CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Hall's Theory of Recapitulation

The beginning of the study of adolescence was marked by the publication of G. Stanley Hall's pioneering work, a monumental two-volume text entitled Adolescence, in 1904. Hall was significantly influenced by Charles Darwin's theory of evolution as presented in *On the Origin of Species* (Adams & Gullotta, 1983).

Hall formulated his notion of recapitulation, which stated that the experiential history of the species became part of the genetic structure of the individual organism, and thereby was passed on from generation to generation. Similarly he believed that the development of the organism mirrored the development of the species; that is, Hall believed that the individual developed in a series of stages that corresponded to the stages passed through marking its evolution.

According to this theory, adolescence corresponded to the period when the human race was in a turbulent, transitional stage, a time of great "storm and stress". Hall said that puberty was a time of great upset, emotional maladjustment and instability in which the adolescent's moods oscillate between energy and indifference, gaiety and depression, or egotism and bashfulness. The end of adolescence marked a

new birth in which higher more complete traits were born, a time corresponding to the beginning of modern civilisation.

Hall's major thesis was that genetically determined physiological factors controlled and directed the development and growth of the organism. As the organism matured, its behaviour changed inevitably in a pattern set down in its genetic material. This influence of maturation was assumed to occur in any kind of environmental or sociocultural context. He believed that biological development exerted a direct influence on human behaviour, an effect not tempered by environmental conditions such as social structure, parental values, peer relations or cultural interpretations of the biological changes (Adams & Gullotta, 1983).

Hall's view of adolescence has since been severely criticised on a number of points. Firstly, his biological, genetic explanation of behaviour allows no room for the role of the environment. Secondly, he felt that behaviour at each stage was universal, unchangeable, and predisposed by biological drives, a tenet refuted by cultural anthropologists. Thirdly, he felt parents must be permissive and tolerate socially unacceptable behaviour during the various stages, even to the extent that, serious, abnormal disturbances were sometimes accepted as normal. Finally, he overemphasised adolescence as an inevitable period of "storm and stress", a point that has been refuted by demonstrations that adolescence in some cultures is not all that stormy. Ellis (1979) for example demonstrated that even in American culture, the

rate of emotional disturbance among adolescents did not differ significantly from that of the population at large.

Coleman (1974) has helped clarify the storm-and-stress concept of adolescence by pointing out that the various stresses on the adolescent do not occur all at the same time. The adolescent deals with one or two stressful events which lessens their cumulative stress, before dealing with other stresses. According to his focal theory, adolescence occurs over a period of years. The stresses of adolescence such as adjusting to biological changes, learning about the opposite sex, making vocational choices, occur at different points in the time frame. Hence, adolescence is likely no more stressful than adulthood or childhood.

2.2 Drive Theory

Rice (1992) in explaining the work of Arnold Gessel points out that Gessel was interested in the behavioural manifestations of development and personality. Gessell's theory is a biologically oriented theory, suggesting that maturation is mediated by genes and biology that determine the order of appearance of behavioural traits and developmental trends. This concept implies a sort of biological determinism that prevents teachers and parents from doing anything to influence development. Although Gessel did allow for individual differences based on different cultural experiences, he nonetheless emphasised that "acculturation" could never transcend "maturation", because maturation was of primary importance. He

considered many of the principles, trends and sequences to be universal among humans. This concept contradicts the findings of cultural anthropology and social and educational psychology, which emphasise significant, culturally determined individual differences (Rice, 1992).

More current theories of the importance of biological factors for understanding adolescence are framed in the context of drive theory. McCandless (1970) and Asubel (1954) both discuss adolescence within drive theory framework. A drive is characterised by two properties, that is, it is a form of energy that persists until its goal is satisfied and it is an inborn reaction. In each case, the basic notion is that the drive level of the person is increased at adolescence and that this increase accounts for the differences we see in children's and adolescent's behaviour.

McCandless believes that with the onset of pubescence there is an increase in the general drive of the organism because of the increase in sex drive. One function of drive is to energise or motivate the organism to behave. An increase in the drive level, will produce a "supercharged" organism, which within a drive-theory framework, means the individual will exhibit responses at a higher magnitude than during childhood, when the drive level was lower.

For McCandless (1970), the increase in sex drive and the corresponding increase in general drive level of the organism demands changes in behaviour because

of the new capacities that the adolescent experiences. The adolescent must learn to adjust, to live with the new drive, given parental and cultural sanctions about the drive, in order to avoid conflicts and problems of development. The kinds of adaptations that the individual must make, then, depend upon the cultural context in which the adolescent is living. Hence, McCandless's notions include a very strong biological and cultural component. He thus pays more than cursory attention to the social as well as the biological facets of adolescent development. His views are that the biological impacts on behaviour are mediated by sociocultural situations and expectations.

Asubel (1954) has noted that two kinds of changes that occur in adolescence are critical for an understanding of adolescent development. First, there is a biological change, particularly as represented by the new sex drive that the adolescent experiences. Second, there is a psychosocial change. For Asubel, this change means becoming independent. Adolescents must learn to function psychologically and socially on their own, apart from their former adult caretakers. Asubel further discusses the impact of psychobiological and psychosocial changes in development. Psychobiological aspects of development refer to those psychological factors that are consequences of biological change. Psychobiological aspects are also relatively universal, since they occur in all cultures. However, cultural factors will determine to some degree the manner in which psychobiological aspects of adolescence emerge. Psychosocial changes refer to the changes, personal and social,

that are due to cultural factors. Psychosocial changes tend to be more specific in nature, for example cultural differences in terms of pre and post adolescent sexual behaviour. Hence, for Asubel there are important biological changes that occur in adolescence, particularly the new sex drive. In addition, however, culturally determined psychosocial changes also occur, in part as a function of the biological changes.

The maturational theories discussed so far focus on the important role that pubescent biological changes play in the psychological development of the adolescent. Although the theorists did not completely ignore the role of environmental and cultural influences on behaviour, they only acknowledged a minor role for it in the process of adolescent development.

2.3 Psychodynamic Theory of Adolescent Development

The psychodynamic theories are based on two principles. Firstly, these theories are historical in nature, that is, adolescents' current behaviour can only be understood through reference to their past experience and personal history. Secondly, psychodynamic theories are based on instinct theory. During adolescence, this emphasis has been translated into a focus on drives, such as the sex drive, that are viewed as increasing in strength. In this context, the emphasis has been on the study of defenses against the increases in drives.

Freud (1953) described adolescence as a period of sexual excitement, anxiety, and sometimes personality disturbance. According to Freud, puberty is the culmination of a series of changes destined to give infantile sexual life its final, normal form. At puberty, along with maturation of the external and internal sexual organs comes a strong desire for resolution of the sexual tension that follows. This resolution demands a love object; therefore, Freud theorises adolescents are drawn to a member of the opposite sex who can resolve their tensions.

Anna Freud (1958) was more concerned with the period of adolescence than her father was and elaborated on the process of adolescent development and the changes in the psychic structure of the child at puberty.

Anna Freud characterised adolescence as a period of conflicting and erratic behaviour. The reasons for this conflicting behaviour are psychic disequibilirium and internal conflict that accompanies sexual maturation at puberty. At puberty, the most obvious change is an increase in the instinctual drives, which have the source in the id. This is due partly to sexual maturation, with its accompanying interest in genitality and the flare-up of genital impulses. The renewed vigour of the instincts at adolescence directly challenges the reasoning abilities and the powers of conscience of the individual. The careful balance achieved between the psychic powers during the period of latency is overthrown as open warfare breaks out between the id and the superego. The ego has much difficulty keeping the balance.

Because of the increase in sexuality, the adolescent is viewed as being in a state of stress. The stress produces anxiety, which in turn, leads to the development of defense mechanisms. Defense mechanisms, which protect the individual from experiencing the anxiety associated with a stressful situation, also restores psychological equilibrium to the individual. Examples of defense mechanisms are repression, denial, withdrawal and regression. According to Anna Freud the most important defense mechanisms for understanding adolescents are asectism and intellectualism. Asceticism is an attempt to deny completely the existence of instinctual drives, such as the sex drive, in order not to give in to them. Intellectualism refers to an abstract impersonal evaluation of important issues in a manner implying they are not conflicts for the individual.

Anna Freud does however feel that harmony among the id and the superego is possible and does occur finally in most normal adolescents. However, the superego needs to be sufficiently developed during the latent period, though not to inhibit the instincts too much, causing extreme guilt, and anxiety, and if the ego is sufficiently strong and wise to mediate the conflict.

