THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN THE
IDENTITY FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS
RESTRAINED IN THEIR BECOMING

by

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SUPERVISOR: PROF P J VORSTER

NOVEMBER 1996
I declare that

The Role of Teachers in the Identity Formation of Adolescents Restrained in Their Becoming

is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references.

Carol Sutcliffe

C M Sutcliffe
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Above all, I thank God for His inspiration, help and wisdom.
"If you treat a person as he* is, he will stay as he is. But if you treat him as if he were what he ought to be, and could be, he will become what he ought to be and could be" (Goethe quoted by Chambers 1987:4).

* The masculine pronouns he, his or him when quoted in this work, should be taken to imply the feminine pronouns she, hers or her also.
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Degree: Doctor of Education
Subject: Psychology of Education
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Summary

* Certain adolescents are restrained in their becoming owing to a variety of family, school and relational factors, such as inappropriate adult role models, repeated failure and poor communication skills.

* Restrained adolescents display inadequate identity formation, partly because they are still endeavouring to define an own identity, instead of having reached the point of refining and stabilising their identity.
Through their behaviour in family, school and other relationships they plead for assistance in the formation of their identity, especially at school, where their plea is often misinterpreted as misbehaviour or attention-seeking, if not completely ignored.

They consequently resort to their own ineffective efforts towards a meaningful existence.

As an aid to defining adolescents' identity formation, a list of criteria has been compiled, using the essences distilled from the literature study. Four original questionnaires have been devised with a view to investigating restrained adolescents' identity formation from the perspective of adolescents, their parents, and teachers.

By means of a qualitative investigation, it was found that:

+ The identity formation of restrained adolescents is on the whole unsatisfactory in every respect. That is to say, they attribute inadequate meaning to life, themselves and their problems; they are not sufficiently involved in what they do, and they are bound by the infantile experiencing of their life-world in that they are controlled by their feelings and moods.

+ Parents of restrained adolescents tend to be inadequate, particularly their fathers, who are non-available, either literally or figuratively. Alcoholism, neglect and abuse are common.
Teachers of restrained adolescents are generally unaware of the significant role they can play in their identity formation, and need sensitisation and assistance in this area.

Adolescents restrained in their becoming demonstrate specific identity formation needs, which concern themselves in various personal modalities and relationships.

Teachers are in the position to provide support, not by means of additional scholastic or guidance programmes, but through their approach to these adolescents, to their teaching and education in general.

KEY TERMINOS

Adolescent identification
Becoming of adolescents
Identity formation by parents
Identity formation by teachers
Personality formation
Psychology of Education
Restrained adolescents
Role model
Self-concept
Strategy for teachers
Teacher adolescent relationships
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## BACKGROUND OF AND ORIENTATION TO THE PROBLEM

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BACKGROUND OF AND ORIENTATION TO THE PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is often known as a period of crisis in the becoming of the child towards adulthood (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1993: s.v "adolescence"), although there are those who have disputed this view (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg et al 1993:113; Conger 1991:83). It is, however, more readily accepted that adolescence is a period of conflict, amongst others, as a result of the way adolescents experience the major changes in their lives. Apart from the more obvious physical changes in adolescents, which have received wide coverage, there are more subtle psychic conflicts, which never cease to fascinate researchers. One such conflict occurs in the adolescent's relationship with the self, which seems to crystallise in either an attitude of shame or of arrogance. Owing to their enhanced cognitive capacity to think abstractly, adolescents question who they are within the great order of things. It is thus a "formative" period, so to speak, since not only are they forming new bodies, ways of thinking and attitudes to religion, people and things, but they are forming new ideas as to who they really are and of their capacities.

Furthermore, there appears to be a captivating connection between the way adolescents handle their conflicts, and the nature of their relationships. These relationships involve not only parents and teachers, but also religion, peers and siblings. An interesting observation of the researcher was that adolescents who manage their conflicts and are sure of who they are and of where they are going, tend to have trusting, open relationships with their parents and teachers, whereas those who are confused about their place in the world, are inclined to withdraw, specifically from authority figures. It was also noted that adolescents who have adequate relationships and role models to look up to, feel positive about themselves, whereas those who have inadequate relationships and role models, do not develop positive self-attitudes, or become what they are expected to become. Thus, becoming appears to be linked in some way to relationships and attitudes to self.
It is this complicated world of adolescents in conflict, which interests the researcher.

1.2 BECOMING AWARE OF THE PROBLEM

1.2.1 Relating the initial awareness

During her teaching career the researcher observed that certain adolescents seemed sure of exactly who they were and of where they were going, while others did not seem to know, or even worse, did not care. Those who were certain of who they were, appeared confident and happy; those who were not, were timid, morose or apathetic. The behaviour of the latter was often uncooperative or aggressive. Those who were unsure of themselves seemed to greatly appreciate her efforts at instituting a clear code of conduct and setting a high moral tone in the classroom, especially during the daily Scripture reading and prayer. Moreover, if this were omitted, some pupils were sure to point it out, whether they were Christians or not. If certain rules which had been laid down were not consistently insisted on by the teacher, the pupils would notice it without fail - even the badly behaved ones. This suggested to the researcher a possible connection between attitudes to self and moral (normative) guidance by a responsible adult.

The researcher further noticed that if certain pupils had physical handicaps or looked different to the rest for some reason, it appeared to make a difference to their entire bearing and sense of self. The influence of such dissimilarities was lessened if the teacher accepted them and treated them with kindness. For example, a specific adolescent obsessed with his acne, was so concerned about his physical appearance that he refused to go to school anymore. His identity as an acceptable person was marred by the restraining factor of his acne. Fortunately, after a few weeks of absence from school, his principal was sensitive enough to become aware of the problem, and visited the boy at home. After an empathetic word or two and helping the hyper-sensitive youth see the situation objectively, the latter went back to school.

The researcher became further aware of the power of empathetic influence over adolescents' attitudes to themselves in the following way: There were certain pupils in her classes with high
IQ's who did not see themselves as clever at all and who were under-achieving drastically. If she inspired them consistently to view themselves as the intelligent pupils they were, there were astonishing improvements in academic performance and self-attitudes.

Furthermore, teachers of extra-curricular subjects such as music, art, drama and physical training have many heart-warming stories of how empathetic relationships with single students have resulted in dramatic changes for the better. A case in point is an experience of a music teacher related to the writer, who taught class music to an excessively rebellious and aggressive young man who was restrained in his becoming in almost every respect and who was delivering shocking academic results. The teacher referred to, made the effort to give this adolescent the attention and respect he so badly needed. When she discovered that he was a percussionist in a band (which fact the other adults in his world either ignored or despised), she encouraged him and included him in a musical production. Accordingly a relationship of acceptance and trust was established, the young man became proud of his identity as a musician, and suddenly showed astounding improvement in his school work and general relationships. Another example of the same teacher's influence is that a cycling club which she formed, helped a good few boys, who could have been described as "losers", see themselves as successful sportsmen. These boys who had been given up on by nearly all of their teachers became successful students too, as a result of one teacher who loved her pupils enough to believe in them and get them to believe in themselves.

It moreover came to the attention of the researcher that a specific male music teacher who developed close relationships with his male pupils held enormous sway over their dispositions towards themselves and others. This would suggest that boys could identify exceptionally well with male teachers, and that identification with an admired teacher of the same sex may have decisive effects on adolescent identity formation.

It has been mentioned that adolescents who seem sure of who they are relate positively not only to themselves, parents and teachers, but also to religion, peers and siblings. Those adolescents who were selected as prefects appeared to have well-balanced relationships all round, as
opposed to those negative pupils whose relationships just did not seem to be working for them. In other words, if they were negative towards themselves, all of their relationships seemed to suffer. They had poor self-concepts, constant problems at home with parents or step-parents and at school with teachers, peers and siblings. They even lacked respect for their possessions and those of others, experienced difficulty with abstract thinking and usually displayed antagonism towards religious instruction. Apart from unsatisfactory relationships in general and a negative attitude towards themselves, these adolescents had gloomy views of the future and their own prospects after leaving school. It was sad to hear adolescents on the threshold of their lives lamenting the state of the economy and the political situation in the country.

Increasingly the researcher was faced with her own responsibility to assist these poorly functioning adolescents to regard themselves and their futures positively and develop healthy relationships. The researcher herself experienced being an adolescent who was positively influenced by teachers, as a result of having inadequate parental models. Especially during adolescence, these teachers played an essential part in helping her form realistic views of herself and her potential. Teachers were the ones who helped her see herself as a scholar, as a musician, as a performer and eventually as a teacher. Teachers not only taught her who she really was, but coaxed her to actualise her full potential as an educator. Furthermore, female teachers had the most lasting influence, underlining the awareness that identification with a respected teacher of the same sex would seem to be significant in forming self-attitudes.

These initial awarenesses need to be carefully considered at this point.

1.2.2 Considering the awareness

It has thus far been noted that adolescents who have a healthy relationship with themselves and an accurate perception of who they are in relation to others, display positive self-attitudes. This will hereinafter be termed a "positive identity". Those adolescents who feel negative towards themselves and others, who have an inferiority complex or unrealistic conceptions of who they are, will be referred to as having a "negative identity".
On considering the above awarenesses, it would seem that if there is a sound relationship with self (identity), this factor becomes apparent in all other relationships. There would also appear to be a strong correlation between a positive identity and a healthy adolescent-teacher relationship. On the basis of the examples referred to in section 1.2.1, the inference may be drawn that teachers are able to positively influence adolescents identity formation, and consequently their other relationships.

Identity formation of adolescents in relation to teachers would seem to be a very individual and personal matter, as is evidenced by the fact that a single teacher is more likely to influence individual pupils than large groups. This is confirmed by the instances related in the previous paragraph, of the profound influence of music teachers.

Teachers' relationships with adolescents not only appear to affect the way adolescents regard themselves and feel about themselves in the present, but who they are, and will become in the future, that is, their future perspective and expectations. This observation intimates that positive identity formation has an effect on the future becoming of adolescents. It is possible therefore that a significant relationship exists between identity formation and becoming, and that teachers have the capacity to influence this relationship.

The researcher has also become cognisant of the fact that although parents are generally considered to be the primary identity formers, teachers would seem to hold far greater sway over adolescents' identity formation than is often recognised. Moreover, their influence over adolescents who do not identify well with their parents, may be so much the more extensive.

Considering the examples given above of adolescents with ineffective identities, the author suspects that the parental role models of those pupils mentioned may in some way have been unsatisfactory, and that the teacher in each case acted as a vital surrogate identity former.

Naturally, for teachers to have this calibre of influence, they would need to have trusting, caring relationships with individual adolescents. Furthermore, it seems that adolescents with
unsatisfactory relationships with their parents would rely even more heavily on teachers in forming positive identities, than would otherwise be necessary. The conclusion of the researcher, as a result of these awarenesses, is that there appears to be a positive connection between the need for identity formation of adolescents and their relationships with teachers. This is especially true in the case of those adolescents who have unsatisfactory parental relationships, or who have other restraints in their becoming. Moreover, teachers of the same gender as their pupils seem to hold even more sway in this regard.

It has become apparent that there are many facets of identity. From the account of the adolescent acne sufferer who was assisted by a teacher (Par. 1.2.1), it may be deduced that a physical aspect of identity exists. This physical identity evidently plays an important role in adolescents overall identity, and the account related should alert teachers to the influence they have on forming this aspect of adolescents' identity. Clarke-Stewart & Koch (1983:403) speak out about the importance of teachers' empathetic support with regard to acne patients: "Most adolescent [acne] patients are ... in need of 'sympathy, reassurance and understanding of their personal problems and concerns....The young person believes the appearance of the surface of the skin makes him or her acceptable or unacceptable. Believing this, the adolescent can allow skin problems to affect self-esteem". Self-esteem is inextricably linked with identity (Nel 1986:40). There is also the cognitive aspect of identity, which is evidenced by the example cited of high I.Q. adolescents who are not aware of their own cognitive ability. Then there is the normative (moral) facet of identity, which was revealed by the adolescents who demonstrated a strong need for guidance in Religious Instruction classes. Adolescents apparently rate this knowledge of what is right and wrong quite highly, perhaps because it affords them a feeling of safety and sureness about where they stand and who they are. The affective aspect is more commonly known, in that it is demonstrated by adolescents' feelings about themselves, for example matric pupils' feelings about their future prospects. The conative aspect of adolescents' identity is the will to act and perform according to their potential, for example music or athletic ability. It may be inferred from the examples cited in paragraph 1.2.1 that teachers may possibly influence all these interrelated facets of identity in their attempt to aid adolescents towards positive identity formation.
Obviously, the more aspects of identity which are deficient, the more responsibility rests on the teacher to assist adolescents towards adequate identity formation and hence adequate becoming. It would appear that adolescents whose becoming and relationships are inadequate ("restrained") need firstly to be helped by teachers to healthy self-relationships, before their "life-world" of other relationships can be enhanced. Teachers may recognise adolescents whose becoming and relationships are restrained by their characteristic behaviour, such as negative attitudes to self, adults, school work and the future, and general apathy, carelessness, helplessness, hopelessness and depression (Van der Spuy 1992:4-5).

The consideration of these awarenesses will now undergo refinement with a view to a clear statement of the problem.

1.2.3 Refining the awareness

Some adolescents are sure of who they are, and some are not. Typically, a firm sense of identity results in spontaneous relationships with adults. If adequate parental models are absent, adolescents depend more fully on teacher role models.

Various aspects of identity manifest themselves, such as the physical, cognitive, affective, conative and normative. All of these features of identity formation may be influenced by the teacher.

There seems to be an interconnection between adolescents' identity formation, actualisation and becoming. These are influenced by their relationships with their parents, teachers, other adults and even peers and siblings.

Although adolescent-parent relationships are not necessarily negative or inadequate, certain factors in the relationship may dampen the educational effectiveness of parental involvement. There are, however, adolescents who could be regarded as restrained in their becoming, most frequently as a result of broken homes and unstable relationships with parents (Van der Spuy...
The researcher is greatly aware of the supporting and stabilising role a devoted and considerate teacher can play in the adolescent years, the threshold to adulthood. Her key concern is adolescents restrained in their becoming. How can teachers support these adolescents?

But there are other questions emerging from this one. Who are those adolescents restrained in their becoming, what is the nature of their identities, and how and by whom is their identity formation influenced?

What is their relationship with their parents generally like, and what role can ordinary teachers play in their identity formation?

Now that the researcher's awareness of the problem has been refined, the problem as such may be stated.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem concerns the role of teachers in the identity formation of adolescents, specifically of adolescents restrained in their becoming. This allows for a description of the teacher-adolescent relationship in the identity formation of adolescents, as well as for the identification of criteria for evaluating adequate adolescent identity formation. It will also be possible to formulate guidelines for teachers in their relationships with adolescents, with a view to facilitating adolescents' identity formation.

The research question can be formulated thus:

What is the role of the teacher in the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming?
This question may be refined in terms of the following further questions:

* What does identity formation entail?

* How do adolescents present themselves as total persons (physically, affectively, cognitively, conatively, normatively) in a life-world of relationships (with self, religion, peers and siblings, parents and teachers)?

* What are the essences of effective identity formation in adolescents?

* What is the significance of gender identification with adults in identity formation?

* What part do parents, and teachers in particular, play in the identity formation of adolescents?

* Who are adolescents restrained in their becoming?

* What role do parents and, especially teachers, play in the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming?

As a means towards addressing these questions, certain objectives are envisaged.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The objectives of the research fall into the categories of primary and secondary objectives.

1.4.1 Primary objectives

The primary objectives of this project are
- to discuss, in detail, what identity formation entails

- to highlight the significance of gender identification in adolescents

- to describe adolescents as total persons

- to elucidate how all adolescents' relationships influence their identity formation, especially their relationships with parents and teachers

- to crystallise the essences of effective identity formation in adolescents

- to discover the role of teachers in the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming

1.4.2 Secondary objectives

- to identify adolescents who are restrained in their becoming

- to explain identity formation as an aspect of adolescents' becoming

- to identify criteria for the evaluation of adolescents' identity formation

- to elucidate the needs of adolescents restrained in their becoming

- to look at the importance of teachers' own identity and relationships as an influence on restrained adolescents' identity formation

- to answer the question to what extent teachers may intervene as surrogate role models in the identity formation of restrained adolescents
to recommend an innovative programme for teachers in training and in service, which will prepare them for dealing with the increasing number of adolescents restrained in their becoming, and assist them towards enhancing these adolescents' identity formation.

- to contribute indirectly to the need of society for youths with stable identities, who are actualising their potential to the full and hence becoming what they ought to become.

Because of the above needs which demand to be met, the present research project has been deemed necessary. The importance of this research, however, requires further elucidation.

1.5 IMPORTANT OF THE RESEARCH

Certain needs have become apparent to the researcher in her experience of teaching adolescents. It would appear that a large number of adolescents experience restraints in their becoming, such as unsatisfactory relationships with parents and teachers and unstable identities. Even matriculants seem very unsure of who they are and of exactly who and what they could become when they leave school. In discussions with many standard nine and ten pupils in her classes, the researcher became conscious of the disconcerting fact that these adolescents largely had a negative idea of their present potential and future possibilities. This indicates uncertainty regarding their identity. Many of them presented themselves as apathetic about their chances of success in an economically unpredictable South Africa and were resigned to a mediocre life - a life often similar in quality to that of their parents and their parents before them. It was pathetic to listen to adolescents about to embark on their future, full of scepticism and self-doubt. These pupils furthermore demonstrated a very real need for moral guidance, since many of them came from inadequate homes.

The guidance teachers at the school referred to above were painfully aware of the negative attitudes of the pupils regarding themselves and their futures. Unfortunately guidance teachers in general are so overworked, having to teach other subjects as well as guidance, that the best they can do is to cope with the influx of general adolescent problems. They do their utmost to
guide adolescents in the right career direction, but are often hampered by limited subject choices available and insufficient time to share career preparation strategies. Indeed, in discussions which the researcher held with guidance teachers, the latter invariably bemoaned their lack of time to attend to adolescents' derogatory attitudes towards themselves and restraints in their becoming, not to mention insufficient opportunity to form individual relationships with pupils. These teachers, in fact, affirmed that their main function was career guidance and seeing to daily problems of adolescents. They implied that it was the duty of subject teachers to befriend pupils, and assist them in forming positive identities based on sound moral foundations. This was especially important since many of the pupils in the school referred to above were restrained in their becoming. Not a single guidance teacher interviewed was happy about the extra subjects they had to teach or about the large amount of administrative work required. They clearly were not coping with what was demanded of them. The latest ruling was that register class teachers would teach guidance classes in order to free the guidance teachers for counselling and other teaching! Hence the researcher's realisation of the significant role of the subject teacher in forming meaningful relationships with adolescents who show signs of restrained becoming and faulty identity formation.

In discussions with subject teachers, however, it occurred to the researcher that these teachers were not aware of the importance of their daily influence on their charges, with respect to their identity formation. In fact, the very same pessimistic ideas about their own potential and the job opportunities in the country which matric pupils had expressed, were uttered by their economics teachers. This suggested that these ideas stemmed from the teachers, who were discouraging their pupils by painting a negative picture of the pupils and of life's opportunities for self-development. Plenty of evidence for this conclusion was afforded by pupils who complained bitterly to the researcher about individual teachers who were always putting them down and telling them they were stupid, were going to fail, and would never make it in the world. In other words, these teachers were directly contributing to negative identity formation in their adolescent pupils.

It is the view of the writer that it is the duty of teachers not to entrench gloomy self-attitudes and
hopelessness, but to encourage adolescents to foster positive ideas of themselves, to recognise their strengths and weaknesses, and thus to know themselves and their world realistically.

It was the unfortunate finding of the researcher (Van der Spuy 1992:89) that teachers tend to oversimplify the problems of pupils and to ascribe the blame for underachievement and apathetic attitudes to laziness. They do not, as a rule, look behind negative attitudes to self for possible causes. This unawareness of teachers points to an apparent lack in teacher training which cries out to be remedied.

Research into the topic of teachers' responsibilities as identity formers yielded few returns, apart from the theories of Marcia (1964) and Kohlberg (1980), which will be discussed in this work. Warren (1992:49) points out the necessity for teachers to support adolescents in self-knowledge and self-understanding. As far as the task of the teacher towards restrained adolescents is concerned, De Klerk (1990:43) stipulates personal communication with pupils as important to the attainment of identity. Berns (1985:180) confirms the responsibility of teachers as role models for children. In modern society, with so few family units still comprising a mother and father, and when those parents who are present so easily ignore their responsibilities to such an extent that they may as well be absent, children will naturally look to the next most significant adult in their life-world with whom to identify. The teacher, as propounder of knowledge and values, becomes the natural choice (De Klerk 1990:43; Conger 1991:189).

The basis for identification is laid in the family, and later on the child identifies with other significant people, such as a teacher (Raath & Jacobs 1993:63). A shocking finding reported by The Argus (28 June 1990) is that modern adolescents are almost totally influenced by television idols, such as pop stars, actors and sportsmen, and that these idols have to an unprecedented extent replaced parents as role models! It is generally conceded that more male than female teachers have a good influence on boys, by giving them a closer relationship with male models at a time when they are learning to behave like men. It is therefore concluded here that where the adolescent child has lost a parent, or where a parent is "absent" (literally or figuratively) he or she will not only need a role model for the formulation of values and morals, but will need a
model for gender identification as well - a male if he is a boy, and a female if she is a girl. Gordon (1975:359) supports this fact with the following statement: "The key to the satisfactory emergence of the adolescent into independence may lie in the degree to which he has been successful in his identification with the parent of the same sex...." Biller (1974:49) adds the thought that where boys' fathers are absent, male teachers seem to have a particularly great potential influence, implying that boys are influenced by older, respected men to become successful men and girls are influenced by females to become successful women.

Rationalisation in departments of education in South Africa has resulted in countless music, art, drama and physical training posts being recalled. There is a resultant loss of opportunities for such teachers to form caring relationships with individual pupils, assist them in establishing solid identities, actualise their potential (academically and culturally) and hence become well-rounded adults. The responsibility of the teachers that remain is consequently so much the greater.

This research, therefore, seeks to enable teachers to

* understand identity formation, particularly with respect to adolescents who are restrained in some way and who may have inadequate parental models

* realise their power and responsibility to affect the identity formation of adolescents, by means of their regular tasks as class or subject teachers, and to have some clear guidelines as to how they may be of assistance in this regard

* see the connection between the identity formation of their pupils and their pupils' ultimate success in becoming the persons they ought to become. By researching the above questions and related matters thoroughly, it is hoped that prospective and present teachers will, in their relationships with adolescents, recognise the significant role they have to play in identity formation, a role perhaps comparable to that of parents themselves.
So as not to lose sight of the central issues at stake in this project, the field of study needs to be demarcated according to certain relevant areas of interest.

1.6 DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD

The field of research has been delimited thus: Identity, related concepts and identity formation are investigated, with a view to formulating essences of effective identity formation in adolescents, and criteria for evaluating these essences. Secondly, adolescents as total persons, their identity formation and relationships are discussed. Each relationship of the adolescent is viewed within the context of Psychology of Education, that is to say, with reference to the essences of significance attribution, involvement and experiencing. The role of teachers in adolescents' identity formation is of central interest to the topic of this project.

Teachers as total persons within their own life-world of relationships are analysed with respect to their influence on adolescents' identity formation, and especially on adolescents who are restrained in their becoming.

By way of researching the demarcated areas of interest, an appropriate research method requires exemplification.

1.7 PROPOSED RESEARCH METHOD

The research will be conducted according to qualitative methods, which are explained in detail in Chapter Four.

The investigation will be conducted idiographically with the co-operation of four adolescents who have been identified by their teachers and Questionnaire One (Becoming) as restrained in their becoming. The following procedure will be used in examining the nature of their identity formation:
- Questionnaire Two (Identity Formation) will be answered by the selected adolescents in an interview situation;

- three autobiographies on identity formation (present, past and future) are to be written by the selected adolescents;

- two drawings will be done by the selected adolescents - one of themselves with their family, and one of themselves with their teachers;

- the selected adolescents will be observed by the researcher throughout the investigation, as well as in the classroom and during an excursion;

- both parents (if possible or applicable) of the selected adolescents will be interviewed with the use of Questionnaire Three (Parents);

- as many as possible of the teachers of each selected adolescents will be interviewed (first individually, then as a group), using Questionnaire Four (Teachers);

- Questionnaire Five (Adolescents and Parents) will serve as a guide for the interviewing of the selected adolescents in a group with their parents;

- a final informal interview with each selected adolescent will clear up any vagaries, or matters previously not attended to.

Certain matters which have been taken for granted in the undertaking of this study are mentioned under the assumptions below.

1.8 ASSUMPTIONS

In the previous paragraphs, it was stated that this research deals with adolescents and teachers
as total persons in their respective "life-worlds" of relationships, with respect to the adolescents' identity formation. This theory places the study within the context of the Psychology of Education, the essences of which are significance attribution, involvement, experiencing and self-actualisation.

With this background in mind, the following assumptions are forwarded:

# The teacher's relationship with adolescents restrained in their becoming, rests on the same foundations as the effective teacher-child relationship, that is upon the pedagogic structures of mutual knowing (understanding), trust and authority (Van Rensburg, Landman & Bodenstein 1994:329). This presupposes that a healthy relationship between any teacher and any adolescent is of necessity based on a knowledge and understanding of each other, trust of each other and acknowledgement of the teacher's authority on the part of the adolescent and the adolescent's right to make a statement.

# The adolescents under discussion are educands in need of the educational support of an educator within the education situation.

# Identity formation begins at birth and ends with death (Gerdes, Moore, Ochse & Van Ede 1988:77), but goes through a state of heightened intensity and conflict during adolescence. It is this stage which will receive attention in this study.

# The characteristics of children restrained in their becoming (Van der Spuy 1992:110-112), are basically the characteristics of adolescents restrained in their becoming. That is to say, these adolescents link limited significance to their work at home and especially at school, since they do not see the meaning in most of the activities in which they are involved. The result is lack of interest and motivation and poor academic achievement. In general they do not feel they have enough pleasant experiences, which places restraints on their happiness and actualisation.
The relationships of adolescents restrained in their becoming are also adversely affected by their unsatisfactory significance attribution, since "they often misunderstand others and are misunderstood by others" (Van der Spuy 1992:110). Again such a state of affairs could radically affect identity formation which is a product of adequate self-knowledge (Laubscher 1993:9).

As a Christian, conducting research in a predominantly Christian area, the researcher will focus on Christianity as a religion.

The most relevant assumption stated in Van der Spuy (1992:112) is that the child restrained in his/her becoming has a negative self-concept, low self-esteem and "a faulty self-identity".

Certain terms which have appeared in the text up to this point, and others which will come up regularly in the ensuing discussion, must be defined to make understanding of the writer's intent possible.

1.9 EXPLANATION OF TERMS

The following terms which are used frequently in this discussion, need to be briefly explained. In Chapter Two, some of these concepts are discussed in more detail.

1.9.1 Identity

Seeing that identity is defined at length in Chapter Two, an abridged definition will suffice at this point: Identity is what makes a person different from other people, and at the same time recognisable as the same person in different situations and at different times (Gerdes, Moore, Ochse & Van Ede 1988:77). Identity is a facet of the self-concept which is formed in relation to other people (Raath & Jacobs 1993:10; Breakwell 1987:85 & 98). That is to say, the presence of other people determines what one's identity will be. Identity is also influenced by one's
physical body, one's past history, sexual orientation and identification with male and female role models (Ganiere & Enright 1989:283).

Identity may be simply defined in terms of three facets: personal identity, public identity and individual identity (Gerdes et al 1988:85).

Identity is that powerful part of the personality which defines a person as a singular entity with a unique set of values, interests, strengths and weaknesses (Ochse 1983:11). In the context of this study, Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg's (1993:113) definition of identity as being "concerned with those elements of character or personality that are distinguishing", is the most relevant.

For identity as such to be clearly understood, certain concepts which are close relations of identity, bear consideration.

1.9.2 Concepts related to identity

Those concepts which are closely related to identity will be considered here, so that any confusion between these terms and identity may be obviated.

1.9.2.1 Identification

The dictionary definition of identification is "the act of identifying: a process by which a person assumes the behaviour, ideas, etc., of someone else, particularly someone whom he admires" (Chambers English Dictionary 1992, s.v."identification"). The "someone" is usually the parent (if present) and later other significant others, such as older siblings, relatives, peers and teachers.

If the etymology of identification is taken into account, the idea is "to make the same", Latin facere idem (Chambers Etymological Dictionary 1972, s.v. "identification"). Thus the child desires to make itself the same as the other, whom it admires. Although personal traits of both
parents are and could be admired, boys' identification with their fathers and girls' identification with their mothers have far-reaching effects on their sexual identification.

Raath and Jacobs (1993:9) support this notion with the following statement: "Identification refers to the concept: to become identical to. For example, when a boy tries to identify with his father, it means that he wants to be like his father". The child sees the father/mother figure as ideally what he/she wants to be like, that is an ideal self-image. In conclusion, identification is an "activity by which the child endeavours to remove the difference between his self-image and his ideal image" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:9).

Laubscher (1993:9) provides an acceptable circumscription of identification as "a psychological process in which a person assimilates [introjects] aspects of another person into the self. In other words, a person grows to believe that he or she is like that other person". This happens when the child or adolescent is still lacking in self-knowledge: "Die persoon identifiseer tydens die tydperk in sy lewe wanneer hy nog poog om homself te leer ken. Hy is nog nie in staat om te onderskei watter eienskappe hy van bepaalde persone kan oorneem nie omdat hy homself en sy eie moontlikhede nog nie voldoende ken nie. Selfkennis ontbreek en hy sien op na persone in sy leefwêreld en fantaseer oor "hoe hy eendag wil wees", sonder om sy eie moontlikhede en beperkinge te oorweeg" (Laubscher 1993:9).

Other authors are less categorical about the discriminatory powers of adolescents. Therefore the above thought should not be taken to mean that a child or adolescent has no understanding of himself or herself (no self-inclination) and indiscriminately soaks up aspects of his parents' or others' behaviour into his/her identity: "Identification in adolescence is not equivalent to copying the behavior of parents, nor is it equivalent to absorption of the parental image in toto. It seems to be a selective process in which the boy or girl evaluates various aspects of parental behavior, feelings, and values and chooses those particular life patterns that harmonize with his total self-structure...." (Gordon 1975:357-358).

A definition based on the above descriptions of "identification" may be formulated thus:
Identification is the act of identifying with an esteemed other person, in accordance with similarities to one's own identity and goals noted in that other person, and a subsequent introjection of those valued characteristics into the self.

### Personality

The idea of personality being "a person's own distinctive character" is foreshadowed by The Oxford Paperback Dictionary (1988 s.v. "personality"). This conception is corroborated by Chambers English Dictionary (1992 s.v. "personality"): "individuality: distinctive or well-marked character". The psychological definition given for personality by the latter source is: "The integrated organisation of all the psychological, intellectual, emotional and physical characteristics of an individual, especially as they are presented to other people".

There are many descriptions of personality, most of which (including the one above) have been modeled on Allport's (1961) definition, because it is one of the most inclusive. According to his definition, personality is the "dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine the individual's unique adjustments to the environment" (Hurlock 1978:525).

The term "dynamic" points out the changing nature of personality. "Organization" implies that personality is not made up of a number of different traits simply added together, but that they are interrelated. This interrelationship changes, with some traits becoming more dominant and others less so, owing to changes in the child and in the environment. The "psychophysical systems" are the habits, attitudes, values, beliefs, emotional states, sentiments and motives. These systems are not a result of heredity, although they are founded on a hereditary basis; they have been developed through learning experiences. The "psychophysical systems" are the motivating forces which determine what kind of unique adjustments the child will make (Hurlock 1978:525).

It has been noted that there is no simple, correct definition of personality, but that definitions are
chosen according to theoretical perspective and the use which is going to be made of the personality theory (Shackleton & Fletcher 1984:45).

Jersild, Brook and Brook (1978:560) supply a very comprehensive definition based on what they call "generally accepted principles", thus: Personality is "the sum of an individual's traits and qualities and the manner in which these are integrated into one's total way of life. These traits and qualities include temperament and disposition; emotional tendencies; characteristic ways of thinking, feeling, and relating to others; strengths and weaknesses; and obvious and covert motivations".

It will be seen, however, that even recent definitions of personality differ little in essence from the earlier ones, such as the one above. The basic principles of uniqueness, integrated structure and characteristic behaviour are also included in the following definition by Van Rensburg et al (1994:482): "Personality intimates the actions or expressions of a unique person. Personality exposes itself as an innate structure and dynamic revelation of particular characteristics in a particular environment. In the course of time, the personality is moulded into a relatively consistent pattern of behaviour, which constantly comes to the fore in all personal actions".

However, Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:113) pinpoint the aspect of personality in which this study is interested. That is to say, these authors illuminate identity as an element of personality. And identity is that element of personality which distinguishes a person from others. In this thesis then, identity will be discussed as that aspect of personality which is distinguishing.

1.9.2.3 The "self"

Whereas the "I" is regarded as subject, unconscious, unobservable and belonging to the spiritual (affective) dimension of being human, the "self" is the object of the "I" and that to which the consciousness may be turned (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:18).
The self can be regarded as the nucleus of the personality because the self refers to the person's body, ideas, attitudes, values and that to which he devotes himself. The self refers to the totality with its unique qualities which are singular to the individual person - those observable and measurable qualities according to which the person is recognised as the same person and not somebody else (Le Roux 1979:19; Vrey 1993:79).

Warren (1992:94) sums it up well in her observation about the self: The self "...is the individual as known to the individual".

Others too have attempted to encapsulate the self in generalised terms, for example Jacobs (1981:23) sees the self as the centre of all experience and meaning, Hamachek (1992:v) as the central core of our identity. Gergen (1987:54) states that "Theories of the self are, after all, nothing less than definitions of what it is to be truly human".

When the many views of the self are considered, it becomes clear that the self in its many-faceted nature, is the totality of what I as a person am and of all I can call my own. "Out of these conceptions of the self, relative to the conceptions of others, the concept of self (self-concept) arises" (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:18).

In this study, the relation of self to identity is important. Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:215) see self as closely related to identity, and as such, it is an aspect of identity, as suggested by the term "self-identity".

**Self-concept**

The term "self-concept" is treated synonymously with "self-image", in that self-concept is defined as "a conceptualization or image of the self" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:12). Authors such as Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:214), in their discussion of the self-concept, place "self-image" in brackets, implying that these two concepts refer to the same phenomenon. Although the term "self-concept" appears to be preferred above "self-image" by most recent
authors, an attempt will be made to distinguish between these terms for the sake of clarity. (See paragraph 1.9.2.5).

The self-concept evidently includes three mutually dependent components, namely identity, action and self-esteem. Identity refers to "who I am". Action occurs as a result of who I am (I am a cyclist and I cycle) and self-esteem is the evaluative aspect of the self-concept, also known as "self-worth" ("I am an outstanding cyclist") (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:193).

Raath (1985:82-83) adds that the self-concept forms part of the "intra-psychic structure", which includes the identity and self-concept. These components may be distinguished from each other, but are so closely intertwined that they can never really be separated. The intra-psychic structure also has a direct influence on the behaviour of the individual, since the way people see themselves (self-concept) determines what they do. If the self-concept is positive they will believe they are able to achieve at school, will be socially successful and the personality development will be such that it will comply with the norms of the particular community.

