ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Young Women in Today's Taiwan: Relation of Identity Status and Redemptive Narration to Psychological Well-Being

Hsiao-Wen Liao[1,2] · **Susan Bluck**[2] · **Ching-Ling Cheng**[1]

Abstract The task of identity development is a process of balancing multiple values (Grotevant and Cooper 1998). For young women living in a society where values are in transition, such as Taiwan, this task may be particularly challenging. Forging their identity as an adult woman may have implications for their well-being. Adopting a mixed-method approach, the current study investigated two aspects of undergraduate Taiwanese women's identity development: identity status and narrative identity. The study assessed achieved and diffused identity status as well as redemption and contamination, two aspects of narrative identity, as independent predictors of women's psychological well-being. Eighty-five undergraduate women in Northern Taiwan (*M* age=19.92, *SD*= 1.58) completed the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status. To assess aspects of narrative identity, they also provided a Self-Defining Memory narrative of a turning point in their lives. Specific interpretation sequences (i.e., redemption versus contamination) were reliably content-coded from the narratives. A Psychological Well-Being scale was also administered. As expected, results of hierarchical regressions show that having an achieved identity status (as found in US samples) predicts higher psychological well-being. Notably, however, showing redemption (i.e., as compared to contamination) in one's narrative also uniquely predicted higher psychological well-being. Sociocultural factors and psychological processes that are associated with Taiwanese women's identity development are discussed.

Introduction

Identity formation is critical to well-being across cultures (Kroger 2007) and involves negotiating multiple values in any culture (Grotevant and Cooper 1998). This challenge may be particularly salient, however, for women because they face conflicting norms about their societal roles (Barnett 2004). This becomes an even more pressing issue for women in societies undergoing transition where their roles are in flux. Taiwan is such a society: women's socialization from childhood provides mixed messages about their adult identity and aspirations (e.g., Taiwanese high school students; Hong et al. 2005). Taiwanese women thereby face a complex task in creating an adult identity. Such role conflict has been related to negative well-being (e.g., Asian Canadians; Talbani and Hasanali 2000).

Classic assessment of identity status (Marcia 1966) may not fully capture the voices of these women (Somers 1994). Negotiating personally significant life challenges in a positive fashion, in addition to identity status, is also part of women's identity development. This may be best captured in women's own narratives of such events. How women facing transition forge identity is an important issue for mental health: identity development is central to psychological well-being across adulthood (e.g., US adults; Zucker et al. 2002).

The current study focuses on Taiwanese undergraduate women, a group who are forging identity in a changing society (Mok 2000). The purpose of the current study is to examine

✉ Hsiao-Wen Liao
   hsiaowenliao@ufl.edu

1   Department of Educational Psychology and Counseling, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei City, Taiwan

2   Department of Psychology, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL 32611, USA

young Taiwanese women's identity development in relation to their psychological well-being through the assessment of: (i) achieved and diffused identity status (Marcia 1966) and, our main focus, (ii) narrative identity (Singer 2004; McAdams and McLean 2013): in particular the use of redemptive versus contaminative sequences. Redemption and contamination in narrating a turning point in one's life (McAdams and Bowman 2001) are forms of autobiographical reasoning (Habermas and Bluck 2000) that allow individuals to integratively link the past and present in self-narratives. By adopting this mixed-method approach to identity (McAdams and Zapata-Gietl 2015; Syed and McLean 2015), we examine whether redemption versus contamination sequences are predictive of well-being above and beyond the traditional measure of identity achievement. The latter has been associated with well-being in both Western and Taiwanese samples (e.g., Taiwanese and US college students, Cheng 2004). The innovative focus on narrative identity in the current study adds to our existing knowledge about strategies women use to promote well-being. In the context of societal transitions, the narrative process may be a beneficial tool for negotiating identity issues.

In sum, the primary goal of the current study is to show that narrative identity (i.e., redemption vs. contamination sequences) uniquely contributes to Taiwanese undergraduate women's psychological well-being. That is, we expect that narrative identity predicts well-being but also that its effect remains significant even after classic identity status (i.e., achieved and diffused) is added to the model. In order to show that the two types of identity account for unique variance in psychological well-being, we use hierarchal regression with block-wise entry (Field 2009). This method (as opposed to entering all variables at once) is suitable given our predictions. Variables of interest are entered into the model in three steps. First, narrative identity variables (i.e., redemption vs. contamination, no sequences vs. contamination) are entered to show that narrative identity predicts women's psychological well-being. In the next step, identity status variables (i.e., achieved identity status, diffused identity status) are entered. This allows testing of the prediction that identity status predicts psychological well-being but also that the narrative identity variable (i.e., redemption vs. contamination) remains significant in predicting well-being even with identity status in the model. Finally, the interaction term for narrative identity by identity status is entered. The final step allows tests whether, as predicted, narrative identity and identity status are independent in predicting psychological well-being.

Gender-Role Expectations and Women's Identity Development in the Context of Taiwan

We briefly review research conducted in Taiwan relevant to aspects of the cultural context to provide the reader with a glimpse of the conflicting gender-role expectations. Taiwan is a society in transition. Traditional Confucianism is now blended with Western individualistic values (Lee et al. 2010). Traditional Confucianism refers to proposed virtues that help maintain relational harmony including such values as self-reflection, self-inhibition, modesty, courtesy, and submission to elders (Ross and Wang 2010; Yeh et al. 2006). In the realm of gender-role expectations, Confucianism doctrine socializes women to be obedient to their father, husband, and son (Chia et al. 1997). Living in a patrilineal society, women's priority is to conform to family authority and fulfill family obligations such as marrying well, having children, and taking care of the husband's side of the family (Lee 2009). Women have far fewer opportunities to attain schooling and to freely choose an occupation relative to men (Lee et al. 2010). Taiwanese young people today, however, are less likely to hold Confucian values as compared to those from other culturally-Chinese societies, such as China and Vietnam (Cheng et al. 2012) due to globalization over the past decades (Mok 2000). As such Taiwanese women in particular are blending two different value systems as part of this societal transition.

While maintaining Confucian values women are also showing indications of Western individualist behavior. College attendance and average year of first marriage are good indicators of this transition in terms of women's increased involvement in higher education and their family choices. Almost 70 % of Taiwanese aged 18 to 21 now attend college and women's enrollment rate is comparable to men's (Republic of China, [R. O. C.] Ministry of Education, 2012). The female to male college enrollment ratio has gradually increased from about 0.5 to 1.0 since 1972 (Liu and Chen 2007). The median age of first marriage has risen from 26.80 years for men and 22 years for women in 1971 (Hsueh 2003) to 32.40 years for men and 29.90 for women in 2012 (R. O. C., Ministry of the Interior, 2013). This transition likely affects both young men and women's developing identity. Women, however, may face a larger challenge due to changes in their traditional gender-role expectations regarding education and marriage and family plans.

Amidst this greater gender equity, traditional gender-role expectations remain influential. They function to continually shape Taiwanese women to be compliant with others needs and wishes rather than to develop personal autonomy (Lee et al. 2010). Situated in a society holding both values, Taiwanese women are struggling to form a clear adult identity due to conflicting gender-role expectations. For example, in a study examining predictors of Taiwanese high school students' psychological distress (i.e., depression and anxiety; Hong et al. 2005), girls' distress levels are shown to be affected by multiple predictors (e.g., GPA, parenting practice, self-esteem) whereas boys' stress is only related to their current self-esteem. That is, girls perceive multiple sources of stress in their environment that appear to be related to mixed messages

about their expected role. For example, although girls have higher GPAs than boys, they have lower expectations about pursuing higher education. The authors theorize that girls' psychological distress is related to these mixed messages: girls now face the norm that they should do as well as boys in school, but at the same time, parental practices reflect lower expectations for girls' education and career goals. As a further example, though Taiwanese high school girls perform better academically than boys, they view themselves as less competent in vocalizing opinions and engaging in critical thinking and feel more reliant on others' approval than boys do (Beckert et al. 2013; Lee et al. 2010).

