CHAPTER I

The Problem

Introduction

Contemporary industrial societies universally define adolescence as a time of transformation in social status. What is unique in the experience of industrial societies is that young people are defined as sexually mature while simultaneously being defined as socially and psychologically immature. Adolescence is a critical period in human development because it is during this period that the individual begins to develop a stance towards the world or an "identity." A sense of identity along with a sense of meaning and purpose in life becomes necessary in today's culture wherein a wide range of alternative identities and problems are envisaged. Ours being an "age of anxiety," it is characterized by inner void, meaninglessness and/or purposelessness. A major challenge facing the contemporary youth is to take an affirmative stand in life, and not fall victim to those forces that threaten intrinsic identity. A strong sense of identity stems from having a positive self-concept - both present and future, and hence studying the present and future self-concept of the adolescent can throw significant light on the concept of ego

identity and purpose-in-life.

Age, sex, sex roles and social class are ubiquitous determinants of human personality. Age not only ranks individuals chronologically, but it also serves as the basis for prescription as well as learning and enactment of various social roles. Similar differences are also observed between the personality characteristics of the two sexes. Differences in the anatomy and working of hormones in the two sexes affect the behaviour of individuals differently and behaviour is many times a function of the sex of the individual. Apart from biology and anatomy, socially or culturally defined sex roles can also exert significant influence on one's personality. Every individual is born into a social environment which exists prior to the individual and is the context within which individual personality develops. Each social class to a greater or lesser extent has its own differential set of ideology, values, aspirations and characteristic patterns of behaviour. This difference affects the development of particular psychological dispositions and reaction patterns.

1.1. The Concept of Ego Identity

In recent years, increasing attention has been given to Erikson's (1950, 1959) concept of ego identity. The term ego

identity refers to the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity in the ego's synthesizing methods and that these methods are effective in safeguarding the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others (Erikson, 1965, 1968). As Erikson (1969) puts it "..the integration now taking place in the form of ego identity is more than the sum of childhood identifications....The sense of ego identity is the accrued confidence that one's ability to maintain inner sameness and continuity (one's ego in the psychological sense) is matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others (p.62)."

There are two levels of ego identity - **Ego identity achievement** wherein a unique sense of personal identity has been successfully fashioned; and **Ego identity diffusion** where there is no commitment to or search for values or plans. Ego identity achievement implies an acceptance of and being comfortable with one's physical self, a sense of direction, and an ability to make decisions. It further implies both a conscious and unconscious awareness of the continuity in one's interpersonal life and intra-psychic existence. It is hence a sense of coherence, relatedness and integration. Ego identity diffusion implies doubts about one's physical and sexual self, an inability to make decisions and commitments because of doubts, and the lack of a sense of continuity of the self over time. It implies conscious and unconscious state of awareness that one lacks the feeling of self-sameness and continuity (Protinsky, 1975).

According to Erikson (1968), development of ego identity takes place within an eight stage socialization process (see figure 1). Each of these stages involves a decisive encounter with the environment. Healthy psychological growth takes place in terms of successful resolution of crisis arising at each stage. Successful resolution of crisis at each stage gives rise to the necessary strength to face the subsequent stages. If the crisis is not resolved adequately, the individual is more vulnerable to the problems presented by the subsequent stage.

A crisis is a turning point which is followed either by greater health and maturity or by greater weakness. While it is not expected that crisis at each stage will be perfectly mastered, for a healthy personality to develop, the resolution must be positive. By the end of each crisis period, the personality component that is related to that specific psychosocial stage develops into a more or less permanent personality characteristic. The following is the eight stage developmental model of Erikson (see figure 1).

1. Trust versus mistrust. The crisis of this stage arises from the child's need to rely upon, or trust others. At birth, the child is pure Id, a bundle of needs, drives and urges. The way in which these needs are met will determine whether a sense of trust or mistrust will develop. Basic trust involves the feeling that the world is relatively safe and predictable,

Figure 1. Erikson's Eight Stages of Development
(from E. Erikson (1950) Childhood and Society, NY: Norton, p234).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Old Age								Integrity vs. Despair. WISDOM
Adulthood							Generativity vs. Self-Absorption. CARE	
Young Adulthood						Intimacy vs. Isolation. LOVE		
Adolescence					Identity vs. Confusion. FIDELITY			
School Age				Industry vs. Inferiority. COMPETENCE				
Play Age			Initiative vs. Guilt. PURPOSE					
Early Childhood		Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt. WILL						
Infancy	Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust. HOPE							

while basic mistrust involves an attitude that is dangerous and uncertain. Erikson refers to the emotional feelings and not conscious thoughts when he talks about sense of trust.

2. Autonomy versus shame or doubt. According to Erikson, autonomy refers to a sense of self-control, while shame is the emotional consequence of a failure to exhibit proper self-control. Doubt exists when one is not certain whether one will be able to exert control when it is called for. The manner in which this crisis is handled determines whether children will feel as if they are effective and able to control the world (autonomy) or if they are ineffective and controlled by others (shame or doubt). A child who copes successfully with the demands of this stage will develop a sense of autonomy whereas self-doubt will result when the child is unsuccessful. The development of autonomy initially occurs within the context of the parent-child relationship.

3. Initiative versus guilt. This stage emerges during the preschool years. During this stage children become more assertive and independently active. They actively explore the environment, ask endless questions and begin to step beyond the bounds set by their parents. The nuclear crisis of this stage involves the sense of initiative that children feel regarding their self-assertion. Initiative involves being goal-directed while guilt results in wanting the wrong things and striving for

goals that may be unacceptable.

4. Industry versus inferiority. During this stage,formal instruction starts, and the child begins to spend less time at home. According to Erikson, this formal instruction provides children with the necessary skills so that they can adapt to their particular culture. Here, the young people discover whether their capabilities and talents are valued by the society at large. Erikson talks in terms of earning social recognition i.e. young people begin to compete to earn status and the resultant sense of industry and inferiority depends on their appraisal of how well they fare. Industry generates a sense of confidence that with sincere effort one can master whatever skills are needed to achieve the goals one sets, whereas inferiority is a belief that no matter how much effort is put in, one is not capable of mastering sufficiently the skills one needs.

5. Identity versus diffusion. This stage is the most important one in Erikson's theory. During this stage adolescents attempt to synthesize their previous experiences in an effort to construct a stable sense of "who they are" and "where they are headed with their life". To achieve a sense of identity, most adolescents assess their unique abilities and needs and try to integrate them with the social roles available in their particular environment. According to Erikson (1968) the person

who is able to master his environment successfully shows a certain 'unity of personality' and is also able to perceive the world and himself correctly, thereby constructing a socially accepted personal identity. The sense of identity acquired during adolescence constitutes the foundation upon which later developments are negotiated.