Furthermore, the self-concept of every person is complex and consists of several smaller unique concepts, which distinguishes him or her from other people; it is the nucleus of the self; is of a dynamic nature and develops cognitively and affectively by means of the child's experiences in his life-world (Raath & Jacobs 1993:15).

The complexity of the self consists in its various categories, for example the person as man, father, athlete, businessman. This complexity means that a person may have various self-concepts corresponding to his or her various identities. It appears therefore, that the self-concept displays the particular facets of the self, and that the self-concept presupposes various identities (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:18-19).

The self-concept is, moreover, cognitively structured because it is a conception. But because it consists of attitudes and convictions about the self (which stem from cognitive organisation of concepts), it is also affective by nature (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:21).
Jacobs and Vrey (1982:21) interpret Roger's definition of the self-concept as follows:

(a) The self-concept is an organised configuration of perceptions and conceptions of the self.

(b) The elements of this configuration appear to be the following:

(i) the perceptions of one's own characteristics and abilities, one's identity

(ii) the evaluation of one's own characteristics in comparison with those of other people

(iii) the experiencing of these experiences as positive or negative.

The self-concept is consequently a subjectively evaluated understanding of the self by the self in relationship to others and the rest of reality. The self-concept is unique, dynamic and central to the experience and behaviour of a person. It includes feelings and beliefs about the self. It also includes identity, self-esteem and action. As such, it is the representation of the identity (in its various facets), the subjective evaluation of self-worth, and the actions which result from the consistent beliefs and attitudes towards the self.

1.9.2.5 Self-image

Chambers English Dictionary (1992 s.v. "image") explains that self-image is "one's own idea of oneself" and image refers to "likeness: a representation in the mind: a picture (not necessarily visual) in the imagination or memory: that which very closely resembles anything".

This meaning is very close to that of self-concept since "concept" also means "idea" - see The Oxford Paperback Dictionary (1988 s.v. "concept"). In fact certain authors use "self-image" and "self-concept" synonymously, for example Sonnekus and Ferreira (1987:431) describe self-concept or self-image as an evaluation by the child of its own identity. Van den Aardweg and
Van den Aardweg (1993:193), when referring to self-concept, place "self-image" in brackets, implying that these two terms are synonyms. Le Roux (1979:21) calls the self-image the "representation" one makes of one's identity. The term "self-concept", however, appears to be used in preference to "self-image" by most modern writers on the subject.

1.9.2.6 Self-esteem

One's self-esteem is an aspect of one's self-concept (see paragraph 1.9.2.4). It denotes "high estimation or value: favourable regard "estimation of worth" (Chamber's English Dictionary 1992, s.v. "esteem"). The Pocket Oxford Dictionary (1988) has for "esteem": "favourable opinion, respect". Thus when "self-esteem" is used one would really be referring to the degree or level of self-worth implied.

Chickering and Reissner (1993:179) corroborate this idea by their definition of self-esteem as an element of self-concept. It "refers to people's overall level of satisfaction with themselves, based on how the 'real' self stacks up against an 'ideal' self". One explanation of the difference between studies on self-concept and self-esteem is that, "In contrast to studies of change in students' academic and social self-concepts (studies that typically ask students to compare themselves with other students), studies of self-esteem examine students' generalized judgments of their own worth or merit, evaluated not in terms of their position relative to others but with reference to an internal personal standard ... an individual with high self-esteem is typically characterized as having feelings of worth, being able to do things as well as others, having a number of good qualities, having much to be proud of, having a positive attitude toward oneself, feeling useful to others, feeling self-confident, and being satisfied with oneself" (Chickering & Reissner 1993:179).

In other words, self-esteem is the affective dimension of the self, or what we feel about ourselves (Adams 1980:83). In addition, self-esteem refers to the extent to which we admire or value the self, and that this is reflected through the personality in various ways, for example assertive or shy, candid or secretive behaviour (Adams 1980:83).
Identity formation

Identity formation is forming the identity, getting answers to the question "Who am I?" and forming conceptions about the "Who am I?" It is dissociating the "I" from the "non-I", the "mine from the "non-mine". It is forming a unique understanding of the "I", gaining clarity about the "I"; forming a comprehensive set of conceptions of the "I". Attribution of meaning therefore necessarily takes place in identity formation. Identity formation is basically self-identity formation: forming perceptions of oneself as a unique person. It also directs self-concept formation (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:113).

During adolescence the self-identity becomes quite stable, although identity formation lasts a lifetime (Vrey 1993:44-45).

Adolescence is a crucial time, for the adolescent is forced into physical and psychological independence, and this requires a separate identity. Three aspects are involved in adolescents' identity formation: a sexual orientation, a commitment to a philosophy of life and a vocational choice. In early adolescence there is a new identification with the peer group and the necessity of sexual re-orientation. In middle adolescence the uncertainty of puberty is over and the choice of a career and vocational training take precedence. By late adolescence a primary identity should have been established. This forms the basis for the secondary identities which are assumed to fill the various roles adolescents have to play (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:113; Laubscher 1993:39).

The next term which needs explanation is "adolescents".
Adolescents

Introduction

Concern with adolescents is not new; it dates back at least as far as Plato and Aristotle. But the modern interest in adolescence as a socially significant and psychologically complex period was not encountered until the end of the nineteenth century (Conger 1991:25).

Chambers English Dictionary (1992 s.v. "adolescent") puts the expression as such: "passing from childhood to maturity" and traces its origins to the Latin adolescens, - entis, present participle of adolescere, to grow up". Adolescence, according to Conger (1991:586), is "a continuing process of personal and social development". Furthermore, adolescence is "a process rather than a period, a process of achieving attitudes and beliefs needed for effective participation in society".

Adolescents may be divided into three major periods: early adolescents (12-14), middle adolescents (15-16) and late adolescents (17-18) (Hattie 1992:132). However, Feather (1980:284) takes care to clarify that the substages of adolescent development are best defined by behaviour (or growth tasks) rather than chronology. Therefore a 16-year-old could well be in any of these phases. It is during this age period known as adolescence (approximately 12-18) that adolescents perform the central task of establishing a sense of identity. This is necessary, explains Laubscher (1993:108), because without some guiding sense of who they are and where they are heading, adolescents face formidable obstacles in attempting to cope with the many demands for increasing independence, integration of a newfound sexual maturity, establishment of meaningful relations with peers of both sexes and deciding on a life work and personal goals. Conger (1991:411) asserts that deciding on a life work and preparing for a vocation is one of the main developmental tasks of adolescents, since having a job that society values contributes to a person's sense of identity.

Although by adolescence "a personal identity has crystallised" and "a male or female sexual role has been consolidated" (Vrey 1993:186), identity formation continues from infancy to old age.
Identity formation merely reaches a climax during late adolescence as a result of heightened physical, emotional and mental changes, and especially of the increased ability "to think abstractly" and logically (Vrey 1993:184). This capacity has been referred to as "formal operational thinking" by Piaget (Schave and Schave 1987:72).

According to Clarke-Stewart and Koch (1983:388-9) it is Erik Erikson who has had a great impact on views of adolescence in culture. He regarded adolescence as "a turning point among turning points" (referring to the eight crises in his life-cycle view of personality development) "requiring a resolution of all past crises". Erikson conceived adolescence as a "moratorium" or "breathing space" as opposed to earlier views of adolescence as a period of "storm and stress". (This view can be traced to G. Stanley Hall (1904) on the authority of Conger 1991:19). Erikson calls this period of free role experimentation and finding a social niche a "psycho-social moratorium" (Gallatin 1975:207).

Erikson also refers to adolescence as a period of "normative crisis" (Gallatin 1975:207), that is a crossroads experience during which the choice of norms becomes a pressing need.

Therefore, adolescents are young people at various levels who are becoming adults. They experience a time of intensified physical growth and personal development which leads to emotional conflicts, identity confusion, moral and normative choices. Most adolescents demand "time-out", or a "breathing space" appropriately referred to by Erikson (Gallatin 1975:207) as a "moratorium" for these essential activities.

The following matters regarding adolescents need to be considered in the context of the present study.

1.9.3.2 Adolescents as total persons in relationships

It is one of the aims of the present study to achieve a balanced, realistic picture of adolescents as total persons. In this respect, Warren (1992:61) sees the child as "'n unieke totaliteit [wa]
vanaf geboorte ontwikkel binne 'n bepaalde leefwêreld waarbinne hy as fisies-psigiese en verstandelike totaliteit in kontinue relasies tot sy wêreld staan...." In this way, it is acknowledged that adolescents display different modes of being, such as the cognitive, physical or affective modes of being. All these inseparable modes are uniquely integrated in the life of each unique adolescent.

Adolescents as total persons may consequently be described as psychically and intellectually integrated beings, always to be considered against the background of all of their relationships. Thus, adolescents are studied within each of the physical, psychical and intellectual domains of their lives and also within their relationships with self, religion, peers, siblings, parents and teachers.

1.9.3.3 Adolescents' life-world

Every child is born as a unique individual into distinctive circumstances. This is the "Umwelt", or environment. He orients himself by attributing meaning to, becoming involved in and experiencing this world of objects around him (Vrey 1993:11-12).

Vrey (1993:11) also distinguishes a "Mitwelt", the world of inter-personal relations; and an "Eigenwelt" or own world - the world of one's relationship with oneself. In the process of establishing relationships with the objects in their "Umwelt", with the significant others in their "Mitwelt" and with themselves, children [adolescents] form an "Eigenwelt". "Eigenwelt" is "the self in relation to itself, the self knowing itself - that is, the mode of behavior in which a person sees himself as subject and object at once" (Vrey 1993:143).

Vrey (1993:12) appropriately sums up "life-world" by concluding that "the child" [adolescent] constructs a life-world as the Gestalt of meaningful relationships with people, objects and ideas and with himself". Furthermore, "the child cannot be observed in a vacuum" and "we always see him in his relationship to himself, to others, to things and to his God" (Vrey 1993:6).
"Life-world" is, therefore, the unique orbit of a person's meaningful inter-personal relationships, as well as the relationships with religion, self, objects and ideas, in which a person acts.

For the purposes of this study, the meaningful relationship with the self will be focused upon. It is only in acquiring a sound knowledge of himself or herself that the adolescent can truly understand the world and interact confidently therein.

1.9.3.4 Adolescents and becoming

The educational choice of the present participle "becoming" (as opposed to "become") would seem to imply those dictionary meanings which suggest a continuous development. For example, the meanings "to come to be"; "to move toward the place that is the point of view" and "to begin to be in some condition" (Chambers English Dictionary 1992, s.v. "become") are those favoured by educationists.

Becoming has been defined as the "purposeful transition to adulthood starting at birth" (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:30), suggesting that becoming is continuous.

Van der Spuy (1992:30) clarifies becoming as a long-term goal of the child on his way to adulthood, which is never really reached.

Becoming has also been described as "dialoog-verheffing, dit wil sê 'n verandering van die kind se dialoog met sy wêreld as niveauverheffing" (Sonnekus 1973:29). In other words, the child's becoming is the gradual upward movement from plateau to plateau of his potential development. It is the elevation in the quality of a child's dialogue or communication with his world - with the increase in self-understanding and knowledge which occurs as a result of meaningful dialogue. It is consequently an enrichment of the level or plane of the very being of a person, but the end of becoming is never reached. Burns (1979:43) concurs with the declaration: "The individual is always in a state of becoming".
Adolescents' becoming thus involves a gradual elevation in extending their life-world.

Within the context of Psychology of Education, becoming is considered with regard to the essences of significance attribution, experiencing and involvement.

**Becoming as significance attribution**

Significance attribution is the assigning or attribution of meaning to a given situation. "Orientation is made possible by meaning. Once a person (child) knows or understands an object, person or word, or his own body, he is oriented towards it" (Vrey 1993:33-34). Orientation towards one's life-world is important, because without it confusion and lack of direction results.

If adolescents know and understand themselves, they will be adequately oriented towards themselves as persons, and will attach realistic meaning to their attributes and faults. Adequate orientation will facilitate their identity formation, and hence their becoming.

The attribution of meaning is always cognitive although it also has an affective and normative component (Vrey 1993:34). This means that there is a sensation of success (affective dimension) when meaning is understood (cognitive dimension). The normative dimension implies that a person consciously or unconsciously establishes meaningful subjective norms, for example, for self-acceptance. Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:189) go a step further by saying that a person acts as a totality when giving meaning, and that meaning is peculiar to each individual as a result.

Most importantly, the adolescent is not passive in the attribution of meaning, but is totally involved. Meaning can be attributed only when a person wants to understand (Vrey 1993:34). Here the connection with involvement or intentionality (wanting to) becomes apparent. It follows that adolescents will not become truly adult if they are not totally involved in their experiences, and if they do not find the majority of their experiences pleasant and meaningful.
Meaningful involvement, adequate significance attribution and favourable experiences are therefore all essential aspects of adolescents' becoming.

Becoming as involvement

Involvement is "the psychic vitality that drives" (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:192). This would seem to signify that hidden incentive to do things, to get things done, to reach goals. This is why people who are extremely involved are often referred to as "driven" or "vital". The desire to be involved appears to be linked to what is commonly known as motivation or "intention". "One gets involved because of one's intention to know more [cognitive dimension]. To be involved implies that one wants to be involved" [conative dimension] (Vrey 1993:35). This "wanting to be involved" or "intention to be involved" is where the word "intentionality" stems from (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:191). According to the latter source, involvement is "the active, intentional attribution of meaning undertaken by a person in his totality" and it directs the actualisation of the tasks of learning and becoming. So, one can only become adequately if one is totally involved, cognitively, affectively, conatively and normatively.

It can be quite clearly seen how involvement is a cognitive as well as a conative and affective experience since one only wants to get involved in those activities which one experiences as pleasurable.

Hence, if adolescents experience their involvement at school as significant and pleasant, they can become the students they are expected to become and this will positively affect their identity formation. Experience is therefore also a salient ingredient of involvement.

Becoming as experiencing

In a similar way to what involvement is experienced affectively, so experience always involves the affects or feelings. Vrey (1993:42) mentions that experience "inhibits or incites a person's involvement in every attribution of meaning" and that experience "determines the quality of
adolescents’ relationships with their teachers could be experienced as pleasant if they are meaningful. An educator’s praise or disapproval determines the positive or negative intensity of the subjective experience.

Personal experience, according to Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:192), reflects a person’s own evaluation of a situation as pleasant or unpleasant. The adolescent’s experiences can consequently be either favourable or unfavourable with respect to becoming an adult and forming an identity.

In addition, it must be realised that becoming is never becoming at random. It is an occurrence where the adult leads the not-yet-adult to adulthood. The dialogue and relationship of the child with the adult is expressed in a definite movement or becoming which assists the child from the "was" (childhood) to the "will be" (his or her adulthood). Becoming is characterised by the increasing independence of the child, and always implies help in becoming that which ought to be (adulthood) (Van Rensburg et al 1994:324).

In relation to this particular study, it is necessary to see the relationship between becoming and actualisation.

**Becoming and actualisation**

“Becoming” is the long-term goal of adolescence, whereas "actualisation" is a short-term goal, involving the actualisation of one’s various potentials. Adequate becoming would therefore be impossible without adequate actualisation (Van der Spuy 1992:39).

The relation of becoming to self-actualisation is elucidated by Mouly (1980:115) thus: "The concept of self-realization, as incorporated in such terms as the self-actualizing or fully-functioning person, has more recently been presented under the concept of becoming. The person in the process of becoming is maximally open to experience, and therefore, capable of maximal utilization of his potentialities and of environmental opportunities for self-improvement".
It will therefore be acknowledged that becoming is a much broader construct than self-actualisation, in that to become fully mature and realise all of one's potential is the ultimate aim of the self-actualising individual.

Lastly, becoming is also linked to development.

**Becoming and development**

Because the notions of "becoming" and "development" are so closely linked, it is important to notice the discrepancy between these two concepts. The developmental approach to Psychology of Education (Wood, Combs, Gum & Weller 1986:5) emphasises the idea of a sequence of tasks and behaviours that a growing person is expected to be able to perform at certain stages of his or her development. Chambers English Dictionary (1992, s.v. "development") stresses the "gradual unfolding or growth: evolution". This definition confirms the idea of phases which are experienced or steps which are taken towards a goal.

Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:30) recognise becoming as "more embracing and less visible than development as it includes the enrichment of dialogue, the acceptance of responsibility, the assigning of meaning, self-actualization, the realization of aspirations, initiative, the exercise of the will, purposiveness, intentionality and a host of other qualities all of which include far more than the inevitable process of growth and development".

Becoming progresses and unfolds as a totality toward adulthood (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:30). Although it is closely related to development, it is less specific and observable. Becoming is furthermore, not a natural, inevitable process like development, but needs the intervention of an educator, to accompany the child in his "total purposeful involvement toward adulthood". Here it may be seen that becoming touches every aspect of the adolescent's development as a total person.

Becoming could be "restrained" if certain aspects of development were hindered. It is with this
distinction in mind that the becoming of the adolescent with reference to his identity formation, will be examined.

Adolescents who are restrained in their becoming require definition, also.

1.9.3.5 **Adolescents "restrained" in their becoming**

Children who do not carry out their psychic life as they ought to, may be qualified as children restrained in their becoming (Kapp 1991:27). This very general description of the concept "restrained", is added to by Chambers English Dictionary (1992, s.v. "restrained"): "controlled ... forbidden" in other words, held back in some way or subjected to forcible repression by people or circumstances. The inference here is of a hindrance to the expected course of events, in this case the development of the child towards adulthood.

Petrick (OAE 402-B Only study guide 1988:169) concurs that in the case of restraints the deficiency is not in the child himself, and adds that restraints are remediable. In support, Pretorius (1986:212) states that milieu-restrained children are hindered by their milieu and not by their basic ability. The deficiency, by implication, may lurk somewhere else within an adolescent's life-world of relationships, and adolescents with one or more restraints, be it developmental or learning of origin, may be termed "adolescents restrained in their becoming". Being extrinsic to the child, the causal factors can be eliminated or improved through aid (Kapp 1991:27). Evidently, it is inadequate relationships with parents, and particularly with fathers, which often restrain adolescents in their becoming. This factor has far more influence than geographic, physical, cultural or historical factors (Van der Spuy 1992:iv). The above conclusion was based on the discovery that adolescents with some of the latter restraints still managed to actualise their potential because their relationships with their parents were sound.

Pretorius (1986:211-213) paints a clear picture of children who are restrained in their becoming. His comments are summarised below in point form:
Children (or adolescents) restrained in their becoming:

+ experience serious social, cultural and pedagogic restraints, which do not prepare them adequately for the demands of school-life

+ usually come from a low socio-economic and cultural milieu

+ have a degree of inter-personal communication which does not equip them to realise their social and communicative potential

+ come from homes where there is unsatisfactory order, marital conflict, family disruption owing to desertion, divorce, extra-marital affairs or "living together"

+ have fathers who are jobless, idle or unschooled

+ have a bad father-figure with respect to intellectual forming, the acquisition of knowledge and occupational practice

+ are largely dependent on their mothers, who often cannot provide adequate love and care because of work demands

However, there is hope for such adolescents, as the restraining influences are surmountable hindrances to becoming, and may therefore be reversed, or at the least compensated for to some extent. This is why this research is undertaken.

1.10 ORGANISATION OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

The remaining chapters in this research project have been arranged as follows:

Chapter Two discusses identity and its various types and facets at length. Identity is then
compared with related concepts in order to gain as clear a picture of it as possible. Identity formation is firstly approached from the viewpoint of certain early authors, and thereafter placed within the context of Psychology of Education.

Chapter Three contains an exposition of adolescents as total persons in every mode of their existence. Adolescents’ identity formation in all of its aspects is elucidated. Then the relationships of adolescents are analysed with reference to the impact on their identity formation. Special attention will be given to adolescents’ relationships with their parents and teachers. The essences of effective identity formation and the criteria for evaluating these essences are then formulated. Identity formation is looked at as an aspect of adolescents’ becoming, in preparation for discussing the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming.

Chapter Four describes the investigation strategy of the empirical study, the sampling procedure, all of the means and media to be administered and the motivation for their usage. The actual practical procedures to be followed in the research will be disclosed, so that the findings derived therefrom may later be evaluated qualitatively.

Chapter Five formulates the specific findings obtained from the observation conducted, questionnaires used and interviews held. By virtue of a careful grouping of the findings according to the various aspects of identity formation, the nature of restrained adolescents’ identity formation and their needs becomes clear. The role of teachers in fulfilling their identity formation needs is also broached.

Chapter Six summarises and qualitatively evaluates the findings derived from the information related in Chapter Five, and draws general and specific theoretical conclusions as to the role of teachers in the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming.

An addendum contains a strategy for teachers of adolescents, sensitising and advising them on how to enhance the identity formation of adolescents (restrained and non-restrained), in a practical way in their daily teaching.
CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER TWO

IDENTITY AND IDENTITY FORMATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective to be achieved in this chapter is to clarify identity in all of its types and facets, and ultimately identity formation.

In order to obtain clarity on identity, various related concepts also need to be explained and compared with identity. When identity as such has been clearly explained and differentiated from other terms with which it is often confused, the phenomenon of identity formation will be considered.

The contributions of some major early researchers in the field of identity formation, namely Erikson, Marcia and Kohlberg, are traced since these fundamental theories should be taken into account in a well-considered definition of identity formation. Moreover, the findings of these three researchers are of particular relevance in the context of the present study, as will be explained in paragraph 2.3. Thereafter, identity formation is defined from a Psychology of Education perspective.

2.2 IDENTITY

A dictionary definition of identity is firstly given, followed by educational definitions thereof. Thereafter, the various types and facets of identity are explored. Concepts related to identity are defined with the objective of comparing them with and differentiating them from identity.
2.2.1 Definitions of identity

A general definition of identity according to the Chambers English Dictionary (1992, s.v. "identity") is: individuality; personality; who or what a person is". Here it may be seen that identity has not been separated from the term "personality". In this study, for the sake of greater clarity, identity will be considered as an aspect of personality, but not as synonymous with personality.

Most dictionaries share the above definition, with the exception of one or two slight deviations, for example: "the state of being identical; absolute sameness" (The Oxford Pocket Dictionary 1988, s.v. "identity"). The Chambers Etymological English Dictionary (1972, s.v. "identity") traces the term to its French origin identite and Low Latin idem, which both mean "the same". In the present context this is taken to mean that identity is the basic sameness of a person - that quality by which he or she may be recognised as the same person on different occasions and in different roles, but which nevertheless distinguishes him or her from others and makes him or her unique. The word "identity" also derives from a Greek word meaning "face", but was later expanded to connote "mask", as does the Latin term persona, according to Gerdes et al (1988:88). These authors explain that its meaning ultimately was extended to include "role", not solely the role encountered in theatre, but also a role performed in public office as well as in other social situations. The ancient Greeks wore masks to the theatre and occasionally also in public office [for example in a court of law], in order to clearly show the role which was being played. In the same way one's identity refers to the specific role one fulfils in society.

Every facet of being a person demonstrates a unique identity. This implies that the person may have just as many identities as there are facets of the self (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:19). For example, a person may at the same time be a student, mother, tennis player and artist. All of these facets of the self make up the identity of this particular person. Le Roux (1979:8) maintains, however, that the unity of my identity lies therein that I experience myself as a total person on every occasion and not as individual components. Thus, one's identity is not only the main role that one plays in society, but the many roles one assumes to fit the numerous situations one encounters.
When all of the various conceptions of the self are so consistent that a person himself or herself, as well as others, may know him or her, and when all of these conceptions are integrated into a whole, then an identity exists. Then the question "Who am I?" may also be answered (Du Toit & Jacobs 1989:22). Identity may therefore be defined as the meaning oneself and other people attribute to oneself (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:20). Identity diffusion apparently occurs when a person cannot answer the question "Who am I?" adequately. At the root of this uncertainty about identity is inadequate self-knowledge (Du Toit & Jacobs 1989:22).

Identity would seem to be a product of all of the following: our identifications in relationships with other people and with the rest of reality, as well as with the past and our own hierarchy of values. Ganiere and Enright (1989:283) put it this way: Identifications from the past, current feedback from social relations, and one's own priorities combine to make up one's identity. Hence, the knowledge of who one is, is constantly endorsed or repudiated by other people's responses. Identity, according to Laubscher (1993:1) "is the bridge you have to build between self and society!" That is to say, identity is that necessary thing which separates us from others while at the same time connecting us to them.

Vrey (1993:45) amplifies the definition of identity with the idea that a person's identity may be said to be well-established if it is in agreement with how others conceive of it, and if its attributes are stable and continuous over a period of time. Erikson (Gallatin 1975:172) has defined identity as

# a conscious sense of individual uniqueness
# an unconscious striving for continuity of experience
# a solidarity with group ideals and commitments. This definition implies the need for a person to maintain a recognisable identity which is in agreement with the ideals of the community.

Erikson's conception of identity is inter-disciplinary, in that it acknowledges biological endowment, personal experience and cultural milieu, which together give meaning and continuity to one's
Marcia (1980:159) sees identity as a "self-structure.... The better developed the structure is, the more aware individuals appear to be of their own uniqueness .... in making their way in the world. The less developed this structure is, the more confused individuals seem about their own distinctiveness from others ...." Thus, the person with a mature identity is sure of himself as a unique being.

As early as 1890, according to Benson (1974:26), William James called the part of the personality that is the centre of awareness the "I". And the part that appears as the object of awareness he named the "me". The "I" perceives, senses, feels, knows.... The "me", the part that is perceived objectively, is the version of the self presented for public view. This is the social self, the version that is calculated to have some effect upon others." This may be clarified by saying that the "I" represents the identity, the core of the self. This latter part, the "me" then constantly influences the "I", so that identity formation is a dynamic, changing process (Kroger 1989:11).

Warren (1992:94) expounds that the "I" is the "self", and as a component of the intra-psychic structure, it forms an integral part of the identity as subject and product of the "I": The "I" directs the "self" towards identity formation. It is the "I" aspect of the self which will be more closely investigated in this project - that fundamental structure known as "identity".

Finally, apart from the above definitions of what may be termed "positive identity", a "negative identity" may also exist (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:155). A negative identity is an inadequate identity or the opposite of a positive identity as has been defined above. It comes about because of an inability to meet the demands of the family or society.

Gerdes et al (1988:77) differentiate between three types of identity:
2.2.2 Types of identity

These types of identity all have the main characteristics of identity in common.

2.2.2.1 Personal identity

Personal identity refers to the sense of continuity of the self in various situations (Gerdes et al 1988:77). It may be seen how the etymology of "identity" as "the same" concurs with the "sameness" which is demonstrated by personal identity. Breakwell (1987:98) explains personal identity as being independent of social determination. This author suggests that "actions which feel authentic, accountable and responsible originate and define the real self," which is reminiscent of the personal identity. Notice that this latter statement does not equate personal identity with "the real self". The implication is that personal identity is very much akin who we really are, and comes close to defining the real self, but still does not comprise the real self as such.

2.2.2.2 Individual identity

Individual identity is a personal sense of individuality or uniqueness (Gerdes et al 1988:77). According to Ochse (1983:11), individual identity is "an intrapsychic self-representation of one's personal characteristics. On the one hand such a set of self-representations distinguishes one from others and engenders a sense of uniqueness: on the other, it indicates what one has in common with certain other individuals and groups and hence engenders a feeling of sameness and belonging".

2.2.2.3 Public (social) identity

Public identity is the specific role or roles one plays within social situations (Gerdes et al 1988:77). It can also imply the types we exemplify, according to Harré (1993:2). Sociologists
see identity as the outcome of interaction within a certain social context. It is, in fact, dictated by group or category memberships (Breakwell 1987:95 & 98).

A fourth type of identity which may be distinguished is negative identity.

2.2.2.4 Negative identity

The strong need to have an identity, in the absence of positive identity formation, sometimes results in the formation of a negative identity (Kroger 1989:17). Negative identity is linked to the way in which a person experiences his or her identity within relationships. The influence of relationships and the pressures of society to conform, may be so powerful that a negative identity results. The more obvious indications of a negative adolescent identity are failure at school, drug abuse, gang membership or sexual promiscuity (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:155).

There are also various facets of identity.

2.2.3 Facets of identity

All of the various facets of identity combine to form an overall identity. However, only those facets which have a direct bearing on the topic of this thesis will be referred to.

2.2.3.1 Gender identity

An important aspect of identity, according to (Conger 1991:63), is gender identity which is an awareness and acceptance of one's masculinity or femininity. Gender identity is formed early in life by most people. Conflicts about gender identity are likely to create significant problems in the development of a secure overall identity. By the same token, gender identity (also known as "sex-role identity") may become an issue if the boy or girl's definitions of "masculine" and "feminine" are faulty.
2.2.3.2 Physical identity

Physical identity is the knowledge one has of one's physical attributes. It is the understanding one has of oneself as a physical being. It is who one is physically in one's own eyes and in the eyes of others.

Physical identity is such a salient feature of identity, that it vies with psychological criteria in being the main criterion for identity (McCall 1990:138). This author quotes Perry as claiming that the "omission of the body takes away all content from the idea of personal identity". McCall (1990:138) drives home the strong role of physical identity by stating: "it would appear that physical identity is, in fact, the criterion which is used when making judgements concerning personal identity".

2.2.3.3 Moral identity

Moral identity is who one is as a moral entity. It consists of one's convictions of what is right and wrong. These convictions come about as a result of the responses of other people to one's moral behaviour.

Morality has a connection with identity. Individuals who have achieved a strong sense of identity have more mature moral reasoning than those who do not (Cooper & Grotevant 1987:61). Furthermore, Conger (1991:477) cites Kohlberg and Gilligan's finding that two thirds of their morally principled subjects had achieved a strong identity. This links with Erikson's "identity achievement" status (Gerdes et al 1988:289). Moreover, whether people do what they know to be right, depends on the extent to which morality is central to their sense of identity (Conger 1991:500).

Thus, identity would seem to be positively linked to morality to such an extent that adolescents who are morally principled may be said to have a strong "moral identity".
Religious identity

Religious identity is that facet of one's total identity which relates to the spiritual dimension. For Frankl the spiritual dimension is the most important aspect of being human (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen 1988:448). Only as the religious aspect of a person [belief about God or a god] is fulfilled, can a person's identity formation be established (Warren 1992:56).

Erikson asserts (Gallatin 1975:177) that the need to trust in a higher power is almost universal among adults, and hence the cultural institution derived from the stage of trust, is religion. Moreover, the infant's sense of trust is also a precursor of the virtue of faith in adulthood. A confident, secure religious identity is formed by being able to put one's trust or faith in a power higher than oneself.

As cognitive development reaches the level of formal operational thought and moral issues are confronted, so a more critical attitude towards religious beliefs and practices tends to emerge in adolescents. Doubt and disillusionment with a church, the clergy and church members may lead to rejection, the search for another religion (possibly in the form of a cult), or to an intensified search for deeper personal conviction (Gerdes et al 1988:297).

The formation of adolescents' religious identity is strongly influenced by the religious values of their parents. Thus, how parents talk and behave in the presence of their children is crucial to the transmission of religious values. A high level of conflict in the home can lead to less agreement between parents and adolescents on religious values than does a low level of conflict. When parents agree on their religious values, adolescents tend to agree with them, and hence form stable religious identities. Intimacy within the home and an atmosphere of warmth and acceptance can promote agreement between parents and their adolescents on religious values (Barber & Rollins 1990:178-179).
2.2.3.5 Pupil (academic) identity

Pupil or academic identity is that aspect of the total identity which relates to who the individual is as a pupil within an academic context.

If children have some perceptions of success in most of the activities engaged in at school, and if they have received a great deal of approval from teachers, parents and peers, and if they have generally positive relationships with other children, their attitudes towards school should be mainly positive. They then may be said to have a positive pupil or academic identity. On the other hand, if they seldom experience success, they are likely to develop a negative pupil identity (Mathunyane 1992:c).

2.2.4 Synthesis

A synthesis of the above views on identity, based on paragraphs 2.3.1 to 2.2.3, may be made as follows: Identity

- answers the life-long question "Who am I?"

- is a sure knowledge (which may be positive or negative) of oneself

- is as multi-faceted as a person is multi-faceted, but is experienced by the person as a total being (the total person), not as separate facets of the person

- is articulated in social relationships in society

- is linked to the main role as well as subsidiary roles which one plays in one's particular life-world

- is what makes a person unique
- rests on an inner consciousness of one's own uniqueness, which is related to an understanding of oneself, and hence to one's total becoming

- is not temporally bound, which means it remains basically recognisable throughout life, although it is revealed according to the present situation. It may be said to be well-founded if the "I" (identity) agrees with the "me" over a substantial period of time.

- has facets such as the physical facet, which is related to gender identification and sex-role identity, and a moral facet as well as a religious and an academic facet

- is a facet of personality

A regrouping of these essences results in the following definition of "identity":

Identity is the sure knowledge (positive or negative) people have gained of themselves, mainly through others. This enables them to distinguish themselves as unique entities from others. Identity concerns different aspects of the self (see section 2.2.3) in different situations (such as at home or school), but is basically recognisable as the same over time.

At this stage some concepts which are closely related to identity will be studied so that identity may be compared with, and differentiated from these.

2.3 CONCEPTS RELATED TO IDENTITY IN MORE DETAIL

2.3.1 Personality

According to Allport's popular definition (Hurlock 1978:525), personality is "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine the individual's unique adjustments to the environment". The definitions of personality to follow, further enlighten Allport's definition to form a novel, all-encompassing definition of personality.
Childs (1991:239): Personality is "the total organisation of a person's behaviour".

Eysenck (in Childs 1991:239-240): Personality is the "more or less stable and enduring organisation of a person's character, temperament, intellect and physique which determines his unique adjustment to the environment".

Clarke-Stewart and Koch (1983:340): "Personality refers to the unique and consistent way an individual behaves and approaches the world - outgoing, cheerful, determined; quiet, shy, passive; boisterous, greedy, aggressive, blundering".

Raath and Jacobs (1993:74): "Personality is the individual's system of characteristics and behavioural patterns, which is partly inherited, but in which environment also plays an important role".

Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:170): Personality is the "sum of intrinsic traits, characteristics and consistent attitudes that identify an individual as unique". These authors add that personality is a global construct, which refers to the whole person in relation to his or her life-world.

Jersild et al (1978:560) explain that the centre of the personality is the sense of a separate, unique self: "the 'centre' of personality ... consists of all the ideas and attitudes embodied in an individual's awareness of his or her existence as a separate self, distinct from all others".

From the above notes on personality, the following definition may be construed: Personality is evidenced by the observable and characteristic behaviour of an individual. It consists of an integrated and organised combination of traits. Personality is a global concept which refers to the whole person in relation to his or her life-world. The centre of a person's personality is that person's sense of being a unique person. This implies that one person's behavioural adjustments to a certain environment will be totally different to those of another person, because of the unique nature of that person's personality.
Personality is now considered in relation to identity.

**Personality and identity**

Personality is a global construct (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:170), and identity is a facet of the overriding concept of personality. Warren (1992:95) bears out that the concept identity is the "central organization of the personality". Consequently, it may be said that one's identity is a constituent of one's personality, but not the other way round. If the identity is the self especially as known by the self, then personality is "the integrated organisation of all the ... characteristics of an individual, especially as seen by others (Chambers English Dictionary 1992, s.v. "personality").