More contemporary psychodynamic views of adolescence take the perspective that adolescence occurs in a series of stages. Each stage is presumed to have its own major emphasis and relation to psychodynamic processes. Blos (1974) divides

adolescence into the latency, early adolescent, adolescent, late adolescent and post adolescent stages. Each stage has a unique major emphasis.

During the latency phase, sexual inhibition is prevalent as the ego and the superego control the instincts. This phase ends with puberty and the concomitant increase in the sex drive. It is in this phase that defenses against the instincts come to the fore. In early adolescence there is an emphasis on same sex relationships and the peer group. There is an adoption of values that oppose those of the parents. Because parental values are no longer seen as absolutely correct and right, the ego and superego are weakened, and in extreme cases, delinquency behaviours may emerge.

During adolescence, the heterosexual love relationships emerge and there is an increased interest in the self. The major focus of late adolescence is the "Who am I ?" question. Self-esteem becomes stable, and a firm sex-role identity is established. Basically this is the result of the consolidation and expression of the ego. The end result is the emergence of a firm personality in the young adulthood years.

Finally, post-adolescence involves completing goals set for the self, including entrance into the adult roles of marriage and parenthood. Each sex further develops the sex role image, including that of being the father and the mother. During this time the ego becomes stabilised and instinctual conflicts are diminished.

2.4 Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Another attempt to modify Sigmund Freud's conceptualisations to fit the nature of adolescent development may be found in Erikson's writings. Erikson (1963) modified and elaborated the Freudian theory of psychosexual development in an attempt to apply those concepts to development during the adolescent years. His expansion of Freudian theory shifted the emphasis of psychoanalytical theories of adolescent development from the sexual nature of the stages of development to a type of psychosocial development pattern. The core concept Erikson uses to discuss adolescent development is the acquisition of ego identity, the person's sense of who and what he is, his evaluation of self.

Erikson described eight stages of human development. In each of the eight stages, the individual has a psychosocial task to master. The confrontation with each task produces conflict, with two possible outcomes. If the conflict during this stage is successfully resolved, a positive quality is built into the personality and further development takes place. If the conflict persists or is unsatisfactorily resolved, the ego is damaged because a negative quality is incorporated into it. Therefore, according to Erikson, the overall task of the individual is to acquire a positive ego identity as he moves from one stage to the next. The positive solution of the task, each with its negative counterpart, is listed below for each period:

1. Infancy: Achieving trust versus mistrust

2. Early childhood: Achieving autonomy versus shame and doubt

3. Play age: Achieving initiative versus guilt

4. School age: Achieving industry versus inferiority

5. Adolescence: Achieving identity versus identity diffusion

6. Young adult: Achieving intimacy versus isolation

7. Adulthood: Achieving generativity versus stagnation

8. Mature age: Achieving ego integrity versus despair

At adolescence, the task is of establishing ego identity. Erikson emphasises several aspects of this process. Identity formation neither begins nor ends with adolescence. It is a lifelong process, largely unconscious to the individual.

Erikson emphasises that adolescence is a normative crises, a normal phase of increased conflict characterised by a fluctuation of ego strength. In other words, Erikson has not completely abandoned Freudian theory, but significantly expanded on it. Thus, for Erikson, the development of the human organism is partially genetically determined. However, the individual's culture will influence the ways in which the genetically determined aspects of development will emerge in his thinking, within the series of psychosocial crises. For adolescents the particular crises that is important is that of identity achievement versus identity diffusion - the "Who am I question?".

During this time the individual must establish a sense of personal identity to avoid the dangers of role diffusion and identity diffusion. To establish identity requires individual effort in evaluating personal assets and liabilities and in learning how to use these to achieve a clearer concept of who one is and what one wants to be and become. Erikson feels that during adolescence there must be an integration of all converging identity elements and a resolution of conflict that he divided into seven major parts.

Temporal Perspective versus Time Confusion

Gaining a sense of time and of the continuity of life is critical for the adolescent who must coordinate the past and the future and gain some concept of how long it takes to achieve one's life plans. It means learning to estimate and allocate one's time.

Self-Certainty versus Self Consciousness

This conflict involves developing self-confidence based upon past experiences so that one believes in one's self and feels that one has reasonable chance of accomplishing future aims. To do this, adolescents go through a period of increasing self-awareness and self-consciousness, especially in relation to their physical self-image and social relationships. When development follows a relatively normal course, children acquire confidence in themselves and their abilities. They develop confidence in their ability to cope in the present and in anticipation of future success.

Role Experimentation versus Role Fixation

Adolescents have an opportunity to try out the different roles they are to play in society. They can experiment with many different identities, personality characteristics, ways of talking and acting, ideas, goals or type of relationships. Identity comes through opportunities for such experimentation. Those who have developed too much inner restraint and guilt, who have lost initiative, or who prematurely experience role fixation never really find out who they are.

Apprenticeship versus Work Paralysis

Similarly, the adolescent has an opportunity to explore and try out different occupations before deciding on a vocation. Once entered, one's job plays a large part in determining identity. Also, a negative self-image in the form of inferiority feelings can prevent one from mustering the necessary energy to succeed.

Sexual Polarisation versus Bisexual Confusion

Adolescents continue to attempt to define what it means to be "male" and "female". Erikson feels it is important that adolescents develop a clear identification with one sex or the other as a basis for future heterosexual intimacy and as a basis for a firm identity. Furthermore, he emphasises that for communities to function properly, men and women must be willing to assume "proper roles"; sexual polarisation, then, is necessary.

Leadership and Followship versus Authority Confusion

As adolescents expand their social horizons through schoolwork, social groups and new friends, they begin to take leadership responsibilities as well as follow others. But at the same time they discover there are competing claims on their allegiance. The state, employer, family and friends all make demands, with the result that adolescents experience confusion in relation to authority. Sorting out this confusion, requires an examination of personal values and priorities.

Ideological Commitment versus Confusion of Values

This conflict is closely related to all the others because the construction of an ideology guides other aspects of behaviour. Erikson refers to this struggle as the "search for fidelity". Erikson emphasises that individuals need something to believe in, or to follow.

If the individual is able to resolve these seven conflicts, a firm identity emerges. The crises is past when he no longer has to question at every moment his own identity, when he has subordinated childhood identity and found a new self-identification.

For Erikson, both social and cultural factors play important roles in dealing with psychosocial conflicts. For example in times of rapid social change, resolving conflicts will be much more difficult than in times when there is relatively little change.

Erikson (1982) saw the formation of a personal sense of identity as one of the cornerstones of ego development. Defined by Erikson (1963) as "the accrued confidence in the inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others", identity is often considered to be of central concern during adolescence. In discussing Erikson's definition, Patterson et. al. (1992) explain that Erikson's definition emphasises three elements that emerge as necessary for a sense of identity. Firstly, the person must experience inner sameness, or integrity, so that actions and decisions are not random. Defined values, principles and expectations order one's behaviour. Secondly, a sense of inner sameness is continuous over time. Actions in the past and hopes for the future are experienced as related to the self today. Thirdly, identity is experienced within a community of important others. Relationships and roles serve, ideally, to support and validate an integrated, continuous identity.

One interesting aspect of Erikson's theory is his concept of adolescence as a pychosocial moratorium, a societally sanctioned intermediary period between childhood and adulthood, during which the individual through free role experimentation may find a niche in society. Adolescence becomes a period of analysing and trying various roles without the responsibility for assuming any role. Erikson acknowledges that the duration and intensity of adolescence vary in different societies, but that near the end of adolescence, a failure to establish identity results in deep suffering for the adolescent because of a diffusion of roles. Such role diffusion may be responsible for the appearance of previously latent psychological disturbances.

The adolescent who fails in the search for an identity will experience self-doubt, role diffusion and role-confusion; such an individual may indulge in a self-destructive, one sided preoccupation or activity. He will be preoccupied with the opinions of others or may turn to the other extreme of no longer caring what others think. He may withdraw or turn to drugs or alcohol in order to relieve the anxiety that role diffusion creates.

Erikson emphasises that whereas the identity crises is most pronounced at adolescence, a redefinition of one's ego may also take place at other periods of life. The extent to which individuals are able to cope with these other changes in identity is determined partly by the success with which they have first mastered the adolescent identity crises.

Erikson equally stresses biogenetic and sociocultural factors in adolescent development. Erikson believes that both physiological and cultural factors exert important influences on the unfolding of the various stages of development. Both must be understood in order to accurately describe adolescent development.