6. Intimacy versus isolation. The crisis of young adulthood is that of intimacy versus isolation. According to Erikson the young adult emerging from his search for identity, is ready for intimacy, that is, the capacity to open oneself or commit oneself to another person even though it entails significant sacrifices and compromises. Not being able to achieve this sense of intimacy leads a person to isolation. When isolated, one becomes self-protective and cannot openly share one's own feelings nor appreciate empathetically the feeling of another person.

7. Generativity versus self-absorption. During this stage one begins to take one's place in society, and help in the development and perfection of whatever the society produces. Generative adults know `who they are' and attempt to actively and constructively live a meaningful life, which in turn serves as a model for the current adolescents. If the person successfully plays the role society expects of him or her, if he or she is contributing and producing what is expected, then the person will

have a sense of generativity. On the other hand, a self-absorbed, stagnating adult who is not fulfilling the role society expects of him, will be trapped in a personally meaningless and unfulfilled life.

8. Integrity versus despair. In Erikson's final stage, adults must come to realize that each choice, each success and failure that they have experienced is what constitute their life. There is no going back and undoing the past and there is limited time left to make any major changes in life. Individuals however, vary in their acceptance or regrets about what they have done and/or why they did it. Some people can face themselves and sincerely believe that life was worthwhile and meaningful whereas some might despair over the perceived invalidity of their one and only life. Despair expresses the feeling that time is too short for the attempt to start another life differently.

Marcia (1964, 1966) has operationalized much of Erikson's work. What emerges from Marcia's work (1966, 1967, 1970) constitutes an expansion and elaboration of Erikson's adolescent stage "identity formation versus role diffusion." Marcia has identified various patterns and common issues of youth coping with the adolescent identity crisis. According to him, the criteria for the attainment of a mature identity are based on two variables - crisis and commitment. "Crisis" refers to times during adolescence when the individual seems actively involved in

choosing among alternative occupations and beliefs. It is a period of struggle or active questioning in arriving at a vocational choice or set of beliefs. "Commitment" refers to the degree of personal investment the individual expresses in an occupation or belief (Marcia, 1967).

Marcia (1976) has identified the following four identity statuses which vary in their degree of experienced crisis and personal commitment, namely, identity achievement, moratorium, foreclosure and identity diffusion (see table 1). An **identity achiever** refers to an individual who has been through a period of crisis and has come out of it with stable commitments. A person in the **moratorium status** is currently going through a period of crisis and actively seeks among alternatives so as to arrive at a choice. The **foreclosure** status individuals have formed commitments without ever experiencing a crisis. Many times the commitments reflect the wishes of the parents or other authority figure. **Identity diffusion** individuals may or may not have experienced crises, and they are individuals who are not committed to anything and who are not also trying to make commitments. Marcia has devised an interview technique to assign individuals to one of four positions on the identity-identity diffusion continuum.

Table 1

Marcia's Criteria for the Identity Statuses

Position on Occupation and Ideology	Identity Status: Identity Achievement	Fore-closure	Identity Diffusion	Mora-torium
Crisis	present	absent	present or absent	in crisis
Commitment	present	present	absent	present but vague

Marcia,J.E. (1980).

The basic epigenetic assumption underlying the proposed statuses implies that individuals move from lower order to higher order statuses with time. Research with college students have supported this ontogeny (Marcia, 1966; Waterman & Waterman, 1971). Marcia's measure of Erikson's (1963) formulation of ego identity has stimulated a wide range of research in recent years (Donovan, 1975; Munro & Adams, 1977; Schenkel, 1975; Toder & Marcia, 1973; Waterman & Nevid, 1977).

Much of the early research on ego identity and identity statuses has concerned itself mostly with establishing some validity for the construct itself (Bronson, 1959; Constantinople, 1969; Dignan, 1965). These studies yielded a number of personality correlates of ego identity.

1.1.a. Ego Identity and sex roles. The relationship between ego identity and sex roles has been examined mainly among the college population. Heilbrun (1964) reported that high-masculine males and high-feminine females were more role consistent (a measure of identity) than their low scoring counterparts. Mussen (1962) found that boys with high masculine interests were more positive in their self-concepts and expressed greater self-confidence than boys with feminine interests.

A positive relationship between masculinity and identity achievement is reported by Orlofsky (1977). He also found high identity subjects to be androgynous. Prager (1977) replicated Orlofsky's results and found females with high identity achievement scores to be more androgynous.

1.1.b. Ego Identity and cognition. In relation to cognition, Marcia (1966) found that identity achievers did best on a concept attainment task administered under stressful conditions. However, Marcia and Friedman (1970) found no difference incollege women's identity status performances and a measure of "cognitive flexibility."

Looking at the impulsivity-reflectivity dimension of cognitive style, Waterman and Waterman (1974) reported that foreclosure and identity diffused subjects were more impulsive (responded quickly, made more errors) and identity achievers and

moratorium subjects were more reflective. Tzuriel and Klein (1977) studying Oriental and Western settlers in Israel, found a curvilinear relationship between ego identity and cognitive complexity.

1.1.c. Ego Identity and autonomy. In measuring autonomous behaviour Orlofsky, Marcia and Lesser (1973) found that foreclosure subjects scored lowest on the autonomy scales and highest on need for social approval. Matteson (1974) reported that foreclosure and identity diffused subjects had lower autonomy scores than did identity achiever and moratorium subjects.

Waterman and Waterman (1971) revealed that foreclosure subjects showed the greatest willingness to involve their families in making their own life decisions, while Neuber and Genthner (1977) noted that identity achievement men and women tended to take more personal responsibility for their own lives in contrast to identity diffused subjects.

1.2. The Concept of Purpose-in-life

The concept of purpose-in-life which developed out of Frankl's (1967) existential theory is based on the assumption that each person needs to find meaning and purpose in his or her own existence. As a long time prisoner in the Nazi concentration

camp, Frankl found that those who had a reason, a goal or a purpose, were the most likely to survive in even inhuman, brutalizing conditions. Frankl has developed a system of psychotherapy known as `logotherapy' - which literally means `therapy through meaning.' Failure to find meaning in life leads to feelings of emptiness, futility, absence of purpose and consequent despair. Frankl (1967) described this phenomenon as `existential frustration' or `existential vacuum' prolongation of which can lead to a neurotic condition termed `noogenic neurosis.' Such a neurosis is characterized by a conspicuous absence of life goal or purpose that integrates human striving and gives it direction, coherence, value and meaning.