According to McCall (1990:181) many writers appear to find it problematic that personality may change, and draw the inference that if a personality is changed, the identity of the individual is changed. But if the concept "personality" is properly distinguished from the concept "identity", then it is understood that personality may change while identity basically remains in tact.

McCall (1990:130) drives the point home by asserting that it is quite possible for a person to experience a major change of personality while retaining basically the same identity, for instance in cases of "born-again" or "converted" Christians. Therefore, identity remains fairly consistent, but personality may be quite inconsistent.

To make this point even clearer, personality is inconsistent because of its dynamic nature and the influences of the environment thereon. Personality is what distinguishes a person as unique, but is not as reliable as identity in distinguishing who a person really is over time and in different roles. Identity is the central organisation of personality. Identity appears to be that aspect of the personality which lends it its unique character. (See Figure 2.4: Identity and related terms).
2.3.2 The "self"

The "self" has been described as "the core of man's life, the world in which he lives, as he perceives it" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:8). The self, these authors maintain, includes a person's ideas, attitudes and values, inter alia.

The following aspects of the self may be differentiated:

- The true self: that is the nucleus of the self, or who the person really is
- The self as seen by the self: that self-observable aspect of the self, which is developed by interaction with other people and with the environment
- The self as seen by others: the way a person thinks others experience him or her
- The ideal self: the reflection of what a person would like to be (Jacobs 1986:50).

This division of the self into various observable aspects implies that self is a concept of which a person is conscious. According to McCall (1990:14), the self is those aspects of an individual which constitute self consciousness. This self concerns the ability of individuals to reflect upon, amongst others, their actions, thoughts and intentions. Reflection upon action assumes the existence of a subject who performs the action - and it is this subject which is conceptualised as the self.

The idea of the self being "that part of us of which we are aware", is substantiated by Adams (1980:83).

In addition, the self is "the location of experience, the aspect of an individual which can reflect upon experience, which 'has' those experiences...." (McCall 1990:14). Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:214) support this subjectivity of the self by stating that the self is the
total subjective environment, the distinctive centre of experience and significance, the inner world as opposed to the outer world of people and objects.

The explanation of self as a conscious awareness may be traced to William James (1890), who divided the self into the "I" and "me" dimensions, that is the self as subject and object (see paragraph 2.2). James (Laubscher 1993:19) referred to the "me" as the empirical self, which is based on the observable characteristics of a person, so that a person's self is recognised by his or her characteristic behaviour (Gordon 1975:19).

The self is generally seen from two points of view, namely:

+ **The self as one's attitudes and feelings and perceptions about oneself: what one thinks of oneself.** In this view the self is defined as a doer, a dynamic concept involving thinking, remembering and perceiving.

+ **The self as a group of psychological processes.** These processes influence behaviour and adjustment.

Through the self one expresses personality, for example as extrovert, introvert, shy or loving (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:214).

The self may be defined as that aspect of an individual which performs those actions of which that individual is aware. It is subject and object simultaneously - performer and observer. The self is therefore an entity of which a person is conscious. It presupposes a consciousness of the activities, ideas, attitudes and values of the "I". See Figure 2.4: Identity and related terms.

The self is now considered in its direct relation to identity.
The "self" and identity

Laubscher's (1993:18-19) observation that the terms "identity" and "self" are both "used as labels for that uniqueness which differentiates one individual from the next..." is an example of the overlap of meaning which occurs.

Laubscher (1993:20) throws some light on the overlapping of these two terms. This author agrees with persons such as Horrocks and Jackson, Abend and De Levita, who view the "self" as a global unit which consists of a variety of "selves", to which a person gives attention in turn. Horrocks & Jackson (Laubscher 1993:20) clinch the argument by maintaining that the "self" therefore encompasses the integration of identities.

So, identity is a facet of the self, as is implied by the term "self-identity". To further differentiate between self and identity: whereas the self is the awareness of the "I", identity is the knowledge of the "I". Both self and identity refer to that uniqueness which distinguishes people from each other. It can thus be stated that "self" is the overriding concept, consisting of a number of "selves", or "identities" depicted as below in Figure 2.1: Self in relation to identity. (See also Figure 2.4: Identity and related terms).
Figure 2.1: Self in relation to identity
It may also be added that the self grows within a social framework. Furthermore, our sense of identity is, to an extent, influenced by other people's responses to the roles that (1) we put ourselves in by virtue of the way we behave or (2) that others put us in by virtue of their perceptions of our behaviour (Hamachek 1992:18 & 20).

2.3.3 Self-concept

The dictionary definition of "concept" is "a thing conceived, a general notion : an idea, invention" (Chambers English Dictionary 1992, s.v."concept"). If one pursues the meaning of "notion" one finds that it is, inter alia, "an opinion, especially one not very well-founded: a caprice or whim : a liking or fancy". The expression "self-concept" therefore appears to suggest that a person's concept of himself or herself is not something to be wholly relied upon as a lasting view of that person. This is especially so if the etymology of the word "concept" ("to conceive") is considered: "Conceive" means "to imagine or think", which again hints that a person's self-concept is an opinion in the mind of that person, that it is very subjective. If "concept" is a subjective idea, and "self" is an awareness of one's own ideas and actions, then "self-concept" is an awareness of the self in action; a consciousness of the ideas, attitudes and values of the self. The self-concept could also be seen as a conception and evaluation of the self which the person has. It is the way in which a person understands himself or herself at the time. As will be explained shortly, it changes when feelings about the self change, because it is subjective. However, this does not occur all that readily.

The self-concept is the evaluation of the various self-identities one assumes (Warren 1992:95-96). (Self)-identity is therefore a part of the self-concept, namely that part which is evaluated against the opinions and reactions of others to the self. In addition, identity is also evaluated by the self in relation with reality to help form a total self-concept. Thus, the self-concept comprises certain mutually dependent components. Identity and evaluation of identity are two components which are affected by a third component - action (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:193). Because a certain identity is assumed, for example that of scholar, certain actions will follow (study), and these actions will constantly be evaluated against the responses of others.
Evaluation is an ongoing process. According to Breakwell (1987:96), the self-concept is the result of a process of the self. This process is the reflexivity which comes from the dialectic relationship between the "I" and "me".

The self-concept is evidently not only a process but also a structure, that is "the system of concepts available to the person in attempting to define himself". Warren (1992:30) distinguishes the following components in the structure of the self-concept, all of which are linked to the various aspects of one's identity:

- the physical self-concept
- the personal self-concept
- the family self-concept
- the social self-concept
- self-criticism

See Figure 2.2: The structure of the self-concept, for a schematic representation of the above.
In Hattie's (1992:245) discussion of the self-concept, there is no assumption that people's self-concepts are automatically correct or even that people strive to make them correct. "We can, and almost certainly do, have misconceptions about ourselves, and these misconceptions are part of our self-concepts. We can even know that the conceptions are incorrect (for instance, not supported by reality or others), yet this does not prevent their being part of our self-concept" (Hattie 1992:37).

Hattie's (1992:241) theory of the self-concept has as its basis the cognitive evaluation of feelings. A cognitive evaluation of feelings may sound ambiguous, but the self-concept apparently has a dual nature: The self-concept consists of conceptions of the self, which are cognitive. But from cognitive conceptions, ideas, beliefs, convictions and attitudes, grow feelings about the self. These feelings represent the affective part of the self-concept (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:21). Van den Aardweg and Van den Aardweg (1993:170) differentiate between the cognitive and affective parts of the self by calling them, respectively the "self-concept" and "self-esteem". The latter authors (1988:168) admit, however, that certain writers see self-esteem as an affective component of the self-concept. It can then be understood how the self-concept involves the cognitive evaluation of feelings about the self.

The self-concept is an integrated whole with many facets. Song and Hattie's model of the self-concept (Hattie 1992:84) is reproduced below with modifications by the researcher, displaying various aspects of the self-concept which could form an integrated whole (See Figure 2.3).
Figure 2.3: Song and Hattie's model of the self-concept.

(S-c = self-concept)
Integration occurs to varying extents and at different ages, and for some individuals there may be more important categories of the self-concept, such as sexual self-concept, especially for older adolescents (Hattie 1992:92).

These various self-concepts correspond to one's various identities (for example pupil, eldest brother, athlete), which are subjectively evaluated in relation to other people's responses to one (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:19). This means that what another person feels or thinks about one, influences one less than one's own perception of what the other person thinks or feels (Du Toit & Jacobs 1989:24).

As the identity of a person remains fairly consistent and recognisable throughout life, so the self-concept is also resistant to change and is stable and enduring. Raath & Jacobs (1993:20) disclose that although the self-concept is quite dynamic by nature, it is also rather conservative. These authors cite Lecky in this regard: "any value entering this system [of self-evaluation] which is inconsistent with the individual's valuation of himself, cannot be assimilated; it meets with resistance and is likely, unless a general reorganization occurs, to be rejected...."

Yet Raath and Jacobs (1993:preface) reach the conclusion that the self-concept need not be stagnant. Because it is dynamic it can change. Its dynamic quality creates the possibility that the child who has developed a negative self-concept can be assisted to accept himself or herself and to form a realistic and positive self-concept.

Consequently, a negative self-concept is possible, but can be changed by educational programmes (Hattie 1992:115). However, the natural resistance of the self-concept to change is essential for the stability of the self-concept: "No matter how negative the self may be, who and what he is, is most important to the person, and just about anything is better than no self at all. Thus the self tends to resist change, since having to discard one's conception of self would be tantamount to getting rid of the self with which one has become familiar and comfortable.... [the person with a negative self-concept] is trying to safeguard his picture of himself, his self-concept, the illusions concerning himself which he has built and which give him much trouble" (Raath &
Jacobs 1993:20). It would appear that the self-concept only "gives trouble" when it is unrealistic or negative.

So, the self-concept may be positive or negative, and despite its dynamic nature and constant evaluation thereof based on the responses of respected others, reality and the self, the self-concept is difficult to alter. However, it is not impossible to do so. Alteration may be influenced by significant situations or educational programmes.

Hence the self-concept may be defined as a subjectively evaluated understanding of the various identities by the self in relation to the responses of significant others. Behaviour is directly related to the self-concept, since actions are based on and lead to what one thinks and feels about oneself. The self-concept is thus a concept of the self which includes the actions, attitudes, values and ideas of the self in interaction with the world. Although the self-concept is dynamic and changes when feelings about the self change, it is resistant to change in that those actions which confirm the present self-concept are habitually chosen. Misconceptions of the self are possible because of the subjective nature of the self-concept.

The self-concept is directly related to identity in the following way:

**Self-concept and identity**

The self-concept comprises three major components: identity, action and self-assessment (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:193). Thus, identity is a facet of the self-concept, that facet which has to do with self-knowledge. As Burns (1979:28) puts it, the self-concept includes the self as knower and doer ("I"), as well as the self as known ("me"). The self as knower, within the self-concept represents the identity, whereas the self as known, represents the evaluative component of the self-concept.

The self is composed of various identities in the following way: As the various aspects of the self develop (that is, the physical, personal, family, social, moral self and self-criticism), the
corresponding identities are formed (Jacobs 1981:146; Raath & Jacobs (1993:17 & 23). In the formation of identities it would appear that there will continuously and subconsciously be evaluation, and because the identities cannot be separated from each other, it will actually be the self that is evaluated and thus the self-concept is formed.

Identity is the knowledge a person has of himself or herself, also as a result of the ideas and attitudes of others in that person's various relationships. For example, I am Anne, sixteen years old, said to be beautiful....These attributes are subjectively evaluated in that person's daily life (self-assessment), and the understanding that person has as a result of his or her evaluation, is the self-concept (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:18).

Therefore, whereas identity is mere knowledge of the self, self-concept is the consequence of a person's own understanding, experiencing and personal involvement in relationships. Hence, I know - have experienced - I am this or that. The self-concept is what I believe I really am.

Mathunyane (1992:8) concludes his discussion of the self-concept with a description of self-identity as "the agreement between the person's self-conceptions and the conceptions held of him [or her] by people he [or she] esteems". Once a person has built up a self-concept (self-conceptions having been formed), the messages from others are almost "sifted" according to one's self-understanding. If I know I am pretty, and X says: "Ugly thing", I could ignore the message, accepting that X is probably stupid or jealous.

The differences between self-concept and identity are summed up below:

* the life-long question "what am I?" relates to the self-concept, whereas the equally significant question, "who am I?" relates to the identity;

* whereas the self-concept supplies answers to the questions "what sort of person am I?" and "how well do I compare with the kind of person I would like to be?", the identity furnishes answers to the questions "who am I?" and "what is my particular niche in
2.3.4 Identification

In education the concept "identification" is used in the relation educator-educand, where the educand identifies himself or herself with the educator (Van Rensburg, Landman & Bodenstein 1994:412). The pupil desires those qualities with which he or she identifies to be part of his or her identity. (This desired identity may be equated with the ideal self). Parents usually serve as the first essential models of identification.

Freud originally used the term "identification" in the sense in which it is understood today, that is identification with social models as a facet of identity formation (Anthony & Chiland 1988:36). Strachey (1973:3-4) has it that the superego, during a person's development, receives contributions from later successors and substitutes of the parents, such as teachers and admired social models with whom children identify. The identification of the self in relation to other people and objects is what Vrey (1993:45) refers to as the identification of the "I" versus the "non-I", the "mine" versus the "not mine". It is commonly known that the baby's first word "baba", almost naturally comes to refer to itself, and "mama" and "dada", refer to its parents. This identification of the self as "baba" as a separate entity to "mama" and "dada", is significant in that the child always establishes an identity with reference to other objects and particularly by identifying with people, notably its parents or surrogate parents. "It is while identifying himself with others - not before - that an identity is formed" (Vrey 1993:45).

Erikson (Kroger 1989:15) confirms this understanding with the statement that the first sense of "I" "emerges only through the trustful interplay with a parental figure during infancy," and it is in the experience of a safe relationship that the child comes to know itself as a distinct entity.

Identification thus has a cognitive as well as an affective and a conative element. This is shown by the observation that identification refers to the process by which one is led to think [cognitive], feel [affective] and behave [conative] as though the characteristics of another person ("model")
belonged to oneself (Conger 1991:53).

In identifying with the characteristics of another person, it is possible to over- or under-identify with that model person. This is damaging to the self in that it can lead to a person forming an identity which is a stranger to the self, and which can cause identity confusion. This in turn may result in serious emotional and/or behavioural problems (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:20).

Identification, furthermore, involves experiencing of feelings of "sameness" and involvement in becoming like the other person, as well as attribution of meaning to the self and to reality, that is self-knowledge (Conger 1991:53). If an adolescent identifies with a tennis hero for instance, significance must be attributed in some way. The adolescent might desire to play like a certain tennis player because of the hero's good looks (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:20). Thus, identification with the hero is meaningful because it gives the adolescent hope that his or her own mediocre appearance might change by playing good tennis. The adolescent consequently becomes vigorously involved in achieving this goal and experiences this involvement cognitively, affectively and conatively.

When, for instance, adolescents identify with a good-looking tennis player because they reject their own physical appearance, they also have a problem answering the question, "Who am I?" They cannot, in other words, make an accurate representation of their physical identity. When this occurs, adolescents experience what Erikson calls an identity crisis, which again results in a variety of emotional and/or behavioural problems (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:20).

Because identification is the activity whereby one strives to theoretically eradicate the difference between the existing identity and the ideal identity, a stage will be reached when this discrepancy is removed. Then a specific identity will be established (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:20).

Erikson (1980:122) puts it this way: "Identity formation begins where the usefulness of identification ends". That is, identity develops from the "selective rejection and assimilation of childhood identifications".
Identification may therefore be defined as the process of identifying with, that is relating to, desired characteristics detected in other people who count. Those characteristics which are admired are assumed into one's own identity.

The process of identification forms an integral part of identity formation, which will be discussed in paragraph 2.4.

Identification is related to identity as follows:

Identification and identity

Thus far it has been established that identification is an important facet of identity, because the identifying of the child with role models plays a significant part in identification and identity formation. Because the concepts identification and identity both stem from the same Latin root idem, meaning "the same", it is imputed that identification means "to become the same as" and identity means "to remain the same" (Warren 1992:62).

This means that a child's identification with adult models causes him to gradually become the same as those models, with respect to aspects such as masculinity and femininity, values and morals (Rice 1992:382). Whereas a child "becomes the same as" certain significant others in areas where he or she chooses to become the same (Raath and Jacobs 1993:9), the child's identity basically remains the same, since identity is what makes people what they are as distinct, recognisable individuals.

Whereas identification occurs by adopting admired characteristics of others into the self, identity forms as a result of self-knowledge based on others' reactions to the self. The degree of identification, or becoming like the other person, directly influences identity formation, which is the topic of concern in this discussion. Over- or under-identification with role models can, for instance lead to identity confusion, low self-concept and disintegration of the self (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:25).
The process of identification continues until an identity is formed, which is a life-long experience (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:20). Identification then, runs alongside identity formation as a separate yet essential prerequisite for identity formation. (See Figure 2.4: Identity and related terms).
The concept of identity has now been defined and compared with closely related concepts in order to prevent any confusion.

The central topic of identity formation will now be examined.

2.4 IDENTITY FORMATION

2.4.1 Introduction

Identity formation entails the formation of the identity from babyhood to old age. Although development occurs very rapidly during adolescence, an identity is not necessarily established (that is secure) until later on in life (Vrey 1993:19). Identification with another person is an important requirement for identity formation.

Identity formation begins when the infant can differentiate self from not-self, that is, its self from its environment (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:113).

Apparently the first signs of a developing individual identity, maintain Gerdes et al (1988:186), are when the baby recognises itself in a mirror at about one year of age. Approximately one year later it begins to refer to itself by its name or by pronouns such as "I", "me", and "mine". The initial consciousness of self is accompanied by self-evaluation, for example, "I am strong", and attributive values such as honest/dishonest (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:113).

Freud believed that identity formation starts with the act of identification with influential others, such as parents (the superego effect). It is determined by inherent genetic factors (the id), as well as by a person's reactions to others' responses to him or her (the ego). Whereas for Freud the id represents the influence of heredity, the superego is the influence of what is taken over from other people, those aspects with which children identify, and which are accepted as part of their identity (Anthony & Chiland 1988:246-247; Strachey 1973:3-4).
Identification of the self and later with other people, particularly with parents, is an essential first step in identity formation. The baby's identification of him or herself as opposed to other people and objects, is the beginning of identity formation.

In the pre-school years the child grows to realise that it is male or female and tends to copy or identify with people of the same sex, especially a parent. At this stage the beliefs, attitudes, personal characteristics and values of these significant people are almost unconsciously and unquestioningly incorporated into the identity.

It is usually during adolescence that identity formation reaches a climax, since the youth is then able to reason abstractly. As a result of rapid physical change and sexual feelings, gender identity needs to be redefined. Adolescents recognise themselves as also capable of questioning the attitudes and beliefs they have adopted through identification with others, and form a clear picture of their own unique attributes, values, interests and needs (Gerdes et al 1988:186).

What makes identity formation possible, is the difference between the child's self-identity and ideal-identity, the identity which he or she looks towards. These two types of identity are evidently of special importance in the identification process, since a person constantly strives to abolish the difference between the self-identity and ideal-identity (Warren 1992:62).

The formation of a primary identity is followed by the formation of secondary identities, which are required to fill the various roles in life (Laubscher 1993:39). The process of identity formation therefore of necessity continues throughout life (Vrey 1993:19).

Identity formation is now discussed from the viewpoints of Erikson, Marcia, Kohlberg and Gilligan, who helped shape current thinking on this topic. Thereafter, identity formation will be considered from a Psychology of Education perspective.
2.4.2 Some earlier views on identity formation

The views of Erikson, Marcia, Kohlberg and Gilligan are discussed to the exclusion of other equally valid views on identity formation, because of their relevance to this particular project. Erikson concentrates on adolescents' identity formation; Marcia is interested in identity foreclosure (which appears to be characteristic of adolescents restrained in their becoming); Kohlberg recognises the importance of moral reasoning in identity formation, and Gilligan accentuates female identity formation. Moreover, Erikson's psycho-social model is recognised today as the basis of identity formation (Bester 1990:95). Marcia's identity statuses are still referred to in most discussions of adult intervention in identity formation. Kohlberg's moral educational model is discussed because, from practical experience with adolescents restrained in their becoming, there appears to be a powerful link between moral education and identity formation. This hypothesis is supported by Kohlberg (Kroger 1989:108). Gilligan, moreover, contributes significantly to the formerly ignored subject of female identity formation.

Eric Erikson's psychosocial approach

Erik Erikson was the first psychoanalytic writer to seriously investigate identity formation during adolescence. He saw others as interacting with and regulating the self to provide a context in which the self can find meaning. Erikson also recognised that personality development did not end in adolescence, but continued throughout life (Kroger 1989:11).

Identity formation begins where the usefulness of identification ends. That is, identity develops from the selective rejection and assimilation of childhood identifications. This process is dependent on society's identification of the youngster as a unique individual. While the end of adolescence is the stage of an identity crisis, identity formation is a lifelong development, the roots of which go back to the first recognition of self - to the baby's first exchange of smiles (Erikson 1980:122).

Erikson (1980:125) makes it clear that adolescence marks "the final assembly of all the
converging identity elements at the end of childhood", and despite neurotic symptoms adolescence should not be considered an affliction but as a normative crisis, that is "a normal phase of increased conflict". He also points out that "what under prejudiced scrutiny may appear to be the onset of a neurosis is often but an aggravated crisis which might prove to be self-liquidating and, in fact, contribute to the process of identity formation". Thus, adolescence with all of its conflicts, should be seen as a normal stage of development in all respects, especially in respect of identity development. For, as Erikson (1980:130) takes care to note, late adolescents "must find a certain integration as a relatively conflict-free psychosocial arrangement - or remain defective or conflict-laden".

Erikson's psychosocial stages model

This model consists of eight stages of personal development which correspond with certain essential tasks to be completed during those stages (see Figure 2.5). This discussion mainly deals with Stage 5, which is IDENTITY versus IDENTITY CONFUSION. The various aspects of this stage are indicated horizontally on the chart. Stage 5 will be dealt with in detail, with references made to the other stages only by way of clarifying IDENTITY versus IDENTITY CONFUSION. The diagonal blocks on the chart, running up from the bottom left (TRUST versus MISTRUST; AUTONOMY versus SHAME AND DOUBT; INITIATIVE versus GUILT; INDUSTRY versus INFERIORITY) represent the contributions which the childhood phases (i-iv) make towards adolescent identity formation. The rest of the diagonal blocks (INTIMACY versus ISOLATION; GENERATIVITY versus STAGNATION, and INTEGRITY versus DESPAIR), represent the contributions which the rest of the life phases (v-viii) make towards identity formation (Gallatin 1975:195). See Figure 2.5: Erikson's Epigenetic Chart.
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**Figure 2.5: Erikson's Epigenetic Chart** (Gallatin 1975:195)
Stage five: identity versus identity confusion

The danger of this stage is role confusion, a possibility which is increased if youngsters take unresolved questions about their sexual identity into adolescence. This does not mean that sex-role questions cannot be resolved during this stage, but that the identity crisis may be more harsh and complicated. Generally this is a time for trying on different "identities" to see which one fits best. "Personality shopping" explains many of the dramatic changes in dress, attitudes, moods and language that can be seen in teenagers' behaviour. Trying one's self out, challenging adult authority, and agonising about what to do with one's life are normal and healthy, and are essential before adolescents can work out who they are, what they can do, and how best to do it (Hamachek 1985:40).

However, for Erikson there is more to identity formation than experimentation. Identity formation transcends puberty and includes psychosocial issues. These issues have to do with the interdependency of persons at different stages in their life-cycles (Archer 1989:409). That is, it is in relation to other people at different stages of identity development, that adolescents see aspects of themselves either confirmed or rejected. This approval or disapproval of society powerfully influences adolescents' identity formation. Identity, explains Kroger (1989:27) is experiencing a sense of reality in roles that are approved by society.

The stage of IDENTITY versus ROLE CONFUSION (as Erikson's fifth stage is sometimes referred to) is one of life's crossroads in the transition to adult roles; this stage must incorporate a trustworthy "I" who has developed as an autonomous individual capable of initiating and completing tasks modeled by significant others.

Wright (1982:76) interprets Erikson's identity crisis as a culmination of all that has gone before. That is to say, from each of the four major crises a remnant has been retained that contributes directly to identity formation in adolescence. The first stage has contributed basic TRUST that is now directed towards persons and ideas which can be trusted, as well as trust in oneself. From the second stage AUTONOMY has been achieved, and in adolescence the desire to freely
choose vocation and friends is most important. From the INITIATIVE stage, the adolescent gains
the desire to find imaginative people and tasks. Finally, from the stage of INDUSTRY
meaningful work will be sought, and, if not obtained, then the decision may well be to do no work
rather than work at any task less than meaningful.

Confusion, expounds Erikson (Wright 1982:78), is often due to earlier unresolved conflicts as the
demands of adult life have to be faced. The huge number of choices outside and the doubt
inside combine to create confusion, neurosis, and sometimes even psychosis. On the subject
of confusion Erikson (1980:133) elucidates further: A state of acute identity confusion usually
becomes manifest at a time when the adolescent finds himself or herself exposed to a
combination of experiences which demand the simultaneous commitment to physical intimacy,
to decisive occupational choice, to energetic competition, and to psychosocial self-definition.

Many an adolescent, if faced with continuing identity diffusion, would rather be nobody or
somebody bad, or even dead than be "not-quite-somebody" (Erikson 1980:143). By the same
token they would rather assume a negative identity, however destructive, than struggle to
reintegrate the past identities into the present (Kroger 1989:16-17).

Ochse (1983:29) explains Erikson's views on negative identity as such: The development of a
negative identity may come about when adolescents find that they are unable to meet the
demands of the family and/or society to adopt cultural values, and consequently decide to
embrace everything that is in direct opposition to cultural values rather than try to match adults'
expectations which are incompatible with their natures. Having concluded that they are
unable to achieve the cultural identity that is expected by society, they decide instead to fail completely
to achieve what is expected, rather than merely not succeed.

The struggle for a positive identity, Erikson believes (Wright 1982:56), includes the struggle of
the adolescent to identify himself or herself with a distinctive, social institution or ideology. With
each of his stages, Erikson points to a corresponding ideology. He also indicates an emerging
virtue for each stage. Youth in crisis are looking for an ideology or meaningful set of values in
an attempt to make sense out of life. There can be no identity formation without finding an ideology in which they may invest their fidelity. Furthermore, an acceptable ideology has a power worthy of fidelity, as it gives meaning and structure to life (Wright 1982:80-81).

Thus, Erikson (Kroger 1989:27) suggests fidelity is the essence of identity formation. To become committed to some ideological view is the task of this stage; to find a cause worthy of one's energies and reflecting one's basic values is what constitutes identity.

In contrast with Freud, development for Erikson does not end after adolescence. With a successful resolution to the identity crisis of adolescence, it is only now possible to proceed to the stage of INTIMACY - the meeting of an "I" with an "I". The remaining three acts of the life cycle involve a shift of focus from "I" to "we" (Kroger 1989:27).

By way of conclusion, Bester (1990:95) demonstrates the use of Erikson's theory for the measurement of identity formation in adolescents. His study bears out Erikson's contention that each phase of development contributes to the formation of the following phase and he found that there was indeed a high positive correlation between the phases. Bester (1990:95) detected an exceptionally significant correlation between trust (phase 1) and identity (phase 5). This finding substantiates Erikson's view (1974:180) that the basis for all further personality development is created in the first phase (trust); that during each phase of development an aspect of identity is formed, and that there is therefore a strong mutual connection between all of the phases, especially between phase 1 (trust) and phase 5 (identity).

James Marcia's identity status theory

Marcia has become known for the expansion he has made to Erikson's two "identity states", which reflect alternative ways in which adolescents deal with their identity crisis. Whereas Erikson introduced the idea of identity diffusion and identity achievement, Marcia added a third alternative "status" called identity foreclosure (Gerdes et al 1988:289). His objective was to intervene and assist adolescents in identity formation. Identity foreclosure means that a person...
accepts, without criticism, the definition of himself or herself created by others, and that he or she complies unquestioningly with the expectations of family or society. The identity is thus foreclosed, or prematurely fixed. This may occur when a person

- has been allowed no opportunity to test alternative identities
- has been confined in his or her exploration of roles by strict punishments or rewards
- over-identifies with a model
- has his or her identity defined by others, for example when a young man is forced to follow in his father's footsteps and join the family business, regardless of whether he is suited to this or not (Gerdes et al 1988:291).

Marcia describes a fourth identity status, or method of dealing with the identity issue, namely that of moratorium. According to Marcia (1980:161) "those in moratorium are individuals who are presently struggling with occupational and/or ideological choices; they are in an identity crisis. These persons form a contrast to "identity achievers", who have already experienced this decision-making period and who are pursuing career and ideological goals. The "identity diffused" are those young people who have no definite occupational or ideological direction, regardless of whether they may have experienced a decision-making period or not. These adolescents are relatively easy to assist by simply recommending numerous alternatives. Garrod, Powers & Kilkenny (1992:15) describe the identity diffused as having neither an active involvement in the search for identity roles, nor a commitment to any of these roles. He or she is not questioning alternatives either.

The "foreclosed", however, are those persons in whom Marcia is particularly concerned. They are already committed to occupational or ideological standpoints, but these have been chosen by a parent, rather than by themselves. These individuals show no evidence of crisis and are therefore in the most dangerous position of all, for without an identity crisis, no own identity can be formed. Identity foreclosure, according to Garrod et al (1992:15), is characterised by "commitment without crisis". In the context of this study, foreclosed adolescents would also be of special interest in their relationships with teachers.
Marcia (Kroger 1989:43-44) goes along with Erikson's recommendation that "moratoriums" be allowed a period of experimentation. He advises that "foreclosures" are extremely vulnerable to circumstances demanding adjustment, and that counsellors should recognise the rigidity of this identity status and the security it provides, while gradually trying to provide new identification models and alternatives for choice.

On intervention, Marcia (Archer 1989:409) says the following: "I think the most identifiable point at which to introduce preventative or interventive efforts is in training teachers. Our schools provide the single most significant milieu within which psychosocial development takes place....The psychosocial stages proposed by Erikson involve an interdependency of persons at different stages in their life cycles. If we want teachers to implement programs to promote the psychosocial growth of our children, we must make certain that teachers' own psychosocial development is looked after....Informing teachers seems to me to be both a feasible and productive direction to take in intervening in the identity development of adolescents".

In conclusion, Marcia's theory describes four types of "identity status". "Identity diffused" adolescents are those who have not experienced a crisis, explored alternatives, or made any form of vocational commitments. "Foreclosure status" is typical of adolescents who have made a commitment without exploring alternatives. They are unable to distinguish between their own values and goals and those of their parents. Those in "moratorium status" are exploring alternatives and can be expected to make a decision. "Identity achieved" adolescents have experienced a crisis and a moratorium, have evaluated various alternatives, and have come to conclusions and decisions on their own (Rice 1992:265).

Marcia further recommends that teacher training should include informing teachers about identity status. That would be the first step towards intervention in adolescents' identity formation (Archer 1989:409).
Lawrence Kohlberg's moral educational model

Kohlberg does not address the formation of identity directly, but views the development of moral reasoning as an important aspect of identity. Kohlberg has viewed the development of moral reasoning as a change which occurs in a hierarchical sequence of six stages, and by which moral conflicts are resolved (Kroger 1989:107).

The final level indicates a mature Morality of Self-Accepted Moral Principles. The individuals who have reached this level, have achieved a "morality of democratically accepted laws", in order to gain the respect of an individual or community, or a "morality of individual principles of conduct". The motivation for this highest level of conduct is the avoidance of self-condemnation for lapses (Rice 1992:469).

Since morality, for Kohlberg, is a significant ingredient of identity, the person who has achieved this last hierarchical level of moral development, may also be said to have achieved a mature identity. Kohlberg maintains that identity formation and moral behaviour are strongly related to cognitive development and reflect the increasing internalisation of rules and principles. Kohlberg's twenty-one year longitudinal study shows that conventional reasoning dominates in adolescent moral decision-making. It is therefore possible to induce stage advancement by exposing adolescents to role models, debates and discussions, or climates reflecting a stage of reasoning one step higher than their present stage (Kroger 1989:108).

Kohlberg contends that there is no such thing as a neutral school. On the other hand, he also asserts that the goal of moral education is the stimulation of natural psychological development, to bring individuals to the point of forming their own moral judgements without the need for religion in any major way.

Youth must clarify their own personal values. Unfortunately this approach often leaves the school curriculum open to belief in this world as all there is, and belief in humankind, not God, as the highest form of being (Buetow 1991:x).
The relevance of Kohlberg to the present study is that it is the field of education that has benefitted most from Kohlberg's efforts at applying his theory. While some might argue that the family provides the best target for intervention, Kohlberg and Wasserman (1980:562) found that conditions for moral development within the home and wider community are similar, and that the educational system offers an opportunity equal to that of the family for facilitating moral development (Kroger 1989:104).

Carol Gilligan's theory of female identity formation

Carol Gilligan (1982) has the support of other theorists, among them Miller (1976) and Surrey (1984), that theories of identity formation have thus far been theories of separation and autonomy, rather than connection and relationship. These theorists believe that whereas adolescent boys seem concerned with separation and individuation, adolescent girls form identity more in connection to peers and members of their families. Gilligan (1982), for example, has reservations about Erikson's theory. She points out that Erikson recognised sex differences in identity formation, and discussed how for males identity precedes intimacy, but for females these tasks instead seem to be fused (the woman comes to know herself through relationships with others). The sequencing of Erikson's second, third, fourth and fifth stages, Gilligan suggests, little prepares the individual for the intimacy of the first adult stage (Garrod et al 1992:16).

Gilligan's research on women's concepts of self and morality, reveal discrepancies between females' experience and the prevailing theories of not only Piaget and Erikson, but particularly Kohlberg, whose sample of subjects were all boys, aged ten to sixteen.

After interviewing women about their approach to a real-life moral dilemma (whether or not to terminate a pregnancy), Gilligan proposed that Kohlberg's emphasis on the rights of individuals as separate and autonomous tended to discount women's valuing of relationships. The so-called "Kohlberg-Gilligan debate" has continued since Gilligan identified "a different voice, the "care and responsibility voice", and criticised Kohlberg's theory as biased in favour of the "justice voice". In Kohlberg's image of the post-conventional thinker, willing to risk ostracism in protesting unjust
laws or involving higher principles than convention dictates, we see movement toward autonomy.

In Gilligan's image of the caring choice maker, who balances self-interest with the interests of important others, we see a process of moving through autonomy toward interdependence (Chickering & Reissner 1993:18-21).

Gilligan's alternative perspective on identity formation in adolescence, then, focuses on the individual in context. Development is seen as a process of renegotiating relationships, redefining oneself in relation to individuals and social groups (family, gender) of which one is part (Garrod et al 1992:16).

To conclude this section, Kroger (1989:172) maintains that perhaps the most crucial common denominator in all of the above approaches, is the need they attach to accurate identification of the young person's present stage of identity development (or moral development in the case of Kohlberg), so that effective support and intervention might be planned with a view to facilitate positive change. As Chickering and Reissner (1993:20) put it: "For us, debating whether the differences stem from gender or personality or conditioning seems less important than recognizing that there are differences and creating learning environments responsive to them...."

Identity formation is now discussed in terms of the above-mentioned views.

