1	.041	.693	.487 .985
	PrntOpnHIT	-.354	.316	1.259	1	.262	.702	.378 1.303
2	Intercept	3.629	3.359	1.167	1	.280		
	Emotion (yes=1)	1.891*	.858	4.857	1	.028	6.624	1.233 35.593
	ImptAct	-.542	.404	1.797	1	.180	.582	.264 1.284
	PrntOpnHIT	-1.229	.728	2.846	1	.092	.293	.070 1.220
3	Intercept	12.903	5.847	4.869	1	.027		
	Emotion (yes=1)	1.242	1.673	.552	1	.458	3.464	.130 91.958
	ImptAct	.591	1.332	.197	1	.657	1.806	.133 24.574
	PrntOpnHIT	-5.069*	2.327	4.745	1	.029	.006	6.577E-5 .602

a. The reference category is: .00. \* P < .05 \*\* P < .001

## REFERENCES

- Agnew, Robert. 1997. "Stability and Change in Crime over the Life Course: A Strain Theory Explanation." *Agnew, Robert*.
- Blumer, Herbert. 1969. *Symbolic interactionism; perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.,: Prentice-Hall.
- Burke, Peter J. 2004. "Extending Identity Control Theory: Insights from Classifier Systems." *Sociological Theory* 22:574-594.
- . 2006. "Identity Change." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 69:81-96.
- Burke, Peter J. and Stephen L. Franzoi. 1988. "Studying Situations and Identities Using Experiential Sampling Methodology." *American Sociological Review* 53:559-568.
- Burke, Peter J. and Donald C. Reitzes. 1981. "The Link Between Identity and Role Performance." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44:83-92.
- . 1991. "An Identity Theory Approach to Commitment." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 54:239-251.
- Cast, Alicia D., Jan E. Stets, and Peter J. Burke. 1999. "Does the Self Conform to the Views of Others?" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 62:68-82.
- Cooley, Charles Horton. 1964. *Human nature and the social order*. New York,: Schocken Books.
- Elliott, Delbert S. 1977-1987. "National Youth Survey [United States]." Survey Thesis, Behavioral Research Institute [producer]. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], University of Colorado, Boulder, CO.
- Gecas, Viktor and Peter J. Burke. 1995. "Self and Identity." Pp. 41-67 in *Sociological Perspectives on Social Psychology*, edited by K. S. Cook, G. A. Fine, and J. S. House. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Gecas, Viktor and Michael L. Schwalbe. 1986. "Parental Behavior and Adolescent Self-Esteem." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 48:37-46.

- Giordano, Peggy C., Ryan D. Schroeder, and Stephen A. Cernkovich. 2007. "Emotions and Crime over the Life Course: A Neo-Meadian Perspective on Criminal Continuity and Change." *American Journal of Sociology* 112:1603-1661.
- Goffman, Erving. 1975. "On Face-Work: An Analysis of Ritual Elements in Social Interaction." Pp. 309-326 in *The Self in Social Interaction*, vol. I, edited by C. Gordon and K. J. Gergen. New York: Wiley.
- Gordon, Chad and Kenneth J. Gergen. 1968. *The self in social interaction*. New York, J. Wiley.
- Heimer, Karen and Ross L. Matsueda. 1997. "A Symbolic Interactionist Theory of Motivation and Deviance: Interpreting Psychological Research." *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* 44:223-276.
- Higgins, E. Tory, Ruth Klein, and Timothy Strauman. 1985. "Self-Concept Discrepancy Theory." *Social Cognition* 3:51-76.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. 1981. "A Social Interactional Theory of Emotions." *Contemporary Sociology* 10:73-77.
- . 2002. "The Managed Heart: The Commercialization of Human Feelings." *Teorija in Praksa* 39:196-213.
- James, William. 1890. *The principles of psychology*. New York: H. Holt.
- Kinch, John W. 1963. "A formalized theory of the self-concept (research note)." *American Journal of Sociology* 68:481-486.
- Lopata, Helena Znaniecki. 1973a. "Self-Identity in Marriage and Widowhood." *The Sociological Quarterly* 14:407-418.
- . 1973b. "Social Relations of Black and White Widowed Women in a Northern Metropolis." *American Journal of Sociology* 78:1003-1010.
- . 2000. "Widowhood: Reconstruction of Self-Concept and Identities." *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* 23:261-275.

- Matsueda, Ross L. 1992. "Reflected Appraisals, Parental Labeling, and Delinquency: Specifying a Symbolic Interactionist Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 97:1577-1611.
- McCall, George J. 2003. "Interaction." *McCall, George J.*
- Mead, George Herbert. 1934. *Mind, self & society from the stand-point of a social behaviorist*. Chicago,: Univ. of Chicago Press.
- Rosenberg, Morris. 1965. *Society and the adolescent self-image*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Stets, Jan E. 2004. "Emotions in Identity Theory: The Effect of Status." *Advances in Group Processes* 21:51-76.
- . 2005. "Examining Emotions in Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68:39-74.
- Stets, Jan E. and Peter J. Burke. 2000. "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63:224-237.
- . 2005a. "Identity Verification, Control, and Agression in Marriage." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68:160-178.
- . 2005b. "New directions in identity control theory." *Advances in Group Processes* 22:43-64.
- Stryker, Sheldon. 1980. *Symbolic interactionism : a social structural version*. Menlo Park, Calif.: Benjamin/Cummings Pub. Co.
- . 1994. "Identity Theory: Its Development, Research Base, and Prospects." *Studies in Symbolic Interaction* 16:9-20.
- . 2004. "Integrating Emotion into Identity Theory." *Advances in Group Processes* 21:1-23.
- . 2007. "Identity Theory and the Trait-Situation Controversy." *Journal of Personality* 75:1083-1102.
- Stryker, Sheldon and Peter J. Burke. 2000. "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63:284-297.

Stryker, Sheldon and Richard T. Serpe. 1983. "Toward a Theory of Family Influence in the Socialization of Children." *Research in Sociology of Education and Socialization* 4:47-71.

Weber, Max and Wolf V. Heydebrand. 1994. *Sociological writings*. New York: Continuum.

Western, Bruce. 2006. *Punishment and inequality in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.