According to Frankl, ours is an age of meaninglessness, depersonalization and dehumanization. Psychiatrists are continually coming across young people who complain about the meaninglessness of their lives. Several authors have testified to the extensive prevalence of such existential problems in the world of today. While Frankl (1967) speaks of `existential vacuum,' Battista and Almond (1973) have obtained empirical evidence for a similar psychological state that they term `anomie.' Fromm (1956) painted a picture of man grappling with feelings of alienation and estrangement. Paul Tillich (1952) also observed "20th century man has experienced the universal breakdown of meaning, he has lost a meaningful world and self

which lives in meaning" (p.139).

According to Frankl (1969), man is capable of taking a stand not only towards the world but also towards his own self. He is capable of reflecting, rejecting, or even detaching himself from himself, leaving the `plane' of the biological and psychological and passing into the `space' of the noological.

Man is responsible for his own being, for his own existence and self-realization. To flee from his responsibilities is to be unauthentic, and to live in despair. Man's search for meaning is the `primary force' in his life and not a `secondary rationalization' of instinctual drives. This meaning is unique and specific in that it must and can be fulfilled by him alone. As Frankl (1955) puts it, "this will to meaning is the most human phenomenon of all since an animal never worries about the meaning of its existence" (p. 9). In his search for meaning and values of what `he is' and what `he ought to be,' a tension, indispensable to the mental well-being is created.

It is believed that the "will to meaning" guides a man in his striving for value-actualization. For Frankl (1967) the meaning of life is not just a mere self-expression, but meaning must be conceived in terms of the specific meaning of a person's life in a given situation. Life is a chain of questions which man has to answer by answering to life as a whole. Life can be

made meaningful not only by one's deeds, work and creativity, but also through experiences, encounters with what is good, true and beautiful in the world. Even in a situation where there is deprivation of creativity and receptivity, man can fulfill a meaning in life.

Since the concept of purpose-in-life is relatively new, not much research has been carried out. Some of the studies are briefly presented in the following section.

1.2.a. Purpose-in-life, religion and values. Crandall and Rasmussen (1975) studied the relationship between PIL and values and revealed that a hedonistic approach to life contributes to an existential vacuum. The value of self-salvation was found to be associated with relatively high PIL scores.

Paula (1981) found that subjects high in Frankl's Attitude Scale (FAS) considered themselves more religious than subjects who scored low in the FAS. Rude (1981) found that meaningfulness is significantly related to one's belief about one's capacity, opportunity, and identification.

1.2.b. Purpose-in-life and maladjustment. To study the existence of Frankl's noogenic neurosis, Crumbaugh and Maholick (1964) studied two non-patient and three patient groups. Using the PIL scale, Frankl's Questionnaire (FQ) and the MMPI, they

found a high correlation between the PIL scale and FQ. The findings further revealed that the PIL scale successfully distinguished patients from the non-patient population.

Garfield (1973) investigated Frankl's concept of 'Existential vacuum' and 'Anomia' with five subcultural groups and found the groups to differ significantly on the PIL scale and the Srole Anomia Scale (SAS). The study did not reveal any relationship between scores of these two tests indicating that PIL scale and the SAS measure different attributes.

In a comparative study of four equally distributed disabled and non-disabled groups of 100 Indian sample, Gon and Mehta (1982) found a trend toward high PIL. All four groups differed significantly on item analysis but no sex differences were found. In another study, Gonzalves and Gon (1983) studied the degree and pattern of PIL in four psychopathological and normal groups, and found that each of the psychopathological groups experienced a significantly lower degree of PIL than the normal groups.

In a study of adjustment patterns of adolescent boys and girls in Bangladesh, Sultana (1983) found a significant relationship between high PIL scores and better adjustment in all areas of adjustment namely, health, society, emotional adjustment, as well as total adjustment.

1.2.c. Purpose-in-life and deviant behaviour. Some studies have shown strong relationships between low PIL scores and deviant behaviour such as drug addiction, alcoholism, etc. Padelford (1974) studied high school students and discovered that students with low scores on PIL had a significantly higher level of drug involvement than those who scored high on PIL. Shean and Fechtman (1971) found significantly lower PIL scores among college students who were regular users of marijuana, as compared to non drug users. Alcoholics also tend to view their lives without any meaning or a sense of purpose (Jacobsen & Ritter, 1977).

1.3. Present and Future Self-Concept

Every individual holds some opinion about himself, which may be favourable or unfavourable. These opinions, no matter how real or distorted they are, are held as powerful beliefs by the individual, and form his self-concept. Self-concept is an important aspect of personality which affects behaviour, and a positive self-concept will strengthen a person's ability to deal more effectively with everyday situations. Self-concept provides a framework for the perception and organization of life experiences.

Self-concept is the person's total appraisal of his appearance, background and origins, abilities, resources,

attitudes and feelings which culminate as a directing force in behaviour (LaBenne & Greene, 1969, p.134). As Epstein (1973) puts it, self-concept is really a personal theory that one has unwittingly formulated about oneself as an experiencing, functioning individual. It is also broadly and systematically used as an interpretive framework for comprehending thoughts, feelings and behaviours of self and others.

According to Douvan and Adelson (1966) the normal adolescent holds two conceptions of himself - what he is and what he will be - and the way in which he integrates the future image into his current life will indicate a good deal about his current adolescent integration. Future, during this stage of life becomes important because crucial decisions relating to education, future occupation and generally one's whole way of life, have to be made. Regarding his concept of ego identity, Erikson too has emphasized the synthesis which is achieved both in terms of an individual's sense of personal continuity over time and in terms of a continuity between the individual's perception of himself or herself and the self as it appears to others.

According to Savin-Williams and Demo (1984) adolescents have to confront tumultuous intra-psychic energies and a demanding social world, both of which cause dramatic alterations in the self-concept. Rosenberg (1979) maintains that adolescence

is a time of self-consciousness regarding what others think about the self, and is thus a time of self-concept disturbance. According to Coleman, Harris and Crandall (1977), concern with the present self-concept, although expressed by a proportion of young people at all ages, is no more common at one stage than at any other. Concern with the future self, however, shows a marked and consistent increase during adolescence.

In spite of Erikson's (1968) suggestion that a sense of identity requires being able to define oneself in terms of one's entire life span, and Douvan and Adelson's (1966) evidence that young people in their study held two concepts of themselves, one present and one future, very few researches, if any, have focused on the present and future self-concepts of the adolescents as a function of age, sex, sex roles and social class. The present study is an attempt in this direction.

The following section includes an overview of some researches related to self-concept.

1.3.a. Self-concept and age. Simmons, Rosenberg and Rosenberg (1973) in their study of self-image disturbance, showed very striking developmental changes in the degree of uncertainty associated with self-concept, especially in the 8 to 14 years age range. Rosenberg (1979) found that early adolescence being a time of self-consciousness regarding what others think about the

self and is a time of self-concept disturbance and it is only during late adolescence that one's self-concept level improves.