Identity formation in terms of the aforementioned views

Erikson has emphasised identity formation as a lifelong task, a different aspect of which corresponds with each phase of development. Identity formation reaches a point of crisis during adolescence, and if it is not resolved then, it will demonstrate itself as a sense of general confusion in the life of the adolescent. Identity formation is not a biologically based or psychosexual process, as in Freud's view, but is inter-disciplinary (that is psycho-social) as it acknowledges biological endowment, personal experience as well as cultural milieu, which together give continuity to one's unique existence.
Marcia has brought out the possibility of intervention by teachers in adolescents' identity formation. He has renamed certain of Erikson's stages of identity development "statuses". He has given persons who are in Erikson's identity "diffusion" stage the status of identity "diffused", and those in the stage of identity "achievement", he has given the status of "achievers". Marcia has also identified individuals with identity "foreclosed" status and "moratorium" status, who respectively, have prematurely foreclosed identities or who are struggling with occupational or ideological choices. These adolescents may be assisted towards successful identity "achievement" by teachers.

Kohlberg perceived the significance of moral reasoning in identity formation. He linked enhanced cognitive development of adolescents to the need for appealing to their new-found reasoning abilities to consider moral issues and respond to appropriate role models, such as teachers. He recognised the importance of formal operational thinking in identity formation and stressed the need for teachers to take advantage of this capacity to stimulate moral growth and create a positive moral atmosphere - not to intervene or set fixed rules of right and wrong.

Gilligan is a proponent of the latest view of identity formation (especially regarding females) as a coming to know oneself through relationships; and of progressing through autonomy towards becoming interdependent upon important others.

In keeping with the standpoint of this study, the above views are considered from a Psychology of Education perspective.

2.4.3 Identity formation: a Psychology of Education perspective

Jacobs (Warren 1992:81) places identity formation within a Psychology of Education context, thus: Significance attribution, experience, involvement and self-actualisation together with the foundation of relationship-formation, life-world and educational climate, form the basis on which the intra-psychic structure rests. The intra-psychic structure comprises of the "I", the "self", identity and self-concept. The mutual interchange of these structural components is responsible
for the ultimate behaviour of the individual. See Figure 2.6: Identity formation in the context of Psychology of Education. This figure has been adapted from Warren (1992:81) to fit the context of this study. It shows clearly how integrally linked to one's identity formation are one's lifeworld of relationships, educational climate, significance attribution, experiencing, involvement, and ultimate self-actualisation. Figure 2.6 also indicates the close relationship of identity formation to self and to self-concept within the intra-psychic structure.

Figure 2.6: Identity formation in the context of Psychology of Education
Identity formation will be considered in its direct relation to significance attribution, involvement and experience (Vrey 1993:28-45).

2.4.3.1 Identity formation as significance attribution

In the process of identity formation the attribution of significance is a cognitive act. That is to say, identity formation involves the intellectual attribution of meaning to role models with whom one identifies. If role models are not relevant and meaningful on a cognitive level, identification and consequently, identity formation cannot take place. Erikson (Raath & Jacobs 1993:10) explains that identity formation is a process of continuously judging the relevance of other people as models in comparison to oneself.

Significant people in a child's life, that is those to whom special meaning has been attributed, therefore play an important role in identity formation.

Identity formation grows out of a gradual integration of all identifications (Raath & Jacobs 1993:10 & 11). What is needed, however, is the capacity to synthesise successive identifications into a meaningful, consistent, unique whole (Conger 1991:56). Children's identity formation starts to develop when they begin to form an opinion of themselves. This will largely depend on whether significant people approve of or reject them (Raath & Jacobs 1993:10).

While the identity is being formed, children learn to know themselves as the child of their parents, as pupils, as members of their peer group. Through these different components of identity, their own particular identity is formed. By attributing meaning to the self (as a result of self-knowledge), the child forms an identity.

Identity formation as significance attribution is therefore primarily a cognitive activity, since an individual must cognitively form a concept of his or her identity in order to answer the question "Who am I?". This cognitive component of the identity makes it possible for a person to form a self-concept. The meaning which is attributed will co-determine whether the self-concept will
be positive or negative (Raath & Jacobs 1993:12). The self-concept is the representation one makes of his or her identity or facets of the identity (Jacobs & Vrey 1982:18-19).

Finally, identity formation is to a large extent significance attribution because, as Jacobs and Vrey (1982:20) say, identity formation contributes to the fact that a person attributes significance to himself or herself as a person in an increasingly more meaningful and satisfying way.

2.4.3.2 Identity formation as involvement

One of the components of the self-concept, of which identity is an integral part, is conative action, and action implies involvement. For example, to be an athlete I must train for athletics. Therefore, identity implies action (involvement) and action implies identity. Involvement in what one wants to do and can do is a fact which is essential in establishing one's identity. This action is dependent on the response of others, and leads to subjective standards governing one's evaluation of the self, and which affect one's total self-identity (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:214-215). As an example, a child becomes involved in sports activities (conative action) if he or she does well in these activities, has positive experiences and responses, and attributes personal meaning to these activities. These actions in turn influence his or her identity, since participating in sport makes boys and girls sportsmen and sportswomen. The identity of sportsmen or sportswomen is formed as a result of involvement. Or, as Jacobs and Vrey (1982:18) put it, the formation of identity demands an active involvement of the physical and psychic self.

During involvement in various situations in the classroom or on the sport fields, children become aware of certain aspects of themselves, for example abilities, limitations and needs. These aspects of themselves are further investigated and as children become increasingly more adult, and their skills increase, they learn to accept these aspects relating to themselves as their own. These facets are incorporated and made part of their own identity (Du Toit & Jacobs 1989:22).
2.4.3.3 Identity formation as experiencing

Experience of actually doing something (together with significance attribution and involvement) is an essential factor in establishing one's identity (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:215). By giving meaning to the self, children form an own identity, which they evaluate through their experience of life (Raath & Jacobs 1993:12). As an explanation of how an identity is evaluated through the experiencing of life, Jacobs and Vrey (1982:33) cite the instance of a child who receives many positive responses at school, which are experienced as success. These positive experiences cause the child's self-esteem to increase, which leads to the establishment of anchor-points, on which he or she can later fall back. The child with a high academic self-concept can then rely on these anchor-points when he or she experiences failure of another aspect of the self, such as on the sport field. In this way, the child does not experience himself or herself as a failure, because the identity is evaluated against the self-concept through the various experiences of life.

Thus, if children experience their identity as that of a successful person because of a positive self-concept in one area, this identity of success is evaluated against experiences such as failure on the sport field in a more realistic light. If a positive academic self-concept and hence identity exists, failure to win a race will more likely be interpreted as resulting from too little training, rather than as an indication of physical ineptitude.

As children grow older, interaction with the significant people in their lives becomes increasingly important, and it is the reactions of these people that give them an idea of how they should behave to be accepted and the possible reasons for being rejected. The way in which they experience these relationships helps them in the formation of an identity (Raath & Jacobs 1993:11).
CONCLUSION

The objectives set out at the beginning of this chapter have been achieved, in that identity and identity formation in all of its facets has been illuminated. A differentiation between identity and related concepts has been made, so that identity as such has gained a clearer perspective. Various early and later views of identity formation have been investigated (and integrated, when possible) in an attempt to understand identity formation in the context of both its past and present meanings. Identity formation was then placed within the context of Psychology of Education.

Chapter Three discusses adolescents as becoming adults and total persons with regard to their identity formation. The essences of effective identity formation in adolescents, and the criteria for evaluating these essences, are also formulated. Adolescents' relationships and identity formation are examined in detail, with special reference to the role of teachers in adolescents' identity formation. Thereafter, attention is turned to the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming.
CHAPTER THREE

ADOLESCENTS, THEIR IDENTITY FORMATION AND RELATIONSHIPS

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3.7 Identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming

3.8 Conclusion
3.1 INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to describe adolescents as total persons in various relationships with regard to their identity formation.

Adolescents are "becoming" adults. During adolescence the process of becoming adults speeds up radically. A central part of this changing or becoming towards adulthood, is the formation of a new identity - that of adult as distinct from child, and independent as opposed to dependent. In this chapter, therefore, each aspect of adolescents' total being is discussed with reference to their identity formation in terms of significance attribution, involvement and experiencing.

The identification of adolescents with role models is a significant aspect of their identity formation. Adolescents' identification is influenced by all of their relationships, specifically (and very important to this study), social relationships. In each of these relationships, identification takes place with another person as a total being. The relationships of this other person which he or she has in common with the adolescent, also have an indirect influence on the adolescent's identity formation. In this chapter the relationships of adolescents with adults, parents, self, religion, peers and siblings are all discussed with respect to adolescents' identification and identity formation. Relationships with teachers and their role in adolescents' identity formation receive special attention, by virtue of their central significance to this project. In the case of each type of social relationship, adolescents are dealt with as total persons. It has also been kept in mind that the other persons with whom adolescents maintain relationships are also total beings with relationships of their own. Consequently, a father's physical relationship with his adolescent son, for example, directly influences that son's physical identity formation. That father's physical relationship with his father, wife, mother, self and religion will also indirectly influence the
physical identity formation of his adolescent son.

Then, the topic of identity formation as an aspect of adolescents' becoming is broached, and finally, the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming.

Although adolescents comprise of many facets, they are at all times complete or "total persons", who cannot arbitrarily be segregated into separate dimensions.

3.2 Adolescents as total persons and identity formation

As is mentioned in Chapter One, a holistic view of adolescents will be taken, with each "modality" being carefully taken into account in its relation to adolescents' identity formation. Of paramount concern to adolescents is the physical modality.

3.2.1 Adolescents' physical being and identity formation

Harré (1993:2) informs that the physical aspect of a person's identity, that is one's distinctive bodily appearance, is what makes one uniquely identifiable in the first place. In fact, the physical aspect of identity, as distinct from the psychological aspects, has long been debated as being the more important criterion for identity, according to McCall (1990:138) and Hart (1988:105).

Both physical appearance and physical adequacy are perceived as important dimensions of the self by adolescents (McCall 1990:293). The main reason for this obsession of adolescents with the physical self, is their sudden rapid physical growth (Smart & Smart 1982:510). This demands that the adolescent integrate a new body image into the identity. During the adolescent years, explains Meyer (1976:26), many physical changes occur in children and they become newly aware of their bodies. Then a drastic change in identity formation may occur, as a result of an evaluation of the new physical identity. This evaluation is greatly subjective. It may only be determined over time. It is often obvious to the objective observer that an adolescent's extremely biased concept of self is inaccurate. This could result in a negative physical identity.
However, when physical changes slow down and adolescents become more comfortable with their new physical selves, they incorporate a more realistic evaluation of the physical self, and a positive identity may be formed.

Adolescents' physical being and significance attribution

Adolescents' understanding and evaluation of the physical is influenced by the cognitive understanding of those adults and peers with whom the adolescents associate. For example, if those adults (parents and teachers especially) with whom an adolescent associates daily, perceive that adolescent as having athletic potential, that adolescent is likely to reach that potential. In a similar way, if an adolescent's peers see him or her as naturally strong, that adolescent will begin to accept the sub-identity "strong" into his or her identity, and behave accordingly (Hamachek 1992:31).

Other areas of the physical to which significance is attributed, either positively or negatively, are size, appearance and sexual maturity. By comparing themselves with their peers, adolescents attribute significance more accurately to their own sudden growth spurt (or lack thereof!), acne and puppy fat, and their sexual development.

Apart from the understanding of self which comes about from other people's reactions, from within adolescents themselves comes an understanding of who they are physically. They learn to know themselves and form a physical identity by their own characteristic physical responses.

Both boys and girls are sensitive to, and often critical of, their changing physical selves. However, girls are more likely than boys to be dissatisfied with their body image. That is, girls tend to attribute negative significance to their physical being and thus, at least temporarily, form a negative physical identity. Moreover, girls' outward appearance and inner self-image are more closely linked than those of boys (Mathunyane 1992:20-21).

The rate of maturing evidently also affects physical attribution of meaning. Gordon (1975:296)
noticed that early maturers' physical attribution of meaning is more accepted and integrated than that of their late-maturing peers. Chickering and Reissner (1993:49-50) confirm that the successful formation of identity therefore involves comfort with body and appearance, as well as with gender and sexual orientation.

Adolescents' physical being and involvement

If adolescents are physically successfully involved in life, this will positively influence their identity formation. For example, successful physical involvement in sport helps develop a positive physical identity. Actual physical involvement in the many other activities at school, church and in the community, all contribute towards the physical aspect of adolescents' identity formation, and should therefore be actively encouraged by parents and teachers.

Other areas of physical involvement which influence identity formation, aside from general life involvement, are those of social encounter and competition. At home, school, church and at play there are numerous occasions for social encounter with adults, and for competition with peers. In pitting themselves against adults and peers in athletic competition, adolescents discover the boundaries of their physical identities.

Successful physical involvement with adults and peers, that is to say physical encounters which result in a clearer knowledge of one's potential and limitations, promote positive identity formation. Conversely, unsuccessful involvement such as continual failure in a particular sport, might affect physical identity formation negatively. Inadequate significance attribution leads to a lack of desire to become involved. Consequently, these adolescents are afraid of the world and its physical demands. They become un-involved, detached, lethargic, listless and apathetic (Raath 1985:83-84).
Adolescents' physical being and experiencing

The physical facet of identity is something which is intensely experienced by adolescents because of the unusually brisk physical growth which occurs during this period.

Girls tend to experience more conflict about sexual bodily changes than do boys, partly because female maturity is more obviously sexual than is male maturity, and because girls mature before boys (Smart & Smart 1982:510).

Further areas in which physical experiencing influences identity formation are gender and sex-role identity.

The experiencing of healthy male and female gender role models is essential to the positive physical identity formation of the adolescent (De Klerk 1990:47). Natural physical relationships with mother and father, brothers and sisters, family relatives, peers and teachers are necessary for a secure gender (or sex-role) identity.

Parents who experience their boys and girls positively in terms of their respective masculine and feminine identities and have positive expectations of them, go a long way in helping their adolescent sons and daughters experience their own gender identities adequately. Furthermore, pleasant physical experiences with peers and teachers of both sexes, also stimulate positive identity formation.

3.2.2 Adolescents' affective being and identity formation

Along with swift physical changes, adolescents experience corresponding emotional responses which range from surprise and confusion to frustration and aggression.
Adolescents' affective being and significance attribution

Adolescents seek to attribute significance not only to their own experiences and feelings, but to others' understanding of the latter, as well as to other people's experiences and feelings. The reason adolescents need to find meaning in other people's experiencing, is that they are looking for answers to their own emotional conflicts and mood swings. Adolescents have difficulty attributing meaning to their feelings and tend to be subjective in doing so. They are therefore hoping to find clues in other people's understanding of their feelings which will help them cope with their own often unstable emotional state. Moreover, other people's assessment of adolescents' affective behaviour serves as a valuable reflection of the adolescent's actual affective identity. This assists adolescents to understand and know themselves and attribute significance positively.

Positive significance attribution on an affective level, that is a meaningful understanding of emotions and experiences, contributes to positive identity formation, whereas lack of affective significance attribution may lead to identity confusion, or negative identity formation.

Clarke-Stewart and Koch (1993:394) make the point succinctly that adolescents "must put it all together - the sexual stirrings, the social demands, the new awareness, the fear of being different, the need to be someone unique yet not alien. No wonder they feel disconnected, disorganized". That is to say, adolescents must attribute significance on an affective level to the changes they are experiencing, otherwise confusion is inevitable, and possibly identity diffusion.

Adolescents' affective being and involvement

In a similar way that adolescents' physical involvement in the various activities in their life-world influences their identity formation, so does affective involvement. In other words, affective involvement, or the involvement of emotions on the part of adolescents is just as important as physical involvement in their identity formation. Involvement on an affective level implies total involvement in an activity. In fact, the more deeply one becomes emotionally involved, the more
an experience affects one's total being, and the more likely it is to have a lasting effect on one's identity formation.

Adolescents' affective involvement with people, objects and the world in general is usually more intense than at any other time in their lives, because of the state of hormonal flux in which they find themselves. This means that at times adolescents may feel strongly like being involved in a certain activity, but suddenly lose all interest. Adults therefore often experience adolescents as negative and unaccommodating. Parents and siblings, because they live close to the adolescents in the household, tend to bear the brunt of adolescents' emotional outbursts and demonstrations of temper. Much conflict may occur in the home as a result.

Because of the negative emotional atmosphere in the home, the adolescent may withdraw from parents and siblings, and seek solace and understanding in involvement with peers, or even gangs (De Klerk 1990:49). Close relationships of solidarity may develop with same-sex peers, intimate encounters with opposite-sex peers, or even romantic "crushes" on teachers! In an effort to channel excess emotional energy, adolescents may become intensely emotionally involved with music, religion, sport, films and identify strongly with their heroes (The Argus, June 1990).

The above emotional attachments may be considered healthy and conducive to positive identity formation if they add to the adolescent's self-knowledge. However, if adolescents do not learn to distinguish themselves from their identification models, negative identity formation may occur.

Adolescents' affective being and experiencing

The affective dimension of adolescents relates directly to their emotional experience. Van Wyk (1983:32) states in this regard: "Omdat veranderinge dikwels onsekerheid en dus verhoogde spanning tot gevolg het, openbaar adolessente in die meederheid van gevalle 'n toestand wat as verhoogde emosionaliteit bekend staan".
The "stormy" and "stressful" period of adolescence, as it has controversially become known, is primarily an emotionally charged time. It is a time of identity crisis (Erikson 1968), which is largely an affective experience, since it involves the trauma of passing from childhood to adulthood, and all which that implies. "It is true ... that the adolescent, during the final stage of his [or her] identity formation, is apt to suffer more deeply than he [or she] ever did before (or ever will again) from a diffusion of roles.... (Erikson 1980:130).

Adolescents experience their affective lives through others by identifying emotionally with admired role models. Those peers and adults who make the adolescent feel good about him or herself are those who are chosen to be special confidantes, and sometimes even role models (Rice 1992:132). Adolescent peers display a natural empathy with each others' emotional experiences and reinforce each other affectively. However, it takes an adult with wisdom to understand adolescents' emotional problems. For this reason a sympathetic guidance or subject teacher will be hard pressed to cope with the number of adolescents who want to share their experiences.

Adolescents' experiencing of their own affective lives determines whether they will progress towards positive identity formation or not. If they positively attribute significance to their unpredictable feelings on a cognitive level, their chances of managing these feelings successfully is far better. Moreover, if adolescents are involved in pleasant relationships with accommodating peers and adults, their affective experiencing will be satisfying and promote positive identity formation. Consistent unpleasant experiencing on an affective level, on the other hand, could result in total emotional withdrawal, rejection of a subject (Van Wyk 1991:137), unsavoury friendships and consequently influence identity formation deleteriously.

3.2.3 Adolescents' cognitive being and identity formation

Because adolescents develop the cognitive ability to reason abstractly, they inevitably begin to question the significance of things and the meaning of life in general. Above all, they question who they are within the great scheme of things, which could result in an identity crisis.
The consolidation of cognitive development (Piaget's "formal operational thinking") together with the lessening of the physical and emotional pressures, begin to fade towards late adolescence. The emotionally-based narcissism, vulnerability and frequent sense of shame now come under the control of the cognitive dimension, as meaning begins to take shape (Schave & Schave 1987:118). With meaning comes interest, and interest is an essential component of identity formation (Swanepoel 1990:97).

One of the most important implications of Piaget's view, is that changes in moral judgments in children are related to their cognitive growth (Rice 1992:468). Because of the new cognitive and social capacities, adolescence is a critical time for changes in moral behaviour (Dusek 1987:118) as well as in identity formation (Schave & Schave 1987:118).

Adolescents' cognitive being and significance attribution

The extent to which successful significance attribution on a cognitive level takes place, will directly influence the success of identity formation.

As a consequence of cognitive development, adolescents begin to attribute significance differently to religion and to their religious identity. They define religious identity in internal rather than in external terms during early adolescence. During late adolescence, some of them begin to change from a conventional orientation towards religion (in which case they simply accept the religious beliefs of others), to development of their own religious identities (Mathunyane 1992:51). In this way adolescents' cognitive capacities enhance the personal significance of religion in their lives, which in turn promotes their identity formation.

Another area, besides religion, which is affected by adolescents' cognitive being is the academic dimension. If significance is attributed to subjects such as mathematics, science, music or art, the study of these subjects will influence the identity formation of an adolescent in a particular way (Swanepoel 1990:97). If meaning is found in commercial subjects because of cognitive ability in that realm, the public identity formed by the adolescent will be, for example,
Adolescents attribute meaning to their cognitive being through others in the following way: If parents and teachers correctly understand an adolescent's cognitive being and potential, they could direct such an adolescent into an appropriate field of study. They could also hail such an adolescent's cognitive achievements, and so promote cognitive development.

Adolescents attribute meaning to their own cognitive being by virtue of their success or lack of success in certain subjects. By the end of their second year at high school most adolescents, with the support of their teachers, have recognised where their cognitive strengths and weaknesses lie, owing to extended metacognition (Prinsloo, Vorster & Sibaya 1996:253). If they succeed in doing so, they succeed in attributing significance to their cognitive being, which favourably influences their identity formation. Otherwise, if there is uncertainty as to cognitive significance, identity confusion may arise.

**Adolescents' cognitive being and involvement**

Cognitively, adolescents' aim is to understand themselves and be well-oriented in their life-world; to know their parents and teachers and others with whom they are involved, and consequently to know and understand their particular strengths and weaknesses (Hamachek 1992:310). If these aims are met, wise cognitive decisions and choices can be made, which will influence their identity formation.

A major cognitive choice which faces adolescents is that of vocational direction (Ackermann 1993:288), and it is this choice which will influence identity formation more than any other, since it will affect the whole direction of the adolescent's life (Conger 1991:411).

Adolescence is also the time when adolescents begin intellectually querying the significance of religion, morals and norms. Adolescents' cognitive involvement in vocational choices, religious, moral and normative questions, plays a significant role in their identity formation, because it is
these choices which will result in consistently recognisable, unique identities.

If others such as parents, siblings, peers or teachers manage to capture the interest of an adolescent in a certain cognitive area, for example computers, chess, poetry or drama, significance is attributed by the adolescent and cognitive involvement in one or more of these activities results. This involvement influences the identity formation of the adolescent in a positive direction. Cognitive involvement through others may also be undesirable, such as involvement in the occult, the habitual use of sarcasm or criticism of other people. This type of involvement affects identity formation negatively.

Finally, however, an adolescent's cognitive involvement in any area is his or her own volition, since all individuals have the choice as to who they will become, and whether their identity formation will be positive or negative.

Adolescents' cognitive being and experiencing

Adolescents experience their cognitive lives affectively too. In other words, cognitive activity is always accompanied by feelings. If the correct vocational choice is made, for instance, an emotion of satisfaction will result from this choice. In the same way, the cognitive settling of a difficult religious, moral or normative question will go together with a positive feeling of satisfaction.

Other people often determine whether adolescents' cognitive experiencing will be pleasant or unpleasant. Parents who support their sons and daughters academically, siblings who help each other with homework, peers who compete healthily for class positions, and teachers who urge adolescents towards success, all contribute toward making cognitive experiences satisfying for the adolescent. This is not necessarily coupled with high achievements by adolescents. Adolescents' experiencing of their cognitive being at school should be mostly pleasant if adolescents are to form positive academic identities. Furthermore, adolescents who are forming adequate identities feel confident about their intellectual selves.
3.2.4 Adolescents' normative being and identity formation

The normative facet of adolescents' lives also goes through intense crisis. Indeed, Erikson terms adolescence a "normative crisis" (Guardo 1975:182).

Because of their new ability to think abstractly and logically about normative issues, adolescents begin looking for personal significance in the adult norms with which they are required to comply. Adolescents try to find sense and meaning in the norms and standards set for them by society. Erikson (Wright 1982:80-81) explains that adolescents are looking for an ideology or meaningful set of values in an attempt to make sense out of life. There can, furthermore, be no identity formation without finding an ideology in which they may invest their fidelity. In the same way adolescents need a set of norms which make personal sense, to guide their behaviour and choices. Without this, they will be in a state of constant confusion as to what they should and should not do, and the reasons for behaving in certain ways. Inevitably then, the lack of a set of norms to which personal significance can be attributed, will result in identity confusion for adolescents.

Adolescents' normative being and significance attribution

Admired adults with whom the adolescent associates act as primary normative identification models. The norms which these adults exemplify take on personal significance for the adolescent when they are consistently lived, and appear to work for the adult role model. Adolescents usually begin questioning the norms their parents hold, especially if their parents' behaviour contradicts their normative standards.

Adolescents' drive to develop independent identities and assert their newfound cognitive capacity sometimes results in their rejecting their parents' religious or normative beliefs. However, once various other normative options have been assessed and experimented with by the adolescent, and personal meaning has been established, the parents' normative and religious code is most often embraced once more.
A normative philosophy which has strong personal significance, has a major effect on adolescent identity formation, since the area of normative choice is one of the areas which undergoes intense crisis during adolescence.

**Adolescents' normative being and involvement**

A clear normative code to which meaning has been attributed, results in the confident involvement of adolescents in all facets of their daily lives. Because they have definite boundaries and good reasons for their behaviour, emotional responses and decisions, they need seldom be in doubt as to what to do or how to respond to the demands of others. A solid normative code, moreover, has important ramifications in the effect it has on adolescents' self-esteem and self-concept. Since doing the right thing at the right time and in the right place causes positive feelings of self-worth and security, self-esteem is enhanced and concomitantly, the self-concept is improved. Consequently, because identity is part of the self-concept, a positive self-concept affects identity formation favourably.

Normative involvement touches many areas of adolescents' lives. During examinations an adolescent who holds honesty as a norm, will not cheat; on the sports field he or she will stand up for fair play and have wholesome attitudes towards competition; in social encounters he or she will generally do what is socially acceptable.

Adolescents are normatively involved through others, such as parents who discipline them according to their own standards of right and wrong; teachers who explain the reasons for certain behaviour restrictions in the classroom, or allow adolescents to give their views on such behaviour, and peers who discuss normative and moral issues either in the classroom or among themselves.

Personal involvement in deciding on a normative code is essential. For norms to make sense to an adolescent, they must have personal significance and must work for the adolescent. A set of norms which successfully guides the adolescent's everyday behaviour, will promote identity
If there is no feeling of individual involvement in the choice of norms, there is little chance that artificially imposed standards will facilitate positive identity formation.

**Adolescents' normative being and experiencing**

One of the conflicts which need to be successfully resolved by adolescents if their identity formation is to crystallise, is the experience of normative commitment versus normative confusion. In Erikson's terminology (Gallatin 1975:202), this conflict is about "ideological commitment versus confusion of values". Erikson (Gallatin 1975:202) elucidates this theory of his as follows: In order for adolescents to anchor themselves solidly in their community, and to bring their past and present experiences in line with their future goals, they must experience a feeling of ideological commitment [or commitment to particular norms, within a philosophy of life]. Adolescents must believe that what they have done, what they are doing, and what they plan to do may all be measured against the same yardstick [set of norms or standards]. A personal ideology can help adolescents avoid a confusion of values. In fact, the formulation of an ideology or personal philosophy allows adolescents to resolve all the other conflicts of their identity crisis.

Adolescents experience norms through other people by noticing how these norms affect these other people's lives. If standards such as regularity, neatness, timeliness, deferment of gratification, and responsibility are consistently experienced through parents in the home or through teachers in the classroom, these standards become part of the adolescent's own experience by virtue of the people around him or her insisting upon them. However, only once the adolescent reaches the point where he or she experiences a sense of personal commitment to these norms, will they have any lasting influence on his or her behaviour. Once a particular set of norms becomes a personal ideology and part of a general philosophy of life, it can contribute favourably towards identity formation. If, however, these norms are considered to be anti-social, such as drug-abuse, child prostitution or violent forms of protest, these norms will have a deleterious effect on identity formation.
Adolescents’ conative being and identity formation

The conative involves the will or choice of adolescents and plays a powerful role in their identity formation.

Often adults attempt to make the adolescents' choices for them, on the grounds that they as parents or teachers know better. However, although adult intervention may be important in suggesting various options with their advantages and disadvantages, adolescents' conative choices have to remain their own to essentially be enticing, such as with personal ideals and aspirations.

Adolescents’ conative being and significance attribution

Conative choices must be meaningful and have personal significance attributed to them if they are to contribute positively towards adolescents' identity formation. Adolescents should be able to understand how their choices will affect their future. Then an interest can be taken in the field of choice. For example, the choice of a career ought to be something in which an interest is shown, or for which there is natural aptitude, in order for it to have significance for the adolescent. Even after parents and teachers have done their utmost to guide an adolescent into the ideal choice of career, the final conative choice should result from personal interest, significance and free volitional action on the part of the adolescent, and should be understood by those adults and peers closest to the adolescent. Only then will the adolescent positively attribute significance to the choice, for example a career, and will want to be involved in studying for such a career.

Other areas of adolescents' conative being are choice of philosophy of life, religion, music, clothing, friends, bedroom decoration and even type of pets and hair style! Naturally all choices are strongly influenced by parents and peers, through substantiating their ideas for use by adolescents, but also through understanding adolescents' decisions. But as far as is possible and socially acceptable, adolescents have the right to make their own choices, especially in those
things which do not affect other people and their rights. If adolescents are granted the freedom to make their own decisions, they will develop independence and individuality all the more quickly.

Conative action, to which personal significance is attributed and which is responsibly handled, facilitates positive identity formation. On the other hand, conative actions to which significance is not attributed because they are forced, detract from positive identity formation.

Adolescents' conative being and involvement

The conative implies that once a choice is made by the adolescent to commit him or herself to a certain ideology, involvement of all the other faculties and dimensions results. Erikson (1968:235) calls the "search for something or somebody to be true to", the "search for fidelity". This human virtue or strength called "fidelity", evidently originates during adolescence as a product of the conflicts faced. This virtue will enhance adolescents' sense of individuality and uniqueness (Gallatin 1975:203). Identity formation is consequently stimulated as a result of conative involvement in and fidelity to a particular philosophy of life.

By the same token, commitment to a particular choice of career (conative choice) will involve all of the adolescent's other faculties too - the physical, affective and cognitive. In this way adolescents' personal conative action affects every area of their identity formation - their significance attribution, involvement and experiencing. In other words, a conative action such as the choice to become a music teacher, involves the physical act of practising an instrument every day; the affective experiencing of music's effect on the feelings, and the cognitive act of studying harmony and counterpoint. The study of music becomes more and more meaningful as the adolescent involves himself or herself therein. Pleasant experiences in the music room stimulate even more intentionality to be involved, thereby promoting positive identity formation.

Conative involvement may be encouraged and supported by parents and teachers, and even siblings and peers. However, it is only when an adolescent experiences the joy of total
involvement physically, affectively and cognitively in a chosen activity, that identity formation is favourably advanced.

Furthermore, if the adolescent's conative involvement is in keeping with that adolescent's expectations, then that involvement should have more affective and cognitive significance, and promote positive identity formation.

Adolescents' conative being and experiencing

Conative involvement in a choice is always experienced as either positive or negative. If, for example, a commitment to an ideology corresponds with an adolescent's beliefs and values, then this commitment will be experienced as agreeable, and contribute towards positive identity formation. Otherwise, if an ideological or normative choice is forced, the experience will inevitably be repugnant and will detract from the process of identity formation. The same would apply to career choice which is imposed on the adolescent by either parents or teachers. Successful identity formation is thus dependent on adolescents' ability to make their own choices and decisions confidently.

Adolescents' conative experiencing extends to other areas of their lives. On numerous occasions each day the adolescent experiences what it feels like to make a choice or decision. It could be a simple choice such as whether to take a shower or not, or a more complex decision as to how to plan three hours of study. Whatever the conative action, the adolescent will be either directly or indirectly influenced by the example and behaviour of those around him or her. Parents who are self-disciplined and organised have the power to direct their adolescents' choices by virtue of their own example. They also support their adolescents in their endeavours. Adolescents who are privileged to have such parents are at an advantage because they constantly experience the effects of their parents' positive conative actions. Adolescents thus learn from personal experience how to make effective choices and decisions. Such adolescents' conative experiencing is a pleasant exercise and affects their identity formation positively.
Adolescents, as total persons experience many relationships, all of which affect their identity formation. Those relationships which affect their identity formation most are dealt with below.

3.3 ADOLESCENTS' RELATIONSHIPS AND IDENTITY FORMATION

Adolescents exist within a life-world of relationships, which help to define them as individuals. It is through the reactions of admired other people that they discover their identity, and it is through identification with these admired others that identity formation occurs. The identification of adolescents (also restrained adolescents), is thus concomitant with their relationships and identity formation, and will receive its rightful place in this discussion. Because each of these relationships contributes to their identity formation in a different way, each type of relationship will be discussed separately with regard to its impact on identity formation.

Adolescents as persons are not only capable of entering into relationships, but need relationships to be people! Furthermore, adolescents' existence is co-existence, their presence co-presence, their world a world with others. Their embodied presence in the world together with others indicates an essential aspect of their "being-man-as-adolescent". Their "in-der-Welt-Sein" with others is of very special importance for the becoming and education of their conscience (Müller 1976: 54).

Those who have challenged psycho-social notions of identity have suggested that we should think of defining identity in terms of the individual's relationships in the world, and that we should see the individual as embedded in the social context rather than outside of it (Garrod et al 1992:13).

A crucial aspect of adolescent identity, apart from sexual identity, is his or her relationships with peers and siblings (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:540).

Chickering and Reissner (1993:48) confirm that identity formation depends partly on positive relationships. Although developing autonomy of identity is the goal of adolescence, one cannot
operate in a vacuum. The irony is that the greater the autonomy, the healthier the interdependence with others. For instance, adolescents' relationships with parents are revised as they gain their independence. New relationships, which are based on equality and reciprocity, replace peer bonds. Furthermore, adolescents' relationships broaden to include the community, society and the world.

The "search for identity is best pursued through active involvement with others" (Mattheson 1975:357). The reason for this is that as one develops relationships with other people, one discovers more of oneself. As a sense of one's own identity becomes clearer, one can more completely go out to others. "Just as people gain self-knowledge through practical involvement in their action in general, so they gain self-knowledge through practical involvement in their interaction with others" (Markova 1987:68). Thus involvement with others appears to be important for self-knowledge, and therefore for identity formation.

Self-actualisation, and hence becoming, can only take place when adolescents can move outside themselves (self-transcendence). Self-transcendence cannot occur if adolescents are anxious and unsure of themselves and their relationships with, for example, parents or teachers.

As demonstrated in Figure 2.6 (Identity Formation in Psychology of Education Perspective), relationships are very important to the identity formation of adolescents because, together with life-world and educational atmosphere, relationships form the foundation on which the intra-psychic structure rests, namely the "I", "self", identity and self-concept.

Warren (1992:46) depicts adolescents' formation of relationships with respect to the following essential components of the psychic life, thus: (See Figure 3.1)
Various Identities

Self-concept
(synthesis of identity, that is evaluation of self-knowledge, integration & organisation of identities)

Self-actualisation
(optimal development)

Self-identity

Physical means of becoming

Involvement
Experiencing
Significance attribution

Identity Establishment
(ultimate attribution of meaning to the self)

Self-identity

Figure 3.1: A schematic representation of adolescents' relationship formation (Adapted from Warren 1992:46).
According to the above diagram, adolescents exist in the world by way of their relationships, for example with self, religion, peers and siblings, parents and teachers. On these relationships rest the psychical means of adolescents' becoming, that is their significance attribution, involvement, experiencing, and self-actualisation, which represents adolescents' optimal development. Adequate self-actualisation implies adequate identity formation, and vice versa. The primary facet of identity is the self-identity, which is synonymous with self-knowledge, resulting from evaluation through self-talk. The self-concept, of which identity forms an integral part, may be referred to as the synthesis of identity; the evaluation of self-knowledge, or the integration and organisation of the various identities, (such as the gender and sex-role identity, physical, moral, religious and pupil identities). When the self-concept is realistic, integrated and well-organised, and meaning is ultimately attributed to the self, establishment of identity is the outcome.