These conflicting gender-role expectations may create a challenging environment for women. This is particular true for undergraduate women, as they are exposed to progressive ideas regarding gender equality during their studies (Mok 2000). Indeed, Taiwanese college women score lower than their male counterparts on identity achievement status, particularly in the ideological domain (Cheng 2004). They embrace more liberal gender beliefs (Chia et al. 1994) and aspire more strongly to pursue successful careers and to forge individual lifestyles than same-aged men (mean age 28.5 years, Tian 2011). These aspirations may ultimately challenge their psychological well-being, however, as women face censure for departing from social norms regarding marriage (Lee 2009). Given the societal transition in Taiwan over the last several decades, both men and women face challenges to identity development, but women are particularly forced to question their values (Cheng et al. 2012). Taiwanese women face a dilemma when forming an adult identity. Their emergent liberal gender beliefs and personal aspirations (Chia et al. 1994; Tian 2011) contradict traditional Confucian values regarding gender-role expectations that encourage them to conform to authority and show a strong commitment only to marriage and family (Cheng 2004; Hong et al. 2005; Lee 2009). They must attempt to maintain well-being in the face of this challenge. Given that narrative is one basic mode of thinking (Bruner 1986) useful for women to negotiate identity issues (Somers 1994), we argue that the use of narrative is an additionally important means for Taiwanese women to achieve psychological well-being.

Identity Formation and Psychological Well-being

Identity formation involves synthesizing inner and outer expectations regarding multiple social roles through exploration (Erikson 1950, 1968). After exploring important, sometimes conflicting, roles in a coherent way, young people can achieve an identity: a configuration that integrates past and present with a sense of continuity (Bluck and Liao 2013). Inability to form an achieved identity may compromise psychosocial well-being (Erikson 1950).

The current study operationalizes identity in two ways (see also McLean and Pratt 2006), both with roots in Erikson's early theory (1950). Much research has focused on identity status (Marcia 1966) assessing identity with the criteria of exploration and commitment (e.g., having an achieved identity status). A more recent trend is to view identity as a narrative that integrates one's past and present (e.g., Habermas and Bluck 2000; McAdams 1996; Singer 2004). The relation of well-being to narrative identity has now been studied quite widely in US samples (for a review see McAdams and McLean 2013). This narrative view of identity now appears ripe for extension to other cultural contexts, in this case Taiwan. The ability to narrate challenging life events in a positive light predicts better well-being in the U.S. (e.g., Pals 2006). As such, the primary goal of the current research is to examine how narrating a redemptive versus contaminative narrative relates to psychological well-being, beyond gains related to identity status, in young Taiwanese women.

Status: Identity Achievement and Identity Diffusion

Although Marcia (1966) postulated four statuses, the current study assessed achieved identity status and diffused identity status as representing Erikson's core elements of the developmental task of identity (i.e., identity vs. identity confusion, Erikson 1950, 1968). Achieved identity refers to individuals' active exploration and commitment to a selected set of values and goals, whereas diffused identity refers to the lack of exploration and commitment (Marcia 1966). Marcia's operationalization has been widely validated in different cultures, including Taiwan (e.g., Taiwanese and US college students; Cheng 2004; Taiwanese high school students; Lee and Beckert 2012).

In the US, having an achieved identity status has been related to higher psychological well-being and diffused identity status to lower well-being (e.g., college students; Waterman 2007). In Taiwan, identity status has also been linked to psychosocial adjustment. That is, identity achievement was associated with higher resiliency whereas identity diffusion was related to lower resiliency in adolescents (e.g., Taiwanese high school students; Lee and Beckert 2012). In college students, achieved identity predicted higher psychosocial health (i.e., index of self-esteem, life satisfaction, anxiety) for both men and women. The effect of diffused identity status is more complex (Taiwanese and US college students; Cheng 2004). Diffused identity status in the interpersonal domain was related to lower psychosocial health only for women. In general, however, Taiwanese appear to show similar patterns to US college students: having an achieved identity is related to higher well-being. Aside from differences that appear by domain, Taiwanese college students show a negative relation between identity diffusion and psychological well-being. In line with past research in the US and Taiwan, we expect that

achieved identity status will predict Taiwanese women's psychological well-being.

Narratives: Redemption Versus Contamination

This examines Taiwanese women's *self-defining memories* (Singer and Salovey 1993) of a turning point – a time when their sense of identity was challenged (Habermas and Köber 2015). In particular, we focus on *redemption* versus *contamination* in narratives because this interpretation sequence reflects a primary aspect of the constructed self that is related to adaptation (McAdams 2013). Starting in adolescence, identity is forged through narration of self-defining memories that connect self-representations to remembered events (Conway et al. 2004). Such memories represent attempts to resolve underlying identity conflicts and concerns (Singer and Blagov 2004). Turning points in one's life are often highly memorable and can have a lasting influence on psychosocial functioning (Pillemer 2001). Past research in the US has shown that how one narrates a turning point is related to well-being (e.g., Bauer et al. 2008; McAdams and Bowman 2001). An individual's particular life context and experience shapes their development (Grotevant and Cooper 1998). Examining how young Taiwanese women narrates a turning point allows us to capture their identity in context, as told in their own voice.

The specific focus of the current research is on women's narration of redemption or contamination (McAdams and Bowman 2001). Narratives can, of course, be content-analyzed in other ways relevant to identity development. Among a host of possibilities, these include explicit but also tacit themes of coherence (Pasupathi, 2015), autobiographical reasoning (Habermas and Bluck 2000), agency and communion and meaning-making (McAdams and McLean 2013). Given the current interest in predicting Taiwanese women's well-being, however, the focus here is on redemption versus contamination sequences. A recent review (Habermas and Köber 2015) indicates that positively-valenced narrative integration, such as redemption, is more likely to relate to well-being.

Redemption refers to a psychological transformation from a negative to a positive state (McAdams 1999). When using this interpretation sequence individuals reframe an originally difficult event, often containing negative emotion, as resulting in a positive perspective. In contrast, contamination sequences describe life as getting worse. Individuals describe how an originally positive experience turned into something unpleasant or difficult. The previous positivity becomes contaminated permanently by the latter negative state (McAdams 1998).

Past research with US samples have shown that narratives containing *redemption* are related to higher well-being. For example, redemptive processing is related to well-being in college students (McAdams et al. 2001) and middle-aged adults regardless of original event valence (Lilgendahl and McAdams 2011). Women's redemptive narration predicts increased resilience in solving challenging tasks in mid-life (Pals 2006). Transforming difficult life experience into life lessons is also associated with well-being (Bauer et al. 2008). In contrast, contamination has been related to lower well-being and higher anxiety in middle-aged adults (McAdams et al. 2001). Research also shows that women's narratives of difficult life experiences that stayed negative throughout the narration were related to lower resiliency (Pals 2006). In sum, as compared to contamination, narratives containing redemption are more likely to be associated with positive well-being in US samples.

This specific association has not been examined in the context of Taiwan so there is no past research on which to base predictions. A recent cross-cultural study investigating the functional use of the personal past, however, shows that Taiwanese college women and men's frequency of reflecting on their personal past is related to maintaining a continuous sense of self (Taiwanese and US college students; Liao et al. 2015). These findings suggest that reflection on one's personal past may be a way for Taiwanese women to create a narrative identity. The current research goes beyond the frequency of reflection on one's past to examine the richer narrative content. Narratives that portray redemption reflect the positive resolution of a negative, challenging experience. Although the types of challenges and how they are experienced may differ for women in different cultures, the ability to create redemption is likely useful. Taiwanese women likely face a great challenge in negotiating identity issues (e.g., Taiwanese high school students; Hong et al. 2005; Taiwanese women; Lee 2009). Their ability to transform personally significant yet challenging experiences via redemptive narration may thus be critical for achieving psychological well-being. The use of narrative to frame and re-frame personal events should be important above and beyond the formation of an achieved identity status. As such, we expect redemption (i.e., versus contamination) to predict greater psychological well-being in Taiwanese undergraduate women, as seen in past research in the U.S. (e.g., US middle-aged adults and college students; McAdams et al. 2001).