In a 3-year, cross-sectional study of subjects between the ages of 11 and 18 years, Dusek and Flaherty (1981) found that the adolescents' self-concept does not develop in a discontinuous manner and that no significant changes in level of self-concept occurred over time. In other words, the person who enters adolescence is basically the same person who exits it.

1.3.b. Self-concept and ego identity. Bunt (1968) found that identity diffused high school boys showed a greater discrepancy between their self-concept and their concept of how others perceived them than did boys who had attained an identity. Breuer (1973) revealed that identity achievers and moratorium subjects obtained higher self-concept scores than did the foreclosure and identity diffused subjects. Marcia (1967) also revealed that foreclosure and identity diffused individuals were more liable to change their evaluations of themselves both positively and negatively in responses to external feedback than were identity achievement and moratorium individuals.

1.4. The Concept of Age

Explicit interest in developmental life span, specifically effects of chronological age on various personality constructs, has increased among the social scientists in the last few decades. Age serves not only to rank individuals chronologically, but it also serves as the basis for prescription and enactment of various social roles. Different thoughts, feelings, and behaviour are observed at different ages. As each new cohort moves from childhood to adulthood to old age, its members are assigned to specific roles according to age, and they learn, through complex processes of socialization, the behaviours that are expected of them in each role.

Age often operates as an integrative mechanism both for the society and for its individual members. Members of an age group tend to resemble one another in their stage in the life cycle and in cohort membership. Thus, biologically and in participation in the role structure, they share a common past, present and future. They are alike in the number of years left behind and the potential number of years ahead. Age, widely studied as characteristics of individuals, is often overlooked as one of the fundamental aspects of social structure. A person's activities, his attitudes toward life, is relationship to his family, to his work, his biological capacities and his physical fitness are all conditioned by his position in the age structure

of the particular society in which he lives.

The individual represents a unique combination of simultaneously a biological, social and psychological phenomenon moving forward in time. The dynamics of the transformation of the individual from childhood through adulthood is such that mixtures of stability and change, persistence and adaptation, and emergence of new features are seen in the wide range of human characteristics.

There exists a large body of researches with age as an independent variable. Some of the researches are presented in the following pages.

1.4.a. Age and ego identity. Some researchers show that prior to the high school years, there appears to be little interest in identity related questions. Ciaccio (1971) studied males at three age levels - 5, 8, and 11 years. It was found that the 11 year old boys were beginning to evidence identity concerns, but the frequency of such concerns was far lower than the concern associated with the stage components of industry and initiative.

Pomerantz (1979) found 12th grade females to score significantly higher than eighth grade females on the Rasmussen Ego Identity Scale, but the difference among males, though in the expected direction, was not significant. LaVoie (1976) studied high school boys and girls using Marcia's Ego Identity -

Incomplete Sentences Blank and found a non-significant increase in ego identity with increasing grade level.

Cross-sectional studies using paper-and-pencil measures of identity yield a consistent pattern of findings, with higher levels of ego identity associated with advancing age and/or years in college. Similar results have also been found for the Dignan Ego Identity Scale (Dignan, 1965; Stark & Traxler, 1974) and the Stage 5 Scale of the Inventory of Psychosocial Development (Constantinople, 1969).

1.4.b. Age and moral development. Extensive review of longitudinal studies on moral development (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs & Lieberman, 1983; Rest, 1983) reveal that moral development shows greater change in youth and young adulthood rather than during the adolescent years.

Kitchener, King, Davison, Parker and Wood (1984) revealed that over a two year period, college juniors and graduate students when compared to high school juniors showed significant increases in moral development. Furthermore, the largest increase was associated with the oldest group.

Rest (1983) concludes that education obtained is a potent predictor of moral development during adulthood, so moral development continues as long as adults remain in school.

1.4.c. Age and future orientation Verstraetan (1980) found that planning and realism of future orientation increases during adolescence. Klineberg (1967) and Shannon (1975) studied adolescents between the ages of 10 to 20 years and found an increasing extension of thinking and planning of the future during this time. However, Lessing (1972) as well as Cottle (1972) found decreased extension of thinking and planning during this period.

1.5. The Concept of Sex Differences

The existence of sex differences in human behaviour has been documented quite extensively in the literature. Structural differences in primary and secondary sexual characteristics and functional differences in reproduction are universal contrasts between males and females. Some theorists (Erikson, 1968; Freud, 1923) have suggested that personality and social functioning are innately tied to the physical and physiological characteristics of males and females. Just as it is biologically adaptive to engage in male and female reproductive functions, it is also "biologically imperative" to engage in those personal behaviours which are linked innately to one's biological status as a male or a female. There is also a sizable accumulation of evidence today that males and females do react differently to many social situations and differ in many personality characteristics. These

sex differences are also believed to be the result of differential child rearing practices for boys and girls.

Brown and Lynn (1966) suggest that "maleness" and "femaleness" refers to biological differences and make these distinctions in terms of certain physiological criteria such as external genitals, hormonal balance, chromosomal patterns, etc. A male has a positive balance of male hormones called testosterone, and an XY chromosomal pattern. He produces sperm and possesses a prostrate gland and seminal vesicle. In contrast, a female has the female hormone estrogen, and XX chromosomal pattern. She produces ova and has a uterus and fallopian tubes. These anatomical differences are accompanied by differences in bodily shape, fatty tissue composition, bodily hair distribution, etc. Besides promoting sexual growth, the hormone secretion also organize and activate differential patterns of behaviour. Differences in the anatomy and functioning of hormones affect the behaviour of individuals differently.

Since biological differences between the sexes obviously play an important part in the development of their psychological characteristics, in the present study, an attempt will be made to study the effects of sex differences on the development of ego identity, purpose-in-life and present and future self-concepts of the Indian adolescents.

1.5.a. Sex differences in ego identity. Sex differences in ego identity achievement has been supported by a number of empirical studies (Matteson, 1975; Waterman & Nevid, 1977). Hodgson and Fischer (1979) found men to be more developmentally advanced than women in the domains of occupation, religion and politics, and women to be more advanced in the area of sex roles.

Many other studies (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Josselson, Greenberger & McConochie, 1977; Marcia, 1980; Stein & Bailey, 1973) also revealed that formation of an occupational ego identity is more important for men than for women, whereas establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships is more important for females. Marcia (1980) speculates that ego identity formation may also be a longer process for young women than for young men.