Certain relationships of adolescents are now considered separately.

3.3.1 Adolescents' relationship with self and identity formation

A relationship with self includes identifying oneself, knowledge of oneself and the formation of a self-concept. The relationship with self is maintained by a constant comparison of the self with peers and others and one's abilities, in relation to norms. This gives rise to the self-concept and a polarisation effect of self-acceptance or self-rejection (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:193).

The relationship of the adolescent to self is the most important relationship in identity formation, since identity is in essence self-identity, or the identity of the self. If the relationship with self is unrealistic, then by inference the relationship between self and identity is defective. Because self-definition is inaccurate in the first place, identity formation cannot proceed normally. That is to say, if there is not accurate self-definition or knowledge of who the self is (individual identity), then there is insufficient attribution of meaning to the self and hence no firm foundation on which identity may be built.
Erikson (Wright 1982:22-23) emphasised that identity includes one's relationship with the community. Relating to others is therefore not a loss of oneself, but a way of finding more of oneself. Nor should complete finding of oneself precede finding oneself in and through other people. Identity or self-awareness is impossible apart from social response, "for we deal with a process located in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture...." This process is "one of simultaneous reflection and observation". In other words, adolescents judge themselves in relation to how they believe others are judging them, and other people's judgment is affected by their own self-understanding.

Comparison of one's self with others is an important and ongoing process that allows adolescents to check the self they would like to be against the social reality of what they can more realistically expect to be. Adolescents' over-involvement with self may be considered to be a type of egocentrism. The experiencing of uncertain acceptance is characteristic of many adolescents and helps explain why they might create an imaginary audience against which to try themselves out. The egocentrism of adolescents decreases by about age 16, as the imaginary audience is gradually replaced by the reactions of the real audience. The testing of the self against possible reactions to it, helps adolescents not only to attribute meaning to themselves, but to differentiate between their own self-perceptions and the perceptions others have of them (Adams 1980:83-5).

Warren (1992:54) elucidates that polarisation takes place in the relation of adolescents with themselves. By way of involvement with the environment and other people, an evaluation of their own behaviour and reactions takes place. The attribution of meaning to the self manifests itself in movement towards or away from the self. This significance attribution with respect to the self and the positive experiencing of this involvement, has far-reaching effects in the formation of the adolescent's identity.

It may thus be seen that adolescents' relationship with themselves, which necessitates constant evaluation of themselves, is a significant aspect of the formation of realistic identities.
3.3.2 Adolescents' relationship with religion and identity formation

For Erikson (Wright 1982:154), religion is inextricably bound up in the mutual relation of trust between parent and child. Religion is an institution [the social institution linked to Stage 1: trust versus mistrust] (see section 2.4.2), which restores that trust, in part, through meaningful ritual. The religious dimension is first experienced in and through the love and care of the mothering parent. The ritual of "lived basic trust" is evidently institutionalised by society in its religions. This institution provides for those experiences "in which the believer expresses a sense of childlike dependence, and is rewarded by the responding smile of deity".

For Frankl (Warren 1992:54), the spiritual dimension is the most important aspect of being human. Frankl speaks of the spiritual dimension as the "unconscious God", meaning that the spirituality of man is already present from birth, and does not only come about during development. Moreover, humans are only truly human by virtue of the spiritual dimension - that is, spiritual beings attempting to attribute meaning.

Adolescents acquire a real desire to think for themselves, and because religion entails a personal meeting with truth, this desire must rather be encouraged than discouraged (Warren 1992:55). The educator may influence adolescents to become personally involved with their God [or god] because adolescents are the embodiment of spiritual potential, which often does not find expression. Adolescents expect that convictions should agree with behaviour, and what they need is to experience a satisfying faith which will make their lives meaningful. When adolescents' religious relationships are fulfilled, it will contribute towards formation of their identity. They will achieve realistic identification in their religious relationship, which will guarantee their spiritual security (Warren 1992:56).

Therefore, as a being with a spiritual dimension, some form of relationship with a spiritual being is essential for adolescents to form well-balanced identities. That is why the moral dimension of identity formation receives significant attention in this study. Moreover, it is apparent that adolescents' need to attribute significance to life and to experience involvement in a relationship
of trust, is directly addressed by attention to their religious relationship.

3.3.3 Adolescents' relationships with peers and siblings and identity formation

Many of the advantages to be found in friendships with peers, or age-mates, may be found in relationships with siblings, if the latter are good friends at the same time as being brothers or sisters. Thus, these two types of relationships are dealt with in the same section.

Siblings are the child's first peers and interaction with siblings is carried over into the school and the outside world (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:212).

Mathunyane (1992:39) mentions that the peer group refers to adolescents who are about the same age, standard and/or status. Adolescents' peers operate more or less on the same scholastic, physical, psychological and cognitive level.

Adolescents who belong to no cliques or crowds may join a gang. Gang members are usually of the same sex, and their main interest is in compensating for peer rejection, by way of anti-social behaviour. Cliques provide the adolescent with a sense of identity by serving as a basis of comparison or reference group. Through comparison, clique members learn about themselves and evaluate their experiences in school, at home, and in the broader peer group. Adolescents also form judgements about their own abilities by comparing themselves to clique members (Mathunyane 1992: 39-40).

Another way in which cliques serve as reference groups, is in providing the members with an identity in the eyes of other adolescents. Adolescents judge one another on the basis of the company they keep. Peers or siblings often act as role models for adolescents' behaviour. Male peers, especially older ones, may even become important substitute models for boys without fathers. Father-absent girls are also strongly affected by peers during adolescence. Without these essential friendships, girls who lacked meaningful male-female relationships in childhood, may find it more difficult to relate to the opposite sex later on (Rice 1992:125 & 132).
Involvement with peers provides powerful opportunities for the formation of the identity. The crowd offers adolescents a group identity that helps them separate themselves from their families. Because they feel comfortable when identified with the crowd, they can try out a variety of roles. Friendships contribute to the sense of identity, especially close friendships (Smart & Smart 1982:510; Encyclopaedia Britannica 1993, s.v. "adolescence").

Peers have a greater influence on identity formation than anyone else during adolescence (Chickering & Reissner 1993:180). The particular advantage of adolescent friendship is that it offers a climate for growth and self-knowledge that the family is not equipped to offer, and that very few persons can provide for themselves. By explaining themselves - that is their ideas, experiences, plans, hopes, and fears to friends who will not scorn or reject them, adolescents are also attributing meaning to themselves (Conger 1991:292 & 295).

Within a group, adolescents are given a certain status which goes together with feelings of added self-esteem and self-respect. Respect and esteem help adolescents in the formation of a positive pupil identity (Mathunyane 1992:59-60).

Although siblings greatly influence one another's identity formation, adolescents need to find an identity beyond the family. As children grow older, their relationships with siblings become more egalitarian and also more distant. Adolescent siblings still show intimacy, affection and admiration for their brothers and sisters, but they spend less time with them and more with their peers, in an effort to gain greater independence towards forming an own, unique identity (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:553-4).

Recent research emphasises the connection between the quality of sibling relationships and the quality of close peer relationships (Garrod et al 1992:170). Older siblings have a similar function to peers, in that they serve as role models, and meet one another's needs for experiencing affection and meaningful relationships. They sometimes even function as surrogate parents (Rice 1992:114). As such they take on parental responsibilities and contribute to the child's security, belongingness and acceptance (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg
Younger siblings provide opportunities for adolescents to set a mature example and thus form strong identities sooner than would, for example, adolescents with no younger brothers or sisters. If relationships with younger siblings are hostile, anxious and resentful, insecurity and hostility may result. The youngest sibling is often the spoilt one, who is babied and cared for by all, giving adolescents the chance to practice the "parenting" dimension of their identity.

Only children do not have to compete with siblings or for parental recognition. Only children tend to be achievers and have a high self-esteem (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:212), and consequently a firm sense of identity.

Siblings of similar age, and particularly twins, have the unique advantage of sharing everything with each other. This affords them a "ready-made" intimate friendship, as it were, and contributes towards adolescents' ability to express their thoughts and feelings effectively and develop those skills which are needed to maintain close, trusting relationships. As has been pointed out, good relationships have an intimate connection with identity.

It is particularly adolescents restrained in their becoming who depend most on peers or siblings outside school for their self-respect. They rely very little on obtaining approval from adult authority. This is important for teachers of disadvantaged adolescents to note, so that they will not feel slighted when their advice is spurned and their authority ignored (Hansen & Maynard 1973:63).

3.3.4 Adolescents' relationships with parents and identity formation

In some ways parents and adolescents are alike, in that both are experiencing an identity crisis. Rice (1992:114) expounds on this interesting statement of his as follows: Both parents and adolescents are questioning their sexual identities. Both are questioning their roles in life. They are also facing an authority crisis at exactly the same time. While adolescents are pushing for
autonomy and independence, parents resist losing their authority. Both are making a huge emotional readjustment. It is hard for parents to give up the parenting role that they held with their dependent children. Adolescents now have to break the childish emotional dependency on parents and relate to them as adults.

Conflict is more likely to surface between adolescents and their mothers rather than their fathers. This may be because mothers have been more closely involved with their children and find it harder to give up their involvement (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:547).

This problem may be solved if the correct balance is achieved between adolescents' independence from and dependence on their parents. According to a study by Potgieter (1991:235), identity formation may be explained in terms of this tension between autonomy and dependence on parents. The answer to the stress of achieving this fine balance is that adolescents be allowed to go through the process gradually, so that the change is not too dramatic. "When gradual detachment from the parents is allowed to take place, the defenses are transitory, are less intense, and do not have an all-or-none quality. When the change is sudden, the sequence of events assumes more of a defensive and pathological quality rather than that of normal growth" (Guardo 1975:183).

Furthermore, parents who balance loving attention and reasonable standards of behaviour, who use praise to reinforce expected conduct, and encourage independent viewpoints, make an important contribution towards the identity formation of their adolescents (Barber & Rollins 1990:14). An interesting finding of Mathunyane (1992:169) is that there is a significant positive correlation between parental involvement and support in their adolescents' school work and identity formation.

One mark of a satisfactory parent-adolescent relationship is that it increases the quality of adolescents' involvement with authority, their attribution of meaning to authority and their experience of authority (Ferreira 1994:67).
Adolescents who learn to accept authority within the home also accept authority in the community. The family therefore provides adolescents with a foundation upon which to develop satisfactory attitudes towards authority. Furthermore, states Ferreira (1994:68), the "relationship between adolescents and their parents in a family in which both parents are present is better than the relationship between parents and adolescents in a single-parent family. This appears to result in higher conformity to authority in adolescents from families in which both parents are present than in adolescents who come from a single-parent family". Mathunyane (1992:43) also found that adolescents are more likely to establish a strong sense of identity if there is a rewarding relation between adolescents and both parents.

The experiencing of a healthy and supportive relationship with both parents is essential for correct adolescent gender identification with both sexes and hence adequate identity formation. The extent to which adolescents identify with their parents can affect both their interpersonal relationships as well as feelings about themselves. It appears that the more masculine boys are closer to their fathers and masculine boys are more apt to be better adjusted, more contented, and smoother in social functioning than less masculine boys (Adams 1980:92).

Just as a healthy sense of self is encouraged when male adolescents are able to identify with their fathers, so too, is the case for female adolescents' identification with their mothers. A strong, dependable masculine father is able to lay the foundation of trust that will be necessary in his daughter's subsequent adult relationships with men. The same seems to be true of adolescent boys. If they have identified with their fathers, but share mutually warm feelings with their mothers, their relationships to women are more likely to be satisfying (Adams 1980:93).

**Father-absence**

The absence of either parent apparently has serious ramifications in the identity formation of adolescents (Conger 1991:223). An astonishingly large proportion of adolescents lack fathers. In support of this statement, Rice (1992:123) refers to the finding of the U.S. Bureau of Census in 1991, that of all teenagers, black and white, who live in one-parent families, about 91 percent
live with their mothers and therefore lack father-figures. Moreover, the effect of father-absence depends partly on whether boys have male surrogate models, such as an older male sibling, stepfather, grandfather or uncle (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:315). Biller (1974:540) suggests that the effects of paternal deprivation could be softened if more male teachers were available to function as surrogate models. Conger (1991:223) furthermore established that the adolescent is more likely to form a strong sense of identity if both parents provide models of problem-solving behaviour, a confident sense of their own identity, (including gender identity) and a mutually supportive relationship with each other.

In general, boys seem to be more affected by absence of the father than are girls, although father-absence can have important effects on girls' development, particularly adolescent girls (Conger 1991:223). However, a girl's acquisition of feminine behaviour and the skills involved in interacting with males, is gained at least partly from interaction with her father. The single mother has to be psychologically strong, and confident of her feminine identity. If she is warm and caring without being overprotective, she can do much to guide her son's developing identity. She can also promote the development of her son's sexual identity by showing a positive attitude toward the absent father and males in general, and by encouraging his independence (Conger 1991:226; Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:315).

Moral development would also seem to be influenced by father-absence. For example, several researchers have reported that delinquents are more likely to come from father-absent homes, than from father-present homes (Elder 1981:28).

As far as achievement is concerned, one of the more consistently reported effects of father-absence on boys is a deterioration of school performance and intellectual capacity, although these effects may be lessened when mothers assume an instrumental role in the husbands' absence. However, father-absence does not have the same impact on achievement motivation in girls (Elder 1981:28).

An inadequate father-child relationship would also appear to be a major factor in the
development of homosexuality among males. Males who as children have ineffectual or absent fathers and are involved in close, binding mother-son relationships, seem especially prone to develop homosexual behaviour (Hoffman 1981:335).

Mother-absence

Relatively few systematic studies have concentrated on the effects of mother-absence on either girls or boys, although it is likely that more such studies will be conducted in the future as paternal custody becomes more common. One extensive study suggests that girls' sex-typing and overall adjustment are affected more by mother-absence than is the case for boys. Girls in their fathers' custody are rated as less feminine, less independent, and more demanding than those in their mother's custody. A female adolescent whose sex-role behaviour is based on rejection of a non-nurturant mother or on identification with a mother who rejects her basic biological identity, or who is hostile to her own or the opposite sex, will have difficulty establishing a stable sense of identity (Conger 1991:225 & 229). She will thus be restrained in her becoming.

Papalia & Wendkos Olds (1993:315) reveal conflicting reports regarding working mothers, which are open to interpretation. For example, some research suggests that daughters of working mothers tend to be more independent and to have a more positive attitude toward being female than daughters of mothers who are at home (Bronfenbrenner, Alvarez & Henderson, 1984). But other research has found that middle-class boys - but not girls, and not boys in lower income families - do more poorly in school when their mothers work (Gold, Andres & Glorieux, 1979).

3.3.5 Adolescents' relationships with other adults and identity formation

As has been made clear, adolescents tend to withdraw from all adults and seek solace in relationships with peers and siblings who can supposedly identify more adequately with the conflicts they are experiencing. This is a normal response of most adolescents. It would often seem that for adults, adolescence is a more difficult time than for adolescents themselves! This is because of the difficulty adults experience in granting independence to adolescents who have
not as yet proved their ability to handle their independence responsibly. Kroger (1989:78) advises that the normative aspects of adolescent development may be facilitated by adults who, despite adolescents' withdrawal, do not act in retaliation but with understanding of new needs for distance and independence. Respect for adolescents as individuals in their own right with separate identities, rather than as extensions of one's self, are crucial adult attitudes in assisting adolescents' becoming.

The idea of Freud's "superego" is interesting in the context of this section, in that it stresses the significance of identification with influential others such as parents and teachers in the development of the child's conscience, that is the sense of right and wrong. Strachey (1973:62) explains that the superego takes the place of the parents at about the age of five, and observes the ego, gives orders, judges and threatens it with punishment in exactly the same way as the parents do.

"Adolescents will often choose an external source of self-esteem who is as much like their own superego as possible.... We have largely overlooked the importance of coaches, ministers, older siblings, and so on, as transitional objects in adolescent development. Adolescents hunger for firm, definite others against whom they can pit themselves (in emulation or defiance) and evaluate themselves. For adolescents, the worst ego experience is not failure but uncertainty" (Josselson 1980:201).

Adolescents identify with role models to whom they can attribute significance in the context of their own life-world. For example, an adult role model would be of significance to an adolescent if this role model were to demonstrate desirable character traits with which the adolescents may identify, such as responsibility, trustworthiness, consistency and justice. These characteristics, along with others such as brightness, quickness of understanding and control, grant the adolescent a true, balanced perspective of the adult he or she is interested in becoming. These characteristics are then deemed worthy of being assumed into the identity of the adolescent. The adolescent, in other words, attributes significance to these admirable qualities and they contribute favourably towards his or her identity formation.
Adolescents not only need to identify meaningfully with adults, but need to actually be involved in relationships with adults. Involvement in relationships with adults who are caring and can be trusted, makes identification with these adults far more effective. This is so because one cannot identify successfully with someone whom one does not know, trust or respect.

Teachers arguably have an equally important role to play as do parents in adolescents' identity formation. In the section to follow, therefore, the role of teachers in adolescents' identity formation will be studied.

3.3.6 Adolescents' relationships with teachers and identity formation

In society at present, teachers are more often than is realised, called on not only to relate to adolescents with inadequate or non-available fathers and/or mothers, but to function as role models in their place. No matter what one does as a teacher, one will be acting as a model for one's students (Woolfolk 1995:7). Recently recorded statistics concerning parental unavailability have emphasised the importance of teachers' relationships with adolescents. For example, Conger (1991:189) informs that only about one family in four now conforms to the traditional one-marriage, two-parent family, with the father as breadwinner and the mother as homemaker and primary caretaker of the children. In fact, some social critics have argued that the nature and rate of social change have made parents irrelevant as models for their adolescent sons and daughters! (Conger 1991:189). Teachers may therefore well become the most crucial individuals in an adolescent's life (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:529).

Although many people feel adolescence is already too late for teachers to influence adolescents' identity formation in any major way, Skynner and Cleese (1994:93) are optimistic about the potential teachers have for influencing adolescents. "As the adolescent's self is being crystallized, it is also going through a period of revision and refinement. This means that parents, teachers and other professionals who care enough to make a difference, can, through the medium of meaningful relationship, be a significant and positive force in helping adolescents grow in healthy and self-actualizing ways" (Adams 1980:86).
Whether adolescents are aware of it or not, part of their accumulation of knowledge about themselves [identity], is acquired from their teachers. No matter what the standard in which adolescents find themselves, teachers are a powerful source of feedback to adolescents about who they are. An adolescent who is ridiculed at the chalkboard by an insensitive teacher in front of her peers may learn that it's better not to raise her hand, that maybe she's not as clever as her classmates. Or a shy, uncertain adolescent who is appropriately praised in the presence of his classmates may learn that taking a risk now and then, is not so dangerous after all. Depending on the feedback of the teacher then, adolescents learn that they are able or unable, adequate or inadequate, and furthermore achieve a reliable knowledge of their strengths as well as their limitations, thereby enhancing their identity formation (Hamachek 1992:310; Skynner & Cleese 1994:92-93).

For teachers' relationships with adolescents to be conducive to adolescents' identity formation, it should be, in essence, a relationship of authority, mutual knowing and trust.

3.3.6.1 Relationship of authority

According to Van Rensburg et al (1994:511), the chief component of the relationship of authority may be defined as assistance in proper progression towards adulthood. The child or adolescent accepts the teacher's educational authority and the latter assists the adolescent in his or her craving for support. On account of the relationship of authority, the educator has something to say to the adolescent, and the adolescent listens to what the educator has to say. However, the adolescent also has something to say and the educator should take notice of this. In this way the teacher and adolescent are mutually involved within a relation of authority, and the adolescent's identity formation is fostered.

Adolescents resent the teacher posing as "the fount of all knowledge" (Mathunyane 1992:57). They prefer becoming physically involved themselves and being able to manage their own affairs. Adolescents also respond well to a learning context which arouses a feeling of independence and a sense of responsibility for getting the work done. The teacher who truly
understands the relationship of authority, gives pupils greater responsibility for their own learning and allows them to exercise judgement, and make some choices in relation to their learning (Mathunyane 1992:57). As a result of their greater involvement, greater independence and superior identity formation are stimulated.

Moreover, in the relationship of authority, adults give evidence of the fact that they do not only have authority, but also accept the authority of norms in their own life and actions. This means that the adult is a living example of normed exemplification and norm acceptance to the adolescent. The relationship of knowing and the relationship of trust are preconditions for the existence of the relationship of authority.

Teachers are in a commanding position to influence the normative domain of adolescents' identity formation. If teachers exemplify a consistent normative code to which adolescents can attribute significance, normative identification with teachers comes naturally to adolescents. Adolescents need an ideology or meaningful set of values with which to identify, in order to attribute significance to life (Wright 1982:80-81). If teachers actively demonstrate meaningful ideological norms, adolescents invest their fidelity in these norms. By identifying with these norms, adolescents' identity formation is favourably motivated.

Teachers, furthermore, use their authority to influence career choices much more than they realise, and consequently also direct adolescent identity formation. Certain studies have provided evidence of the impact of teachers on pupils' career plans and decisions. For example, women working in male-dominated fields often report that a particular teacher played a decisive role in shaping their career choice (Lockheed 1985:182). Unfortunately, few pupils encounter a teacher who encourages them to consider a wide range of careers. Instead, most teachers reinforce traditional behaviour and occupational plans for both boys and girls, irrespective of where the pupils' interests or talents may lie.
3.3.6.2 Relationship of knowing (understanding)

Being aware of their lack of knowledge and experience, adolescents turn to somebody who can lead them to cognitive certainty and knowledge - somebody who knows and understands them, and somebody whom they know and can attribute meaning to. The attribution of significance in their relationships with teachers, is most important for adolescents' identity formation. Correct meaning should be attributed to themselves in relation to their teachers. Teachers should naturally also attribute accurate meaning to adolescents if the latter are to understand themselves for who they are.

Within the educative relationship, the educator knows the nature of the adolescent's destination. Moreover, adolescents must know what is proper behaviour for adolescents and what the demands of propriety are.

The relationship of understanding comprises more than a mere understanding of each other by educator and educand, it also implies coming to grips with reality. That is why the relationship of knowing is also a reconnaissance relationship, and in this respect the educator assists the adolescent (Van Rensburg et al 1994:511).

By rights male and female adolescents identify cognitively with both male and female teachers. However, it has been found by Fogel and Melson (1988:464-51) that male and female teachers respond to boys and girls differently on a cognitive level. In general, boys receive more criticism and negative attention than girls do, and stereotyped feminine behaviour is rewarded more than traditional masculine behaviour. Observational studies suggest that teachers may respond to boys in terms of their cognitive efforts, and encourage them to try harder when they fail. Girls, on the other hand, have been observed to receive more non-intellectual feedback and more suggestions that lack of ability may be the cause of their academic problems. Such biased treatment by teachers may contribute to differences in academic achievement by boys and girls. These differences become even more noticeable during adolescence, and may have a negative bearing on identity formation.
Teachers may in fact be influenced by stereotypes rather than by pupils' actual behaviour. Consequently, the teacher's expectations may not correspond with the pupils' abilities. A number of studies have shown that teachers are likely to have relatively low expectations for academic achievement by "disadvantaged minority adolescents" (Conger 1991:342; Skynner & Cleese 1994:90). This could include "adolescents restrained in their becoming".

With regard to adolescents, "labelling" is something of which informed teachers are aware, in relation to adolescent identity formation. Labelling means prematurely fixing a specific identity to a specific adolescent, often with disastrous effects to his or her identity formation. Hitchcock & Hughes (1989:155) issue the following warning to teachers of adolescents: Once an adolescent is labelled negatively, the adolescent may be forced into seeking subcultural support from others in similar situations. It is in these subcultures that the so-called "deviant" may gain a positive self-image and identity. Labelling in this sense may have the effect of actually developing the behaviour in question, since the stereotyping of adolescents necessarily only highlights certain aspects, and not the whole of the individual's characteristics.

Marcia (1979:40) reinforces this line of thought with the following assertion: "It is through social willingness not to predetermine roles and to allow youth a moratorium that identity formation can best be facilitated; it is social tolerance for role experimentation without labelling that eventually benefits all concerned".

The "clannishness" of adolescents and their intolerance of others is actually a defense against their own lack of identity. Wise teachers deal with this matter positively by refusing to treat the identities with which adolescents inevitably experiment, as final. The call is thus for adults to see the transitoriness of this stage between childhood and adulthood, especially when a negative identity has been adopted (Wright 1982:83).

Therefore, by attributing positive significance to adolescents, and thereby assisting adolescents to attribute meaning to themselves, teachers encourage positive identity formation in adolescents.
A further factor of which understanding teachers are aware, is the extent to which they make the subject matter they are teaching meaningful to adolescents. One thing pupils hate, in the experience of Skynner and Cleese (1994:91), is being bored. If adolescents can discern no personal significance in the facts they are being taught, they show no interest in the class and subsequently have difficulty in relating well to the teacher.

**3.3.6.3 Relationship of trust**

Adolescents are en route to adulthood and are always engaged in exploring an open world. They have the confidence to venture into the unknown. Within the safe space of the (ped)agogic encounter, adult and adolescent are in a special relationship of trust. In the absence of a loving space for encounter, the adolescent lacks the courage to explore the world and to gradually transform it into a familiar life-world. Trust is therefore a fundamental characteristic of the adolescents' way of being in the world. It is the adolescent's intrinsic need for support that evokes the relationship of trust (Van Rensburg et al 1994:511).

A relationship of mutual trust enhances the affective experiencing, and hence the identity formation of adolescents. Adolescents respond best affectively to teachers who are warm, sensitive, stable and friendly, calm and enthusiastic (Boshoff 1989:40) accessible, authentic, knowledgeable and communicative (Chickering & Reissner 1993:340); genuinely and unselfishly loving, empathetic, unconditionally caring, respecting and sincerely trusting and honest (Du Toit & Jacobs 1989:24). In a pedagogic relationship of authority, understanding and trust, adolescents feel free to identify affectively with their teachers. Adolescents feel accepted by trusting, supportive teachers. Teachers expect more of adolescents whom they know and trust, and entrust them with added responsibilities and independence (Van Rensburg et al 1994:511). Through positive affective identification with teachers, adolescents' identity formation is stimulated.

Teachers not only play a meaningful role in adolescents' identity formation, but also influence their ultimate becoming. The essences of adolescents' becoming must therefore be examined
within the context of their relationships with teachers.

The essences of identity formation which emerge from the discussion thus far, are the following:

3.4 ESSENCES OF EFFECTIVE IDENTITY FORMATION IN ADOLESCENTS

The essences of effective identity formation may be identified by "boiling down" the main facets of adolescent identity formation. The facets dealt with in this thesis may be crystallised as follows:

* the individual adolescent (being a person, a unique entity)

* as a person in totality (physically, affectively, cognitively, normatively, conatively)

* becoming an adult (attributing meaning, being involved, experiencing)

* in situatedness (forming a variety of relationships, for example with self, religion, peers and siblings, parents, teachers).

In the summary below, the above facets are listed, together with some fundamental constituents of each essence:

# As a person in totality

* Physically: - successfully managing physical and sexual maturing process

* Affectively: - coping with emotional demands

* Cognitively: - being cognitively oriented in his/her own life-world
  - understanding physical and emotional stresses experienced
- successfully integrating new body image into identity

* **Normatively:** - possessing strong personal normative and moral convictions
  - being committed to a personal set of norms
  - accommodating norms of society in an own set of norms
  - being oriented in the field of religion

* **Conatively:** - being capable of independent decision-making

* ** Academically:** - experiencing academic success at school
  - experiencing approval of teachers and/or parents

# **Becoming an adult**

* **Attributing meaning:** - finding life meaningful understanding own unique strengths and weaknesses
  - cognitively anticipating becoming an adult

* **Experiencing:** - experiencing an own acceptable life-world
  - experiencing life as pleasant
  - experiencing fulfilment of potential

* **Being involved:** - being involved in school and society

# **In situatedness**

* **Constituting satisfactory relationships with:**
  - self
  - religion
  - peers and siblings
The above facets and related essences of identity formation may be represented as in Figure 3.2:

**Facets of identity formation**, thus:

![Figure 3.2: Facets of identity formation](image)

Based on the essences of effective identity formation, certain criteria for evaluating identity formation in adolescents may be formulated.
The criteria for evaluating effective identity formation in adolescents, which are based on the facets and essences of effective identity formation, are the following:

# The individual adolescent (being a person, a unique entity)

* Does the adolescent sense an inner sameness within himself or herself?
* Does the adolescent accept the past?
* Does the adolescent understand the present?
* Is the adolescent enthusiastic about the future?
* Is the adolescent able to distinguish his/her own characteristics from those of identification models?
* Does the adolescent have a clear image of who he/she is in the public eye?
* Does the adolescent accept the roles which this image entails?
* Does the adolescent sense who it is that he/she wants to be?

# As a person in totality

* Is the adolescent successfully managing the physical and sexual maturing process?
* Is the adolescent coping with emotional demands?
* Is the adolescent cognitively oriented in his/her own life-world?
* Does the adolescent understand the physical and emotional stresses being experienced?
* Is the adolescent successfully integrating the new body image into his/her identity?
* Does the adolescent possess strong personal normative and moral convictions?
* Is the adolescent oriented in the field of religion?
* Is the adolescent committed to a personal set of norms?
* Has the adolescent accommodated the norms of society within an own set of norms?
* Is the adolescent capable of independent decision-making?
* Does the adolescent understand how choices will affect his/her personal future?
Is the adolescent experiencing academic success at school?

Is the adolescent experiencing the approval of teachers and/or parents?

# Becoming an adult

Is the adolescent finding life meaningful?

Does the adolescent understand his/her own unique strengths and weaknesses?

Is the adolescent cognitively anticipating becoming an adult?

Is the adolescent involved in school and society?

Is the adolescent experiencing an own acceptable life-world?

Is the adolescent experiencing life as pleasant?

Is the adolescent experiencing the fulfilment of his/her potential?

# In situatedness

Has the adolescent constituted a satisfactory relationship with self?

Has the adolescent constituted a satisfactory relationship with religion?

Has the adolescent constituted satisfactory relationships with peers?

Has the adolescent constituted satisfactory relationships with siblings?

Has the adolescent constituted satisfactory relationships with parents?

Has the adolescent constituted satisfactory relationships with teachers?

The question at this point is, in which way does the identity formation of adolescents relate to their becoming?

IDENTITY FORMATION AS AN ASPECT OF ADOLESCENTS' BECOMING

"Becoming is an innate human desire to improve oneself, to know what one does not know and to master what one cannot do" (Vrey 1993:43). Maslow refers to becoming as a need to achieve in accordance with one's abilities. He calls this need "self-actualisation". Self-concept formation,
identity formation, and identification play a very important role in that they determine the way which adolescents become (Vrey 1993:43).

In the progress of adolescents towards adulthood, it is apparent how important it is for them to know who they are and where they are going, for these are basic issues with which each individual must come to terms in order to reach maturity.

Although both identity formation and becoming are life-long tasks, adolescence is a time of special consequence when it comes to identity formation and becoming, since it is a season for the latent adult to be released from the developing child. It is a spell of immense growth in every dimension of the becoming adolescent's life. Identification with important role models, such as teachers, is an essential part of the becoming adolescent's identity formation.

Since the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming is one of the points of focus of this study, this topic will receive more attention here.

3.7
IDENTITY FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS RESTRAINED IN THEIR BECOMING

In some adolescents the heightened sense of individuality and the awareness of approaching adulthood are too burdensome. What they perceive as a result of their new consciousness is too unattractive or too confused to form the basis for a secure identity. Whatever the reason - a severely deprived childhood, a history of academic failure, a chaotic family life with little hope of future love or comfort, a crushing lack of opportunity, or a defective set of values - they cannot look forward to becoming adults. "And when the past and present cannot be integrated with the future or when the future promises to be only a dreary extension of the past, some teenagers break down into mental illness and others 'drop out', some seek escape in drugs and others become what they would least like to be, some refuse to make any choices at all and others choose simply not to be" (Gallatin 1975:325).

Adolescents who are restrained in their becoming generally have an unsatisfactory relationship
with either or both parents (Van der Spuy 1992:iv).

When adolescents experience a relationship with an adult positively, that is to say, if they afford pleasure and feelings of acceptance to it, the relationship becomes meaningful, they become involved in it and reach self-actualisation. If, however, they experience the relationship as hostile, this causes them to attribute a significance of caution and unfriendliness, with the result that they will not become totally involved in the relationship, and also do not want to be involved in it.

Adolescents restrained in their becoming experience their relationships with adult figures as unsatisfying. In their quest for virtuous adults with whom to identify, they experience constant disappointment and frustration. Because they do not have a desirable adult role model with whom to identify, the goal of adulthood becomes unattractive also. They begin identifying with undesirable peer groups and subcultures, which leads to a negative self-concept and feelings of inferiority (Pretorius 1986:218).

The result of unpleasant experiencing of identification models has, as its unavoidable consequence, defective identity formation.

In the above description some clues have been given as to why restrained adolescents have difficulty with the formation of healthy identities. In short, they are overwhelmed by the future because of an unhappy and insecure past. They attribute negative significance to, and experience unpleasant feelings about the past, which detrimentally affects their view of the future. They experience no enthusiasm for becoming replicas of the inadequate adult models they have been exposed to in their immediate life-world. So, instead of accepting the challenges of becoming adults or establishing themselves as individuals with unique, strong identities, they withdraw into apathy, depression or experience complete hopelessness.

Erikson (1963, 1968) has observed that adolescents who grow to develop a sense of mistrust, feelings of shame and doubt about themselves, feelings of guilt about their behaviour, and a
sense of inferiority about their abilities [that is, are restrained in their becoming], are exceptionally good candidates for experiencing more than the usual amount of identity confusion during adolescence.

Adolescent A, whose childhood provided a strong foundation of positive social interaction, self-respect and self-confidence, uses adolescence as a time to refine the identity that has already been started. Adolescent B, whose childhood provided little in the way of expectations to live up to or too few adult models to admire, or even too few rules to follow, may be more apt to use adolescence as a time to define an identity, the definition of which should have started long before (Adams 1980:86-87).

Most interestingly, it is adolescents who fit into this latter category, who may be most susceptible to having their self-concepts manipulated and changed [by various counter cultural movements]. They are ripe for someone else's version of who they are (Adams 1980:86-87). That is to say, adolescents who are restrained in their becoming may be extremely open to the influences on their identity formation, which teacher role models present.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The objectives of this chapter have been realised in the following way: Adolescents as total persons in a life-world of relationships have gained a sharper focus; the relationships of the adolescent which are most relevant to their identity formation have been analysed; the identification of adolescents as a significant part of their identity formation has been placed in context; identity formation as an aspect of adolescents' becoming, and particularly of adolescents restrained in their becoming has received attention. Chapter Four examines the investigation strategy of the research project to be undertaken.
CHAPTER FOUR

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the structure of the qualitative research strategy. The particular strategy to be used will be determined by the needs of the research topic, which is "The role of teachers in the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming". Thus, what is needed is primarily to identify adolescents who are restrained in their becoming, and secondarily to discover more about the nature of restrained adolescents' identity formation, and the role of teachers in such adolescents' identity formation.