In these psychodynamic views of adolescence, we see an emphasis on aspects of personality development in general, and identity issues in particular. By examining the nature of personality development during adolescence, these theorists attempt to explain adolescent behaviour as resulting from child rearing and a developmental

history of interacting with the larger social order. They all to a degree view adolescence as a period of adjustment, leading the individual to adulthood. The quality of coping during the adolescent years determines to a significant extent how well the person will adapt to adulthood roles and responsibilities (Muuss, 1968).

2.5 Marcia's Identity Status Model

Marcia (1980) has refined Erikson's conceptualizations of adolescent identity formation. Marcia view's identity as a continually changing organisation of one's own attitudes, values, and beliefs. A well developed identity gives one a sense of one's own strength and uniqueness. A less well developed identity results in one's not being able to define strengths and weaknesses, and not having a well articulated sense of self. It is during adolescence that cognitive competence is achieved to evaluate and integrate in a meaningful manner the physical and social changes that have occurred. Such an integration sets the stage for continual changes in the content of identity structures through the adulthood years, for identity structures are dynamic not static. For Marcia, identity formation involves the adoption of a sexual orientation, a set of values and ideals and a vocational direction.

According to Erikson (1982), the life stage of adolescence provides young people with the optimal situation for defining a sense of identity. Not yet firmly tied to adult commitments, the adolescent may try out a variety of possible commitments in

occupation and ideology, eventually adopting a more or less permanent sense of who he or she is.

Building upon Erikson's work, Marcia (1966) developed the identity status approach to studying the process of identity formation. Marcia's four identity statuses occupy unique positions along the dimensions of exploration and commitment. According to Marcia, identity statuses are both outcomes of the process of identity formation and structural properties of personality, and each portrays a dominant mode of experiencing the world. Identity status of late adolescence should thus affect and shape future identity formation as well as the person's passage through subsequent life.

By examining commitment to occupation and ideology and the presence or absence of a decision-making period, that is, a crisis, Marcia had identified four identity statuses: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium and achieved.

Marcia describes the four identity statuses as follows:

(a) **Identity diffusion** is the least developmentally advanced status. Commitment to an internally consistent set of values and goals is absent and exploration is either missing or shallow. People in identity diffusion tend to follow the path of least resistance, and may present as having a carefree lifestyle or as being empty and dissatisfied.

(b)   **Identity foreclosure** represents a high level   of commitment following little or no exploration. For some, identity foreclosure is a developmental starting point, from which a period of exploration will ensue. However, as an identity resolution, foreclosure represents a less developed state than that of moratorium or identity achievement. People who follow the foreclosure pattern adopt a single set of values and goals, usually those of their parents.

(c)   **Moratorium** is arguably considered a stage, rather than a resolution of the identity formation process. This state refers to the process of forging an identity (in the domains of occupational, interpersonal, and ideological commitments) from the myriad possibilities available. The person in moratorium is intensely preoccupied with exploring options and working towards commitments.

(d)   **Identity achievement** represents an autonomous resolution of identity, incorporating a set of commitments adopted during a period of exploration (moratorium). It is the exploration of the moratorium period that distinguishes the flexible strength of identity achievement from the rigid strength of identity foreclosure.

A model of Marcia's Identity Statuses is shown in Figure 2.1.

Exploration

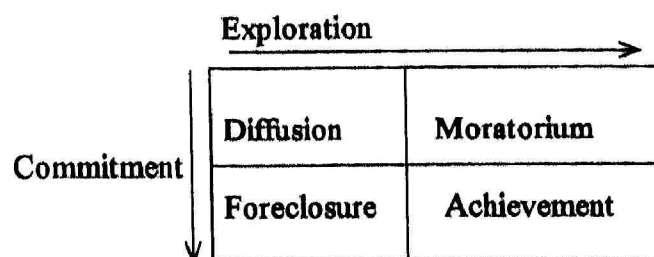|	Diffusion	Moratorium
Commitment	Foreclosure	Achievement

Figure 2.1 Marcia's Identity Status Model

In the above figure, the horizontal axis represents exploration while the vertical axis represents commitment. When both exploration and commitment are absent, the person is said to be in the diffused status. When commitment is present, while exploration is absent, the person is said to be in the foreclosure status. When exploration is present, while commitment is absent, the person is said to be in the moratorium status. When commitment is reached after exploration, the person is considered to have reached the identity achieved status.

Meeus (1992) in reviewing past research by Marcia and Waterman, used their data in secondary analysis to construct a table indicating the relationship of identity statuses and personality traits and life domains such as school, leisure time and relationships. He drew two conclusions. Firstly, that no relationship existed between formal intellectual skills and identity. Secondly, on the rest of the traits studied, which included self-esteem, autonomy, moral reasoning, intimate relationships and social skills, he found consistent relationships with the two status levels, that is the advanced status and the unsophisticated status levels. He defines identity achievement and moratorium as advanced status levels and foreclosure and diffusion as unsophisticated status levels. He reasons that the identity achievement and moratorium statuses are similar, as are foreclosures and diffusion.

Based on his study he made the conclusion that "the identity status model possesses an acceptable degree of validity". Further, he added the following about the different statuses:

Identity achievers possess a positive image, are cognitively flexible and independent, adhere to noble moral principles and reject authoritarianism. They perform well at school. Also, they are fairly liberal regarding the use of drugs and score high on cultural participation. Their engagement in relationships runs smoothly. Identity achievers, then, are prototypes of healthy development.

The moratoriums have greater fears. Their cognitive ability is less flexible and they are more uncertain about cooperation and competition. Their school performance is not as good and they are less satisfied with their school. Further, their attitude towards drugs is more positive. Like identity achievers, their self-image is positive and their relationships are satisfying. Basically, the moratoriums are undergoing positive development, flanked by a large measure of uncertainty regarding the future. This corresponds with Marcia's definition of moratorium as a situation of crises.

Foreclosures display a combination of rigidity and conventionality. They are very satisfied about school, reject the use of drugs and think authoritarian. They are sure of themselves but they show no autonomy, cognitive flexibility and independence.

Youngsters with this identity status experience no crises and prefer a conventional way of life. Foreclosures show little self-esteem and their social skills are mediocre.

Identity diffusers have low self-esteem and few satisfying relationships. In this they are similar to foreclosures but they are somewhat less conventional and rigid. They take a more independent stance (autonomy, cognitive flexibility and independence), think less authoritarian, are more critical of school and are slightly more liberal with respect to drugs. They have not explicitly chosen a conventional way of life, and they show no strong personal or social identity. Marcia's description of identity diffusion as characteristic of people who may or may not be in crises but have made no choices, seems to capture the features adequately.

Meeus (1992) further adds that the identity status model is a developmental model, and assumes two things: crises pass, and at some point of time youngsters take decisions to make choices regarding the various life domains. In combination, overcoming crises and making choices lead to self-identity.

2.6   Various Approaches to Identity Formation

According to Waterman (1992) with respect to the content of an individual's sense of identity, Erikson (1968) identifies a broad array of domains in which a person develops a self-reflective perspective. The domains are the choice of one's vocation; one's ideologies; one's philosophy of life; one's ethical capacities; one's sexuality; the

personal meaning of one's gender, ethnicity, culture and nationality; and one's relationship to "an all-inclusive human identity". Waterman comments that by creating a construct with such breadth, Erikson has created problems for researchers concerned with operationally defining identity for research purposes.

Schlenker (1985) views identity as a structure or framework out of which individuals interact with the world. This identity structure is continually updated as new experiences and information are encountered. He defines identity as "a theory (or schema) of an individual that describes, interrelates and explains his or her relevant features, characteristics and experiences". For Schlenker, identity specifies the contents of what we are like, and guides and regulates our interpersonal behaviour by affecting our cognitions, affect and behaviour.

There have recently been some investigators who have attempted to push the identity literature beyond a description of statuses or types to specify processes through which identity develops. Grotevant (1987) has proposed a process model that is developmental, contextual and life-span in scope. It is developmental in that it focuses on the process of forming a sense of identity over time. It is contextual in its consideration of the interdependent influences of society, school or work environments, and interpersonal relationships on identity. It is life-span in scope in that it permits consideration of continuities over time from infancy through adulthood.

One of the key processes associated with identity formation has been exploration which Grotevant (1987) has defined as "problem-solving behaviour aimed at eliciting information about oneself or one's environment in order to make a decision about an important life choice". For adolescents, the "work" of identity is seen as the exploration process. At the heart of Grotevent's model is the adolescent's process of engagement in exploration and the cognitive and affective consequences of such behaviour. The model also considers individual differences in personality and cognitive abilities that adolescents bring to the identity process, as well as the active brokering between the developing self and the various contexts in which the process of identity exploration is embedded.