The Current Study: Hypotheses

Living in a society undergoing transition, Taiwanese undergraduate women likely face a great challenge in forging their identity. They must integrate multiple, oftentimes conflicting, values as they are entering into adulthood (Taiwanese and US college students; Chia et al. 1994; Taiwanese high school students; Hong et al. 2005; Taiwanese women; Lee 2009). Establishing an achieved identity status (Marcia 1966) may allow these women to benefit in terms of psychological well-being (Taiwanese and US college students; Cheng 2004;

Taiwanese high school students; Lee et al. 2010). Given the difficulty of forging identity for these particular women, however, we argue that their ability to find redemption in personally significant turning points is critical to their psychological well-being (US middle-aged adults; Lilgendahl and McAdams 2011; US middle-aged adults and college students; McAdams et al. 2001; US women; Pals 2006) regardless of their identity status.

The study examines two distinct types of identity. We examine the classic achieved and diffused identity status (identity vs. identity confusion; Erikson 1950, 1968) while also assessing redemption versus contamination in a turning-point narrative (i.e., narrative identity; Singer 2004). Our primary goal is to show that both types of identity (i.e., having an achieved identity status, producing a redemptive narrative) distinctly predict higher psychological well-being. That is, creating a redemptive narrative is important to well-being above and beyond the effects of having an achieved identity. In addition, these effects are not dependent on one another. That is, these women can increase psychological well-being by creating a redemptive narrative even though they have not formed an achieved identity status. In order to show the unique contribution of each type of identity, we use hierarchical regressions to test the specific hypotheses.

a) Hypothesis 1 (Hierarchical regression, Step 1): A focus on redemption in self-defining turning-point narratives will predict higher psychological well-being.
b) Hypothesis 2 (Hierarchical regression, Step 2): Having an achieved identity status will predict higher psychological well-being whereas having a diffused identity status will predict lower psychological well-being.
c) Hypothesis 3 (Hierarchical regression, Step 3): Specifically, the positive effect of redemption on well-being will be maintained even after identity status is added to the model. Redemption and achieved identity status will *independently* predict well-being (i.e., main effects will remain; no expected interaction of identity status and narrative identity in predicting well-being).

Method

Participants and Procedures

Participants were 85 female undergraduate students ages 18 to 25 ($M=19.91$, $SD=1.58$) recruited in Northern Taiwan, including 31 freshmen, 7 sophomores, 21 juniors and 26 seniors. The majority of participants were undergraduate students from the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU). Fourteen were undergraduates from other Taiwanese universities with similar ranked reputations. All participants were

recruited through internet advertisements and announcements in undergraduate classes. With the permission of the instructors, the first author distributed flyers to NTNU students in classrooms, briefly introduced the purpose of the study (i.e., understand how personal experiences shape development) and collected contact information from students who were interested in the study. As compensation, participants received a small gift worth 40 New Taiwan Dollars ($1.35 US) and were entered in a lottery to win a movie ticket.

Participants were contacted via email and scheduled to visit the laboratory individually. The first author and a trained graduate student ran the sessions. Participants were informed about the purpose of the study, their right to withdraw from the study at any time and standard procedures. According to standard procedures for collecting self-defining memories of turning points (McLean and Pratt 2006; McAdams et al. 2001; Singer and Moffitt 1991–1992), participants were instructed to "*describe a memory that was a significant turning point in your life*, which you still have strong feelings about and continue to think about over time. The event should have happened at least 1 year ago. This turning point memory deeply relates to your sense of self and has led to profound change in certain areas of your life, such as career plans, values, or personality. The influence of that pivotal event continues to this day. When you describe the event, please indicate your age, the time, the place, people who were involved, the process, the reaction of those people, and the importance of this event to you." After typing a memory, participants completed subscales from the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status, and the Psychological Well-Being Scale. Order of administration of these two questionnaires was counterbalanced. Participants completed the study in 40 to 60 min.

Measures

Psychological Well-Being

The Chinese version of the Psychological Well-Being Scale consists of 36 items (17 reversed-score items) from the original scale (Ryff 1989). Participants rated all items on 6-point Likert scales (e.g., *for the most part, I am proud of who I am and the life I lead*), ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Scores of psychological well-being were calculated by averaging the 36 items. Higher total scores indicate better overall psychological well-being. Cronbach's alpha for the scale was .94.

The psychometric properties of the Chinese version of the measure including construct, convergent, and divergent validity have been assessed in two studies (Liao and Cheng 2009, 2010). Before the current study was administered, a large, independent Taiwanese college sample ($n=330$) was used to conduct item analysis and to obtain construct validity before the measure. Another separate Taiwanese sample ($n=325$,

adolescents aged from 14 to 20) verified the quality of the translated version in terms of convergent (i.e., life satisfaction, negative and positive affects) and divergent validity (i.e., identity achievement, diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure). Chinese and English versions of the scales are presented in Appendix A.

Identity Status

The identity achievement and identity diffusion subscales of the Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status (OMEIS-2, Adams, 1998; Bennion and Adams 1986; Chinese version; Yang and Lin 1998) were used to measure identity development. An achieved identity status item is: "*after considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal life style and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective*". A diffused identity status item is "*I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me*". Each subscale consists of 16 items (i.e., eight items on ideology identity and eight items on interpersonal identity). Participants rated on 6-point Likert scales (1=*strongly disagree*, 6=*strongly agree*). Achieved and diffused identity status scores were calculated by averaging the 16 items, respectively. Higher scores indicate stronger endorsement of that identity status. The Chinese version of OMEIS-2 showed equivalence to the English-language measure (Confirmatory Factor Analysis, Taiwanese college students, Yang and Lin 1998). We also verified the reliability and validity of the Chinese version in a separate, large Taiwanese college sample (*n*=348, procedures as per Bennion and Adams 1986) before the current data were collected. Cronbach's alphas for identity achievement and identity diffusion subscales were .79 and .71, respectively. Chinese and English versions of the scales are presented in Appendix B.

Coding Interpretation Sequences in Self-Defining Memories

Women's self-defining memories of a turning point were coded for interpretation sequences: the presence of redemption or contamination in the narrative. The guidelines for Coding Narrative Accounts of Autobiographical Scenes for Redemption Sequences and Contamination Sequences (McAdams 1998, 1999) were translated into Chinese for use. The two coders were fluent in Chinese and English and used both original and translated codebook versions as references. Coders underwent a 6-week training session using pilot narrative materials. After training using the standard manual, two coders scored 20 % of all study narratives to test for inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability was good. Cohen's kappa for redemption was .87. The kappa for contamination was also .87. Disagreements between coders were resolved by

discussion. The remaining narratives were coded by one coder. Note that redemption and contamination were first coded independently. All narratives were coded for redemption first and then coded for contamination. Later, narratives presenting either of the interpretation sequences were dummy coded using contamination as a reference group. Redemption versus contamination (redemption=1; contamination=0) and no sequences versus contamination (no sequences=1; contamination=0) were used for entering into statistical analyses. This dummy coding allowed us to compare the relation of interpretation sequences of redemption versus contamination in a self-defining turning point to women's psychological well-being.

Redemption Sequences

As per the original coding guidelines (McAdams 1999), redemption was defined as present when a narrative clearly expressed a transformation from a negative state to a positive state. The narrator should first describe suffering or a situation containing negative emotions (e.g., pain, sadness) induced by life events or adversity, and then how that turned into a positive state. The initial negative situation is resolved or some positive outcome clearly emerges. For an example of redemption in a study narrative, see Table 1. Note that the narrator begins describing her loneliness due to unresolved conflicts with friends but she turns the situation around by the end and reports learning a life lesson.

Contamination Sequences

To be defined as contamination, the narrator must begin with description of a positive or acceptable state which is quickly followed by a subsequent negative narration (McAdams 1998). The narrator indicates that an initial positive or acceptable situation subsequently turned bad. The original positive situation was thus contaminated, spoiled, or ruined. For an example of contamination, see Table 1. The example describes how a woman's positive, agentic motivation to prepare for the College Entrance Exam was ruined by her perceived failure and resultant difficulties in finding a personal niche for herself in society.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Frequencies of Interpretation Sequences

As shown in Table 2, about 58 % of women's narratives contained redemption sequences, about 25 % of narratives contained contamination sequences, and about 18 % of narratives showed neither of these two interpretation sequences.