1.5.b. Sex differences in purpose-in-life. Sex differences in purpose-in-life reveal conflicting results. Cavanagh (1966) and Doerries (1970) found significant sex differences in PIL scores, while Crumbaugh and Maholick (1964), Murphy (1967), Meier and Edwards (1974) did not find any sex differences in PIL scores.

1.5.c. Sex differences in achievement. A large body of literature indicates consistent sex differences in performance in the achievement areas studied. Girls perform better on reading, verbal fluency, and artistic tasks. while boys perform better on

spatial and mechanical skills, science and mathematical reasoning (Anastasi, 1958; Maccoby, 1966; Terman & Tyler, 1954).

1.6. The Concept of Sex Roles

Psychologists have accepted sex roles as essential to personality development. Sex role refers to the constellation of qualities an individual understands to characterize males and females in his or her own culture (Block, 1973). The process by which the society transmutes males and females into "masculine" and "feminine" is known as the process of sex typing (Bem, 1981).

The traditional formulation of sex typing suggests that adoption of sex roles appropriate to one's male or female gender is developmentally desirable. Deviations from culturally sanctioned sex role behaviour was until very recently considered maladaptive and undesirable. The terms "masculinity" and "femininity" are relatively enduring traits which are more or less rooted in anatomy, physiology and early experiences and which generally serve to distinguish males from females in appearance, attitudes and behaviour. They are also defined as additive combinations of trait terms judged to be significantly more desirable for one or more characteristic of each sex as opposed to the other (Locksley & Colten, 1977). Jenkin and

Vroegh (1969) suggest that the terms masculinity and femininity denote the complexes of attributes and behaviours that are generally considered appropriate and essential in a given society to the personalities of males and females, respectively.

1.6.a. Dimensionality of the recent approach. In contrast to the earlier conceptions of sex-typed personality descriptions that relied on a single bipolar dimension, recent approaches to the assessment of masculinity and femininity view these as independent orthogonal dimensions. Treated in this manner, the masculinity and femininity characteristics can thus be measured in varying degrees in the same individual, irrespective of his or her gender (Worell,1978). Typically, the new techniques provide separate and continuous measures of masculinity and femininity with scale medians used to create a four fold or a quadrant sex role typology (Penick & Powell, 1980). According to this quadrant scoring system (see figure 2), the following sex role classification is posited:

Table 2

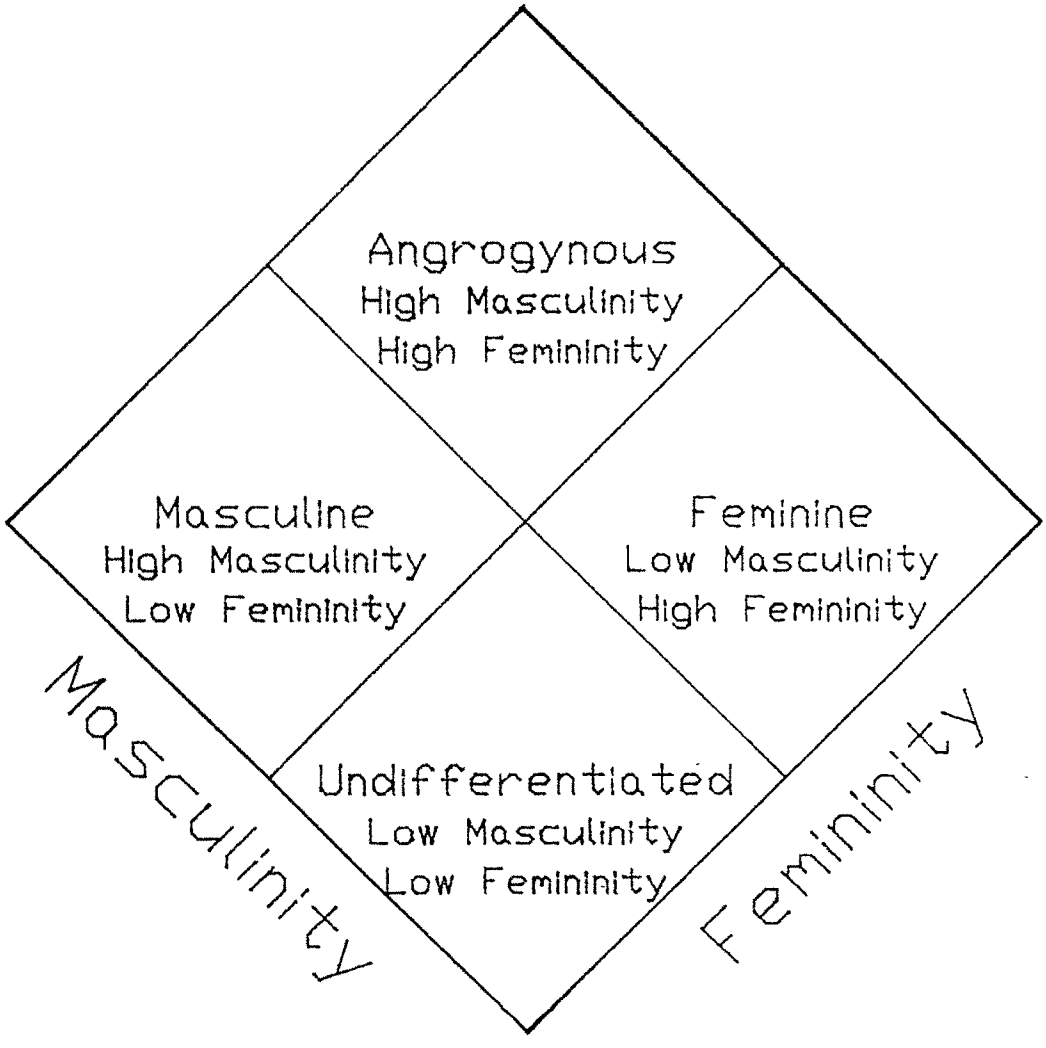
Sex Role Typology base on Quadrant Scoring.

Biological Sex	Masculinity Median Score	Femininity Median Score	Sex Role Typology
Male	Above median	Below median	Stereotyped
Female	Below median	Above median	Stereotyped
Male	Below median	Above median	Cross-sexed
Female	Above median	Below median	Cross-sexed
Male	Above median	Above median	Androgynous
Female	Above median	Above median	Androgynous
Male	Below median	Below median	Undifferentiated
Female	Below median	Below median	Undifferentiated

1.6.b. Concept of Psychological Androgyny. According to Spence and Helmreich (1978) the political, economic and social changes over the past few decades have led to a blurring of the formerly sharp division between the roles of men and women. Theorists have now proposed models of sex role development beyond the conventional and/or stereotyped level and the recent trend is to view them as independent, uncorrelated dimensions, so that individuals can manifest high levels of both masculine and feminine characteristics (Bem, 1977).