Berzonsky (1992) proposes that the four statuses in Marcia's paradigm reflect three different styles of personal problem solving and decision making. By definition, individuals classified as moratoriums and achievers in Marcia's scheme are, or at least have been, engaged in information-oriented processes of self-exploration; they deliberately seek out self-relevant information before making identity-relevant decisions and committing themselves. They differ on the commitment identity dimension; achievers have made firm decisions, moratoriums have not. Foreclosures have used a normative-oriented approach to making identity commitments; they have dealt with problems by internalising the norms and expectations held for them by parents and significant others. Diffusions, like moratoriums, lack firm identity commitments. Instead of actively attending to and processing relevant information,

however, they tend to be avoidance-oriented; they delay and procrastinate until the cues in the immediate situation dictate a course of action.

Ramussen (1964) studied the relationship of Erikson's concept of ego-identity to psychosocial effectiveness. In relating to Erikson's theory, Ramussen suggested that positive resolution of the ego-identity crises was necessary for the individual to make a satisfactory adjustment as an adult in his society. His investigation lent support to his position that an adequate ego identity was necessary for a person to cope effectively with his social and cultural environment.

Waterman (1992) in his analysis of identity formation links identity development with optimal psychological functioning. He explains that within the context of Erikson's psychosocial theory of stage development, a sense of ego identity can be considered as an aspect of optimal psychological functioning in that it constitutes the "syntonic outcome of the normative crises of identity formation". An outcome is considered syntonic if it is experienced positively by a person - the type of outcome that he or she strives to attain and if attained, then maintain. In contrast, a dystonic outcome to a normative crises is one that is experienced negatively - the type of outcome a person strives to avoid, or if experienced, then rectify. Waterman explains that according to Erikson, individuals inevitably emerge from each normative development crises with outcomes that incorporate both syntonic and dystonic elements. Thus, for Waterman, healthy psychological development with respect to

Erikson's model entails resolutions of the successive normative crises with favourable ratios of syntonic to dystonic elements, where both types of elements can be considered situtionally appropriate.

In defining Optimal Psychological Functioning, Waterman suggests four criteria against which the construct can be evaluated:

1. To be deemed optimal, psychological qualities should contribute to a sense of personal well-being. Personal well being can be defined as an overall favourable ratio of positive to negative effects, where both the positive and negative effects are situationally appropriate. The more favourable this ratio, the stronger is the support for a claim regarding optimal functioning.

2. To be deemed optimal, psychological qualities should contribute to the realisation of goals held by individuals. The concern here, he explains, is not with particular qualities narrowly defined, that may be essential to the realisation of some specific goal. Rather, claims regarding optimal functioning pertain to qualities that can contribute to the advancing of the broad range of goals a person may pursue.

3. To be optimal, psychological qualities should contribute to social acceptance, that is, qualities should be viewed as positive ones to enact within the person's social context.

4. To be deemed optimal, psychological qualities should contribute to the realisation of goals deemed to be valuable within the societal contexts within which individuals function. In other words, optimal psychological qualities serve socially constructive ends.

Waterman further adds that in terms of criteria for optimal psychological functioning, Erikson's theorizing appears to incorporate each of his four criteria. He explains that to be considered successful, the resolution of an identity crises must reflect a favourable ratio of syntonic to dystonic elements, by definition incorporating a sense of personal well-being. A predominantly dystonic outcome, one not characterised by personal well-being, cannot be considered successful.

With respect to the realisation of goals held by individuals, having a clearly delineated perspective of oneself, knowing who one is and what one wishes to do in life, would appear essential for the realisation of goals in virtually any sphere of endeavour. According to Waterman, this is reflected in the broad range of domains that Erikson discusses as pertinent to the task of identity formation. To choose a goal, to identify activities by which to seek the attainment of that goal, and to implement those activities are all expressions of a person's sense of ego identity.

Waterman further elaborates that as a pychosocial theorist, Erikson (1968) emphasised the importance of the sociocultural context as a determining factor in the

process of ego identity formation. Given the array of identity related goals compatible with one's biological capacities and psychological inclination, the range of those for which support and encouragement are available within one's social context will be considerably narrower. Societies differ widely with respect to the content and diversity of identity-related goals deemed acceptable for a person to adopt, with acceptable options typically based on considerations of gender, race, class, ethnicity, family and age.

Further according to Waterman, the hallmark of socially constructive activities for Erikson is the compatibility of individual and community interests. Erikson had written: "Truly worthwhile acts enhance a mutuality between the doer and the other - a mutuality which strengthens the doer even as it strengthens the other". While this may be more frequently found in actions carried out in line with societal norms, Erikson also includes norm-breaking behaviour as socially constructive, as in his writings on Martin Luther (Erikson, 1958) and Ghandi (Erikson, 1969).

Waterman (1984) in his own study of identity had defined the construct in terms of: "Having a clearly delineated self-definition comprised of those goals, values and beliefs to which the person is unequivocally committed. These commitments evolve over time and are made because the chosen goals, values, and beliefs are judged worthy of giving direction, purpose and meaning to life".

Waterman says that his definition has the same referent as Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1980), yet he believes that each theorist has chosen to focus on different descriptive elements of the construct and on different functions that a sense of identity can serve. Waterman (1992) had chosen to emphasise to a greater degree than Erikson and Marcia, on the strength of a person's investment in particular identity elements and the centrality of that identity to the manner in which he chooses to live. In other words, in the process of identity formation, we choose goals, values and beliefs that give direction, purpose and meaning to our life.

Further, Waterman (1992) has reviewed research linking personal identity to optimal psychological functioning. In most of the studies reviewed, the researchers had used the identity status paradigm developed by Marcia. This involved the simultaneous applications of the dimensions of exploration and commitment.

In his study of research on personal identity and the psychological variables associated with optimal psychological functioning, Waterman found positive correlations between the strength of personal identity and self-esteem, lower levels of debilitating emotional states, goal-directed behaviour, internal locus of control, social attractiveness, social responsibility, attitudes towards authoritarianism and intimacy.

Identity development is indeed a complex construct, and various researchers have looked at it differently. Erikson believes that physiological and cultural factors

exert important influences on the unfolding of the various stages of development. He emphasises that both must be understood in order to accurately describe adolescent development. For Marcia, identity formation involves the adoption of a sexual orientation, a set of values and ideals and a vocational direction. Schlenker (1985) views identity as a structure or framework out of which the individual interacts with the world. This identity structure he adds is continually updated as new experiences and information are encountered. Grotevant's (1987) model on identity development considers individual differences in personality and cognitive abilities that adolescents bring to the identity process, as well as active interaction between the developing self and the various contexts in which the process of exploration is being carried out. Berzonsky (1992) relates the four statuses of Marcia with three different styles of personal problem-solving, that is, information-oriented processes of self-exploration, normative-oriented approach and avoidance-oriented approach. Waterman (1984) in his own study of identity had defined the construct in terms of, "having a clearly delineated self-definition comprised of those goals, values and beliefs to which a person in unequivocally committed". He adds that these commitments evolve over time and are made because the chosen goals, values and beliefs are judged worthy of giving direction, purpose and meaning to life. While different researchers viewed identity development differently, most have often used Marcia's four status model in various formats as the basis in their research as it enabled the identity construct to be operationalised for the purposes of research and measurement.

2.7 Framework of the Study

The ARP Programme can be considered to be a programme full of opportunities to explore as well as make commitments, especially in the four areas of providing service, recreation and expeditions, skills, and sports and culture. In each of these areas, the participants are expected to make a personal choice of the area of their interest, set goals to improve from the levels they were at or undertake new experiences, and work towards achievement of those goals. Further, the participant has to make a commitment to himself and to the programme to work diligently towards that target.

The early researchers such as Freud, Asubel and McCandless had suggested that the primary determinant of adolescent behaviour was genetic factors. Erikson was the earliest psychosocial theorist who had suggested that the development of adolescents was only partly genetically determined. He had added that the individual's culture would influence the ways in which the genetically determined aspects of development will emerge in one's thinking and behaviour. Thus, Erikson gave rise to the possibility, that the external environment can influence adolescent development. Coleman (1974), for example, emphasises the importance of encouraging as wide a variety of environments for youth as is possible to facilitate their development. Bronfenbrenner (1979) from an ecological perspective, suggests that human development is facilitated through interaction with persons who occupy a variety of roles and through participation in an ever-broadening role repertoire.