Table 1 Interpretation sequences of redemption and contamination in women's self-defining memories

	Definitions	Narrative examples
Redemption	A demonstrably "bad" or emotionally negative event or circumstance leads to a demonstrably "good" or emotionally positive outcome. The story plot moves from a negative to a positive valence, bad leads to good.	My senior year was the most painful in high school… All my friends left me. Although there seemed to be nothing different on the surface, we knew that there was a break between us. In my last year, I talked to two of my old friends about our past. We gradually solved our issues and became friends again. Although our friendship could not go back to the way it was, we learned a lot, gained a lot of understanding. Even now, we keep in touch with and care about each other. This memory tells me that I should be tolerant and considerate… You should not obsess over details or you will reach a dead end…. I know that I was too sensitive and since then I have changed. I know how to move on and find happiness in each day.
Contamination	A good or positive event or state becomes "bad" or negative. That which was good or acceptable becomes contaminated, ruined, undermined, undone, or spoiled. Positive affect gives way to negative affect, so that the negativity overwhelms, destroys, or erases the effects of the preceding positivity.	I was set on going to college and put everything into my studies. Taking exams, studying, setting goals for schools and majors were a great focus for my life in those months… Looking back, I realize that things are never as certain as I had once thought. When I failed to get into my top schools, I felt that my goals had been misguided. I hadn't imagined how seriously exams could impact our lives. I climbed upward through school, but couldn't reach where I wanted…I was troubled by these ideas and doubted the meaning of my own existence. The processes of studying and taking exams made me more and more confused about what I really wanted…I once thought that I was a person with goals, but I discovered that I had just been fooling myself. I was dreaming, but when the time came to perform, I realized that I really have no confidence.
No sequences	Narratives show neither redemption nor contamination	Summer 2006, I was 16, my first year in high school. I joined a guitar summer camp at university. It was a mini-sized summer camp held for the first time; everything was just getting started. Compared to other summer camps, their participant size was very small with only about thirty participants…It's a very challenging task running a summer camp with limited helpers. But because of the small size, people became very close. Participants were divided into five groups, but I felt we were pretty much like one big team. I was assigned to Team 1, but until today I keep in touch with members from other groups and, of course, including those college students who organized the camp…Our relationships did not fade away with time; instead, our friendships grow deeper over time…

Definitions are from McAdams (1998, 1999)

Redemption sequences were found to be quite prevalent in Taiwanese undergraduate women's self-defining memory of a turning point.

Intercorrelations Among Variables

Before the regression analyses were conducted, Pearson correlation was performed between identity status and psychological well-being. Spearman's correlation was performed between identity status, interpretation sequences, and psychological well-being. As shown in Table 3, identity achieved

Table 2 Count and frequency of interpretation sequences: Redemption and contamination

Interpretation sequences	Frequency	Percent
Redemption	49	57.65
Contamination	21	24.70
No redemption or contamination	15	17.65

$N=85$

status was positively associated with psychological well-being. Identity diffused status was negatively associated with psychological well-being. The dummy variable of redemption (vs. contamination) was positively related to psychological well-being. Achieved identity status was marginally related to redemption (vs. contamination) in positive direction, $r(83)=.21$, $p=.053$. Achieved identity status and diffused identity status were unrelated to the dummy variable of no sequences (vs. contamination), rs$(83)=−.04$, $−.07$, ps$=.72$, $.50$.

Identity Measures and Psychological Well-Being

The purpose of the current study is to examine that psychological benefits of showing narrative identity of redemption versus contamination would predict young women's higher psychological well-being independent of their identity status. Hierarchical regression was conducted to test prediction so in the regression model, therefore, aspects of narrative identity (i.e., redemption vs. contamination, no sequences vs. contamination) were entered in Step 1. Identity status (i.e., achieved

Table 3 Mean and standard deviation of identity measures and correlations with psychological well-being

	M	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Redemption (vs. contamination)	0.58	0.50	1.00				
2. No sequences (vs. contamination)	0.17	0.38	−.54***	1.00			
3. Achieved identity status	3.62	0.63	.21	.04	1.00		
4. Diffused identity status	2.95	0.49	−.17	−.07	−.45***	1.00	
5. Psychological well-being	4.24	0.62	.33**	−.00	.59***	−.34**	1.00

$N=85$. Scores for achieved and diffused identity status and psychological well-being ranged from 1 to 6
** $p<.01$. *** $p<.001$

identity status, diffused identity status) was entered in Step 2. The interaction terms were entered in Step 3. Psychological well-being was the criterion variable. Identity measures were centered to avoid multicollinearity. VIF values in the current study ranged from 1.41 to 3.53, much lower than the criterion value of 10 (Field 2009).

Hypothesis 1: redemption versus contamination positively predicts psychological well-being

As shown in Table 4 (Step 1), the two aspects of narrative identity (i.e., redemption vs. contamination, no sequences vs. contamination) explained 17 % of the total variance in psychological well-being, F (2, 82)=8.35, $p=.001$. Consistent with our first hypothesis, redemption (vs. contamination) moderately predicted Taiwanese women's higher psychological well-being, $B=0.61$, $SEB=0.15$, $t(82)=4.09$, $p<.001$. No sequences (vs. contamination) was also a positive

Table 4 Hierarchical regressions for identity measures predicting psychological well-being

	Psychological well-being		
	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 3 β
Aspects of narrative identity			
Redemption (vs. contamination)	.49***	.31**	.33**
No sequences (vs. contamination)	.26*	.13	.16
Identity status			
Identity achievement (ACH)		.49***	.49***
Identity diffusion (DIF)		−.06	−.06
Interaction terms			
ACH * redemption (vs. contamination)			−.03
ACH * no sequences (vs. contamination)			−.03
DIF* redemption (vs. contamination)			−.14
DIF* no sequences (vs. contamination)			−.02
△R^2	0.17**	0.24***	0.02
Total R^2	0.17	0.41	0.43

$N=85$. Redemption (vs. contamination): redemption=1, contamination= 0; No sequences nvs. contamination): no sequence=1, contamination=0
* $p<.05$. ** $p<.01$. *** $p<.001$

predictor but with a much smaller effect, $B=0.41$, $SEB=0.19$, $t(82)=2.13$, $p=.036$. The larger magnitude of the standardized coefficient for the redemption-contamination variable suggests that narrating redemptive sequences is more related to well-being than simply including neither redemption nor contamination in one's narrative.

Hypothesis 2: achieved identity status positively predicts psychological well-being

The result of Step 2 showed that identity status explained an additional 24.4 % of the total variance in psychological well-being, $F(4, 80)=14.08$, $p<.001$. In line with our second hypothesis, achieved identity status positively predicted women's psychological well-being, $B=0.48$, $SEB=0.10$, $t(80)=4.95$, $p<.001$. Diffused identity status was not significantly related to psychological well-being, $B=−0.08$, $SEB= 0.12$, $t(80)=−0.63$, $p=.53$. Note, however, that identity achieved status and identity diffused status are moderately negatively correlated, $r(83)=−.45$, $p<.001$. As such, the finding that achievement but not diffusion was significant in the regression suggests that identity diffusion did not account for additional variance beyond that accounted for by identity achieved status. Further exploration using partial correlation revealed that achieved identity status (a) but not diffused identity status (b) distinctively correlates with psychological well-being (c), $r_{ac.b}(82)=.52$, $p<.001$, $r_{bc.a}(82)=−.10$, $p=.38$. This suggests that identity achievement status plays a greater role than identity diffusion status in relation to Taiwanese undergraduate women's psychological well-being.

Hypothesis 3: narrative identity and achieved identity status uniquely predict psychological well-being

After identity status was entered, redemption (vs. contamination) remains a predictor of psychological well-being, $B= 0.39$, $SEB=0.13$, $t(80)=2.91$, $p=.005$. The dummy variable of no sequences (vs. contamination) no longer predicted psychological well-being, $B=0.21$, $SEB=0.17$, $t(80)=1.26$, $p=.21$. In line with the prediction that identity status and redemption versus contamination independently contribute to psychological well-being, there was no interaction between

identity status variables and the dummy variables of redemption sequences in predicting psychological well-being.