Bem (1977) has used the concept of "psychological androgyny" which implies that it is possible for an individual to be both assertive and compassionate, both instrumental and expressive, both masculine and feminine, depending upon the situational appropriateness of these various modalities. From

Figure 2. Schematic Representation of Sex Role Typology.



the Greek "andro" for male and "gyn" for female, androgyny defines a condition under which individuals do not adhere to role characteristics of their sex (Heilbrun, 1973).

Androgyny has been defined in various ways in the past. Few of these definitions are given below:

1. Having both male and female characteristics - hermaphroditic (Webster's New International, 2nd Ed.).

2. The disappearance of sex distinctions (Stoll, 1973).

3. ...a movement away from sexual polarization of gender towards a world in which individual roles and modes of personal behaviour can be freely chosen...Androgyny suggests a spectrum upon which human beings choose their places without regard to propriety or custom (Heilbrun, 1975).

4. The person who is - depending on the circumstances - both instrumental and expressive, both assertive and yielding, both masculine and feminine (Bem, 1972).

5. The capacity of a person of either sex to embody the full range of human traits despite cultural attempts to render some exclusively feminine and some exclusively masculine (Secor, 1974).

The concept of androgyny can be found not only in the psychological literature (Block, 1973; Pleck, 1975; Spence,

Helmreich & Stapp, 1975) but in the literature of other disciplines as well (Bazin & Freeman, 1974; Gelpi, 1974; Harris, 1974; Heilbrun, 1973). Androgyny is hypothesized to be a more adaptive outcome, leading to a greater behavioural flexibility than traditional sex roles, particularly now that changing societal conditions require fewer areas of specialization in the roles men and women occupy.

1.6.c. The concept of sex roles in Hindu philosophy. The concept of bisexuality in Indian thought is as ancient as three thousand years. The ancient thinkers in their attempt to find out a plausible cosmology harped upon the principle of duality - the one divided itself into two for the purpose of creation. The theory of duality developed was represented by various concepts such as Purusha-Prakriti, Shiv-Shakti, masculine-feminine, and many others.

In the **Vedas** one finds the coexistence of two substances, the golden egg or "Hiranyagarbha" and the eternal water evolved out of one ultimate (Das Gupta, 1922; Radhakrishnan, 1929). These two substances were interpreted as the active Purusha and the passive Prakriti (Dasgupta, 1946).

The **Upanishads** explain the course of creation with the principle of duality, in subordination to the principle of unity. The account of creation given in the Upanishads is as follows:

"Prajapati, tired of solitude, draws forth from himself everything that exists, and produces the world after having divided himself into two, one half male and the other half female" (Radhakrishnan, 1929). This philosophy of duality in a unity regarding creation influenced the concept of marriage in ancient India which is maintained even today - the basic spirit of which was later visualized in the image of Ardhanarishwar.

The **Samkhya** theory of cosmology propounds the concepts of Purusha and Prakriti to be responsible for creation. Purusha represents pure consciousness and is ascribed as passive. Prakriti represents the unconscious principle which evolves the world and is active. But its activity for world evolution is aroused only when it comes in close proximity (Samyog-Sannidhi) with the Purusha. By its relation to Prakriti, Purusha is roused into self-consciousness. Thus Purusha and Prakriti are mutually dependent and inseparable (Radhakrishnan, 1929). The concept of masculinity and femininity can be ascribed to the Purusha and Prakriti using the analogies of the Samkhya, where Prakriti is described as a dancing girl and "Purusha" as the man who enjoys her dance.

The religion of the **Puranas** developed the concept of androgynous God and one can find in the Hindu pantheon of Gods the image of Ardhanarishwar, Linga-Yoni, Hari-Hara or Hari-Radha, and pair images of Vishnu-Lakshmi, Radha-Krishna, Shiv-Parvati,

and others (Rao, 1916). The Ardhanarishwar image philosophy represents the union of the creative principles of activity and passivity, or masculinity and femininity. The Shiv-Purana offers the legend that Brahma, after failing in his task of creation because he created only males, mediated upon Shiv for a way out and Shiv appeared before him in the composite image of male and female i.e. Ardhanarishwar.

The Tantra believes in the principle of duality in absolute oneness. Brahma has two aspects in its nature - the negative and the positive, the static and the dynamic. These two are represented by Shiv and Shakti, the male and female principles (Das Gupta, 1974). Tantra maintains that the human body is the best medium for realization of truth. It imagines the left side of the body as the female and the right side as the male. The union of these two leads one to the realization of self-knowledge. Hence, the principle of duality in the sense of bisexuality in man and nature has been in existent since a long time.

A great deal of research and theory has been generated in an attempt to understand various aspects of sex roles. Some of the major theories of sex role development are given in the following section.

1.6.d. Psychoanalytic theory. The psychoanalytic theory relies heavily on the concept of identification in explaining sex-role acquisition. According to the psychoanalytic theory, sex role identification results from the child's discovery of genital differences, penis envy in girls and castration anxiety in boys, as well as from the child's identification with the same-sexed parent. Freud believed that "biology is destiny" and everything strong and active was to be associated with males, and everything weak and passive was to be associated with a woman. Jung (1953) however, recognized the crucial role of society, environment and culture in sex role acquisition and denied the Freudian notion that anatomy or biological functions are solely responsible for sex role acquisition.

However, according to Jung both men and women display to the outer world a mark referred to by him as the "Persona" which identifies a person as male or female but does not reveal his or her inner characteristic. Jung called the masculine aspect of a woman's personality her "Animus" and the feminine aspects of a man's personality his "Anima." Sex role acquisition according to him does not stop at childhood but continues through adulthood and old age.

1.6.e. Cognitive-developmental theories. Kohlberg (1966, 1969) has proposed the following three stages of sex role acquisition:

1. Stage One: During this stage the child categorizes himself or herself into a boy or a girl.
2. Stage Two: The child develops a system of values associated with behaviour and attitudes right for his self-categorized gender.
3. Stage Three: The child develops an emotional attachment to the same-sex parent which ensures appropriate sex role acquisition.

According to Kagan (1964) and Kohlberg (1966), the highly sex-typed individuals are motivated to keep their behaviour consistent with an internalized sex role standard, and they achieve this by suppressing socially undesirable behaviour for his or her own sex. They are internally motivated to maintain a self-image as masculine and feminine.

Ullian (1981) has extended Kohlberg's theory to include sex role acquisition during adolescence and adulthood. According to him sex role acquisition begins with a biological orientation when males and females are distinguished on the basis of biological cues followed by sociological orientation when there is awareness of the social rules and requirements for behaviour of each sex. This is followed by psychological orientation when there is a growing awareness that sex roles differences are neither biological nor sociological but that men and women can choose their own standard of behaviour.