ARP provides an environment that possibly facilitates adolescent development. It provides a wide range of experiences in a wide variety of environments, such as through sports, culture, community service and skills learning activities. Through these activities, no doubt, there would be interactions with persons of different roles, such as teachers, community leaders, coaches and government officials. Additionally, the participants would play a wide variety of roles, which would include that of learners, sportsmen, helpers, planners, negotiators and leaders. Through these interactions and wide variety of roles, adolescent development can possibly be facilitated.

According to Erikson (1982), adolescence is a period of psychosocial moratorium, a period in which society allows an individual through role experimentation to find a niche in society. Rapoport (1989) who defines experimentation as the utilisation of perceived opportunities to freely explore a range of multiple alternative behaviours, roles and tasks before becoming fully committed to them, suggests that experimentation is similar to Erikson's moratorium, where there is an exploring of choices before making firm commitments. Rapoport suggests that adolescents should be allowed to experiment freely with different aspects of social reality and psychological states while being relieved of full adult obligations and responsibilities.

ARP can be considered an opportunity to carry out different roles in different situations and have a wide variety of experiences without adult obligations and responsibilities. Different situations possibly includes learning new skills, learning life-saving techniques, providing service to the disabled, exploring jungles and negotiating for new activities and programmes. It thus provides an opportunity to explore before making commitments and finding a niche in society

To establish a firm identity, according to Erikson requires individual effort in evaluating personal assets and liabilities and in learning how to use these to achieve a clearer concept of who one is and what one wants to become. Additionally, there must be resolution of several conflicts and an integration of all the identity elements. The positive resolution of the conflicts would include better management of time, clearer personal goals, greater self-awareness and self-confidence, exploring career options, having leadership and followship qualities as well as building a sense of values.

The ARP programme, through its comprehensiveness as well as through the guidance of the instructors and facilitators, would be able to contribute towards the positive resolution of conflicts. Through the programme it is believed that participants would be able to better manage their time, set clearer goals, have more awareness of one's strengths and weaknesses and build more self-confidence to face challenges. Also it would encourage them to explore various skills that could contribute towards

building a future career. Further, the programme would help them to be good followers at the initial stage in the programme, while with increasing participation and involvement in the programme, they would have to provide leadership for the new participants. The ARP programme also directly and indirectly instills in the participants a sense of values on what is right and wrong. Erikson suggests that if the individual is able to resolve the conflicts positively, a firm identity emerges. It is suggested that ARP can contribute towards building a firm identity.

Marcia (1980) views identity as a continually changing organisation of one's own attitudes, values and beliefs. A well developed identity, he adds, gives one a sense of one's own strength and uniqueness. The mechanism that facilitates this process is that of exploration and commitment. Thus ARP, through providing the context for exploration and commitment, constantly challenges the attitudes, values and beliefs of the participants. For example, most adolescents feel inadequate in facing physical challenges, such as mountain climbing or jungle expedition, or helping the less fortunate, such as disabled, poor or underprivileged. The ARP challenges them to change these attitudes and beliefs about themselves and overcome these perceived limitations. Their values are also being often challenged, for example about taking responsibility to take control of their own lives, or even their responsibility to serve others. Thus ARP possibly provides the context, towards challenging adolescents' attitudes, values and beliefs, in the process of forming a clearer sense of their personal identity.

Berzonsky (1992) proposes that the four statuses in Marcia's paradigm reflect different styles of personal problem solving and decision making. Those on the higher status levels, that is moratoriums and achievers, are, or at least have been, engaged in information-oriented processes of self-exploration; they deliberately seek out self-relevant information before making identity-relevant decisions and committing themselves. For ARP, in all the four areas of the programme, participants have to actively seek out information, firstly about themselves and secondly about their environment. In seeking out more about themselves, they need to better identify and understand their interests, goals, values, priorities, strengths and weaknesses. In seeking out information about their environment, they would probably want to know what activities and programmes are available or what activities their friends have chosen, or when a particular programme is being organised. They may further seek information on how to participate in programmes that they are very keen to join but are not available in their immediate environment. It is suggested that the process of seeking self-relevant information and making relevant decisions facilitates the process of identity development.

The ARP indeed provides a wide variety of opportunities and experiences available to adolescents to be used, in line with their own timetable, although there are broad guidelines. The participants make a personal choice if and when they want to participate in the Programme, and then play a major role in setting their own timetable towards the achievement of their preset goal towards attainment of the awards given..

Thus, it is suggested that participation in ARP would involve the relevant activities as well as use of skills and provide opportunities for exploration and commitment that would facilitate adolescent identity formation.

The ARP Programme could also possibly enhance the process of identity development, towards achieving optimal psychological functioning. Through the Programme, it is suggested that the participants will derive psychological benefits of higher self-esteem, more internal locus of control, greater social skills, more liberal attitude towards authoritarianism, greater social responsibility and goal-setting behaviour.

Chiam (1984) in her study of rural adolescents in Malaysia found that many of the adolescent boys and girls were timid and shy, nervous, feeling inferior, lacking in self-confidence and easily embarrassed. They had difficulty mixing well with others. They also had difficulty making up their minds and were afraid to make mistakes. These were also the common problems in urban adolescents (Chiam and Nik Aziz Pa, 1982). In a study on adolescent drug abusers in Malaysia, Chiam (1993) found them low on self-reliance. Low self-reliance means a sense of being compelled to acquiesce to peer pressure. They were highly susceptible to suggestions and went along with the peers. Peer influence was thus the cause of their drug involvement.

In today's dynamic environment, adolescents need to have self-confidence, courage, creativity, social skills, clearer goals, perseverance, mental strength and an internal locus of control to overcome obstacles and face challenges. They also need to have a greater sense of social responsibility to serve the nation.

Within the context of the ARP programme, it is suggested that the psychological variables most closely associated with the aims, structure and activities of the programme are self-esteem, internal locus of control, social skills, attitude towards authoritarianism, social responsibility and goal-setting behaviour. Additionally, the study variables also included the demographic variables of gender, race and age.

2.7.1 Self-esteem

Rosenberg (1985) defines self-esteem as the feeling of being satisfied with oneself, believing that one is a person of worth.

He further elaborates on the features of high self-esteem. Firstly, a person with high self-esteem accepts himself. Although recognising that he has shortcomings, a person of high self-esteem is basically satisfied to be the type of person he is. Secondly, a high self-esteem person likes himself. Finally, a person with high self-esteem has proper respect for himself and his worth as a person. This respect can be of two types, unconditional or conditional (Rosenberg, 1965b). It is unconditional in the sense that the individual respects himself as a human being, independent of qualities or accomplishments. The individual believes that he is entitled to respectful

treatment from others without having to prove his worth. But there is also a conditional type of self-respect, one that rests on meeting one's own standards of competence, morality or any other criteria of worth or excellence.

Carmines (1978) indicates that persons with high self-esteem feel a sense of command over themselves and their immediate environment: they are well-integrated, candid and willing to take risks. Adams and Gullotta (1983) suggest that high self-esteem has been found to be predictive of a multitude of important personality characteristics and social behaviours. They cite examples that positive self-images have been associated with positive mental-health indices, more mature intimacy skills, a sense of initiative, and acceptance of ethnic identity. More specifically, Prager (1992) supports the notion that attaining identity achievement is enhancing to one's self-esteem.

Waterman (1992) found that individuals scoring high on measures of identity had been found to report higher levels of self-esteem than those whose identity was not, as yet, well formed. Prager (1982) found that achievement women scored significantly higher on self-esteem than both moratorium women and diffusion women. Interestingly, she found that achievement women did not show significantly higher self-esteem than the foreclosure women.

Thus, generally it can be said that there is a positive correlation between strong identity status and self-esteem. It is further suggested that ARP could possibly enhance the level of self-esteem in the participants, through continuously achieving small gains towards achieving their targets.

2.7.2 Locus of Control

Rotter (1966) defines locus of control as generalised expectancies concerning the outcome of one's actions. People characterised by an internal locus of control feel that what happens to them in life is essentially a consequence of their own actions. Those with external locus of control orientation tend to feel that what happens to them is a consequence of events governed by external forces.

In their study on the quality of life, Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976) found a positive and significant association between sense of personal competence and overall well-being. According to them, people who saw the control of their lives within themselves were far more likely to describe their life experience positively than those who saw themselves controlled by outside forces.

Waterman (1992) found that persons having a strong sense of personal identity, particularly as an identity achiever, had correlation to an internal locus of control. Neuber and Genthner (1977) found that moratoriums and identity achievers tend to

take greater personal responsibility for their actions than foreclosures and identity diffusions.