Discussion

The current study extends past research on identity status (e.g., US and Taiwanese college students; Cheng 2004; US college students; Waterman 2007) and narrative identity in US samples (e.g., Bauer et al. 2008; Lilgendahl and McAdams 2011; McAdams et al. 2001; Pals 2006) to young Taiwanese women. Sociocultural values are in transition in Taiwan. Past research has shown that traditional gender-role expectations remain salient for Taiwanese women (e.g., family obligation governed by patriarchal family structure; Yeh et al. 2006) while their personal aspirations toward independence continue to grow (Taiwanese and US college students; Chia et al. 1994; Taiwanese adults; Tian 2011). This context likely creates a great challenge for Taiwanese women in terms of identity development (e.g., Taiwanese high school students; Beckert et al., 2010; Taiwanese women; Lee 2009). It is therefore important to identify the ways that women can promote their psychological well-being. The current study shows that women's narratives may be a beneficial tool negotiating personally significant challenging turning points during identity development.

As predicted, our findings show the contributions of identity status and narrative identity to Taiwanese women's psychological well-being. Women who have explored their goals and values and made a commitment to identity (i.e., achieved identity status) show higher well-being. Independent of that, however, women who narrated turning points in which they reframed negative experiences into a positive outcome (i.e., redemptive sequences) also showed higher well-being. That is, having a commitment to one's values overall is important. Being able to forge identity when facing specific turning points, however, provides an additional path to well-being for these women. Note that achieved identity status and redemption (vs. contamination) independently contribute to women's positive psychological well-being: the ability to use narrative in creating well-being is not dependent on already having an achieved identity status. These findings highlight the importance of narrative identity, particularly redemption, for women in a society undergoing transition. The major findings are discussed in detail.

Redemptive Versus Contaminative Self-Defining Memories

Narrative is a powerful tool in everyday life (McLean et al. 2007) and story-telling is ubiquitous across cultures (US college students; Baron and Bluck 2011; Bruner 1986). The current study assessed Taiwanese women's narrative identity in

terms of a self-defining memory at a turning point. This represents a core aspect of identity (Habermas and Köber 2015). Self-defining memories reflect an individual's enduring identity concerns (Conway et al. 2004). Over 80 % of participants narrated either redemption or contamination when recalling a turning point. This highlights the importance of the themes in self-defining memories (Singer and Salovey 1993) for Taiwanese women's psychological well-being.

Resolving long-standing, central, self-issues through positive self-transformation (Pals 2006) may be particularly useful for Taiwanese women in creating psychological well-being in a changing society. Consistent with past research in the US (Bauer et al. 2008; McAdams et al. 2001; Pals 2006), our findings show that redemption (as compared to contamination) predicts greater psychological well-being. Although the type of events people choose to narrate or the specific content of shared events may differ across cultures (Taiwanese and US college students; Wang 2006) our findings suggest that *autobiographical reasoning* (Bluck and Habermas 2000) that transforms a negative experience into an emotionally positive situation (i.e., redemption) may be a basic psychological mechanism of adaptation (Habermas and Köber 2015). The production of redemption sequences may be a social-cognitive tool for Taiwanese women in navigating conflicting values and life challenges as they enter adulthood and begin balancing multiple roles.

The examples presented in Table 1 show how redemption and contamination are narrated in women's turning point memories. The women in these examples are moving into adulthood with very different views of self that, as our findings show, are related to psychological well-being. These narratives exemplify theoretical work on the redemptive self (McAdams 2013; McAdams and Brown 2001). Theory suggests that redemption allows individuals to positively reframe challenging turning points, which then gives rise to a sense of well-being. Recent clinical research in US samples (e.g., Singer et al. 2013) suggests another important aspect of narration: that one's self-defining narrative themes are implicitly used to interpret new experiences of the world. As such, resolved and unresolved conflicts in one's narration (e.g., positive attitudes toward relationships, views of others as unfair) may also continue to influence psychological well-being across adulthood.

Though not central to the study's hypotheses, it is interesting to find that approximately 25 % of Taiwanese undergraduate women's self-defining memories showed contamination sequences. This frequency is relatively high as compared to the US college sample studied by McAdams et al. (2001). Among 125 undergraduate students, they found contamination sequences were so seldom mentioned in their full life story interviews that they dropped contamination as a variable in their analyses. Although no direct comparison of our data with previous findings can be made, the prevalence of

contamination sequences across the two studies may reflect sociocultural forces in narrative construction (Singer 2004). Redemptive narratives represent a cultural script (Bluck and Habermas 2000) that is particularly important in the US (McAdams 2013). The notion of facing adversity and turning it to one's advantage, or transforming bad to good is a common storyline in the US. On the contrary, redemption may not be a widely-shared cultural script in Taiwan. Confucianism promotes self-reflection and self-criticism as virtues (Ross and Wang 2010). Thus, the prevalence of contamination may reflected societal values overall. The gender script for women in Taiwan (i.e., strive to achieve but also remain submissive) may also be responsible for the greater tendency of women to tell negative turning points. Young Taiwanese women may have a greater likelihood of perceiving life challenges through the lens of contaminative self-criticism.

As the current research involved only women, future research might examine how cultural scripts regarding contamination play out for both men and women in the US and Taiwan. This may help to disentangle whether higher rates of contaminative sequences in Taiwan are related to traditional cultural emphasis on self-criticism for all, or to socialized gender roles that lead to lower self-approval in Taiwanese adolescent girls than boys (e.g., Beckert et al. 2013).

Identity Status, Narrative Identity, and Psychological Well-Being

The current study supports claims in the literature (e.g., Taiwanese and US college students; Cheng 2004; Taiwanese high school students; Lee et al. 2010; Kroger 2007; US college students; Waterman 2007) that having an achieved identity status is associated with greater psychological well-being. Our findings show this relationship also holds for Taiwanese women. An achieved identity status is defined as exploring and committing to a set of goals and values for guiding the future (Marcia 1966). In the current context of Taiwan, a blend of traditional values and Western values of individualism (Chinese, Vietnamese and Taiwanese adults; Cheng et al. 2012), it is important for well-being that young Taiwanese women establish personal beliefs and aspirations to establish their niche in society.

Beyond identity status, our findings show that narrative identity uniquely contributes to psychological well-being. The current study suggests that identity status and narrative identity are associated yet distinct processes: the use of narrative to create well-being was not moderated by having an achieved identity, but was a path to well-being for women regardless of their current identity status. That is, creating a redemptive narrative identity via autobiographical reasoning offers a complimentary route for Taiwanese women to establish positive psychological functioning as they enter into adulthood. The non-significant moderation effects and the

modest correlation between the two measures suggest that even women who have a diffused identity status may benefit from interpreting life adversity via redemption sequences.

That said, the correlation between the two identity measures in the current study (i.e., approaching significance) suggests that women's current status does guide them somewhat to narrate turning-point memories that are consonant with their status. As this is a simple correlation in cross-sectional data, the directionality is unclear. The correlation may indicate that, for example, a redemptive style of narration may lead to an achieved identity. Theoretically, we would expect directionality to be reciprocal: identity development is a continuous process of exploration and commitment (Marcia 2002; Stephen et al. 1992) in which narrative identity is constructed and reconstructed over time (McAdams and McLean 2013). Though not focused on redemption-contamination, McLean and Pratt's (2006; Canadians, at age 19, 20, 23 years) longitudinal study sheds light on the directionality of the relation of narrative identity to identity status. Diffused identity status at age 19 was negatively related to meaning-making in turning point memories at age 23 whereas achieved identity status at 19 was related to higher levels of meaning-making at age 23. In short, early identity status predicted later narration style.