1.6.f. Social-learning theories. The social learning theorists differ amongst themselves with regard to the different mechanisms emphasized in sex role acquisition.

The Radical Behaviourists emphasize two basic learning processes - operant conditioning and observational learning as the mechanisms which form the core of all social learning. According to them sex roles develop as a result of reinforcement contingencies dependent upon the sex of the responder i.e. boys and girls are rewarded or punished for sex-appropriate or sex in-appropriate behaviour.

The Cognitive Social Learning theorists (Bandura, 1969; Mischel, 1973) emphasize the internal mental processes as the mechanisms for sex role acquisition. According to Bandura there are four major internal processes which influence children's observation of a model and consequently affect their sex role acquisition. These are as follows:

1. Attention: It is influenced by motivational variables and expectancies based on past experiences such as sex of the model and the child. The child attends more closely to same sex models because he or she is rewarded to imitate same sex model.

2. Retention: The child's behaviour occurs as a result of the child's ability to remember and recall.

3. Motor Reproduction: Once the modeled behaviour is stored in memory imitation depends upon the child's capacity for motor reproduction.

4. Motivational variables: Imitation also depends on the child's motivation to reproduce behaviour, depending on his expectancies about reinforcement consequences for imitating behaviour.

Thus, both the radical behaviourists as well as the cognitive social learning theorists conceptualize sex role acquisition as a set of "behavioural" responses. According to them, the basis of sex role acquisition is in the social environment and changes can occur rapidly if the learning conditions are altered.

1.6.g. Bakan's theory. The possibility that an individual can embody both masculinity and femininity has been expressed by Bakan (1966) in his theory. Drawing upon a broad range of theory and observation he proposes that all organisms at all levels of complexity and development manifest two opposing tendencies - "agency' which is manifested in separation, in repression, in conquest, in contrast; and "communion" which is manifested in the lack of separation, and in non-contractual cooperation. He associates masculinity with an "agentic" orientation and femininity with a "communion" orientation. According to Bakan

(1966) successful integration of both agency and communion is important for the smooth functioning of the individual as well as the society at large. Agency and communion are two major functions associated with all living substance. Agency is greater in the male and communion is greater in the female. The male task is to learn to balance masculine agency with some degree of communion, and the female task is to balance feminine communion with some degree of agency. In fact, it is largely the agentic in the male and the communal in the female which brings them together. Bakan concludes on the note that the integration of "agency" and "communion" between male and female leads to an integration of "agency" and "communion" within each of them, creating within them a "wholeness" that is ideal (Bakan, 1966).

1.6.h. Theory of sex role transcendence. Rebecca, Hefner and Oleshansky's model of sex role development has been inspired by the work of Heilbrun (1973), Block (1973) and Bem (1974) in the area of sex role development. This model consists of three stages. In the first stage, the child's thinking is global and hence the child has an undifferentiated conception of sex-typed behaviour. The child is also not aware of the culturally imposed restrictions on behaviour according to the biological sex. Later on in the stage, this undifferentiated, value-free conception begins to differentiate and the child becomes aware of the

societal values. By the time the child enters school, he or she has learned that humans are either males or females and that there are sex-appropriate behaviours depending on sex dichotomy.

In the second stage, socialization by parents and school helps the child to adopt conventional perceptions and behaviours. During this stage, the individuals view the fit to the stereotypes as an essential step in gaining entrance to the adult society.

Rebecca, Hefner & Oleshansky (1976) conceive the transition to stage three as dramatic since there is virtually little support from society for this transition. Stage three allows the individual to engage in varied occupations and life styles regardless of gender. In this stage, the individual is free to move from situation to situation and behave appropriately. Behavioural and emotional expression is not based on the rigid adherence to sex-appropriate characteristics.

1.6.i. Gender schema theory. Gender schema theory incorporates aspects of the social-learning theory as well as cognitive-developmental accounts of sex-typing (Bem, 1981, 1984). Information processing that guides and enables one to organize information through a preexisting cognitive set or structure has been termed as schematic processing while the cognitive structure itself is called a schema. The cognitive structure consisting of

sex-linked associations is called gender schema and individuals who have a prominent gender schema are sex-typed individuals. If the gender schema is less prominent, the individual is more likely to be flexible, and respond "masculinely" or "femininely" depending on the situation. The gender schematic processing is itself dependent upon the sex-differentiating practices of the social community. This theory assumes that sex role acquisition is a learned phenomenon (Bem, 1981, 1984).

1.6.j. Gender-schematic processing. According to the Gender schema theory (Bem, 1981) the child learns his or her society's cultural definitions of femaleness and maleness and thereby also learns to encode and organize information in terms of gender. According to Bem (1984), schematic information processing itself is highly selective, and hence helps the individual to sort out the incoming information into various categories on the basis of some particular dimension. Through gender-schematic processing specifically, the child classifies people, attributes and behaviours into either masculine and feminine categories or "equivalent classes" regardless of their differences on a variety of dimensions unrelated to gender. Hence, the incoming information along with the individual's already preexisting schema determines what is perceived (Bem, 1981, 1984).

As children learn the contents of their society's gender schema, they learn which attributes and characteristics are to be

linked with their own sex and consequently with themselves (Bem, 1984). This does not simply mean learning the defined relationship between each sex and each dimension or attribute for example, that boys are to be strong and girls weak - but involves the deeper lesson that the dimensions themselves are differentially applicable to the two sexes (Bem, 1984). The child learns to apply schematic selectivity to the self, and chooses from among the many possible dimensions of human personality only that subset defined as applicable to his or her own sex and thereby eligible for organizing the diverse contents of the self-concept. Hence, children's self-concepts become sex-typed and the two sexes in their own eyes become different in degree and kind. From the perspective of the gender schema theory then, males and females behave differently from one another as individuals because of the differential perception, evaluation and regulation both of their own behaviour as well as the behaviour of others in accordance with cultural definitions of gender appropriateness (Bem 1984).

According to Bem (1984), gender schema theory is a theory of process and not of content since sex-typed individuals are seen as processing information and regulating their behaviour according to the cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. It is the process of dividing the world into masculine and feminine categories, and not the content of the

categories that is central to the theory. Most people however, are not aware that their perceptions are organized on the basis of gender. The child learns to utilize certain dimensions rather than others as cognitive organizing principles without realizing that other alternative dimensions could have been used i.e. the child is not consciously aware of the dimensions chosen by him or her as cognitive organizing principles. This is how according to Bem (1981, 1984) gender schematic processing operates.

In the following section researches related to sex role and its relationship to certain personality constructs are briefly presented.