Adams and Shea (1979) found that while identity achievers and foreclosures were significantly more internal than diffusion subjects, moratoriums were more external than achievers and foreclosures and more internal than diffusions.

Dellas and Jernigan (1987) defines locus of control as people's beliefs regarding their ability to control their lives, a quality they say is comparable to autonomy, which Erikson suggested as a necessary precondition for the successful resolution of the identity crises. Dellas and Jernigan (1987) studied specifically the relationship between occupational identity and locus of control. Their subjects were first-year air force cadets. They noted that while most other researchers used more overall scores, they had specifically used only occupational identity. Within the framework of their study, they examined differences in occupational identity of males and females pursuing a traditionally male occupation, a career in the United States Air Force. Based on their research they confirmed the relationship between identity statuses and the personality variable of internal-external control. They were unsure however whether this quality was an antecedent or consequence of the establishment of occupational identity status. They found that male cadets in the achieved status who had successfully resolved the occupational identity crises were more frequently internally controlled, while male cadets in the diffused status who had yet to begin the task of identity construction

were more frequently externally controlled. These relationships to them suggest that internal control may be a significant factor in identity achievement and that the absence of internal control may lead to the inability to work out identity issues. This is of course consistent with Erikson's proposal that autonomy is a necessary pre-condition for identity formation.

Orlofsky et. al. (1973) and Matteson (1974) also found individuals in the foreclosure and identity diffusion statuses to score lower on measures of autonomy in comparison to identity achievers and moratoriums.

Thus, generally it can be said that there is a relationship between personal identity and locus of control. It is further suggested that ARP contributes towards internal locus of control of participants as they need to take control of their lives to participate in the programme, to set goals and further to conscientiously work towards achieving their goals and targets.

2.7.3 Social Skills

Social skills can be defined as the ability to communicate competently in interpersonal situations. For Habermas (1971) the ability to communicate competently in interpersonal situations is the indispensable condition of ego identity.

Donovan (1975) suggests that individual identity status is associated with a distinctive interpersonal orientation. He studied 22 liberal arts undergraduates in a university. The mean age of the group was 21. However, two women were over 30. All were Caucasians, except for one Hawaiian. They were his ex-students.

The subjects were administered Marcia's Identity Status Interview and three projective tests; the Rorschach, the Thematic Apperception Test and the Early Memories Inventory. Each was then asked to write a 10 -20 page autobiography according to an exhaustive outline and to complete a log describing in one or two words how he had spent each hour over the previous week. These tasks required a total of some 6 hours and the subjects were paid fifteen dollars.

From his study Donovan found that there was a relationship between identity status and interpersonal style. Three subjects were in the Diffusion category. Out of this, one refused to complete the research materials. The information is thus limited because of the small group and their lack of cooperation. The behaviour of the Diffused group reflected withdrawal, noninvolvement and some inappropriateness. It was as if they felt shy, frightened and vulnerable to their peers. They did not speak often and seemed to assume that they must be diplomatic and agreeable, once in a while anger and frustration burst through.

Of the 22 subjects, seven were foreclosures. These people had internalised their parents' plans for them particularly with regard to occupational choice. Further, the identity foreclosed were more sober, stable young adults. However, they were not independent, curious or very aware of their own thoughts and feelings. In an interpersonal setting, they were hard-working, talkative and constructive. They were the ones to maintain a group but were not the ones to try new directions. They attempted to lead the class in a responsible, benevolent fashion, but as the group experience was unstructured, where rules and goals were unclear, they were upset.

Eleven subjects of the 22 were in the identity moratorium group. However, Donovan found different sub-groups here. One sub-group seemed to be actively seeking solutions to personal conflicts, to be exploring for emotional commitment. Others appeared to be doing similarly, but lacked defined goals and values and were highly defensive. He classed the second subgroup in a new category, that is, moratorium-diffusion. Donovan decided that five of the subjects were identity moratorium. They were more directly engaged in self-confrontation than any of the other students. He found that they had not made up their minds about occupational choices, political, religious and interpersonal commitment, but they had become emotionally involved in facing these problems. As young adults these people were competent, autonomous and active and in addition, they possessed the capacity to experience and describe their feelings in a clear, deep way. Interpersonally, they were prone to counterdependence and quick disagreement. Emotionally responsive, they

communicated considerable affection as well. The identity moratorium students were nearly obsessed with competitively controlling the group and with establishing a central place for themselves within it.

Donovan found only two in the Achieved category, and these were the two women above thirty. Because the number is small and because these two people were so much older than the other students, the comparisons and conclusions have to be viewed with caution. By the time these two people had reached the age of 30s, they had experimented with and developed vocational plans, and to a lesser degree political, religious and interpersonal positions and values, which were realistically based on their individual needs, interests, abilities and experiences. The commitments of the identity achieved had a personally tested quality. They were not concerned with competitive battles for leadership and were more interested in developing warm relationships. Donovan also found them well-controlled, tolerant and active people.

Donovan found the Moratorium-Diffusion group the most difficult to understand. They appeared in search of some resolution of these various areas, but their efforts often seemed more self-protective than exploratory. They felt that they had been cheated. The confusion of this group preoccupied them and turned them in upon themselves. They did not understand or trust themselves very much. In a group they sometimes withdrew; sometimes they became very hostile.

The above study may have limited value because of the small number of subjects. Further, the fact that the author himself was their lecturer may have affected the results. Even so, it does show that there is a relationship between identity status and interpersonal behaviour.

Slugoski et. al. (1984) used the Bales Interaction Process Analysis scoring system to study the relationship between personal identity status and social interactional aspects. According to this system, 12 mutually exclusive categories were used to classify interactive behaviour.

Based on their research, Slugoski et. al. (1984) found that persons in the high-identity statuses scored significantly higher on the Solidarity (example; acts of affection, camaraderie, assistance, praising, mediation) and Releases Tension (example; indications of relief, elation, joking, laughing, enthusiasm) categories than did persons in the low-identity statuses. Identity diffusion subjects scored marginally higher on the Tension (example; indications of nervousness, frustration, unhappiness, shame or guilt) category than did foreclosures. With respect to the Shows Antagonism (example; automatically controlling the interaction, deflating the status of the other, defending one's own status) category, the high-identity subjects scored lower than did the low identity subjects, and identity diffusion subjects scored lower than did foreclosures.

To deal with an increasingly complex environment, adolescents need to have the ability to be open to new ideas and challenges and to learn from them. Slugoski et. al. (1984) found that in the area of seeking out others' opinions, identity achievement subjects, appeared the most inquisitive compared with the subjects from all statuses combined. They suggested that this greater openness to others' ideas might be facilitated by identity achievement subjects having a more secure sense of self and a more flexible cognitive system.

Thus, personal identity status appears to correlate positively with interpersonal processes. It is further suggested that as there are many opportunities for ARP participants to interact with peers and adults, the programme could possibly enhance the social skills of the participants.

2.7.4 Attitude Towards Authority

Attitude can be defined as the evaluation of some object about which an individual has some knowledge (Pratkanis & Greenwald, 1989). Authority refers to the power that has been institutionalised and is recognised by the people over whom it is exercised. Rigid or inflexible attitude towards authority means that the person believes that formal structures or institutions should fully exert their powers to achieve compliance. A liberal or flexible attitude towards authority means that a person believes that the use of power should be minimal to achieve organisational goals. It assumes that people do not need to be coerced to achieve their tasks as best as they can.

Waterman (1992) in his review of research on identity status and attitude towards authoritarianism, found in a series of studies that foreclosures had been constantly found to hold more authoritarian attitudes, while identity achievers and moratoriums were usually the least willing to endorse authoritarian attitudes.

Marcia (1967) in his research on 86 college males found that, identity achievers subscribed somewhat less than other statuses to authoritarian values. The most outstanding characteristic of the foreclosures was their endorsement of authoritarian values such as obedience, strong leadership, and respect for authority. Again, Marcia (1967) reported that foreclosure participants were significantly higher in their endorsement of authoritarian values than other statuses.

Thus, there appears to be a relationship between strength of personal identity and attitude towards authority. It is further suggested that the flexible management of the ARP programme may suggest to participants that liberal management can often achieve better results than inflexible use of authority, and thus influence their attitude towards authority making them more liberal towards authoritarianism.

2.7.5 Goal-Setting

Rothman (1984) observed that individuals with identity commitments, that is identity achievers and foreclosures, tended to be goal oriented while identity diffusions had problems in that regard. Among college women, Marcia and Friedman (1970) found

identity achievers to choose the most challenging college majors, while moratoriums and identity diffusions chose the least challenging majors.