Applied to the current findings, this interpretation would suggest that identity statuses may often bring with them a typical narrative style (e.g., achieved status is more likely to produce redemptive narratives) and that these two distinct forms of identity are interwoven pathways to well-being. That is, identity status reflects an overall evaluation of identity development across domains. Self-defining memories reflect ways of negotiating idiosyncratic personally significant, life experiences. Women who have an achieved identity status and a narrative style that focuses on redemption are most likely to have high psychological well-being.

Limitations

The current research had several limitations. Measures of identity status and psychological well-being were self-report scalar assessments, reflecting individuals' subjective perceptions. In many cases, women's subjective experience was exactly what we aimed to assess. On the other hand, self-report allows for the possibility of socially-desirable responding. A second limitation involves the design. As briefly discussed, the cross-sectional design limits interpretation of the direction of relations. An additional limitation is the assessment of only redemption versus contamination. This construct was chosen because redemption has shown robust relation to psychological well-being in US samples. Redemption-contamination is, however, only one aspect of narrative identity. For other aspects, see McAdams and McLean (2013) and Syed and McLean (2015). Finally, the generalization of the current findings are clearly limited due to the focus exclusively on

women. Without having a corresponding sample of Taiwanese men we are unable to interpret whether obtained findings are particular to women. Indeed, some past research suggests men and women in the West (for a review see Grysman and Hudson 2013) use narrative differently, starting over in childhood. The current study makes a contribution but future research may better delineate the relations between women's identity status, aspects of narrative identity, and well-being through collection of multiple self-defining memories with a longitudinal design (e.g., Canadians; McLean and Pratt 2006). Future research might also benefit from more comprehensive content-coding in which other aspects are included (e.g., meaning-making, McAdams and McLean 2013; tacit themes of coherence, Pasupathi, 2015).

Compliance with Ethical Standards The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest. The study involves human participants and consent was obtained.

Appendix A

Psychological Well-being

Traditional Chinese version

1. 我對能拓展自己視野的活動不感興趣。 (R)
2. 一路走來,我對自己的發展結果感到滿意。
3. 我不害怕表達出與大多數人不同的意見。
4. 隨著年齡增長,我越來越瞭解我自己。
5. 對我而言,維持親密的人際關係是充滿困難與挫折的。 (R)
6. 我總是過一天算一天,沒有認真地思考過未來。 (R)
7. 大致上,我肯定自己且充滿自信。
8. 其他人的作為通常不會影響我的決定。
9. 我經常因為缺少親近的朋友分享心事而感到孤單。 (R)
10. 我覺得多數人的生活都過得比我還充實。 (R)
11. 我會擔心別人對我的看法。 (R)
12. 我能夠處理自己生活中的諸多責任。
13. 我喜歡自己大部份的個性。
14. 我會採取有效的行動去改變自己不滿意的生活狀況。
15. 我並未隨著年紀增長而有所長進。 (R)
16. 很少人願意在我需要的時候聽我說話。 (R)
17. 我不知道什麼是我人生要追求的目標。 (R)
18. 我對自己生活中很多方面的成就感到失望。 (R)
19. 隨著年紀增長,我得到許多人生領悟,這讓我成為更堅強也更有能力的人。
20. 我樂於計畫未來並且努力實現它。
21. 大致上,我對自己的為人與目前所過的生活感到自豪。
22. 我對自己的意見有信心,即使我的意見與一般的共識不一樣。
23. 隨著時間增長,我覺得自己也成熟不少。
24. 我是一個積極實現自己計畫的人。

25. 對我來說,在具爭議性的問題上表達自己的意見是困難的。 (R)
26. 我能在忙碌生活中安排好所有事情,並從中獲得滿足感。
27. 我很少有過溫暖且互相信任的人際關係。 (R)
28. 我是一個有生活目標的人。
29. 我在計畫日常活動時會感到挫折,因為我從未按照預定進度完成工作。 (R)
30. 對我而言,生活是一個持續學習、改變與成長的歷程。
31. 我常覺得我不擅長於友誼關係。 (R)
32. 我很難安排讓自己滿意的生活。 (R)
33. 我覺得很難敞開心胸和他人交談。 (R)
34. 我會根據我所認為重要的標準來評價我自己,而不是其他人所認定的價值。
35. 一直以來,我都能夠建立自己喜愛的居家風格和生活型態。
36. 總括而言,我不確定我的生活有很多意義。 (R)

English version

1. I am not interested in activities that will expand my horizons. (R)
2. When I look at the story of my life, I am pleased with how things have turned out.
3. I am not afraid to voice my opinions, even when they are in opposition to the opinions of most people.
4. In general, I feel that I continue to learn more about myself as time goes by.
5. Maintaining close relationships has been difficult and frustrating for me. (R)
6. I live life 1 day at a time and don't really think about the future. (R)
7. In general, I feel confident and positive about myself.
8. My decisions are not usually influenced by what everyone else is doing.
9. I often feel lonely because I have few close friends with whom to share my concerns. (R)
10. I feel like many of the people I know have gotten more out of life than I have. (R)
11. I tend to worry about what other people think of me. (R)
12. I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life.
13. I like most aspects of my personality.
14. If I were unhappy with my living situation, I would take effective steps to change it.
15. When I think about it, I haven't really improved much as a person over the years. (R)
16. I don't have many people who want to listen when I need to talk. (R)
17. I don't have a good sense of what it is I'm trying to accomplish in life. (R)
18. In many ways, I feel disappointed about my achievements in life. (R)

19. With time, I have gained a lot of insight about life that has made me a stronger, more capable person.
20. I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality.
21. For the most part, I am proud of who I am and the life I lead.
22. I have confidence in my opinions, even if they are contrary to the general consensus.
23. I have the sense that I have developed a lot as a person over time.
24. I am an active person in carrying out the plans I set for myself.
25. It's difficult for me to voice my own opinions on controversial matters. (R)
26. My daily life is busy, but I derive a sense of satisfaction from keeping up with everything.
27. I have not experienced many warm and trusting relationships with others. (R)
28. Some people wander aimlessly through life, but I am not one of them.
29. I get frustrated when trying to plan my daily activities because I never accomplish the things I set out to do. (R)
30. For me, life has been a continuous process of learning, changing, and growth.
31. I often feel like I'm on the outside looking in when it comes to friendships. (R)
32. I have difficulty arranging my life in a way that is satisfying to me. (R)
33. I find it difficult to really open up when I talk with others. (R)
34. I judge myself by what I think is important, not by the values of what others think is important
35. I have been able to build a home and a lifestyle for myself that is much to my liking.
36. In the final analysis, I'm not so sure that my life adds up to much. (R)

Reversed-score items (R): 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 36