1.6.k. Sex roles and self-esteem. Studies by Orlofsky (1977), Spence, et al. (1975) have found high self-esteem to be characteristic of androgynous and masculine typed males and females, and lower self-esteem to be characteristic of feminine typed subjects. High femininity in women has also been associated with low self-esteem (Bem, 1977; Stericker and Johnson, 1977; Wetter 1975).

1.6.l. Sex roles and adjustment. Bem (1972) from a review of literature concluded that masculine and feminine sex typing in men and women, respectively, is generally associated with poor adjustment. Mussen (1962) found that masculine adult men tend to have more ego control, more need for abasement, less self-

assurance, less sociability, and less capacity for introspection than men reporting masculine traits less strongly.

Harford, Willis and Deabler (1967) found masculinity in men to be positively correlated with anxiety, guilt-proneness, tough poise, neuroticism, and suspicion, and negatively correlated with warmth, brightness, emotional stability, sensitivity and sophistication. Feminine women have also been described as anxious (Consentino & Heilbrun, 1964; Gray, 1957, 1959; Webb, 1963), low in self-acceptance (Gray, 1957; Gray, 1959) and low in self-concept (Sears, 1970). Deutsch and Gilbert (1976) using the BSRI sex typing revealed that androgynous women described themselves as better adjusted than did traditionally sex-typed women.

1.6.m. Sex roles and intellectual competence. Several researchers (Astin, 1976; Bieri, 1960; Ferguson & Maccoby, 1977; Hammer, 1964; Hoffman, 1972) reveal that acting within a strict sex role can hurt intellectual development and performances in both sexes, while some "deviance" or cross-sex typing confers an intellectual advantage.

Maccoby (1966) too found evidence that high spatial ability was associated with masculine traits for women but with low masculinity in men. The study revealed that traditionally masculine boys and traditionally feminine girls were less

intelligent and creative than boys who showed some feminine traits and girls who showed masculine traits. Hence, less conventional sex role orientations have been associated with superior intellectual functioning and competence.

1.7. The Concept of Social Class

One of the basic assumption of any social science is that individuals are socialized within the context of an orderly and predictable universe. Societies are "structured" in at least two ways: (1) in the determination of where people are located within the social system (i.e., their status or position), and (2) in what is expected of people because of their differential status or positions in the society (i.e., the roles attached to the statuses or positions they occupy) (Heiss, 1976, cf. Cazenave, 1984). As societies developed more complex divisions of labour to determine who did what, and with the accumulation of economic surpluses and the resulting more rigid systems of social stratification, social class became an increasingly important determinant of individual personality (Cazenave, 1984).

A social class may be defined as a group of people who share similar values and attitudes, a particular life-style and feel themselves to be similar to each other. The placing of an individual in a given social class system depends on his social

relationships, his occupation, income, education, type of house and area of the community. Peoples' perceptions of who they are and how they should behave are hence social in origin (Blau, 1975). A person's status in the society determines his view of the world and affects the way he or she behaves.

Deutsch (1973) points out that when relating social class to any developmental or personality variable, it is not simply the income or the occupation that should be considered, but rather the education, value systems and the whole pattern of family life style that goes along with that income and occupation. The pattern of family life and the resulting socialization practices are congruent with the social class to which an individual belongs to, as well as the type of personality needed to cope with the typical circumstances which the child or the adolescent will face as an adult (Straus, 1971). Families belonging to different social class vary in their concepts of roles of parents and children, in family values, use of money, social conformity, etc.

Kohn (1959, 1963) contends that socialization practices of the upper, middle and lower class are a result of the values, attitudes and the occupational orientation typical of each social class. Upper and middle class occupation requires more self-direction while working class occupations requires that one follow rules and directions set by others in authority.

Bronfenbrenner (1958) reports that available data on class differences highlight the differential and more lenient socialization practices of the middle and upper class families as compared to lower class families. Middle and upper class families are more likely to overlook offenses, and are less likely to ridicule or inflict pain on their children.

The present study also focused on the effects of social class on ego identity, purpose-in-life and present and future self-concept of the adolescents. In the following section a brief review of researches on the relationship of social class to various developmental and personality variables are presented.

1.7.a. Social class and locus of control. Studies conducted by Battle and Rotter (1963) and Gruen, Korte and Baum (1974) indicate that social class has a considerable effect on locus of control differences. Locus of control has been correlated with SES in racially homogeneous samples (Gruen & Offinger, 1969). Zytkoskee, Strickland and Watson (1971) found ninth grade, low SES blacks to be more external than their white counterparts on the Bialer scale. The tenor of these results is that beliefs in external control quite appropriately reflects the life conditions of less advantaged children and adolescents of the same or different race.

1.7.b. Social class and moral development. A study of lower and middle class children from KG to third grade (Enright, Enright, Manheim & Harris, 1980) revealed that lower class children lagged behind the middle class children in the development of distributive justice even when vocabulary was controlled. The same study done with black lower and middle class children replicated the findings.

Tripathi and Misra (1979) examined the moral judgement in Indian children between 6 to 11 years and found that moral judgement pattern is significantly mediated by social class.

1.8. Significance of the present investigation

Adolescence is a difficult and challenging time for the adolescents themselves as well as for their families. This period involves a crisis in self-definition, and in order to resolve this crisis the adolescent must commit himself or herself to a role or to an "identity." This can be done by adopting appropriate ideology, attitudes, values, beliefs as well as a realistic and clear cut purpose-in-life so that they provide a basis for dealing with various pressures of biological, psychological, social, and cultural changes that impinge upon the adolescent. In a transitional society like our own, the ambiguous and ambivalent expectations together with many choices and alternatives available to the adolescent, makes the search

for identity as well as purpose-in-life complex, difficult and/or prolonged. Hence, defining oneself and one's purpose-in-life as well as achieving a positive present and future self-concept becomes an important task in adolescence.

The controversy over the impact of sex differences has become a debatable issue characterized by polarization of views. Do biological sex differences or psychological sex roles make a difference in the achievement of ego identity, purpose-in-life and positive self-concept during adolescence? Or is it that the social class into which one is born has a greater effect on the above variables? Does age also play a significant role in the achievement of ego identity, purpose-in-life or self-concept? Satisfactory replies to these queries need systematic empirical investigation. The present investigation thus attempts to study some of the psychosocial correlates of ego identity, purpose-in-life and self-concept. It is hoped that the study would be of help to the parents and other adults in bringing awareness about the period of adolescence and in gaining an insight into the complex process of achievement of ego identity, purpose-in-life and self-concept during adolescence.

The present study aims at studying the effects of age, sex, sex roles and social class on ego identity, purpose-in-life and present and future self-concept of the adolescents.