To meet these research needs, an appropriate research method will be used, that is, a method which moves into the very life-world of the subjects being studied and offers the greatest potential for teacher researchers (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:225 & 226). Therefore, the method chosen for this study is the qualitative research method, which uses the means of questionnaires as the basis for semi-structured interviews, as well as autobiographies, drawings and observation (Burgess 1988:ix; McMillan 1992:220; Salvia & Ysseldyke 1991:518 & Kline 1993:245).

In qualitative research a small number of participants is selected, with the main focus on meaning through verbal responses (McMillan 1992:9-10), although non-verbal responses are also carefully observed. Since the present project is school-based, the qualitative approach has, furthermore, been decided upon to obviate the disruption which a larger research sample would necessitate. Moreover, the qualitative methods of interviews, observation, written documents and drawings create vast potential for understanding adolescents' general characteristics, behaviour and identity formation. Observation on its own is a fruitful method to use within a school situation, because it may be done unobtrusively, either completely objectively or from a participant observer standpoint. The latter approach allows the researcher to actively participate in the activities of the participants, which is what a teacher naturally does on a daily basis.
(McMillan & Schumacher 1993:15; Salvia & Ysseldyke 1991:518). Interviews are used to gather information that cannot be obtained from field observations, and to verify these observations (McMillan 1992:220). These different means of gathering data, that is the integration of data, bolsters the credibility of a qualitative study (Vulliamy, Lewin & Stevens 1990:105); Measor 1988:62; McMillan & Schumacher 1993:498).

As qualitative research involves only a limited number of individuals in the research group, findings cannot merely be generalised. This is why qualitative investigations are basically pilot studies to discover and identify information that could indicate possible trends in a broader context. Qualitative research usually paves the way for further investigations involving a greater research group (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:378).

The specific objectives of this chapter are to discuss the sampling procedure for the research population and the target population; verify the choice and compilation of the means and media for the investigation; present the actual questionnaires to be used, and plot the steps to be taken in administering the research. In this way, the precise design of the research project will become clear. The sampling procedure to be used in the investigation follows first.

4.2 Sampling procedure

A group of 30 adolescents represents the target population, 10 of which will form the pilot study group, and the other 20 of which will comprise the research population, from which four restrained adolescents will be selected to make up the research group, for intensive study.

4.2.1 Target population

The target population consists of a total of 30 European standard nine pupils from Schools A and B, with which the researcher is preferably familiar. Prior knowledge of respondents helps to break through the initial facade of feeding the researcher what they think he or she wants to hear.
A population of 30 has been decided upon, so that the school programme will suffer as little disturbance as possible. As qualitative sampling techniques are not necessarily intended to be representative of a larger population, but require those individuals who will be most informative, the target population is relatively small (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:378). Often qualitative researchers will select individuals that may be typical, balanced by individuals who would be considered atypical with reference to certain variables (McMillan 1992:21). In this investigation the relevant variables are restrained becoming and non-restrained becoming. Therefore, some of the teachers of the target population will be called in to assist the researcher in selecting those adolescents who demonstrate the typical characteristics of adolescents who are restrained in their becoming, and those who do not. Ten pupils will be used exclusively for the pilot studies (five restrained and five non-restrained), and 20 pupils who are restrained will form the research population.

### 4.2.2 Pilot study group

For the pilot studies 10 English-speaking European adolescents from School A (all in standard nine) will be selected. The sample will comprise five girls and five boys, or as close to an equal number of boys and girls as is possible, depending on the number of standard nine pupils in the school. Five of these pupils will be selected with the help of their teachers as being typically restrained in their becoming, and the other five non-restrained.

### 4.2.3 Research population

The research population of 20 is once again chosen with the help of their teachers, as most clearly displaying the behaviour of restrained adolescents. A quota of 20 has been decided upon, since interviews are time-consuming and the findings are highly dependent on the comparatively low number of participants that characterise qualitative research (McMillan 1992:133 & 217). The research population will be selected from two high schools. Attention will be paid to selecting equal numbers of males and females to give both genders a fair chance of inclusion. Ten adolescents from School A plus ten from School B, all in standard nine, and living close to
selected schools will comprise the sample. This sampling process is in line with Hitchcock and Hughes (1989:82), who specify that the research population should come from the same age category and social background.

Senior classes will be used as their analytical and evaluative abilities will enhance their interpretation of the questions asked, and their expected level of language usage will allow for more differentiated comments than will that of junior pupils. Also, the seniors are usually more responsible and thus more likely to take the project seriously and respond appropriately. Standard Tens have been omitted to avoid disruption of their demanding programme. Only English-speaking pupils will be included, obviating the translation of the questionnaires into Afrikaans, and circumventing Afrikaans pupils misunderstanding an English-speaking researcher. Europeans only will be selected, as the inclusion of Blacks, Asians and Coloureds could possibly cause cultural and language complications.

4.2.4 Research group

The research group will be selected by means of "purposeful sampling", by which a few information-rich typical cases are chosen for in-depth study (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:378). The research group will thus consist of four restrained adolescents. Because these adolescents are to be studied in depth, a larger number will not be used to prevent the study from becoming unwieldy and over-generalised. These four adolescents are hereinafter referred to as the "research group", or the "selected", "chosen" or "restrained" adolescents. To select these four adolescents who are restrained in their becoming, the aid of the standard nine teachers will be solicited. As a secondary means of selecting the research group, the research population of 20 pupils will all answer Questionnaire One (Becoming), which is an adapted version of a questionnaire devised by Van der Spuy (1992:66-67). The adaptations entail additional optional questions to lift the questionnaire out of the realms of quantitative research into becoming a quantitative medium. The answers of the research population will be qualitatively assessed using the criteria for adequate becoming (Van der Spuy 1992:46).
The means and media to be used in the research project are discussed below.

4.3 MEANS AND MEDIA FOR INVESTIGATING THE IDENTITY FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS RESTRAINED IN THEIR BECOMING

The following means and media will be used in this investigation:

4.3.1 Questionnaires

In qualitative research, the questionnaires are applied flexibly to enable respondents' true feelings or attitudes to come through. In this project the questionnaires are used as the basis for semi-structured interviews (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:251). If questions structure responses too much, they may lead the respondent into answering in a particular way, thus affecting the accuracy of the survey. By using the qualitative technique of open-ended questions, this project attempts to "qualify through the eyes of insiders, rather than quantify through the eyes of an observer" (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:38).

Questionnaires will be set up for all three relevant groups entailed in the data collection, that is adolescents, parents and teachers. Using this "layering technique" the responses from the various groups may be compared and analysed for consistency and generalisations (Vulliamy et al 1990:129).

4.3.1.1 Questionnaire One (Becoming)

Questionnaire One has been compiled with the objective of identifying adolescents restrained in their becoming. It is based on the essences of becoming (exploring, emancipating, distancing, differentiating, objectificating) and is a refinement of the formulated criteria for evaluating adolescents' becoming (Van der Spuy 1992:46). The criteria are:
Exploring: Does the child, as a total person in his or her situatedness, venture forth into the world with a view to proper orientating? (Questions 1-5).

Emancipating: Is the child physically, emotionally and cognitively free to become a morally independent person in his or her own right? (Questions 6-10).

Distancing: Has the child advanced to an adequately stable affective level from which he or she can view matters abstractly and think logically? (Questions 11-15).

Differentiating: Does the child perceive life in a differentiated way by being involved in sufficiently varied experiences in all levels (physical, cognitive and affective) in different fields and in all his or her relations? (Questions 16-20).

Objectificating: Does the child detach himself or herself adequately from all aspects of self and relationships, in order that he or she might see issues objectively? (Questions 21-25).

To represent a good balance of positive and negative questions, 12 of the ideal responses are "yes", and 13 of them "no". These are the responses that could be anticipated from an adolescent experiencing adequate becoming. The responses which constitute a measure for adequate becoming are the following:

"Yes" answers: Questions 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21 and 23.

"No" answers: Questions 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24 and 25.
**Instructions:**

Set the respondent at ease. Use a tape-recorder to record verbal responses. Allow approximately 30 minutes for the session. All questions in brackets are merely by way of example, to make the questions clear to the respondents, and ensure full, accurate responses.

**QUESTIONS:**

1. **Do you feel confident to go out on your own?** (Negative: Why not?)

2. **Do you like starting a project on your own?** (Such as rearranging your room, creating your own study timetable, garden or club? (Negative: Are you unsure about doing things like this on your own)?

3. **Are you afraid to ask a question in class?** (Positive: Why?).

4. **Do you hesitate to question why something is right or wrong?** (Positive: Why do you feel this way?)

5. **Do you make new friends easily?** (Negative: What is the problem?)

6. **Do your parents make decisions you are supposed to make?** (Such as your choice of friends?)

7. **Do your teachers allow you to give your view of a matter?** (Do they let you to think for yourself enough?)

8. **Would you rather do something yourself than let an adult do it for you?** (Why?/Why not?)

9. **Do you look forward to being independent of your parents one day?** (Is there anything you are looking forward to in particular, or anything of which you are afraid?)

10. **Do you think your parents give you too much freedom?** (Positive: Explain).
11. Do you have difficulty concentrating in class? (Positive: What do you think is the problem?)
12. Do you have enough control over your emotions? (Could you be called "emotional" or "temperamental"?)
13. Are you easily hurt if a friend makes a personal comment about you? (Do you tend to be over-sensitive to what people say about you?)
14. Do you have more difficulty than most saying good-bye to people you have to leave behind? (Positive: Tell me a little more about how you feel when this happens).
15. Do you have difficulty understanding why certain things are unacceptable? (That is, why some things are wrong?)
16. Are there enough interesting things to do at home? (Are you often bored at home? Negative: What do you mean?)
17. Do your parents stop you from doing things which you think you should be allowed to do? (Positive: Which things?)
18. Is school boring? (Positive: Why do you say so?)
19. Do you take part in sport or games? (Positive: Which ones? Negative: At home? Why not?)
20. Are there enough stimulating activities offered at school? (Negative: Which activities should be offered?)
21. Do you see yourself in the same way other people see you? (Negative: Do people misunderstand you? In which way?)
22. Do you feel that things are too much for you? (Do you have difficulty seeing your problems in perspective? Positive: Which things?)
23. Do you accept your physical shortcomings? (In other words, those things about you physically which aren't perfect).
24. When you are really upset or angry, does it take you a long time to calm down and see the matter objectively? (Positive: Longer than most people?)
25. Do you have difficulty accepting school rules? (Do you see them as necessary or unnecessary? Why/why not?)
Questionnaire Two (Identity Formation)

Questionnaire Two aims to investigate the nature of adolescents' identity formation, and is based on the following categories of identity formation, identified in Chapter Two under types and facets of identity (paragraphs 2.2.2 and 2.2.3), and the relationships of adolescents which influence identity formation (paragraph 3.3):

Questions 1-4: Personal identity
Questions 5-6: Individual identity
Questions 7-8: Public identity
Question 9: Positive and negative identity
Question 10: Gender identity
Questions 11-12: Physical identity
Questions 13-15: Affective identity
Questions 16-19: Cognitive identity
Questions 20-24: Normative identity
Questions 25-26: Conative identity
Questions 27-30: Academic identity
Questions 31-33: Significance attribution
Question 34: Involvement
Questions 35-36: Experiencing
Questions 37-38: Relationship with self
Question 39: Relationship with religion
Questions 40-41: Relationships with peers
Question 42: Relationships with siblings
Questions 43-47: Relationships with parents
Questions 48-50: Relationships with teachers

So as to prevent a recognisable pattern, and to indicate possible positive identity formation, 20 of these questions require "yes" answers, 23 of them "no" answers, and 7 of them positive
responses. These responses would be expected of an adolescent with adequate identity formation. The answers which constitute a gauge for adequate identity formation are the following:

"Yes" answers: Questions 2, 5, 8, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 41, 46 and 49.

"No" answers: Questions 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 29, 34, 35, 37, 43, 44, 47 and 50.

Positive answers: Questions 1, 7, 36, 40, 42, 45 and 48.

Instructions:

Set the respondent at ease. Use a tape-recorder to record verbal responses. Allow approximately one hour for the session. The questions in brackets are merely examples of additional questions which may be asked to probe for more detailed responses.

QUESTIONS:

1. How would you describe the person you are? (Would you describe yourself positively or negatively?)

2. Have you always had this understanding of yourself? (Negative: How did you see yourself before?)

3. Do you think this understanding of yourself will change in the future? (Positive: How? Why?)

4. Do you feel negative about your future? (Positive: What do you feel negative about?)
5. Do you regard yourself as being a unique individual? (That is, someone who is a little different from every other person on the earth?) (Negative: Why not?)

6. Do you feel out of place with other people? (Differentiate between groups such as friends and teachers, if necessary. Positive: Why do you think so?)

7. How do you think others see you? (Negative: Why do you say that?)

8. Is their view of you correct? (Negative: In what way is their view inaccurate?)

9. Are you dissatisfied with who you are? (Positive: Why?)

10. Do you feel uncomfortable being a boy/girl? (Positive: How does it feel? Why?)

11. Do you dislike your physical appearance? (Positive: How would you like to be?)

12. Are you a physically active person? (Tell me about the physical activities you take part in. Negative: For what reason?)

13. Do you feel good about yourself as a person? (With your family/friends/teachers? Negative: Why not?)

14. Do you have mood-swings? (Positive: How do you handle these?)

15. Do you tend to put your heart into things you do? (For your parents/teachers? Negative: What is stopping you?)

16. Do you have difficulty understanding the world in which you are living? (Do you feel confused? Positive: What about?)

17. Do you understand the changes that are taking place in your body? (Negative: What don't you understand?)

18. Do your parents help you understand these things? (Negative: Do your teachers? Negative: Who does?)

19. Do you have difficulty accepting the “new physical you”? (Can you fit this image into the picture of who you are? Negative: What is the problem?)
20. Do your parents and teachers neglect to teach you high moral standards? (Positive: Should you be taught to have higher standards of right and wrong?)

21. Do you only believe what you do because of what your parents believe? (Do you have your own religious beliefs? Negative: Do you think it is necessary to have your own beliefs?)

22. Do you feel unsure that what you do is the right thing? (At home/school? Positive: What do you mean?)

23. Do you do what you believe to be right only when your parents/teachers are there? (Positive: Why?)

24. Do adults' standards make sense to you? (Do the things you believe fit in with the things adults believe? Negative: Why not?)

25. Do you struggle to make your own decisions? (Positive: Why do you think so?)

26. Do you understand how the choices you make now will affect you in the future? (For example, career choices. Negative: What don't you understand?)

27. Are you successful academically at school? (Negative: Where do you think the problem lies?)

28. Do you work better at school than at home? (Positive: Explain why).

29. Is your school work criticised by your parents/teachers? (Positive: Explain why).

30. Are you confident of yourself as a pupil? (Negative: Why not?)

31. Do you find your life meaningful? (In other words, is there a purpose to your life? Negative: Why not?)

32. Do you understand yourself? (That is, your strengths and weaknesses. Negative: What don't you understand?)

33. Are you looking forward to becoming an adult? (Negative: Why not?)

34. Do you prefer not to get involved in things? (Positive: Why do you say so?)

35. Do you feel that the life you are living is unacceptable in any way? (Positive: In which
36. Are your experiences mostly pleasant or unpleasant? (Negative: Explain).

37. Is there anyone or anything which is stopping you from fulfilling your potential? (In other words becoming the best person you can become. Positive: Who? What?)

38. Do you accept yourself? (That is, together with your strengths and weaknesses? Negative: What don't you accept?)

39. Is religion important to you? (Negative: Why not? Positive: Do you go to church? Would you consider yourself a committed believer?)

40. How would you describe your relationship with your friends? (Negative: Explain).

41. Do you look up to any of them in particular? (Are they good examples to you?)

42. What is your relationship with your brothers and sisters like? (Negative: Explain).

43. Has either of your parents left home? (Positive: What is the situation at home?)

44. Do you have a stepfather or stepmother? (Positive: What is your relationship with him/her like?)

45. Describe your relationship with your real mother/father.

46. Are your parents good examples to you of what adults should be? (Negative: Why not?)

47. Do you think your parents/guardians are hindering you at all from becoming who you ought to become? (That is, preventing you in any way from becoming the person you should be? Positive: In which way?)

48. What is your relationship with your teachers like? (Negative: Explain why).

49. Do you have a teacher/teachers who have a good influence on you? (Positive: Which one? In which way?)

50. Do they play a stronger role than your parents do in who you will become one day? (What role do they play?)
4.3.1.3 Questionnaire Three (Parents)

Questionnaire Three aims firstly to discover what the nature of the particular adolescent's identity formation is like from the parents' perspective, since their point of view may be more realistic than that of their restrained son or daughter. Because relationships are so integrally connected with identity formation, this questionnaire investigates the relationships of the adolescent which have an important bearing on identity formation (see paragraph 3.3). Because restrained adolescents could have a stepfather/mother or a father's or mother's boyfriend who plays a significant role in their lives, a question has been included about such a relationship. Since it is the chief aim of this project to discover the role of parents and especially teachers in adolescents' identity formation, questions are included with regard to this important matter. Questionnaire Three will be administered before Questionnaire Four (Teachers), so that the researcher can avoid having preconceived opinions about the selected adolescents when interviewing their parents. Questionnaire Three asks the following categories of questions to the parents or guardians of the selected adolescent, in accordance with paragraph 4.3.1.2 (categories of identity formation):

Question 1: Relationship with parents
Question 2: Relationship with self
Question 3: Relationships with peers
Question 4: Relationships with siblings
Question 5: Relationship with stepfather/mother; father's/mother's girlfriend/boyfriend
Question 6: Relationship with religion
Question 7: Relationship with school work
Question 8: Relationships with teachers
Question 9: Role of parents in adolescents' identity formation
Question 10: Role of teachers in adolescents' identity formation

The qualitative analysis of responses to these questions will be based on the fact that all of these questions could be expected to elicit positive responses from an adolescent experiencing adequate identity formation.
Instructions:

Use a tape-recorder and set the respondent/s at ease. Both parents may be interviewed at once. Allow approximately two hours for the whole session, in a relaxed setting of having tea and cake. Note that all questions in brackets are merely to guide the interviewer.

QUESTIONS:

1. Tell me a little about your relationship with your son/daughter. (How would you describe this relationship?)

2. What is your son's/daughter's relationship with himself/herself like? (Do you think he or she is comfortable with himself/herself? ... likes/feels confident about himself/herself?)

3. Discuss your son's/daughter's relationship with his/her friends. (Are the friends a good influence? Do you think your son/daughter looks up to any of his/her friends in particular?)

4. How does your son/daughter relate to his/her brothers and sisters? (Would you describe this as a "normal", "healthy" relationship?)

5. Describe your son's/daughter's relationship with their stepfather/mother or with their father's/mother's boyfriend/girlfriend. (Does your son/daughter regard this adult as a role model?)

6. What is your son's/daughter's attitude towards religion like? (Does he/she go to church regularly?)

7. How does your son/daughter relate to school work? (What is his/her attitude towards school and homework?)
8. Tell me about your son's/daughter's relationship towards teachers. (Is there any particular teacher whom he/she mentions frequently? Do you think this teacher acts as a male-/female role model to your son/daughter?)

9. What do you think your role as parents is in your son's/daughter's identity formation? (In other words, what part do you think you as a parent/parents play in whom he/she will become one day?)

10. What role do you think teachers play in your son's/daughter's identity formation? (That is, what part do they play in who he/she will become one day?)

4.3.1.4 Questionnaire Four (Teachers)

It is recommended that the teachers not be given the questions they will be asked, beforehand, otherwise it will be impossible to gauge their unrehearsed awareness of their role in restrained adolescents' becoming.

The questionnaire for teachers has been compiled with the objective of uncovering information about the selected adolescent's identity formation at school. The viewpoint of the adolescent's teacher is extremely important as to the adolescent's relationships which have a bearing on his/her identity formation and situatedness at school. For this reason, questions on the following relationships are included in this questionnaire: the selected adolescent's relationship to the teacher personally, to school work, self and peers.

With a view to casting light on the primary aim of the teacher's role in adolescents' identity formation, it has also been deemed necessary to ask teachers directly about the significance of this role in general, and then to consider their role in the identity formation of the adolescent under study. In this way valuable input may be gained from those who are integrally involved with shaping adolescents' identity every working day of their lives.
The following structure has been used for Questionnaire Four (in accordance with the essences of identity formation found in paragraph 4.3.1.2):

Question 1: Teacher's personal relationship with selected adolescent
Question 2: Adolescent's relationship to school work
Question 3: Adolescent's relationship with self
Question 4: Adolescent's relationship with peers
Question 5: Role of teachers in adolescents' identity formation

To qualitatively evaluate the answers to these questions, the researcher will keep in mind that positive responses from a teacher regarding the adolescent under discussion imply adequate identity formation. Positive relationships with teachers, school work, self and peers also indicate adequate identity formation. It remains to be seen how adolescents who are restrained in their becoming see the role of teachers in their identity formation.

Instructions:

Responses could be taped or accurately noted on paper. Approximately 30 minutes are adequate. Questions in brackets are examples of additional questions which may be asked.

QUESTIONS:

1. What is your personal relationship with _________ like? (How do you get on with _________ on a personal level?)

2. How does _________ relate to school work? (What is _________'s attitude to school work?)
3. Describe ________ 's relationship with himself/herself. (Do you think ________ likes himself/herself? Feels comfortable with/ confident about himself/herself?)

4. Discuss ________ 's relationship with peers. (How does he/she behave towards classmates?)

5. What role do you think teachers play in the identity formation of adolescents? (What part do you as a teacher play in who ________ will become one day?)

4.3.1.5 Questionnaire Five (Adolescents and Parents)

Questionnaire Five seeks to find out how the restrained adolescent behaves in relation to his or her parents in a group situation. The additional "key informants" to be interviewed do not represent the group, and should be selected after the researcher has become familiar with the home situation, to increase the probability that they will provide needed information truthfully (McMillan 1992:220). Each question will first be posed to the adolescent and then to the parents and any other key informants, and discussion encouraged on each question. In this way the researcher will be able to personally observe the adolescent’s relationships with parents and significant others from an objective perspective. Furthermore, because it is a secondary objective of this study to highlight the identity formation needs of restrained adolescents, it has been considered useful to use this questionnaire to this end. The first question pinpoints the identity formation problems of adolescents in general. Because respondents tend to answer questions from their own frame of reference, such a general question could elicit useful suggestions as to the identity formation problems which the selected adolescent might be experiencing in relationships, and thereby serve as a gauge to his or her identity formation needs. Leedy (1993:144) also recommends that questions should be addressed to general problems and ideas rather than to personal matters. Thereafter, the questions narrow down to the specific identity formation problems of the adolescent in all of his or her relationships. With the guidance of the researcher, these problems are then summarised to ensure that the researcher has understood and recorded them accurately. Since the investigation also aims to find out the role
of parents and, specifically teachers in meeting identity formation needs, questions have been included with this objective in mind.

Questionnaire Five may be administered after a planned excursion, so as to grant the participants and researcher a little breathing space. Too many interviews following on one another may become too intensive, and have a deleterious effect on objectivity.

The following scheme has been used for the compilation of Questionnaire Five:

- Question 1: The main problem adolescents experience in the formation of an identity
- Question 2: Problem areas in selected adolescents' relationships with self; peers; siblings; religion; parents; teachers
- Question 3: Summary of above problems/needs
- Question 4: Extent to which needs are met by parents
- Question 5: Extent to which needs are met by teachers

The key to qualitative analysis of the answers to Questionnaire Five is that the responses of adolescents who are experiencing adequate identity formation and those of their parents, will reveal the positive nature of the relationship between the adolescent and his/her parents. The problems and needs of the adolescent experiencing adequate identity formation are normally few and natural, and are satisfactorily met by parents and teachers alike.

Instructions:

First ask each question to the chosen adolescent (a). Thereafter the parents and any others present are asked how they feel about the adolescent's response and what their personal reaction is to the specific question (b). An hour, or if possible two, should be made available. A tape-recorder is optional, but preferable. Additional questions in brackets serve as guidelines only.
QUESTIONS:

1. (a) What do you think is the main problem adolescents have in forming their identity? (What is the main difficulty of adolescents in finding out who they are?) (b) Same as above.

2. Let's look at any problem areas we can identify in (a) your main relationships; (b) your son's/daughter's main relationships ..... (What is the relationship like with self; siblings; peers; religion; parents; teachers?)

3. Let's sum up the problems we have identified in (a) your relationships; (b) your son's/daughter's relationships.

4. (a) To what extent do you think your parents are solving your problems/meeting your needs? (b) To what extent do you think you as parents are solving your son's/daughter's problems? (Do you feel you are meeting all of his/her needs?).

5. (a) Do you think these needs are being met at all by your teachers? (Positive: In which way?); (b) Do you think these needs are being met at all by your son's/daughter's teachers? (Positive: In which way?)

The second qualitative medium to be used in the investigation is the interview.

4.3.2 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, based on the above questionnaires, will be conducted. Within qualitative research, the semi-structured interview firstly allows greater scope to ask questions out of sequence. Secondly, it allows a better and freer flow of information between interviewer and interviewee. One can move backwards and forwards, clarifying points, going over earlier points and raising new questions which arise spontaneously. Thirdly, the semi-structured
interview allows for a warm, empathetic, safe atmosphere for subjective and often very personal information to be related (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:86 & 87).

Interviews in qualitative research moreover afford an opportunity for direct observation of a somewhat limited sample of behaviour manifested during the interview. For example, the individual's speech, language usage, poise, and manner of meeting a stranger can be noted (Anastasi 1988:644-645; McMillan 1992:133).

Semi-structured interviews, which are the most popular type in educational research, and which have become characteristic of qualitative research, depend for their success on the relationship that is developed between interviewer and interviewee, and need well-developed inter-personal skills (McMillan 1992:133). In qualitative research the aim is to "get inside" the perspectives of the respondents, and elicit their feelings about a matter. Questions are therefore asked in such a manner that they lead to the interviewee doing the majority of the talking (Vulliamy 1990:129). As the interviewer clarifies questions and follows up leads by probing, fuller and more accurate responses can be obtained (McMillan & Schumacher 1993: 251; McMillan 1992:133). Furthermore, the interviewer should attempt to put himself or herself in the place of the addressee, and always use a courteous tone (Leedy 1993:143).

The analysis of the various responses will be based on the criteria for evaluating adequate identity formation, formulated in Chapter Three, paragraph five.

Various interviews (individual and group) will be conducted with the pilot study group, research population, research group and their parents and teachers.
4.3.2.1 Interviews with selected adolescents

(a) Individual interviews with adolescents

Four individual interviews with adolescents will be held in total.

The first interview is semi-structured and will involve the ten individual members of the pilot study group. These adolescents will all answer Questionnaire Two (Identity Formation), in order to test this questionnaire's face validity as a qualitative medium. The researcher will be aware of type and amount of motivation needed, time taken, respondents' attitudes towards the researcher, questionnaire, specific questions, and the effectiveness of the questionnaire in general. The researcher will take care not to suggest responses to the adolescents with the additional questions asked. The responses of the adolescent will, however be kept within the scope of the questions being asked.

The second individual interview, also semi-structured, will involve each of the 20 members of the research population, and will be based on Questionnaire One (Becoming). The objective of these interviews is to select four adolescents who are clearly identifiable as being restrained in their becoming, for further study. This revised version of Questionnaire One includes additional possible questions to make sure that candidates understand what is required of them and to ensure full and precise responses. The researcher will be especially alert as to whether the wording of these additional questions stimulates the responses required. The researcher will also observe the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the adolescents, to assist in the selection of the research group of restrained adolescents.

The third interview implicates only the four adolescents which have been selected with the use of Questionnaire One (Becoming). Questionnaire Two (Identity Formation) will be administered during this semi-structured interview to the research group in order to discover how restrained adolescents form identities, and of their fundamental identity formation needs with respect to their relationships. The interviewer will grant these selected adolescents enough free reign to
express themselves, and will allow more time for responses than for the greater research population. Even greater care will be taken during this interview to record accurate responses, and to observe the behaviour of the research group.

The fourth individual interview will bring the practical research project to a close, and will again be conducted with the use of the research group. As opposed to all of the above interviews, this interview is unstructured, and is not based on a specific questionnaire. Such an interview is broad and open-ended, thus great care needs to be taken to avoid subjectivity and leading questions (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:252; McMillan 1992:134). Its aim is to discuss matters which the researcher finds confusing, unclear or contradictory, and, because of its relaxed nature, to gain even more insight into the identity formation of restrained adolescents. This interview will preferably be conducted in the selected adolescent's room, and the researcher will take note of objects or "relics" in this environment which may cast further light on the particular adolescent's identity formation (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:99; McMillan 1992:211). The researcher will also take precautions not to appear to pry or be over-inquisitive about things which are not of direct relevance to the study.

(b) Family group interviews - adolescent with parent(s)

There is only one group interview with adolescents, and in this semi-structured interview the selected adolescents are interviewed together with their parents. This group interview will be based on Questionnaire Five (Parents and Adolescents), and will be approached by the researcher in the same non-directive way as the other semi-structured interviews. The objective here is to discover, from the point of view of the parents and adolescents involved, what the primary identity formation difficulties of the restrained adolescents are within their relationships. From observing these adolescents during this interview and others, the particular identity formation needs of the restrained adolescent will become apparent. The researcher will take note of the selected adolescent's conduct in a group situation, and of his or her attitude and behaviour towards his or her parents. Care will be taken to give adolescents and parents an equal chance to answer each question.
4.3.2.2 Interviews with parents

Two interviews will be conducted with the selected adolescents’ parents, the first individually, and the second in a family group situation with their selected son or daughter.

(a) Individual interviews with parent(s) of each adolescent

The individual interview with parents is based on Questionnaire Three (Parents). Since these interviews are semi-structured, they will be conducted in an informal, spontaneous fashion, and will concentrate on how their son's or daughter's relationships influence their identity formation. Of interest here is the particular perspective of the selected adolescent's parents, the selected adolescent's situatedness and identity at home, as opposed to school, as well as the parents' verbal and non-verbal body-language and behaviour. The researcher will dress casually in a similar fashion to the respondents, so as to make them feel comfortable as a means towards more honest replies (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:253). The researcher will be cautious not to alienate the parents by being insensitive to private issues.

(b) Family group interviews - parent(s) of each adolescent

One semi-structured group interview will be conducted with parents, based on Questionnaire Five (Parents and Adolescents), (see 4.3.2.1 - b). This interview will require the selected adolescent and his or her parents to be present, preferably over tea and cake, which the researcher could supply. Any other family-member whose input may be valuable, will be included in this interview. The aims are to observe aspects of the restrained adolescents' parent-child relationship which could shed light on these adolescents' identity formation, and to pinpoint the particular problems encountered in these adolescents' identity formation.
4.3.2.3 Interviews with teachers

Two interviews at each school will be held with the teachers, first from School A and then from School B, making a total of four interviews with teachers. The teachers will first be individually interviewed, and then as a group.

(a) Individual interviews with teachers

This semi-structured interview is based on Questionnaire Four (Teachers), and aims to discover more about the selected adolescent's identity formation from the teacher's point of view. Questionnaire Four, consisting of five short questions based on the particular adolescent's relationships will be administered to each teacher of the adolescent, individually. The restrained adolescents' situatedness and identity needs at school are the main focus of this interview. Particular consideration will be given to the guidance teacher's input, as this teacher usually has access to the pupils' personal records, history and problems. Note-taking is preferable to using a tape-recorder because of the practical problems involved in transporting a tape recorder from classroom to classroom. Furthermore, certain teachers are prejudiced against research studies, and respond better to the more relaxed atmosphere which brief note-taking would allow.

Every teacher of the four selected adolescents from Schools A and B, will be interviewed. This interview is actually more like a controlled conversation. While being interviewed, some teachers may feel that they are being evaluated or that criticism is implied. The researcher will need to consider the context of each interview and examine the nature of any of his/her own values or prejudices which might influence the interview (the same applies to interviews with parents and pupils). The researcher must also be aware of the influence which age, gender, class and race might have, as well as of these same qualities in the respondent (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:90; McMillan & Schumacher 1993:253). In interviewing teachers, the latter should not be made to feel uneasy by the researcher writing too much or appearing to be critical (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:91-92).
The individual interview with the teacher is conducted between the individual interview with parents and the group interview with parents and adolescents, so as to create a necessary break between these two interviews.

(b) Group interviews with teachers

All of the teachers of the two selected adolescents from School A will be interviewed as a group, and then the teachers of the two selected adolescents from School B. Questionnaire Four (Teachers) will be used again, this time seeking the responses of all the teachers of a specific restrained adolescents as a group. In this way a more complete picture will emerge of the particular adolescent under discussion. When reflecting together on the same topic, the subjects often can stimulate each other to talk about things which they would not have considered on their own (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:100). By their nature, these group interviews will be less structured than the individual interviews with teachers, in an effort to stimulate an open conversation about aspects of the selected adolescent's identity formation. In a group situation the participants encourage each other to respond, by virtue of the opportunity to react to each other's ideas (Vulliamy et al 1990:101). Because teachers are usually pressed for time, care needs to be taken to allot enough time for these interviews, so as not to rush them or become careless.

4.3.3 Autobiographies (essays)

For the qualitative researcher, data comprise any written document and are virtually anything written, for example diaries (McMillan 1992:210) or autobiographies (Tuckman 1988:397). Hence, as further means of qualitative research, autobiographies have been chosen. Furthermore, accounts of the respondent's life and relationships may be collected much more quickly via autobiographies than in interviews. To gather this type of personal information would first take some months to establish the high degree of rapport needed (Delamont 1992:105). In addition, autobiographies in qualitative research test the individual's ability to select, relate, and organize material, as well as his or her ability to express ideas clearly and accurately (Anastasi
In this particular project, autobiographies will help to determine the nature of the restrained adolescent's identity formation, since writing about who one is, has become, and will become, cannot fail to illuminate such an adolescent's manner of identity formation. To penetrate to the deeper structures of the adolescent's personality, agrees Du Toit (1991:49), compositions may be used. Moreover, the selected adolescents will feel freer to disclose their true identities on paper, than when being directly questioned.

However, just as the good researcher is sceptical of what is said to him or her, so autobiographies must be sceptically read and examined in their social context, as all documents are written with some audience in mind (Delamont 1992:106). The motivation will affect the content or the document, for example pleading for oneself or a cause, exhibitionism, relief from tension or simply outside pressure to write (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:135).

In the present case the researcher is the audience, and the pupils writing the autobiographies will be aware of this and fashion their stories to be acceptable or even pleasing to the researcher. As with all personal documents, it will be important for the researcher to attempt to understand the writer's purpose in producing the essay (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:135).

No specific instructions for the writing of an autobiography have been traced. Consequently, three autobiographies have been decided upon here, with the intention of determining whether the identity of the selected adolescent is consistent with his/her past and future identity formation, based on the criteria for evaluating identity formation (paragraph 3.4). These topics are:

(a) I, ................. [full name] (present identity)
(b) How I became me (past identity formation)
(c) Who I want to become (future/anticipated identity formation)

If it is convenient for the candidates to do the autobiographies and drawings in the same session
(see paragraph 4.3.4), all the instructions for both will be explained to the candidates at the
beginning, to obviate disruption once they have started writing. Take this opportunity to enquire
after existing autobiographies written by the selected adolescent, as these could be useful in
determining whether the writer has been consistent and honest.