Akhtar (1984) and Baumeisster (1986) have suggested that one important component to identity resolution is the ability to conceptualise the self as having an existence over time. In conceptualising the self's existence over time, there is an understanding of the continuities between the self in prior life experiences, at the present and who one will be in the future.

Ball and Chandler (1989) suggest that the inability to conceptualise one's identity over time is a critical factor in suicidal tendencies of adolescents. Makstrom-Adams (1992) adds that if the adolescent is not working towards positive future goals, the future may become irrelevant. The failure to conceptualise the continuity of the self over time may render a severe handicap to identity formation. Failure to recognise the pertinence of one's past to one's present identity and failing to integrate the past into one's current understanding of self, may result in feelings of aimlessness and meaninglessness. Makstrom-Adams (1992) adds that the adolescent is likely to be "characterised as being diffused and may exhibit disturbing behavioural symptoms".

Thus there appears to be a relationship between the strength of personal identity and goal-setting behaviour. Further, as the ARP participants need to set goals and work towards those goals, the programme can possibly enhance the goal-setting skills

of the participants. Thus it suggested that through participating in the programme, the goal-setting skills of the participants are enhanced.

2.7.6 Social Responsibility

The social responsibility norm states that we should help those who need help (Berkowitz & Daniels, 1963). Thus, social responsibility can be considered as the willingness to help those who need help, without considering any future benefits in return.

In two studies, (Genthner & Neuber, 1975; Neuber & Genthner, 1977), Waterman (1992) found functioning in the identity achievement status to be linked to individuals' effectiveness in generating a helping atmosphere in face-to-face interaction, while foreclosures and identity diffusion were least active. Further, Walter and Stivers (1977) found undergraduate student teachers, with a clearly defined sense of identity to be more accepting of students ideas. Further, Slugoski et. al. (1984) demonstrated that in social interactions, the behaviour of identity achievers was most cooperative and reflected an interest in listening to the ideas of others.

Thus, identity development appears to have a relationship with social concern and responsibility for others. As the ARP instills concern for the poor and the underprivileged, teaches and equips the participants with skills to serve them and further facilitates their involvement in helping situations such as in the community,

hospitals or at centres for the disabled, it is suggested that ARP can affect the social responsibility of participants making them more concerned for those who need help.

2.7.7 Gender

Many theorists and empiricists have suggested that males and females may address the identity tasks differently. Archer (1989) conducted research comparing gender in three areas, that is, firstly, the process by which identities are formed, secondly, the domains in which they may define themselves and finally the time at which this task of identity formation is initiated. Archer describes process as the "particular identity status representing an individual's approach to arriving at one's self-definition". She describes domains as "the content areas which are relevant to self-definition, such as, vocation, family roles and sex-role orientation". Each person has unique biology, socialisation and experiences that all contribute to the domains by which we choose to define ourselves. She explains timing as "the point in one's life when activity is ongoing in various domains".

She conducted her study on 80 males and 80 females each from grades 6, 8 , 10 and 12 (aged 12, 14, 16 and 18) from a suburban community.

Based on her study she found that both genders were similarly distributed in the identity statuses, except for foreclosure which characterised males more significantly than females. Further, both genders used the identity processes similarly in the

domains of vocational choice, religious beliefs and sex-role orientation. However, males were found to be more foreclosed and females diffuse in the area of political ideology. However, females were significantly more likely to be in moratorium or identity achieved with regard to family values. Finally, no timing differences were found.

However, one caution that should be noted in this study is that at the age of 12, the lower age level of the sample, the process of identity formation may still be in the early stages.

Dellas and Jernigan (1987) conducted research on male and female cadets in the United States Air Force Academy, during their first six months. At the entrance level they found that there were more female achievers than male achievers, that is 29% to 19%. When the tests were conducted 3 months later, and again 6 months later, it was found that the female identity statuses were more stable. There were significant shifts only for males.

For the males, the achievement status was the most unstable. There was a significant decrease in this status, while there was a significant increase in the moratorium status. Dellas and Jernigan suggest that cultural factors rather than differences in the process of identity formation may account for the differences observed in the males and females in the identity statuses.

For example, they found more women entering the Academy at moratorium level. One major influence that they had suggested that caused this difference, was parental encouragement and support in joining the Air Force. The males were probably strongly encouraged to have an Air Force career by parents and significant others, where else it is unlikely that the females attained such support. They attributed the greater percentage of women in the moratorium status in their study thus to uncertainties regarding their entrance to a career not previously available to women.

In another measure on locus of control, they found that male cadets in the identity achieved status, who had successfully resolved the occupational identity status were more frequently internally controlled, while males in the diffused status, who had yet to begin the task of identity construction were most frequently externally controlled. There was no such relationship for the females. This they suggest may indicate that internal control may be a significant factor for male identity development, whereas for females it may not be as significant.

Ginsburg and Orlofsky (1981) in reviewing past research on identity development in women, indicated that women achievers and foreclosures scored more internal in locus of control, more field independent and conformed less to peer pressure, than their moratorium and diffusion counterparts. Thus, they suggested that for women, "foreclosure rather than moratorium has resembled identity achievement as an adaptive identity position; and proximity to identity achievement (through a

moratorium or crises period) has appeared to have negative implications for women's personality functioning rather than the positive ones as predicted by theory and observed in males". Some investigators have proposed that identity crisis is as potentially beneficial for women as it is for men, but does not always appear so because the process is often more complex and conflictual for women. Specifically, women often lack social support for undergoing an identity crisis. While men are generally encouraged to make their own choices and be autonomous, women are generally expected to find their identities through marriage and child rearing. The moratorium women who struggle to develop their own values and goals must do so with few role models and with little support or encouragement from others. If she considers non-traditional alternatives, she may even be actively discouraged and opposed. Thus, instead of leading to a smooth resolution, an identity crisis may be marked by considerable conflict and stress. This they suggest is the reason why previous research often had shown negative findings for moratorium women compared to foreclosure women (Ginsburg & Orlofsky, 1981).

Thus, it appears that identity formation can occur differently for male and females. However, past research has not shown a consistent pattern as to the nature of that difference.

2.7.8 Race

In Malaysia, where many of the policies and programmes are structured around ethnic identification, the investigation of race as a variable in adolescent identity development seems appropriate. Streitmatter (1988) feels than within an American context, very little research has been done that examined the relationship of identity status and race.

In the context of the study, Streitmatter takes ethnicity as a general concept, where he explains it as the "racial and/or self-reported identifications by the youngsters of the sample". He studied 367 early adolescents of which 59.9% were Anglo and 41.4% were "Others". His "Others" included Hispanics, Blacks, native Americans and Asians. The items measured were in the domains of occupation, politics, religion, friendship, dating, sex-roles and recreation.

Based on his comparison of the two racial categories (Anglo and Others), he found significant differences in the foreclosure measure only. Specifically, on both ideological foreclosure and interpersonal foreclosure, he found the minorities to be significantly more foreclosed than their non-minority counterparts. Steitmatter suggests that this indicates that Anglos are less likely to accept identity elements from significant adults than their non-Anglo peers. Nonsignificant differences were found for comparison of ideological and interpersonal achievement, moratorium and diffusion.

This study was done in a mandatory desegregation area where bussing was being undertaken. Thus, the results may have limited significance, especially, in the Malaysian context. Even so, it does indicate that race can have significant effects on the development of adolescent identity.

For the purpose of this study, respondents of Malay, Chinese, Indian and Others origin will be selected to understand the effects of race as a variable in identity development.

2.7.9 Age

It is generally assumed that we are initially diffused (Archer and Waterman, 1983). We have not had the experience, motivation or cognitive abilities to become committed to particular life goals until early or mid-adolescence. At the early adolescent age we perhaps make our first tentative commitments as foreclosures, usually based upon the preferences of significant others in our lives, especially parents and teachers. With exposure to increasing experiences, we begin to examine alternatives as moratoriums, and if it feels comfortable, choose from among those alternatives and implement a commitment as an identity achiever.

Streitmatter (1988) analysed gender, ethnicity and grades as variables in identity formation. His sample consisted of 47.7% from seventh grade (aged 13) and 52.6% from eighth grade (aged 14). He studied the ideological and interpersonal domains of

identity formation. Streitmatter found that eighth grade respondents were more mature than seventh graders. For measures of advanced identity status, that is achievement and moratorium, the eighth graders' average score was significantly higher than the seventh graders, and for measures of unsophisticated identity statuses, that is diffusion and foreclosures, the seventh graders average score was greater than that of the eighth graders. Streitmatter suggested that these findings collectively supported Erikson's theoretical notion that advancing age is conducive to a stable identity.