Appendix B

Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status

Traditional Chinese version

1. 我還沒有想過我真正想要從事的職業 (或最想唸的科系) 是什麼,我只是做著現有的工作直到有更好的出現。
2. 我不覺得需要尋找我自己的宗教信仰,而且也沒有吸引我的宗教。
3. 我並沒有留意過哪一種生活方式能夠特別吸引我。
4. 我偶爾會受邀參加一些休閒活動,但很少自己主動去嘗試一些休閒活動。
5. 我還沒有真正想過要有怎樣的約會形式,而我也不太在意有沒有約會。
6. 政治多變難料,但我認為瞭解自己的政治立場是很重要的,所以我已經針對這個問題思考過了。
7. 我不會多想宗教議題,而且這個議題也不會讓我感到困擾。
8. 關於友誼,我有自己的一套看法。 我總是根據自己的價值觀與個性來選擇知心朋友。
9. 根據過去的經驗,我已經確定我希望的約會關係。
10. 我從未認真思考過政治議題,也對它不感興趣。
11. 每個人都有自己獨特的宗教信仰。 而我曾反覆思索 「信仰」 這件事,並且已經確定關於自己信仰的相關問題。
12. 我從來沒有認真思考過男性和女性在婚姻中的角色為何,而且這個問題似乎不影響我。
13. 深思熟慮後,我已確定理想的生活方式,也相信沒有人可以輕易改變我的觀點。
14. 我已經選擇好自己想要持續參與的一種或多種休閒活動,而我也滿意這樣的選擇。
15. 我不太會想跟約會有關的事,當有約會的時候,我就是去赴約。
16. 我對於尋找一份適合我的工作不感興趣,我似乎只是做著我所能獲得的工作。
17. 我沒有什麼知心好友,而目前我也沒有嘗試去尋找。
18. 有時候我會參加一些休閒活動,但是我不覺得需要找出一項特定的休閒活動。
19. 花了許多心力,如今我已經知道在工作中我要的是什麼。
20. 我曾經花不少時間思考婚姻中男性與女性的性別角色,而我現在已經確定了適合自己的方式。
21. 我已經徹底的想過自己的政治理念,並且夠分辨自己同意或不同意父母的哪些看法。
22. 我認真的想過關於信仰的許多問題,因此現在我已經瞭解自己的信仰了。
23. 我曾經有過很多不同的友誼型態,現在我已經很明確的知道哪一種朋友適合我。
24. 經過嘗試不同的休閒活動之後,我已找出可以樂在其中或與朋友同樂的活動了。
25. 雖然花很多時間做決定,但是現在我已經確定將來的職業方向了。
26. 夫妻間有很多不同的方式去分配家庭責任,經過反覆思考,我已經知道我想要的方式是哪一種了。
27. 一般而言,我想我對生活還算滿意,而我不認為自己有按照著任何特定的看法或觀點在過生活。
28. 我沒有什麼知心朋友,只喜歡跟一群人混在一起。
29. 我曾和不同類型的人交往過,如今我已經清楚的知道自己想和哪種人約會,以及我所期望的約會方式。
30. 我從未真正關心和參與政治,因而沒有特定、明確的政治立場。
31. 關於 「男性和女性角色」 的看法似乎太多了,所以我不會深入的思考這些問題。
32. 經過一番自我檢視之後,我已經對自己的生活方式有很明確的看法。

English version

1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at what is available until something better comes along.
2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look.
3. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another.
4. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own.
5. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned whether I date or not.
6. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in.
7. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other.
8. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on.
9. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now.
10. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much.
11. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe.
12. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me.
13. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective.
14. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices.
15. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it as it comes.
16. I'm not really interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available.
17. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now.
18. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly.
19. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career.
20. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me.

21. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe.
22. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual.
23. I've had many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend.
24. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends.
25. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career.
26. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me.
27. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life.
28. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd.
29. I've dated different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date.
30. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other.
31. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it.
32. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own life style will be.

Achieved identity status items: 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32

Diffused identity status items: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 27, 28, 30, 31

References

Adams, G. R. (1998). *The objective measure of identity status: A reference manual. Unpublished manuscript*. Ontario: University of Guelph.

Barnett, R. C. (2004). Preface: Women and work: Where are we, where did we come from, and where are we going? *Journal of Social Issues, 60*, 667–674. doi:10.1111/j.0022-4537.2004.00378.x.

Baron, J. M., & Bluck, S. (2011). That was a good story! Assessing the dimensions of story quality. *Discourse Processes, 48*, 93–118. doi:10.1080/01638531003702109.

Bauer, J. J., McAdams, D. P., & Pals, J. L. (2008). Narrative identity and eudaimonic well-being. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 9*, 81–104. doi:10.1007/s10902-006-9021-6.

Beckert, T. E., Lee, C. T., & Vaterlaus, J. M. (2013). Cognitive autonomy in adolescence: A cross-cultural comparison of American and Taiwanese high students. *Survey Research: Method and Application, 28*, 7–45. doi:10.1177/074355488612005.

Bennion, L. D., & Adams, G. R. (1986). A revision of the extended version of the objective measure of ego identity status: An identity

instrument for use with late adolescents. *Journal of Adolescence Research, 1*, 183–198. doi:10.1177/074355488612005.

Bluck, S., & Habermas, T. (2000). The life story schema. *Motivation and Emotion, 24*, 121–147. doi:10.1023/A:1005615331901.

Bluck, S., & Liao, H.-W. (2013). I was therefore I am: Creating self-continuity through remembering our personal past. *The International Journal of Reminiscence and Life Review, 1, 7*–12. Retrieved from http://www.ijrlr.org/ojs/index.php/IJRLR

Bruner, J. S. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cheng, C. (2004). Identity formation in Taiwanese and American college students. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, TX. Retrieved from https://www.lib.utexas.edu/etd/d/2004/chengcc72162/chengcc72162.pdf

Cheng, Y., Lou, C., Gao, E., Emerson, M. R., & Zabin, L. S. (2012). The relationship between external contact and unmarried adolescents' and young adults' traditional beliefs in three East Asia cities: A cross-sectional analysis. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 50*, 4–11. doi:10.1016/j.jadohealth.2011.12.011.

Chia, R. C., Moore, J. L., Lam, K. N., Chuang, C. J., & Cheng, B. S. (1994). Cultural differences in gender role attitudes between Chinese and American students. *Sex Roles, 31*, 23–30. doi:10.1007/BF01560275.

Chia, R. C., Allred, L. J., & Jerzak, P. A. (1997). Attitudes toward women in Taiwan and China. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*, 137–150. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1997.tb00105.x.

Conway, M. A., Singer, J. A., & Tagini, A. (2004). The self and autobiographical memory: Correspondence and coherence. *Social Cognition, 22*, 491–529. doi:10.1521/soco.22.5.491.50768.

Erikson, H. K. (1950). *Childhood and society*. New York: Norton.

Erikson, H. K. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Field, A. (2009). *Discovering statistic using SPSS*. London: Sage.

Grotevant, H. D., & Cooper, C. R. (1998). Individuality and connectedness in adolescent development: Review and prospects for research on identity, relationships, and context. In E. Skoe & A. von der Lippe (Eds.), *Personality development in adolescence* (pp. 3–36). London: Routledge.

Grysman, A., & Hudson, J. A. (2013). Gender differences in autobiographical memory: Developmental and methodological considerations. *Developmental Review, 33*, 237–272. doi:10.1016/j.dr.2013.07.004.

Habermas, T., & Bluck, S. (2000). Getting a life: The emergence of the life story in adolescence. *Psychological Bulletin, 5*, 748–769. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.126.5.748.

Habermas, T., & Köber, C. (2015). Autobiographical reasoning is constitutive for narrative identity: The role of the life story for personal continuity. In K. C. McLean & M. Syed (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of identity development* (pp. 149–165). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hong, Z.-R., McCarthy-Veach, P., & Lawrenz, F. (2005). Psychosocial predictors of psychological distress in Taiwanese secondary school boys and girls in Taiwanese secondary school boys and girls. *Sex Roles, 53*, 419–431. doi:10.1007/s11199-005-6764-1.

Hsueh, C. T. (2003). 台灣地區婚姻的變遷與社會衝擊 (Research Report No. 092–005). [The transition of marriage status and related societal impacts in Taiwan]. Retrieved from National Policy Foundation website http://old.npf.org.tw/PUBLICATION/SS/092/SS-R-092-005.htm

Kroger, J. (2007). *Identity development: Adolescence through adulthood*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Lee, A. (2009). Shaping one's own destiny: Global economy, family, and women's struggle in the Taiwanese context. *Women's Studies International Forum, 32*, 120–129. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2009.03.003.

Lee, C. T., & Beckert, T. E. (2012). Taiwanese adolescent cognitive autonomy and identity development: The relationship of situational

and agential factors. *International Journal of Psychology, 47*, 39–50. doi:10.1080/00207594.2011.572972.

Lee, C. T., Beckert, T. E., & Goodrich, T. R. (2010). The relationship between individualistic, collectivistic, and transitional cultural value orientations and adolescent autonomy and identity status. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 39*, 882–893. doi:10.1007/s10964-009-9430-z.

Liao, H.-W., & Cheng, C.-L. (2009). 心理幸福感量表之中文化修訂研究 [The psychometric properties of the Chinese version of the scale of psychological well-being]. Taipei: Poster presented at the annual meeting of Chinese Association of Psychological Testing and Psychological and Educational Tests Symposium.