4.3.3.1 Autobiography One (Identity)

Broad outline of instructions:

I would like you to tell me about yourself, but in writing. Use the title: [full name].
Remember that this is not an examination and that your essay will be kept strictly private. It is
important that you are as honest as possible, so that we may learn more about the real you. You
will ultimately know yourself better too. Thank you for your co-operation!

4.3.3.2 Autobiography Two (Identity Formation - Past)

Broad outline of instructions:

Please write me a story entitled How I became me. Tell me who helped you become the person
you are today. Try to remember as many specific people as you can who have had an influence
on the formation of your identity. Do not make up a story, but tell the truth. It will not be held
against you in any way. Thank you for your co-operation.

4.3.3.3 Autobiography Three (Identity Formation - Future/Anticipated)

Broad outline of instructions:

Please write an essay entitled Who I want to become. Use as much detail as you can to create
a clear impression of the person you would one day like to be. Thank you for your co-operation.
4.3.4 Drawings

Some projective tests require subjects to draw certain objects or people, which encourages them to project their own feelings, desires and emotions onto it, or to identify with the individual portrayed in the picture (Kline 1993:244-245). Although drawings are essentially expression media, children often project their own experiences into drawings, especially if the drawings are discussed with them. Their relationships with people, their fears and anxieties, are then often exposed. Furthermore, the way children experience themselves in the world, is revealed by an analysis of their drawings (Kapp 1991:47). Drawings of people have been chosen as a fourth means of research in this project, because they represent such a powerful method of discovering deep-seated desires and fears within relationships, in this case relationships with self, parents and teachers. Because relationships are intrinsically bound up with identity formation, the use of drawings of relationships is an attempt at uncovering hidden aspects of the restrained adolescents' relationships which have an influence on their identity formation.

For want of a more recent set of criteria for analysing drawings, the original Machover Draw-A-Person-Test criteria will be used to investigate two drawings which the selected adolescents will do, firstly of themselves with their families, and secondly with their teachers.

According to Behr (1973:65), the Machover Draw-A-Person-Test can be used for personal assessment. The subject drawn is in many respects an index of the persons being studied. It reveals feelings about themselves and tells what they think they are like. The immediate first impression of each figure drawing must firstly be noted: for example action, aggression, rigidity or submissiveness. This is conveyed by matters such as the posture of the figure, facial expression, and placement of limbs. Secondly, structural analysis must be applied. Here attention is given to the size of the figure, placement on page, thickness of lines, shadings, stance, symmetry, proportions of parts, background, reinforcements and erasures. Thirdly, content analysis is an excellent source of clinical information. The researcher should notice, for example, the parts of the body which are emphasised and clothing and accessories which are included. Handicapped persons are inclined to omit or stress the affected part more often than
normal children do. Drawings of the family often throw light on the subject's interpersonal relationships with parents and siblings.

Scoring of the Draw-A-Person-Test is essentially qualitative. Because the better controlled studies lend no support to the interpretations proposed by Machover, it would seem that the Draw-A-Person-Test can serve best not as a psychometric instrument, but as part of an interview, in which the drawings are interpreted in the context of other information about the individual (Anastasi 1988:611). A trained psychometrist will be employed to assist with the interpretation of the drawings.

The instructions given below have been adapted from the instructions for the revised Draw-A-Man Test, found in Sattler (1982:248).

4.3.4.1 Drawing One (Family)

Broad outline of instructions:

I should like you to draw a picture of yourself and your family, and call it "My Family and I". Take your time and work very carefully. Be sure to draw the whole body of each person. Try to put as much feeling as you can into your drawing.

4.3.4.2 Drawing Two (Teachers)

Broad outline of instructions:

I should like you to draw a sketch of yourself and your teachers, and call it "My teachers and I". Work very carefully and take your time. Be sure to include the whole body of each person. Put your heart into your effort.
4.3.5 Observation

Observation is the fifth means selected as part of this investigation. Qualitative observation is essentially descriptive monitoring of seemingly important behaviours (Salvia & Ysseldyke 1991:518). Leedy (1993:142) describes observation as being almost synonymous with perception. Qualitative researchers approach a situation with the assumption that nothing is trivial or unimportant, because the more accurately details are noted, the more scientifically reliable the study will be (McMillan 1992:214 & 223). Observation is also a valuable means in qualitative research because it seeks to gauge how selected subjects relate to others, their work and themselves, and also their appearance, bodily presentation, understanding and reasoning and affective involvement, so that a total image of the subjects in all of their relations may be formed. Such data could make an excellent contribution towards gaining a more intimate knowledge of the observed adolescents' identity formation as a factor of their relationships (Van der Spuy 1992:59).

The observation process in qualitative research extends beyond observation as such. The researcher almost lives with the chosen subjects. He or she enters into their life-worlds to share the meanings they attribute to their situatedness. This is known as "participant observation" (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:416; Wragg 1994:51). Through involvement with them, within a natural context, the researcher in this case experiences their identity formation. Occasionally the researcher also positions himself or herself more objectively to rethink and formulate experiences and observations as scientific statements. This type of research is also subjective, introspective or interpretive, since it reveals the researchers personal perspective formed within a specific personal context (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:38; Measor 1988:55).

Observation will be continued throughout the answering of questionnaires and interviews, so that as much as possible may be learned about the subjects' ways of relating and identity formation needs. A report of observations made will be started immediately by the researcher and developed as the project progresses (Van der Spuy 1992:59).
The above means of research will be administered during the investigation situations, in the classroom and during an excursion, as will be explained in paragraph 4.4.4.6.

The steps to be taken in administering the research and the particular approach to be taken in the present investigation are now outlined.

4.4 Administering the research

4.4.1 Permission from education authorities

Before commencement of this study, permission will be gained from the Western Cape Education Department, from the headmasters of the chosen schools, and from the relevant parents or guardians, who are willing to become involved. All adolescents, parents and teachers will be assured of the confidentiality of the information they may divulge. The headmaster is the first to be approached, preferably by telephone, so that provisional consent for the project may be gained, and an appointment with him/her made to discuss the envisaged project. At this appointment, he or she must be given, in writing, the details and requirements of the project, so that there is no misunderstanding as to what will be entailed for the pupils, teachers and parents. Written consent must then be gained from the headmaster. One room should be booked in advance, in which the whole school-based part of the investigation may be conducted without inconvenience.

4.4.2 Pilot studies

Before the selection of the research population, pilot studies must be conducted so as to adapt Questionnaire One (Becoming) to an informal setting, and Questionnaire Two (Identity Formation) that is, to determine informally whether it has face validity and is appropriate; that the formulations are unambiguous; that there are no leading questions (Leedy 1993:143), and to determine the time needed for completion. These factors are to be amended immediately, if
necessary. The 10 pupils chosen for this preliminary study will be carefully observed as to any difficulties they may encounter in the answering thereof.

Furthermore, the pilot study aims:

1. to determine how Questionnaire Two functions in a qualitative research situation. Questionnaire One (Becoming) which was applied by Van der Spuy (1992:99-101), will also be adapted to suit the qualitative needs of this research. Additional questions and formulations will be considered if necessary;

2. to determine certain procedural matters, such as the recording method, degree of motivation needed, general attitudes towards questions in particular and the questionnaires in general.

The pilot studies will be conducted during the first school term, so that the actual study may be carried out before the pupils are under too much work pressure.

Before the identity formation of restrained adolescents may be investigated, adolescents who are restrained in their becoming need to be identified.

4.4.3 Identifying adolescents restrained in their becoming

Using the opinions of the teachers of the research population and the results of Questionnaire One (Becoming), the researcher will identify four adolescents who are restrained in their becoming, on account of their inadequate exploring, emancipating, distancing, differentiating, objectificating (Van der Spuy 1992:46).

Once four restrained adolescents have been identified for the research group, their identity formation will be investigated.
4.4.4 Investigating the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming

The following steps will be taken in investigating restrained adolescents' identity formation:

4.4.4.1 Creating a suitable research situation

In order to create a suitable research situation, the 10 pupils to be used in the pilot studies and the 20 adolescents who will comprise the research population, will firstly be motivated by the researcher. The researcher will preferably be clued up on adolescent interests. The specific interests of the selected adolescent will be discussed first, to break the ice, as it were, and the researcher will be friendly and pleasant (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:253). The adolescents will be helped to understand the importance of the study to themselves (Leedy 1993:145), their full co-operation, and the honesty of their responses. It will be explained to the respondents that a tape-recorder is being used, with their permission, to avoid constant note-taking while they are talking, and to make sure that the record of their responses is accurate (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:254). The researcher will be the only one to listen to the tape. Do not turn on the tape-recorder immediately, but start the interview with innocuous matters and move to more personal questions as the relationship develops (Burgess 1988:61-69). The respondents will be made to feel special by their inclusion in a scientific research programme which will help to find out more about themselves and their relationships. The fact that they will not be tested or examined in any way will be stressed, as well as a need for complete honesty. They will be told that they are assisting the researcher by their full co-operation and that by their frankness they may help others too.

Rapport with all of the adolescents, and especially with the research group, will be created as soon as possible by establishing an atmosphere of understanding and trust, thereby putting them at ease.
4.4.2 Interviewing each selected adolescent

Once four adolescents restrained in their becoming have been identified, these four selected adolescents will individually answer Questionnaire Two (found in paragraph 4.3.1.2) and using the guidelines exemplified in the same paragraph. The aim of this questionnaire is to reveal the nature of the identity formation of adolescents who are restrained in their becoming.

Obtaining access to the pupils who have been selected for the study is a primary problem (Ball 1988:56). It is characteristic of adolescents who are restrained in their becoming to have parents, especially fathers, who are unavailable (Van der Spuy 1992:97). Unfortunately, the researcher is largely reliant on outgoing and articulate pupils to provide reliable data. Adolescents who are restrained in their becoming tend not to be in this category. Therefore, one can only speculate as to the possible distortions of the data in the accounts that are given (Ball 1988:51).

In the search for highly typical cases of adolescents restrained in their becoming, the study depends to an extent on access to the informants (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:382).

4.4.3 Writing autobiographies

Now that the researcher has settled down at the schools and gained the access and permission needed, he or she may concentrate on the input of the selected adolescents. Before any other sources are interviewed, or content suggested, the chosen adolescents will write the three short essays, for which instructions have been provided in paragraphs 4.3.3.1, 4.3.3.2 and 4.3.3.3.

Seeing that two adolescents have been chosen from each of Schools A and B, both selected pupils from a certain school may be observed together, while they write their autobiographies. The researcher will focus solely on taking notes discreetly while the essays are being written, at the same time observing the following: general attitude, attitude towards essay writing, response to topic, effort made, concentration, body language, dress and grooming, time taken, and anything else about the behaviour which catches attention. The researcher will essentially be
recording his or her own thoughts and feelings (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:157).

4.4.4.4 Doing drawings

Both drawings may be done in the same session together with the three autobiographies. At least two pieces of blank A-3 paper should be made available to each selected adolescent, together with a sharp pencil and good rubber. Enough extra paper, air and light should be arranged and as little disruption as possible. It is a good idea to have tissues on hand and cough lozenges, in case a pupil has a running nose or cough.

The full directions for the administration of the drawings are found in paragraphs 4.3.4.1 and 4.3.4.2.

4.4.4.5 Taking selected adolescents on excursion

The researcher will organise an excursion to a place of interest such as the seafront or a flea market, together with the selected adolescents, so that they may be observed in a more natural context. Indemnity forms should be signed by the parents beforehand, to absolve the researcher should any harm occur to the adolescents while under his or her care.

In the teenage world, some kind of "passing" or authentic participation may be possible for the researcher. However, a genuine interest in the pupils' lives, within certain limits, will be received by most pupils with enthusiasm and co-operation (Ball 1988:47).

4.4.4.6 Observing selected adolescents

Observation of selected adolescents is to be started immediately the restrained adolescents have been selected, conducted during the subsequent interviews, autobiography-writing, drawing, class visitation, excursion, and continued for the duration of the practical research project.
Before the start of the project, the researcher will encourage the subjects to try and take him or her for granted and not be self-conscious. One should be aware of the subjects' uneasiness and not carry oneself like a detective, thereby spooking the participants. In general, the observer's emotional reactions or "hunches" can be an important indicator of subjects' feelings, and therefore a valuable stimulus for reflection (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:95).

(a) In the investigation situations

The researcher will observe tone of voice, body language, general attitude of the selected adolescents towards interview, questionnaire and researcher, nervous habits, and especially whether the respondents look the researcher straight in the eye and answer confidently without hesitation, as this tends to indicate honesty. Dress and grooming is a good clue as to how the respondents feel about themselves.

(b) In the classroom

The researcher will arrange to observe each selected adolescent during at least one class lesson. By observing a selected adolescent in the classroom under the pretext of visiting with the teacher, a contrived situation will be created, whereby the adolescent will hopefully not be aware that he or she is being observed (McMillan & Schumacher 1993:260). It could be convenient for the researcher to arrive a little before the class, or remain a little afterwards, to interview the teacher.

The approach of the adolescent towards school work, teachers, the researcher's presence, self and peers may be observed during a class lesson. Concentration ability and response towards questions will be noticed here. Language teachers may be able to grant access to self-revealing pieces of writing which the selected subjects have done. Again body language, dress and grooming speak volumes about the way the adolescent feels in a school situation. Body
language includes posture, movement, gesture, facial expression and eye-contact (Wragg 1994:65).

(c) **During the excursion**

Observing the adolescents while participating in an excursion, the researcher takes on the role of "observer-as-participant", and should be extremely careful to maintain scientific objectivity (Salvia & Ysseldyke 1991:518). An extra-mural situation together with other selected adolescents who are in all likelihood not known to each other, is a rich source of revelation as to who the selected adolescents really are. The way they treat each other - members of the same and opposite sex, their behaviour at the table, the clothes they have on, what they spend the spending money on, which is allocated by the researcher, what they look at and are interested in, what they talk about and how they talk must all be observed by the researcher, who will of necessity have to write down these observations as soon after the event as possible. The objective to be kept in mind is the identity needs which are revealed by the restrained adolescents during an extra-mural activity, that is an informal situation.

Apart from the investigation of the restrained adolescents themselves, their parents and teachers constitute a significant source of information about these adolescents' identity formation.

**4.4.5 Complementing the investigation of adolescents**

To enhance the investigation of restrained adolescents, it is necessary to discover more about their identity formation from their parents and their teachers. An appropriate atmosphere will be created for the revelations of these adults in a similar way in which it was done for the selected adolescents.
Creating a suitable research situation with adults

The parents or guardians, by virtue of their intimate relationship with their children, should hopefully have a natural interest in a programme which seeks to understand their adolescents better, thereby helping them to realise their full potential. Any resistance needs to be discreetly handled in a non-domineering, gentle manner, and the parents' full co-operation enlisted. Due to the fact that the home circumstances of restrained adolescents, and particularly their relationships with fathers are not favourable (Van der Spuy 1992:iv), parents may be reluctant to open their homes and lives to what they perceive as prying. Therefore, the parents of the restrained adolescent should be telephoned first, and briefly told about the study for which their child has been selected. A letter should then be sent by post, explaining in more detail the aims of the study and the advantages selection for such a study might hold for their son/daughter and educators in general. A second telephone call may be necessary to motivate hesitant parents to co-operate in the interests of their child, or to encourage their participation if they have declined the invitation to participate.

The parents of a child usually know that child better than any other person, sometimes perhaps better than the child itself! For this reason, in order to gain as complete an idea as possible of the identity formation needs of the restrained adolescent, the perspective of both parents should be sought at all costs. If the parents of a selected adolescent are unwilling to co-operate in the project, another adolescent will have to be selected in the original nominee's place.

Special care needs to be taken to set the parents at ease so that they do not feel they are experiencing an inquisition, otherwise valuable information may be withheld or distorted. The questions asked should seemingly flow from the "getting to know you chat", so as not to alienate or intimidate the interviewees. It must be gently explained that it is necessary, with their consent, to use a tape-recorder to avoid constant writing while they are talking, and that the researcher will be the only person to listen to tapes afterwards. The important aim to be remembered is to establish a friendly and easy rapport with the parents as a basis for scrupulously honest revelation (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:85).
Also the teachers concerned will be motivated by the researcher, by explaining to them the objectives and significance of the study to educators in general, and to themselves in particular. The researcher will attempt to be discreet, to blend into the setting and become more or less a natural part of the scene. She will dress similarly to the other teachers at the particular school (usually conservatively), and above all, she will not gossip (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:89 & 92).

4.4.5.2 Interviews with parents

Questionnaire Three (Parents) will be used at the interviews with parents. This questionnaire will be administered only once the selected adolescents have answered the initial two questionnaires and completed their autobiographies and drawings. It is important that the parents input comes after that of the adolescents, so that no prejudices are permitted to influence the first responses of the selected adolescents. The object of this questionnaire is to discover the perspective of the restrained adolescents’ parents on the identity formation of the former.

Since this questionnaire will be administered in the homes of the selected adolescents, the researcher has an ideal opportunity to observe the parents’ attitudes, use of verbal- and non-verbal language, decor, neatness and absorb the general ambience. If allowed, a perusal of the selected adolescent’s room should be arranged, so as to gain an impression of the adolescent’s specific life-world. Photographs, posters, instruments, sports equipment, trophies and collections all say much about what interests the adolescent most, and what his or her strongest needs are (Bogdan & Biklen 1992:99).

Questionnaire Three and the instructions for its use are found in paragraph 4.3.1.3.

4.4.5.3 Interviews with teachers

Questionnaire Four (Teachers) will be used as the foundation for these interviews. At this point the action is once more transferred to the schools, partly to give the parents some breathing space, and to absorb the input of the restrained adolescents’ teachers on these adolescents’
identity formation. It is important that the teachers understand their role in the project and that their whole-hearted co-operation is obtained before the start. All of the teachers of each selected adolescent will be interviewed, including the guidance teacher, register (class) teacher, music teacher and physical training teacher.

The teacher's deportment at the interviews (first individual then group) must be noted as it will reveal whether there is genuine interest or not, whether the responses are honest and what the attitude is towards the researcher, the research project and particularly the adolescent under discussion.

Since the teachers' responses are to be written down, they will be recorded accurately and analysed immediately, to avoid prejudice or influences of any kind affecting the accuracy of the report (Wolcott 1990:137-138).

See paragraph 4.3.1.4 for Questionnaire Four and its instructions.

4.4.6 Final interview with each selected adolescent

If the researcher has not yet had the opportunity to visit the selected adolescent's room, this is a good opportunity. The main advantage, however, of conducting this final interview in the restrained adolescent's own room, with the door shut if that can be arranged without causing embarrassment, is to have complete privacy for the vital information which could be revealed now that a more intimate relationship has been developed with the researcher. Clarify any matters that are thus far not clear and ask final probing questions.

See paragraph 4.2.2.1 for precise directions.
Discussing facets of investigation and comparing conclusions

Each facet of Questionnaires One and Two (Becoming and Identity Formation), used in the interviews with adolescents will be discussed, with reference to each respondent individually, and also the group of respondents collectively. The objectives of the discussion are to identify the nature of the identity formation of adolescents restrained in their becoming, as well as to determine the role teachers can play in this identity formation in the light of identified areas of need. Questionnaire Two will also be informally evaluated as a qualitative medium.

In Questionnaire Three (Parents), each of the ten questions asked of the parents, and all of the facets of identity formation represented by those questions, will be discussed to discover their bearing on the identity formation of restrained adolescents from the point of view of their parents.

In Questionnaire Four (Teachers), each of the five questions in the questionnaire used for the interview will be discussed from the point of view of the individual teachers, and also from the perspective of the teachers as a group. Each of the four selected adolescents will be discussed in this way, so as to cast light on their identity formation within a scholastic context, with particular reference to the role teachers play.

Questionnaire Five (Adolescents and Parents) will be discussed as a measure of restrained adolescents' behaviour in a group situation with parents, and of the problems and needs which can be identified within restrained adolescents' relationships.

Furthermore, the conclusions drawn from analyses of the autobiographies, drawings and observations will be compared and qualitatively evaluated as to the information they reveal on the identity formation needs of restrained adolescents.
Chapter Four explains in detail how a practical investigation into the influence of the teacher-adolescent relationship on adolescents' identity formation may be conducted. The following has been dealt with: the sampling procedure to be used; the means and media to be employed, and the steps to be taken in administering the research.

Chapter Five presents the detailed findings of the investigation itself.
# CHAPTER FIVE

**THE INVESTIGATION : SPECIFIC FINDINGS**

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5.6 Identity formation of the selected adolescents

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five presents the findings of the investigation proper, in detail. In so doing, the objective of this chapter is to realise the primary aims of the study, in clarifying the identity formation of the restrained adolescents involved in the investigation as a factor of their relationships, and the role of teachers in their identity formation. This objective will be achieved by firstly gauging the effectiveness of the media in achieving this aim; discussing how the design of the programme could influence the interpretation of the findings, and introducing the persons involved in the programme. Secondly, the details of the selected adolescents' home and school setting are given as a precursor to discussing each selected adolescent's identity formation, their ensuing needs, and the role of teachers in fulfilling these identity formation needs. In analysing each facet of each selected adolescent's identity formation, the findings from all of the media used are taken into consideration. Hereby a clear, detailed picture of each restrained adolescent and the particular nature of his or her identity formation and resultant needs will emerge. The effectiveness of media utilisation requires brief examination first.

5.2 UTILISING THE MEDIA

The choice of media and the way in which they were utilised, necessarily had some influence on the realisation of the aims of the study.

5.2.1 Questionnaires

The questions in Questionnaire One (Becoming) were answered quickly and easily by the selected adolescents, indicating that the questions were readily understood and appropriate. This medium had a positive effect on the research group in that it served to put the respondents at
ease by its informal and non-demanding nature. It achieved its goal of identifying restrained adolescents accurately.

Questionnaire Two (Identity Formation) was answered willingly and without difficulty by the adolescents. The additional questions elicited much information about the identity formation of restrained adolescents as total persons within their life-world of relationships.

Questionnaire Three (Parents) was met with initial defensiveness by parents, but after the ice was broken, the parents were keen to discuss their son or daughter. This questionnaire competently revealed details about restrained adolescents' identity formation from the perspective of their parents, which were not disclosed by the other media employed.

Although the main aim of Questionnaire Four (Teachers) was to gather information from teachers about restrained adolescents' identity formation, the effect of the questionnaire was to make teachers aware of their role in restrained adolescents' identity formation, many for the first time. Indeed, the teachers on the whole did not seem to have considered any of the issues represented by the questions asked of them. Most of the interviews, although scheduled, nonetheless needed to be brief and to the point, and some even had to be rushed. The approach of some teachers was that the questionnaire was an intrusion on their already over-full schedule, and they wanted to get it over with as soon as possible. This attitude may have influenced their contribution negatively. However, those teachers with whom the researcher was familiar were more enthusiastic and co-operative and some went out of their way to be helpful, underlining the importance of the researcher knowing the research school well. In general, the longer the teachers had known pupils, the more useful were their responses to questions. The input of those who did not know the selected adolescents could possibly have affected the findings unfavourably. However, this questionnaire still succeeded in opening the window on restrained adolescents' identity formation from the exclusive viewpoint of their teachers, individually and as a group.

In accordance with the primary aim of Questionnaire Five (Adolescents and Parents) to cast light on the relationship between restrained adolescents and their parents, the effect of this
questionnaire on the two selected boys was to make them more shy and withdrawn than ever, whereas the two selected girls spoke very forthrightly in a group with their parents. It could be construed that adolescent girls communicate their thoughts and feelings more easily than do restrained adolescent boys, especially in a group situation. Having a non-communicative father (present or absent), which appears to be typical of restrained adolescents, does little to teach adolescent boys the art of communication. This non-communicative approach on the part of the selected boys could influence the interpretation of this questionnaire deleteriously. On the other hand, their withdrawal in the company of their parents could be considered as further evidence in support of the conclusion that restrained adolescent boys have a communication problem with their parents. This questionnaire had the effect of demonstrating first-hand, what the selected adolescents’ relationships with parents and other significant persons was like.

5.2.2 Observation

As a rule, the persons observed did not appear to be affected in any way by being observed, and in fact seemed totally oblivious to this fact. In the classroom situation it could be that the researcher's presence might have caused the selected adolescents to have behaved a little more self-consciously than normal, but not unduly, so as to influence interpretations negatively. Observation of the selected adolescents had the effect of providing an inside-view of facets of their life-world. As a qualitative medium, it proved most fruitful in confirming the data collected during the various investigation situations, and via autobiographies and drawings. Observation of verbal and non-verbal language and the various objects in the investigation situations, corroborated the findings on the personalities, moods and identity formation needs of the selected adolescents. Their attitudes towards parents, other adults and family members became clearer when the adolescents were observed together with these persons.

5.2.3 Autobiographies

Overall there was a positive attitude towards the writing of autobiographies, and they were taken seriously. One selected adolescent took much longer than anticipated to write his
autobiographies, verifying the necessity for plenty of time for this medium, as well as for the
drawings. The autobiography displayed its successfulness as a qualitative medium in that all of
the respondents, especially the emotionally unexpressive ones, disclosed more of their true
identity than in any of the interviews.

5.2.4 Drawings

The selected adolescents were intent on revealing their identities through the "indirect" medium
of drawings. As a qualitative medium, drawings were a fertile source of data, and clarified facts
which had hitherto been unclear. Information on interpreting the particular drawings chosen for
this study was not available in books, so the assistance of a psychometrist was solicited.

The way in which the programme was realised also had an influence on the achievement of the
goals of the investigation.

5.3 REALISING THE PROGRAMME

The research design decided upon was followed through and had the desired effect of ensuring
the smooth flow of the programme. The numbers of pupils chosen to form the target population,
pilot studies group, research population and research group, were very manageable. Larger
groups would have been too large to have investigated thoroughly within two school terms. It
may be argued that the numbers could have been larger, but representativeness is not the issue
here. Rather, it is the quality of understanding afforded which is important (McMillan 1992:224).

All of the adolescents and adults who were called upon co-operated, most of them
enthusiastically. After the purpose of the tape-recorder had been explained, pupils and adults
were not visibly distracted by its presence. Minimal motivation was needed.

Certain teachers needed more motivation than others, since they were very busy and claimed
not to know the selected adolescents well enough to comment. There were, however, enough
interested teachers to provide, and attest, information on selected adolescents.

The general attitude and involvement of the persons implicated in the programme was a further influence on the accomplishment of its aims.

5.4 PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE PROGRAMME

Certain of the adolescents in the research population were known to the researcher, which noticeably enhanced their attitude towards the researcher and the project. None of the selected adolescents were previously known to the researcher. Becoming basically acquainted with them took one term. It was noted that the selected adolescents were much more responsive after the excursion than before, indicating the effectiveness of an outing with the researcher. Thereafter, an entirely different side of the selected adolescents became apparent, particularly of the two girls, who suddenly seemed to make friends with the researcher. Although the boys still kept their distance emotionally until the end of the study, they reached the point of frankness. Adolescent D, however, remained dishearteningly unresponsive, reinforcing the problem which his mother has with him, and illustrating the uncommunicativeness which the parents and teachers of the selected adolescents often encounter.

One mother refused any contact with her ex-husband, who lives in another part of the country, which may influence the findings on Adolescent A negatively. However, this particular adolescent happens to be in one of the researcher's college classes after having left School A mid-way through the study. This opportunity to "live" with this adolescent on a daily basis should hopefully make up for any valuable input her father might have contributed.

It was significant that none of the selected adolescents joined their parents and the researcher in having tea and cake in any of the interviews, signifying the discomfort they all felt in a group with their parents, although none of the adolescents were self-conscious about eating and drinking in the company of the researcher on the excursion. This fact substantiates the inadequacy of the communication between restrained adolescents and their parents.
The attitude of the "key informants" to Questionnaire Five was generally that they were pleased to be of assistance and slightly flattered at being invited. Their input was always of extreme interest.

What was most apparent at the schools, was the tremendous time-pressure under which the teachers involved in the study, were working. The teachers tried hard to be of assistance, but many were frustrated because they had not had the time to get to know the selected adolescents well enough, often because of classes which were too large or the demands of the curriculum. The guidance teachers appeared to be carrying the heaviest burden because of the extra subject classes they were required to teach, in addition to counselling. Their knowledge of the selected pupils was astonishingly scanty, due to the fact that guidance teaching has recently become the domain of register teachers. The rationalisation process is here seen to be having an unfavourable effect in depriving guidance teachers of the time and opportunity to play a significant role in restrained adolescents' identity formation.

Language teachers, however, displayed superior knowledge of the selected adolescents by virtue of these subjects being conducive to the discussion of moral and ethical issues. Their contribution was therefore highly regarded.

Teachers of practical subjects such as woodwork, typing, home-economics, dance, music and especially sport, were also in a favourable position to really get to know their pupils, and thereby to influence their identity formation positively. These teachers took a serious attitude towards the project and made a positive contribution.

Those teachers who professed to be Christians, however, were far and away more helpful and concerned about their role in their pupils' identity formation, in particular their moral identity formation, than were those whose religious affinity was not known. Their answers to questions were, as a consequence, more thoughtful and carefully considered. They were also more generous with their time, less stressed and more confident of their positive influence on restrained adolescents' identity formation. Moreover, certain selected adolescents pointed to Christian teachers as those whom they could trust. These teachers made a real effort daily to
show their pupils love, they were truly concerned for them as individuals and constantly tried to teach them moral values.

By way of introduction to the four restrained adolescents who were selected for the study, certain primary aspects of their life-worlds are briefly described below with reference to their person, family, home, room, school and classroom setting.

5.5 HOME AND SCHOOL SETTING OF THE SELECTED ADOLESCENTS

5.5.1 Adolescent A

The person

A is a stocky young lady of 19 in standard nine, who wears glasses and has a confident air. She can be talkative and boisterous, but also quiet and often moody. Most of the time she appears unhappy and frequently looks tired or depressed. She has many relational difficulties with peers, apparently because she is so defensive and aggressive, indicating a poor self-concept.

The family

A comes from a broken home, her mother having divorced her father eight years ago because of his drug addiction. Owing to the drama at home, A was sent to boarding school for six years. She and her mother now want nothing at all to do with A's father. A's mother has a younger boyfriend now, who insults A constantly. A's family drawing accurately reflects this situation in that she has drawn her father very small and positioned him in a tiny house on his own, far away from her house, depicting the cut ties between them. A has, furthermore, placed herself outside of the house, connoting that she feels left out or perhaps squashed out now that her mother has a boyfriend. A has a sister, three years her junior, with whom she fights a great deal, and a baby sister. She also has a grandfather, whom she says she respects as a father-figure although he is an alcoholic.
The home setting

A's home is part of a government complex, and very close to its neighbours. The surroundings are barren and windy. A and her mother make a point of not becoming too friendly with the neighbours, as they gossip, and "what you tell them loops back on you". This attitude again proposes a careful guarding of the self, which in such close circumstances, is threatened.

A's mother has struggled for the past eight years to bring the three children up on her own, and she and A claim to have had a hard life. This is evidenced by A's mother having to feed the baby at every interview, and by the overall atmosphere of weariness and tension. Furthermore, the clock has stopped, so nobody knows the time, and there isn't a pen to be found in the house.

The disorganised and crowded appearance of the home during visitations is reflected in A's family drawing. The first impression gained from this drawing is that the page is very full, and the house which A drew is crammed to capacity with five persons, suggesting claustrophobic conditions. This suggestion is reinforced by the haste with which this drawing has been done, and the untidiness of everybody's hair.

The room setting

A shares a bedroom with her younger sister, who is not a neat person, and this leads to frequent fights. The room is cluttered with a baby's pram in the middle, a baby's bottle and A's collections of soft toys, bags, caps and fancy wine bottles. There are many posters of stars on the walls, intimating a strong need for somebody to admire, that is, a role model worthy of emulating in her identity formation. On A's side of the room her name is boldly printed on the wall, followed by an exclamation mark, as if to say: "This is my space. Do not intrude!" A hereby appears to hint at her need for a small, manageable space for the maintenance of her self.
The school and classroom setting

A has been to six schools in total now, and was reported for stealing at primary school on a number of occasions (kleptomania is directly linked with a need for self-esteem). She has failed three times. Being much older than the rest of her classmates is one reason she decided to leave the school a few weeks into the first term of this year, after having been selected as part of the research group. She has decided to go to a college for the last half of the year to complete her schooling. Coincidentally, she is presently attending one of the researcher's communication classes at this same college. A is extremely defensive and easily annoyed by her classmates, becoming aggressive if they imitate her. She is by and large a loner and is often moody or sulky about what this or that peer has said or done to her.

5.5.2 Adolescent B

The person

B is a slim, dark, shy 16-year-old boy in standard nine. He is very sensitive and serious and finds that many things cause conflict within him and make him depressed. He sets particularly high moral standards for himself. He does smile occasionally at something which amuses him, indicating a good sense of humour, but nonetheless emits an aura of sadness, as if carrying a secret burden. He had a cold for a couple of weeks, and even after it was over, he continued dabbing his nose regularly. It seemed to have developed into a nervous habit. His asthma problem seems to be a further sign of his highly-strung disposition and tendency to worry.

The family

B is the only selected adolescent who still has both of his parents at home, although the marriage is not at all happy. B is close to his attractive twin sister, who is much more confident than he is, but he seldom gets to talk to his older sister, because she is so busy.
The home setting

B's mother keeps a beautiful home and obviously has a creative flair. The house is beautiful and unlike the small, utilitarian houses of the other selected adolescents. B's father drank until a year ago, when he and B's mother began attending marriage counselling. According to B and his mother, there has been no improvement. The chief problem in the home is the lack of communication, and according to B's mother, incompatibility with B's father. B elucidated in his final interview that his mother and father are both very unhappy inside, and that his father feels like a failure because no-one respects him. The background of B's family drawing is revealing, in that there is a skew picture of a broken-down house on the wall. In B's words, "this is a broken household - things are not well". Significantly, B drew his mother and father on opposite sides of the page, symbolising their emotional detachment from each other. The two of them are, moreover, far removed from B and his twin sister and from B's older sister right in the upper corner of the page, illustrating the dysfunctional communication within B's home. B's father, furthermore, acknowledges that the relationship between himself and his wife could affect B's identity formation negatively.

The room setting

B's room is very small, functional and bare, but extremely neat, showing a need for order and control - a need for meaning in his life. In his own room, with the door closed, B disclosed his deepest thoughts and fears without embarrassment, after his initial flurry to tidy his already tidy room, revealing his perfectionistic streak.

The school and classroom setting

B is a member of School B, where he claims to be most unhappy. He wants to go to Technikon because he feels the teachers aren't interested and are not teaching him adequately. In the classroom he is quiet and resigned to his situation. His results have deteriorated alarmingly this year, and his teachers are unanimous that he is capable of very good work.
5.5.3 Adolescent C

The person

C is a pretty, blonde girl of 16 in standard nine. Her slim build and graceful movements give her a fragile and feminine appearance. She is a generous, honest person, and, because she can be trusted, her friends come to her with their problems. She does not smile much and often looks morose. She has the habit of cutting people out whose intrusion she dislikes, by turning her back and ignoring them. However, when she takes one into her confidence, there is a marked difference in her behaviour. She suddenly has a sweet smile and becomes chatty and open.