In another study by Archer (1989) on 48 females and 48 males, 12 of each from gender grades 6, 8, 10 and 12, (aged 12, 14, 16 and 18). Archer found that there were gender differences in the identity statuses. With regard to the moratorium status, females were more likely to be in the status at the 6th, 10th and especially 12th grade, with the least number of male moratoriums being found in the 12th grade. With regard to the identity achiever status, males were more likely to be achievers at the 12th grade with females more likely to be achievers at each of the earlier grades. Thus, females were more likely to achieve identity achievement at the earlier stages.

Thus, it can be said to be quite clear that age plays a significant role in identity development, although it probably affects the males and females differently.

Adolescence age ranges have often been defined chronologically differently by different researchers. Tolan (1988) in his study on adolescent delinquent behaviours divided adolescence as follows; early adolescence as 11 -13 years old, middle adolescence as 14 - 16 years old, and older adolescence as 17 - 18 years old.

Ehenberg, Cox and Koopman (1991) define adolescence age stages as follows; early adolescence as 13 - 15.5 years old, middle adolescence 15.5 - 17 years old, and late adolescence as 17 -19 years old.

The age group that is allowed to participate in the ARP Programme is from 15 - 25 years old. For the purposes of this study, three age subgroups were chosen, that is, 15 -17 taken as middle adolescence, 18 - 21 taken as late adolescence and 21 - 25 taken as early adulthood stage. The purpose is to see the effects of the Programme on the different age groups.

2.8 Hypotheses

Marcia's model was used in the study because it allowed identity formation to be operationally defined. Marcia himself used the domains of career, religion and ideology in his research. Most researchers have used these three domains. Streitmatter (1988), however apart from the domains of occupation, politics, religion, also added the domains of friendship, dating, sex-roles and recreation in his study on ethnicity and identity development.

The domains selected for this study were those of career, political, religious, interpersonal status and recreation. Career, politics and religion were selected as they were used by past researchers extensively and are also relevant for adolescent identity development in the local context. Adolescents may either be in school or have recently have left the formal school system. Either way, it is a stage where they become increasingly concerned about their career path. Further, at this stage of adolescene, they become increasingly exposed and more aware of politics and issues of government, and thus begin to question and try to better understand the political and governmental processes. Similarly, while previously following their religion without probably truly undertanding it, this is a stage where they may begin to seek better understanding of their religious practices and teachings. The interpersonal domain was chosen as at this stage of development, the adolescent begins to interact with a wider array of persons for example in school, religious centres, community, work-place or youth organisation to achieve his goals. Thus, this domain is of interest to the adolescent as well as necessary for his personal and social development. The recreation domain was selected as it was felt that adolescents are particularly interested in sports and physical activities at this stage in their life.

However, by selecting only these domains, the identity development measure is confined to only the context of these five domains, and may not be a complete measure of one's identity status. A more comprehensive identity development measure would probably include all the areas as proposed by Erikson. According to

Waterman (1992) these domains are, the choice of one's vocation, one's ideologies, one's philosophy of life, one's ethical capacities, one's sexuality, the personal meaning of one's gender, ethnicity, culture and nationality; and one's relationship to "an all-inclusive human identity". However, for operational purposes of this study the identity measure was limited to these five domains. The operational model for the study is as presented below:

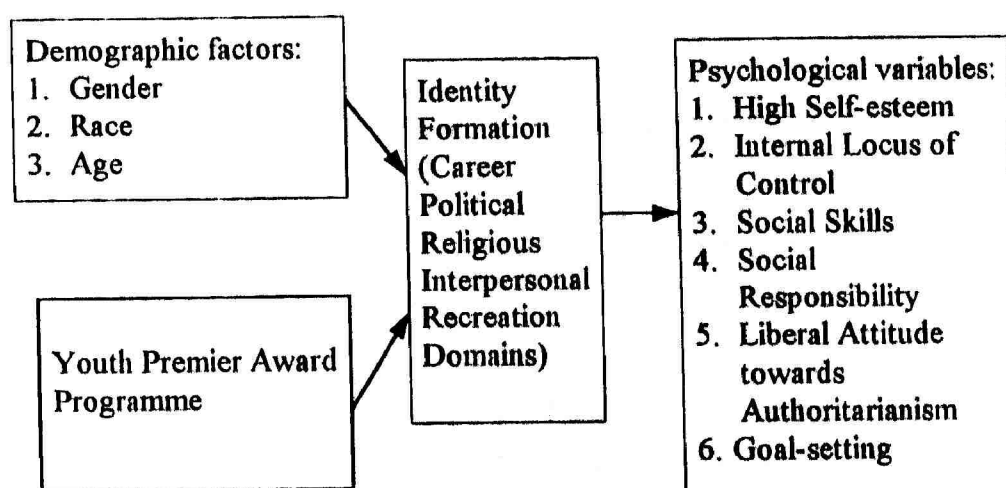| Demographic factors:	Identity	Psychological variables:
1. Gender	Formation	1. High Self-esteem
2. Race	(Career	2. Internal Locus of
3. Age	Political	Control
	Religious	3. Social Skills
	Interpersonal	4. Social
	Recreation	Responsibility
Youth Premier Award	Domains)	5. Liberal Attitude
Programme		towards
		Authoritarianism
		6. Goal-setting

Figure 2.2: Operational Model for Study

Waterman has linked identity development with optimal psychological functioning. Based on his model of optimal psychological functioning, and reviewing past research, he had established relationships of identity formation and self-esteem, goal-setting, lower levels of stress, personal responsibility, social interactional

processes, social attractiveness, social attitudes, social responsibility and the capacity for intimacy.

Based on the structure and activities of the ARP programme, the psychological variables most probably affected by the programme are self-esteem, social responsibility, attitude towards authority, social skills, goal-setting and locus of control.

Identity development is a very complex construct, defined and used differently by different researchers. In the context of this study, Identity Status in accordance to Marcia's Identity Status Model was used as the Dependent Variable. The instrument for ascertaining the identity status level was the Identity Status Score that had been developed.

The Independent Variables for the study were self-esteem, social responsibility, attitude towards authority, social skills, goal-setting, locus of control and the demographic variables of gender, race and age.

In the context of this study, the ARP programme, by its structure and activities generates abundant opportunities for exploration and commitment and thus influences, probably enhancing, the identity development of the participants. Further, through the activities and programmes of the ARP programme, it is suggested that self-esteem, social skills, social responsibility, and goal setting behaviour may improve while the participant becomes more liberal towards authority and develops a more internal locus of control.

For the testing of hypotheses, the level of significance used was 0.05.

The hypotheses for the study are as follows:

Hypothesis I: The ARP participants would be at a higher level of identity development as compared to the non-ARP participants.

Hypothesis II : The ARP participants would be at a higher level of self-esteem, have greater social responsibility, have a more liberal attitude towards authoritarianism, have higher social skills, have higher goal setting skills and a more internal locus of control as compared to the non-ARP participants.

Hypothesis III: Higher identity achievers are expected to indicate a higher level of self-esteem than those at the lower identity levels.

Hypothesis IV: Higher identity achievers are expected to indicate greater social responsibility than those at the lower identity levels.

Hypothesis V: Higher identity achievers are expected to indicate a more liberal attitude towards authoritarianism than those at the lower identity levels.

Hypothesis VI: Higher identity achievers are expected to indicate higher levels of social skills than those at the lower identity levels.

Hypothesis VII: Higher identity achievers are expected to indicate a higher level of goal setting skills than those at the lower identity levels.

Hypothesis VIII.: Higher identity achievers are expected to indicate a more internal locus of control than those at the lower identity levels.

Hypothesis IX: Males and females are expected to show differences in level of identity formation.

Hypothesis X: Different racial groups are expected to show differences in level of identity formation.

Hypothesis XI: Identity development is more advanced in older participants compared to younger participants.

It is proposed that ARP facilitates the development of identity. It is further proposed that ARP enhances self-esteem, social responsibility, social skills, a liberal attitude towards authoritarianism., goal-setting behaviour and internal locus of control.

To test these hypothéses, two groups were selected as the study samples. The first group were the ARP participants while the second group of non-ARP participants made-up the control group. The control group provided the basis to compare the

identity scores as well as the psychological variables scores with the ARP group, to ascertain whether there were any significant improvement.

To measure identity development, an objective scale was developed. To measure the psychological variables, existing scales were translated and modified before use.

To ascertain the reliability and validity of the scales, a pilot test was undertaken using a convenience sample matched on age with the actual study sample.