Liao, H.-W., & Cheng, C.-L. (2010, November). 自我認同狀態與心理幸福感之關係探討:不同年齡層青少年的比較 [The relationships between identity statuses and psychological well-being: a comparison among the youth of different ages]. In C.-L. Cheng (Chair), *Development of interpersonal relationships in adolescence*. Symposium conducted at the 49th annual meeting of Taiwanese Psychological Association. Chiayi, Taiwan.

Liao, H.-W., Bluck, S., Alea, N., & Cheng, C.-L. (2015). Functions of autobiographical memory in Taiwanese and American emerging adults. *Memory*. doi:10.1080/09658211.2015.1015572.

Lilgendahl, P. J., & McAdams, D. P. (2011). Constructing stories of self-growth: How individual differences in patterns of autobiographical reasoning relate to well-being in midlife. *Journal of Personality, 79*, 391–427. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00688.x.

Liu, J., & Chen, J. J. (2007). 高等教育學習領域之性別隔離與變遷:1972–2003 [The patterns and trends of sex-segregation on fields of study for higher education: 1972–2003]. 教育與心理研究, *4*, 1–25. Retrieved from http://www.edubook.com.tw/tw/file/pdf/1100/30-4/01.pdf

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3*, 551–558. doi:10.1037/h0023281.

Marcia, J. E. (2002). Identity and psychosocial development in adulthood. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 2*, 7–28. doi:10.1207/S1532706XID0201_02.

McAdams, D. P. (1996). Personality, modernity, and the storied self: A contemporary framework for studying persons. *Psychological Inquiry, 7*, 295–321. doi:10.1207/s15327965pli0704_1.

McAdams, D. P. (1998). *Contamination sequence coding guidelines*. Evanston: Department of Psychology, Northwestern University.

McAdams, D. P. (1999). *Coding narrative accounts of autobiographical scenes for redemption sequences*. Evanston: Department of Psychology, Northwestern University.

McAdams, D. P. (2013). *The redemptive self: Stories Americans live by*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McAdams, D. P., & Bowman, H. J. (2001). Narrating life's turning points: Redemption and contamination. In D. P. McAdams, R. Josselson, & A. Lieblich (Eds.), *Turns in the road: Narrative studies of lives in transition* (pp. 3–34). Washington: American Psychological Association. doi:10.1037/10410-001.

McAdams, D. P., & McLean, K. C. (2013). Narrative identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 22*, 233–243. doi:10.1177/0963721413475622.

McAdams, D. P., & Zapata-Gietl, C. (2015). Three strands of identity development across the human life course: Reading Erik Erikson in full. In K. C. McLean & M. Syed (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of identity development* (pp. 81–94). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McAdams, D. P., Reynolds, J., Lewis, M., Patten, A. H., & Bowman, P. J. (2001). When bad things turn good and good things turn bad: Sequences of redemption and contamination in life narrative and their relation to psychosocial adaptation in midlife adults and in students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27*, 474–484. doi:10.1177/0146167201274008.

McLean, K. C., & Pratt, M. W. (2006). Life's little (and big) lessons: Identity statuses and meaning-making in the turning point narratives of emerging adulthood. *Developmental Psychology, 42*, 714–722. doi:10.1037/0012-1649.42.4.714.

McLean, K. C., Pasupathi, M., & Pals, J. L. (2007). Selves creating stories creating selves: A process model of narrative self development. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 11*, 262–278. doi:10.1177/1088868307301034.

Mok, K. H. (2000). Reflecting globalization effect on local policy: Higher education reform in Taiwan. *Journal of Education Policy, 15*, 637–660. doi:10.1080/02680930010000236.

Pals, J. L. (2006). Narrative identity processing difficult experiences: Pathways of personality development and positive self-transformation in adulthood. *Journal of Personality, 74*, 1079–1109. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2006.00403.x.

Pasupathi, M. (2015). Autobiographical reasoning and my discontent: Alternative paths from narrative to identity. In M. Syed & K. C. McLean (Eds.), *Handbook of identity development* (pp. 166–181). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pillemer, D. B. (2001). Momentous events and the life story. *Review of General Psychology, 5*, 123–134. doi:10.1037/1089-2680.5.2.123.

R. O. C. (Taiwan) Ministry of education, Department of statistics. (2012). *Net Enrollment Rate of Each Level of Schools*. Retrieved from https://stats.moe.gov.tw/files/ebook/Education_Statistics/102/102edu.pdf

R. O. C. (Taiwan) Ministry of the interior, Department of statistics. (2013). *Statistics for first marriage by nationality, age, and education*. Retrieved from http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/gender/ps03-04.xls

Ross, M., & Wang, Q. (2010). Why we remember and what we remember: Culture and autobiographical memory. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 5*, 401–409. doi:10.1177/1745691610375555.

Ryff, C. D. (1989). Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 1069–1081. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.57.6.1069.

Singer, J. A. (2004). Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of Personality, 72*, 437–460. doi:10.1111/j.0022-3506.2004.00268.x.

Singer, J. A., & Blagov, P. (2004). The integrative function of narrative processing: Autobiographical memory, self-defining memories, and the life story of identity. In D. R. Beike, J. M. Lampinen, & D. Behrend (Eds.), *The self and memory: Studies in self and identity* (pp. 117–138). New York: Psychology Press.

Singer, J. A., & Moffitt, K. H. (1991). An experimental investigation of specificity and generality in memory narratives. *Imagination,*

Cognition, and Personality, 11, 233–257. doi:10.2190/72A3-8UPY-GDB9-GX9K.

Singer, J. A., & Salovey, P. (1993). *The remembered self: Emotion and memory in personality*. New York: The Free Press.

Singer, J. A., Blagov, P., Berry, M., & Oost, K. M. (2013). Self-defining memories, scripts, and the life story: Narrative identity in personality and psychotherapy. *Journal of Personality, 81*, 569–582. doi:10.1111/jopy.12005.

Somers, M. R. (1994). The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach. *Theory and Society, 23*, 605–649.doi:10.1007/BF00992905

Stephen, J., Fraser, E., & Marcia, J. E. (1992). Moratorium-achievement (MAMA) cycles in lifespan identity development: Value orientations and reasoning system correlates. *Journal of Adolescence, 15*, 283–300. doi:10.1016/0140-1971(92)90031-Y.

Syed, M., & McLean, K. C. (2015). The future of identity development research: Reflection, tensions, and challenges. In K. C. McLean & M. Syed (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of identity development* (pp. 81–94). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Talbani, A., & Hasanali, P. (2000). Adolescent females between tradition and modernity: Gender role socialization in South Asian immigrant culture. *Journal of Adolescence, 23*, 615–627. doi:10.1006/jado.2000.0348.

Tian, S. L. (2011). An exploration of adult career interests and work values in Taiwan. *Asian Pacific Education Review, 12*, 559–568. doi:10.1007/s12564-011-9157-x.

Wang, Q. (2006). Earliest recollections of self and others in European American and Taiwanese young adults. *Psychological Science, 17*, 708–714. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01770.x.

Waterman, A. S. (2007). Doing well: The relationship of identity status to three conceptions of well-being. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 7*, 289–307. doi:10.1080/15283480701600769.

Yang, C. S., & Lin, S. H. (1998). 大學生生涯發展狀況與自我認定狀態之相關研究 [A Study on the relationship between career development and ego identity status for college students in Taiwan]. 教育心理學報, 30, 1–6. Retrieved from http://ir.lib.ntnu.edu.tw/ir/retrieve/19320/ntnulib_ja_A0201_3002_001.pdf

Yeh, K. H., Huang, T. C., & Chiu, Y. Y. (2006). 現代華人的家庭文化特徵:以台灣北部地區若干家庭的探討為例 [The characteristics of modern Chinese family culture: A study of 24 families in Northern Taiwan]. 本土心理學研究, 25, 141–195. Retrieved from http://www.airitilibrary.com/Publication/alDetailedMesh?docid=10298282-200604-x-25-141-195-a

Zucker, A. N., Ostrove, J. M., & Stewart, A. J. (2002). College-educated women's personality development in adulthood: Perceptions and age differences. *Psychology and Aging, 17*, 236–244. doi:10.1037//0882-7974.17.2.236.