The family

C's mother is only 35 and has been divorced twice - once at the age of 22, when C was three, and again after having lived with C's stepfather. He was an alcoholic for 11 years, and sometimes beat her mother. C's mother now has a boyfriend of whom the whole family disapproves. C's real father still sees C about once a week. He has a fiancee who stops him from seeing her more often. C's grandmother brought her up and effectively acted as her mother. C has a sister of 13 and a younger stepsister. Her half-brother stays with her father.

The home setting

C lives in a typical sub-economic house - small, but functional. This particular house is neat, clean and quiet, but there is often fighting and swearing from the neighbours opposite. C's granny has left telltale signs of religious input on display, such as the sticker on the door: "I'd rather have Jesus than silver or gold", in an effort towards shaping the moral identity of C and her sisters.
The room setting

There is strong evidence of C's primary need for love in the posters on the walls of her room (demonstrating couples in close embrace), the Valentine's roses from her boyfriend and the numerous collected items with hearts on them. Because she shares the room with her mother, its appearance is grown-up, but also indicates C's femininity and love for pretty things. There is a smart sound-system in the corner and a toy monkey on the bed, which are gifts from her father, who obviously enjoys spoiling his daughters, possibly to make up for being absent.

The school and classroom setting

C is at School A and is generally happy and does her best, although she is frustrated by her poor results, despite efforts to improve them. In the classroom she is popular with her peers, but is a firm member of a clique, ignoring those whom she has chosen not to befriend.

5.5.4 Adolescent D

The person

D is a tall, dark and handsome seventeen-year-old boy in standard nine. He has a lovely smile, which he unfortunately seldom uses. He is a shy person, but is good-natured and gets on well with his peers. He wears black a great deal of the time, which suits him well, but could be suggestive of some form of unhappiness. He appears rather sloppy and has a lazy posture. He has a very unemotional and casual approach to life and denies having any problems which are worth speaking about. His lack of expressiveness is a source of great frustration to his mother.

The family

D's father passed away three months before the start of this study, leaving him with his mother, older brother (20) and younger sister (11). He does not admit to any problems at all in any of his
relationships, and is apparently at peace with himself and the world. However, according to his mother he has not cried or spoken about his father once since his death, and she is saddened by his unwillingness to open up to her.

The home setting

D's family lives in a simple but well-ordered home. His mother is a sad lady since the death of D's father, but keeps good control of her family. The bar in the corner of the lounge catches the attention. This addition belonged to his father, but D did most of the pasting of the coasters and cigarette packets on the walls. The two photos of D's father both depict drinking and smoking as part of the scene. According to D's English essays, his father was an alcoholic, drinking is a way of life for this family, and D is no exception.

The school and classroom setting

Concerning his school work, D is underachieving. In standard four, a non-verbal I.Q. of 116 was recorded, but he failed standard eight. According to his teachers this result could have been influenced by his father's severe illness, and his mother is concerned that his father's death is having a negative effect on school work. But D puts his underachievement down to laziness to learn. Perhaps his language development problem, for which he received extensive remediation at pre-primary level, is partly to blame for his relatively poor results. In the classroom he is comfortable with his classmates, but because of his intrinsic intelligence he tries to get away with the minimum amount of work, especially in the subjects he does not like. This attitude does not endear him to most of his teachers.

Against this cursory biographical background, every facet of the selected adolescents' identity formation is now discussed.
5.6 IDENTITY FORMATION OF THE SELECTED ADOLESCENTS

5.6.1 Adolescent A

Personal identity

A described her personal identity as forthright, friendly and helpful, but mentioned from the start that she had a bad temper. According to her teachers, it was partly this forthright approach, whereby she did not hesitate to speak her mind, which made her unpopular with her peers, and hence unhappy. She also admitted on various occasions to being "moody". She had not always had the same view of herself, however, as it had only been recently that she had become a better person, who was open to the people around her. This was due to the influence of her mother, friends and aunt (all females), which had helped her through the past eight very difficult years. A was uncertain as to whether this view of herself would change in the future, since she expected to get to know herself even better. The implication is that she does not know herself very well at present, having recently had a radical change of personal identity, and therefore has an unsure personal identity. In the future, A indicated her grit and determination to break away from her present personal identity of being an unimportant, unnoticed check-out girl, whom people did not respect or admire. A's third essay displayed the same "resistance-identity", based on her ideal self-concept. In her own words, A wanted "to be somebody important, whom everybody will remember; a journalist, and I will someday achieve that" [the word "will" was underlined three times]. She also wanted to be looked up to and respected by people, and make something of her life.

Thus, there would seem to be discontinuity within the structure of A's personal identity, in that the person she was, is at present, and will become, are three different persons.

Individual identity

A regarded herself as a unique person, but qualified this by adding, "only when I can achieve
something". This implies that she does not regard herself as special, if she does not achieve something to prove it. She, moreover, felt out of place with other people, when she was rejected or unwanted, and hated to be "cut off". The implication is that A's individual identity is rather fragile, because her sense of uniqueness is strongly dependent on her acceptance by other people.

**Public identity**

Although she was not dissatisfied with herself, A believed others view of her was sometimes incorrect. Whereas her teachers as a group saw her unfavourably, as "defensive", "somewhat strange", "perhaps having psychological problems", she did not see herself in the same way. This discrepancy hints at an unrealistic public identity. It was, furthermore, observed during the first interview and again during the excursion, that A seemed keen to create a good public impression. She acted very confident and appeared extremely willing to co-operate. However, during subsequent interviews she seemed either depressed or not in the mood, substantiating the lack of emotional control and moodiness she referred to in her responses. In an early group situation with her mother, A and her mother were both very talkative, almost overly so, but at later interviews A and her mother both displayed the same weary expression and uncommunicative attitude, and A appeared to have given up the pretence of being jolly, happy and self-assured. Her initial keenness and excitability seemed to indicate a social front, which attempted to show that everything was fine and under control - two strong women against the evil world of men. However, on observing her daily in class, this facade collapsed, as A's public identity established itself as being exactly as her teachers had described it - unhappy, moody, irritable and defensive. The apparent normality of her family situation in her drawing, was portrayed by everybody having smiles on their faces. In this regard, on close structural inspection this could very well be a facade. Kline (1993:492) states that "emphasis on the face represents the serious effort to maintain a social facade".
Gender identity

A was dissatisfied with the fact that she was over-endowed. She resented being so large-busted, and this aspect of her female gender made her feel negatively about her identity in general. Her teachers added that she was often absent from class owing to "female problems", showing that A has difficulty handling her female identity.

Physical identity

In her very first interview, A confessed to being unhappy with being overweight and would prefer to have been more like her sister, being able to wear what she liked and do what she wanted to. She did not accept this physical shortcoming, which resulted in a negative sense of physical identity. Her teachers verified that she was discontented with her body, and had complained that she was fat. This preoccupation with being fat was further made plain in that she drew herself more generously proportioned than anybody else in her family drawing. Moreover, her unsatisfactory physical identity revealed itself in the lingering bronchitis with which she suffered during the whole practical investigation. Then, the first day she came to college, she had a bad cold, which was aggravated daily, and turned into a constant racking cough. Her ill health caused her to take days and classes off from the beginning, and on one occasion she went home in the middle of a test. The strain of having to start at a new college and work on weekends, was telling on her physically and affecting her physical identity detrimentally, and along with it, her academic identity.

Affective identity

From the beginning, A admitted that she had definite mood-swings, and that she only sometimes put her heart into things, depending on whether she was in the mood or not. These admissions, together with A's grievance that she did not have enough control over her emotions, proves that she still finds it difficult to move beyond sensopathic experience, to more mature pathetic experience (Van der Spuy 1992:100). Her teachers' unanimous description of her unstable
moods supports this conclusion. Her teachers added that A allowed circumstances and people to dictate her feelings, which also suggests an unsatisfactory relationship with herself. Her lack of distancing on an affective level revealed itself in A's report that she was sometimes hurt when a friend made a comment about her, and that she had more difficulty than most, saying goodbye to people she had to leave behind. She also had a tendency to take a long time to calm down when really upset or angry, showing inability to objectificate affectively, and substantiating A's unhealthy affective identity.

**Cognitive identity**

A's idea of her own cognitive ability was that she was "not very clever". She did not expect to do well at school, as she had often tried and failed. This attitude placed her among good company with most of her peers, since a general culture of failure appeared to exist at the school. According to A, she had difficulty understanding the world in which she lived, especially political and economical problems, and occasionally struggled to concentrate in class, connoting ineffective distancing on a cognitive level. This lack of understanding and concentration was corroborated in the classroom, where she would at times indignantly question the meaning of things in the business world, and at other times, lose concentration and appear to be miles away, cognitively speaking. A's cognitive identity may thus be characterised as weak.

**Normative identity**

A generally identified with the norms and values of her mother. She was, in fact, so anxious not to displease her mother, that she was prepared to withhold the truth from her. In the research situations there was more evidence of dishonesty which was based on the fear of upsetting her mother. Her normative behaviour was thus being unhealthily influenced by her mother's stronghold over her normative behaviour. Adults' standards, furthermore, did not make sense to A, and on a normative level she confessed to having difficulty understanding why certain things were unacceptable. These problems are indicative of a confused normative identity.
Conative identity

On personal issues A claimed to make her own decisions, but when there was a big decision to be made, she needed advice. She then divulged that she sometimes did not know which way to go or what to do. Her mother affirmed that A did not know what she wanted to do, how she wanted to do it, and when. Because of this conflict, she grew extremely frustrated with herself. A further admitted that her mother sometimes made her decisions and stopped her from doing things. Being an extremely strong, decisive person, it is possible that A's mother has, to some degree, robbed A of the ability to make her own decisions about which way to go, thereby affecting A's conative identity formation negatively. A's lack of conative initiative was, furthermore, suggested by the fact that she only sometimes liked starting a project on her own. This, as she indicated before, would no doubt depend on whether she were in the mood or not.

Academic identity

A said she was sometimes successful at school, depending on how she felt. She regretted not being very clever, but she did her best. A found it difficult to do homework at home because of the distractions of her two siblings and baby sister. Her identity as a pupil was not improved by her mother's boyfriend, who said negative things about her school work, such as that she would never pass matric. Her mother indicated, however, that now that A had realised she had to pass matric, she had started to learn. A's teachers confirmed that at the time A tried hard, but because of her frequent absence from class, she had fallen behind in a cumulative way, failing three subjects in the last term. She had become frustrated, but had not linked her academic problems to her absence. Her poor results had a negative impact on her belief in herself. She worked fine for her English teacher, most likely because she enjoyed the subject and liked the teacher. Overall, however, A was casual and did the minimum, looking for excuses to get out of work, and often not doing her homework.

Her teachers as a group attested that A generally had an unhealthy relationship with her school work, due to the fact that she lacked lasting motivation. However, A's average intelligence
quotient is only 90, which partly explains her battle with academic work. Her results from standard two onwards showed the same direct negative trend as did all three of the other selected adolescents, which is symptomatic of the academic failure cycle in which restrained adolescents appear to be trapped.

**Identity formation as significance attribution**

In the classroom A showed an intrinsic willingness to attribute meaning by often asking the reason for things. She appeared to be on a serious quest for meaning, especially in the area of relationships. She claimed to understand her strengths and weaknesses and said she was looking very forward to becoming an adult. This seemed to suggest that she was attributing adequate significance to the present and the future. But then she admitted that she sometimes felt confused when things went wrong and she did not know what to do, showing lack of significance attribution to herself as a person, as well as in difficult situations. This confusion was demonstrated in the classroom when she was often in tears over some or other personal problem. She would become extremely anxious about her relationship with her boyfriend, and about matters she was trying to hide from her mother. She then showed her openness to find meaning by seeking counselling from her ex-guidance teacher, or from the researcher. Now and then she found that life was just too much for her, and she would stay away from class as a result. This behaviour validates her inadequate attribution of meaning to difficulties, and casts a shadow on the adequacy of her identity formation in general.

**Identity formation as involvement**

A rued the fact that she was not as involved as she could have been at home, because her mother stopped her from doing things she thought she should have been allowed to do. There were, furthermore, not enough interesting things to do at school. Indeed, A often appeared to be bored in class. She finished her work very quickly, and mostly carelessly, and spent the rest of the time chatting to her one and only friend about her boyfriend. She was very involved with her boyfriend outside of class, and with her job as a checkout girl over the weekends. These
activities could explain her lack of motivatedness and directness towards academic work. Even in the classroom while in the process of writing, she seemed more interested in flirting with the boys than in concentrating on her work. A was thus willing to be involved, but her overpowering need to be loved, and to improve her self-esteem by earning money, kept her involved with those very things which would prevent her achieving her goal of becoming a journalist one day. Furthermore, her mother was not always a favourable influence on her identity formation as involvement, since she prevented certain acceptable activities.

Identity formation as experiencing

At first A (and all the other selected adolescents) proclaimed that the life they were living was not unacceptable in any way, and that they had more pleasant than unpleasant experiences. However, A's experiencing appeared to be far from sound, as portrayed in the words of one of her classmates, "She's always upset about something!" Her experiencing was also inconsistent, in that one day she was in a jubilant, sanguine mood, and the next day she was so melancholy, that she was scarcely recognisable as the same person. Analysis showed that the directing forces of A's unhappy experiencing skulked within her relationships. In fact, unpleasant experiencing was unveiled in every one of her relationships, which will become apparent below.

Relationship with self

A initially purported to accept herself, and that there was nothing which was preventing her from fulfilling her potential. She, furthermore, revealed a steely determination to be accepted for who she was, and not allow anybody or anything to stand in the way of her identity formation. A's need to be noticed was stressed by the central position she occupied in both of her drawings, unveiling an ego which demanded attention. One of her teachers explained that she would look for attention by coming up to the teachers and telling them things. It was later discovered that these stories were not always factual, again showing her deep need for self-esteem. Her strong will and resolution to be clearly understood was graphically demonstrated by the way she concentrated on her essay writing, crumpling the paper after a false start, and starting again with
a will. Her guidance teacher was astute in her observation that it was most important for A to be accommodating for who she was, and that she demanded respect because, possibly, she needed to respect (or esteem) herself more.

Most of her teachers were of the opinion that A's defensiveness was another sign of poor self-esteem. Her ex-English teacher made no bones about describing A's relationship with herself as "unhappy ... me against the world, back against the wall. Her survival instincts are constantly on display". This stance was substantiated by A's guidance teacher.

A's mother disclosed that when A wasn't fighting with herself, she knew where she was going. Her teachers concurred that A appeared to be at war with herself, as she didn't really want to be at School A. She disliked the school, the area and the pupils. But she did have enough self-confidence to stand up for her principles. However, although it looked to some of her teachers as if A were sure of herself, the conflict, insecurity and unhappiness within herself were evident to most of them, by her irritability and aggression. Even her body-language suggested a lack of self-assurance. Further, she degraded herself and thereby revealed a lack of self-acceptance, by saying negative things about her body. It may hence be concluded that A's negative relationship with herself provides weighty evidence of inadequate identity formation.

**Relationship with religion**

A said she did not attend church because of the travelling distance. She also did not consider herself a committed believer due to her confusion about things such as heaven and hell. Her mother maintained that A had her own beliefs, but that as a rule the family did not talk about their beliefs, because it was a private matter, and only ended up in an argument. This situation is similar to that of Adolescent B, where poor communication skills made discussion of important issues impossible. Consequently, a matter as crucial as religion had been shelved by A, with its inevitable negative outcome on her religious identity formation.
Relationships with peers

A's mother elucidated that A was extremely choosy about her friends, making very sure she could trust them before befriending them. If they showed the slightest disloyalty, she cut them off immediately. This attitude points again to A's defensiveness, which has its roots in a basic insecurity of her "self". This conclusion is validated by her mother's statement that A tended to control her friends and became over-protective and possessive of them, as a means of seeking security. A had a best friend whom she admired because of the courage she had shown after having been abused, and another older friend who lived far away. But she had no friends at all at school. She saw them all as too common, immature or untrustworthy, and had constant problems with girls making disparaging remarks about her - a further indication of her insecure identity. She left School A mid-way through this study, because there were certain girls at the school who had been spreading vindictive rumours about her. Her teachers reported that A's reaction to these stories was to say derogatory things about the girls concerned, apparently in an attempt to emphasise her own "pluses". She was consequently very much a loner and not generally well-liked by her peers, because she was not part of them, being a relative new-comer to the school and older than the rest. She was easily irritated by her classmates, and reacted belligerently to their taunts about her age.

Relationships with siblings

A asserted that she did not get on "at all" with her younger sister of 16, and that she had "an attitude problem" with this sister: "There is no connection between us". These assertions seem unnatural for a girl to make concerning a sister with whom she shares a room. Her mother verified that A fought "like cat and dog" with this sister and, furthermore, did not feel particularly close to her baby sister, because she was "not a baby person". A corroborated that, since her baby sister was very young, there was nothing between them. It was suggested by the important positioning of A's baby sister in her family drawing, that this child was dominating the family situation and taking up much of her mother's time. A's lack of closeness to her baby sister could therefore stem from jealousy. This conclusion could also be applicable to A's relationship with
her 16-year-old sister, since A divulged that she would like to have had a body more like her sister's. This jealous, envious spirit would appear to have as its basis, a hesitant individual identity.

Although A claimed to have a "normal" relationship with her eight-year-old brother, and that she would do anything for him, her mother qualified this statement by adding that A got on with this brother when he did not interfere with her or get under her feet. This statement was established when the boy tried to be friendly and helpful, and A was observed to be impatient and bossy in response, telling him to go and play outside. A's intolerant behaviour provides further evidence of her fundamental relating problems with peers and siblings alike, and concomitantly, of her unsubstantial individual identity.

**Relationships with parents and other significant adults**

Early on, A made it known that she wanted absolutely nothing to do with her drug-addict father, whom she and her family had ostracised eight years before. She said he definitely was not a good example to her of what an adult should be and most definitely did not play any role in her identity formation, and nor did her mother's current boyfriend, who was possessive of her mother and against everything A said or did. Therefore, in A's words, "we don't speak about anything". Their "love-hate relationship" was demonstrated by the plain lack of mutual respect between them, which became apparent during observation. A actually went so far as to tell one of her teachers that she hated her mother's boyfriend, again strongly suggestive of jealousy.

A did, however, maintain that she had a good relationship with her grandfather, who had stayed with them during all the years her father was gone. Although he was an alcoholic, A said she respected him and saw him as a father-figure. However, the question is, why did A only mention him at her final interview and omit him from her autobiographies and family drawing, if he was a significant influence on her identity formation? And why was an interview with this gentleman blocked by the excuse that he was very difficult to get hold of, and would not be in a fit state to communicate intelligently? The reason could be that A was embarrassed to include her
grandfather because of his alcoholism, or was characteristically trying hard to give the impression of normality by having a father-figure after all (see public identity).

A purported her relationship with her mother to be good, and that the latter was a very good example of what an adult should be. A's mother did indeed come across well, as having come to terms with her lot of having had no husband or child-support for the past eight years. She certainly was a shining example of a woman who had survived the odds, and had emerged with her sense of humour in tact and proud of her achievements. She, in fact, appeared to have been such a powerful influence on A's identity formation, that A could, in many respects, almost be described as a replica, or clone of her mother. Therefore, it is significant that a large portion of A's essay on who she was, described her relationship with her mother. It may also be noteworthy that no males were mentioned as factors in A's identity formation - only her mother, aunt and friend, intimating a general non-acknowledgement of men.

A crack in A's emancipation from her mother showed up in A's admission that her mother sometimes made decisions which she was supposed to make, and stopped her from doing certain things A thought should be permissible. It is possible that some of the "normal" fights which were mentioned by A and her mother, could have resulted from this overly protective attitude of her mother, who also admitted she sometimes still treated A like a baby. (This, however, was also depicted as "normal", emphasising the attempt of A and her mother to present an acceptable social front). A, furthermore, did not feel confident to go out on her own. She cooperated with her mother to such an extent that she telephoned home the moment she arrived at a party, to her mother's amusement. One of her teachers confirmed that A's mother was very overbearing, was always on A's side, and often complained that A was being treated unjustly. Consequently, A's relationship with her mother, although good in many ways, could pose a real danger to the development of A's personal and individual identity formation.

**Relationships with teachers**

A declared that her relationships with teachers were very positive, in that she had nothing against
them, and they, as far as she knew, had nothing against her. However, her teachers as a group divulged that she did not have a close relationship with any of them, but largely kept to herself, and regarded any criticism as a personal attack. Her male English teacher (of last year) actually described her as "exceptionally abusive", because she could not appreciate his incisive sense of humour. He went so far as to say that she appeared to suffer from a persecution complex, thinking there was a sinister motive behind everything he said. Her guidance teacher and headmaster supported this allegation by stating that A tended to blame other people for her problems, and added that she had left her previous school because she had been extremely rude to one of her teachers. The headmaster, of whom A often spoke in a way suggesting that they had a close relationship, admitted that he was not aware that there was anything special between them. He had tried to motivate her, but she had obviously valued this more than he was aware of. It may therefore be inferred that A's claim that she had very positive relationships with her teachers, was possibly yet another attempt to depict a good public identity.

A's drawing of her teachers is perhaps more revealing of the true state of affairs. A general lack of feeling for her teachers is suggested by the extreme carelessness of her drawing, and the omission of those teachers she did not like. All of her teachers, with the exception of her headmaster, were incompletely drawn, and it was not even clear whether they were male or female. They seemed, therefore, not to be significant gender role models, but were neutral. However, A portrayed her special feelings for her headmaster because of his significant impact on her belief in herself, by an arrow pointing from her to him. Only A and her two favourite teachers had smiles on their faces, the rest being expressionless, which could indicate a coldness towards those teachers she was not close to.

A substantiated these inferences by identifying the two female teachers whom she viewed as role models, because they were so strong and knew what they were doing or saying (redolent of A's need for an admirable role model, and of her need to know what to do on certain occasions). She also spoke fondly of her headmaster, who had told her she could do anything she wanted to in life, and recognised that he was probably a father-figure to her. These were the only three teachers whom A had mentioned as having had an influence on her identity formation. Perhaps this is so because her teachers on the whole were incognisant of the significance of their role.
For example, A's home-economics teacher simply assumed that A's mother would remain her most important role model. Many of A's teachers bewailed the fact that they could have played more of a role in her identity formation had they known her longer. Other reasons her teachers gave for not having played a stronger role, were that the classes were too large, they were too busy, or that they had not had the chance for more personal contact, all of which could be legitimate arguments. As in the case of the other restrained adolescents, A's teachers thought they may have played a role in her identity formation, but were not sure.

Because A had kept her distance, her business economics teacher felt she did not trust men too much, and that he thus did not play a major role in her identity formation. Her register teacher blatantly stated that he had had no influence, meanwhile he was one of the teachers she had most enjoyed because of his informal approach. Even her guidance teacher, who had had many regular chats with her over three years, felt she "might" have played a role by tempering A's aggressive behaviour, or by just listening. In fact, she had done just that; since A, even after having started college, declared that she was very fond of this teacher and had set up an appointment with her. A few of her teachers were of the opinion that their influence was minimal because they had taught her for only a short time, but this tenet was disproved by the case of her Afrikaans teacher, who was taken into A's confidence and looked up to as a role model, after less than a term of teaching.

5.6.2  Adolescent B

**Personal identity**

B described himself as "a nice guy, very caring and sensitive", and he was not dissatisfied with himself. He was also observed to be polite, thoughtful and honest in the research situations. His English teacher defined him as very serious - it took a lot to make him laugh, although he sometimes did smile and look friendly. It became apparent during the research situations that his serious disposition could not be interpreted as unfriendliness, but rather as disappointment in himself because of his idealistic standards, especially spiritually. His perfectionistic streak
showed itself in the neat way he sat at the desk, kept rubbing out on his drawings, and by his extremely tidy bedroom. He, however felt negative about who he would become in the future, because of the shortage of jobs. Consequently, it would appear that he was relatively sure of his present personal identity, but was uncertain as to the continuity of his "self" in the future, and hence of his personal identity formation.

**Individual identity**

B regarded himself as a unique individual. There were signs of a mature individual identity in his strong personal views, especially on religion, and in the classroom he gave the impression of individualism by his independent behaviour. He, however, revealed that he felt out of place with his friends because he was different to them - they did not have the same goals and ambitions as he did. He sometimes also felt uneasy with teachers who did not understand him. These factors indicate that he did not have the sense of sameness and belonging which is the mark of a truly positive individual identity.

**Public identity**

B had a negative idea of how he thought other people saw him. He, furthermore, did not believe that others' view of him was correct, and was definitely not the same as his view of himself. Whereas he saw himself as sensitive and emotional, he believed his teachers misunderstood him and saw him as "naughty" or "a bully". However, his teachers actually considered him to be respectful, responsible, honest and mature. In addition, his teachers had observed that B's peers respected him because of his sensitivity and honesty. In his guidance file a friend of B's wrote about him, thus: "You have a great personality and excellent qualities". These discrepancies between B's view and others' view of his public identity, point to an inability on his part to objectify himself in relation to other people. Because he could not stand back from himself and see himself dispassionately in the same way others did, he is unlikely to have a realistic idea of his public role. His teachers' and peers' substantially different image of B disproves his conception of how they saw him, and would suggest that he has an unrealistic public identity.
**Gender identity**

B's gender identity appeared to be in order, as he was comfortable with being a boy. According to his parents, he was popular with the girls and had a girlfriend. He also had plenty of male friends visiting him at home, attesting to his healthy gender identity formation.

**Physical identity**

Physically speaking, B was not unhappy with himself, but his physical appearance was often not neat. This may point to a poor self-image or lack of self-esteem (see relationship with self). Furthermore, his health during the course of the study was not good, lending support to the idea that his many inner conflicts may have been expressing themselves physically, and affecting his physical identity formation negatively.

**Affective identity**

At first B stated that he felt good about himself as a person. Then he openly confessed to having mood-swings during which he might become very angry and lose control. He regretted what he did afterwards, but found it hard to say sorry. So, because he could not control and express his true feelings effectively, people tended to misunderstand who the real B was. He also felt depressed about many things, for example family communication problems, unnecessary school rules, unconcerned teachers, and religion, because he was not doing what was right, and knew what would happen if he did not do what he should. His affective identity formation consequently appears to be dissatisfactory.

**Cognitive identity**

B's idea of his cognitive identity was that he had the ability to do well, but lacked motivation from within (because the end was too near to bother) and from without (from his parents and teachers). Although he displayed advanced cognitive development in his mature religious reasoning, he still
had difficulty understanding religious issues and the world in which he was living. He, like C, attributed his confusion to political and economical problems. Because he was afraid to ask a question in class in case he made a fool of himself, he disclosed unsatisfactory exploring on a cognitive level. He also admitted to occasionally having difficulty concentrating in class, which connotes ineffective cognitive distancing from the subject matter. This was demonstrated during his writing and drawing, when he frequently looked out of the window and blew his nose, taking much longer to finish than the other candidates did. He was also distracted by other pupils in the library. It may therefore be said that B's cognitive identity formation has its strong points, but could be negatively affected by its weak areas in the long run.

Normative identity

B identified strongly with the values and norms preached by his church, but his behaviour sometimes contradicted these standards. He was continuously in a state of frustration because he could not live up to what he believed in.

B, furthermore, encountered trouble accepting certain school rules, demonstrating ineffectual objectificating on a normative level. In spite of the fact that B's parents and teachers taught him adequate moral standards, he felt unsure whether what he did was right. He in fact often felt guilty about doing what he knew to be wrong, which according to Mathunyane (1992:51) is harmful in many ways, especially by distorting the self-image. B's faith was consequently not active in promoting positive identity formation. He could not even speak about religion to his girlfriend, because it always ended up in conflict. Moreover, the fact that he and his parents disagreed on religious values, was also handicapping his religious identity (explained by Barber & Rollins 1990:179) and, as a result, his normative identity formation.

Conative identity

Initially it seemed that B's conative identity was satisfactory in that he professed to having no difficulty in making his own decisions, and understood how the choices he made now, would
affect him in the future. However, he displayed conative uncertainty in the research situations by asking whether he could start before beginning each essay and drawing. In his guidance file he admitted to having trouble motivating himself to study, because he did not have enough adult support, and that he lacked the determination to do what he should. These observations suggest that B's conative identity is not as solid as he alleged it to be.

**Academic identity**

B did not deem himself to be academically successful at school, owing to his own laziness, but also to lack of motivation from teachers and parents. He found it more difficult to work at home than at school since at school he worked with his friends, but at home his parents asked him to do things around the house. His parents, furthermore, broke his academic identity down by criticising his school work and results, and nagged him because he was not doing as well as he should have been. He explained that he was not confident of himself as a pupil because he felt there was no use going to school, due to the end of the world being imminent. The teachers were, moreover, not giving him the education that he needed, and that was why he was not fulfilling his academic potential. His parents concurred that B was very unhappy at school as his teachers were always criticising him when he hadn't done anything wrong, which was not enhancing his academic identity formation. It was the experience of B's teachers that he certainly appeared to have a negative attitude towards his school work at present, by reason of his shocking results - the worst in his life. Although he had been a top pupil at primary level and was brighter than his twin sister, he was under-achieving, possibly because of his need to be accepted by his friends. It was regarded as "uncool" to be an achiever at School B, and B and his parents confirmed this. His academic identity formation would seem to be suffering as a result of the above factors.

**Identity formation as significance attribution**

B displayed a genuine openness towards significance attribution, by virtue of his religious quest for meaning. However, his intense search does not seem to have resulted in positive attribution
of meaning within a religious context, either academically, or relationally. B felt that things were often too much for him, indicating an inability to attribute realistic significance to problems, thereby having a negative effect on his identity formation. In his guidance project file he confessed to having no interest in life, and that whatever he did would be a waste of time, because there was no hope for the future. These negative sentiments point to a widespread inadequacy of significance attribution as a factor of B's identity formation.

**Identity formation as involvement**

B conceded that he sometimes preferred not to get involved in things if he were not sure what the situation was, and did not like starting a project on his own if there was nobody there to help him. (This fact also vindicates his ineffective conative identity formation). B admitted that, although he tried to get involved, he always had the end of the world at the back of his mind. He, furthermore, asserted that he was often bored at home and that his parents stopped him from doing things he thought he should be allowed to do, implying inadequate differentiation of activities. It could be stated that B's involvement was not only limited by his parents, but that he hesitated to become involved in general because he was unsure of the future, and therefore of the present also. His identity formation in the form of involvement could hence be described as unsuccessful.

**Identity formation as experiencing**

B did not originally acknowledge that his experiencing was unacceptable in any way, or primarily unpleasant. However, it became increasingly apparent in the research situations and from the other media, that B's experiencing was not altogether satisfying. His experiencing of depression about many facets of his life-world indicate that his identity formation as experiencing is unsound and consistently negative. In fact, there appeared to be unpleasant experiencing in every facet of his identity formation, as has been shown thus far, and will be further established when his various relationships are discussed.
Relationship with self

B’s hesitancy to ask a question in class for fear of his friends laughing at a wrong answer, was the first suggestion of a poor self-esteem, especially in group situations. This unwillingness to speak in a group was mirrored in his attitude in the group interview together with his parents, where he withdrew into himself almost completely. According to his mother, B’s chief problem in relation to himself, was not being able to communicate his feelings, particularly his confused feelings about his religion. His twin sister’s remark that B’s inability to communicate his thoughts and feelings was because of poor self-esteem, was apt. His faulty self-esteem was then demonstrated in his hesitancy to start each drawing and essay, his repeated rubbing out in his drawings and the inordinate care he took in his autobiographies to avoid being misunderstood. Inadequate self-esteem was again suggested by his self-consciousness and shyness on the excursion. In the classroom, his deficient self-esteem was apparent by his presence being so unobtrusive and quiet, one hardly knew he was there. His teachers, furthermore, found that because he was so introspective and withdrawn, he did not give much of himself, and, although he verbalised well, he did not communicate well on an emotional level. (B explained that they only spoke about things, not feelings in their family). Other of B’s teachers were of the persuasion that he had not yet discovered himself, partly because he was living in the shadow of his twin sister, who was far more confident then he was (also suggested by the fact that he drew himself slightly lower than his sister in his family drawing). All of the above opinions consequently appear to point to the fact that B has an unsatisfactory relationship with himself, which more than any other relationship, could affect his identity formation derogatorily.

Relationship with religion

B had a problem in the area of his relationship with religion, because he was the only one in the family who was a Jehovah’s Witness, and this caused much contention. He went to church, but although he was a believer, he would not call himself committed enough to be baptised, because, like C, he did not live up to what he knew was right. At first he attended meetings almost every night, but that had faded when he discovered he was incapable of complying with what was
expected of him, especially in "field service". He had been hurt and bewildered by people's reactions when they discovered which church he belonged to. He found that people saw him differently and did not accept him because he believed differently, which affected his self-concept badly. The end of the world, furthermore, hung over him constantly, causing him great anxiety. It would therefore appear that B's religious relationship is affording him neither freedom from guilt, nor a positive view of the future, and hence is not a good influence on his identity formation.

**Relationships with peers**

B maintained that his relationships with his peers in general were not good. He only had a good relationship with a few peers who could be trusted with his feelings. He did not admire any of his friends in particular. This was not surprising, because in his first autobiography he revealed that he had experienced drugs, suggesting that some of his friends were not too savoury. One of his teachers affirmed this by stating that certain boys he was with looked "rather rough". B, moreover, admitted to smoking regularly and drinking occasionally but did not approve of the promiscuous life-style of his friends, because he was a firm believer in remaining a virgin until married. It was observed by B's teachers that his strong need to be "in with the crowd" unfortunately caused him to choose the wrong friends, who were a bad influence on his identity formation. The influence of peer pressure was further observed during the excursion when he followed D's example by having three cigarettes, after declining at first, although B claimed to have high moral standards and not to be easily influenced by friends.

In the classroom situation it was apparent that B was well-accepted by his peers. There was, however, a depth and maturity in him which was not evident in his peers. This apparent difference partly explains B's impression that his peers were opposite to him in many ways. In his third autobiography he summed up his peers' influence on his identity formation, by saying they had contributed to who he was by virtue of their example of how not to be.
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Relationship with religion

B had a problem in the area of his relationship with religion, because he was the only one in the family who was a Jehovah's Witness, and this caused much contention. He went to church, but although he was a believer, he would not call himself committed enough to be baptised, because, like C, he did not live up to what he knew was right. At first he attended meetings almost every night, but that had faded when he discovered he was incapable of complying with what was
expected of him, especially in "field service". He had been hurt and bewildered by people's reactions when they discovered which church he belonged to. He found that people saw him differently and did not accept him because he believed differently, which affected his self-concept badly. The end of the world, furthermore, hung over him constantly, causing him great anxiety. It would therefore appear that B's religious relationship is affording him neither freedom from guilt, nor a positive view of the future, and hence is not a good influence on his identity formation.

Relationships with peers

B maintained that his relationships with his peers in general were not good. He only had a good relationship with a few peers who could be trusted with his feelings. He did not admire any of his friends in particular. This was not surprising, because in his first autobiography he revealed that he had experienced drugs, suggesting that some of his friends were not too savoury. One of his teachers affirmed this by stating that certain boys he was with looked "rather rough". B, moreover, admitted to smoking regularly and drinking occasionally but did not approve of the promiscuous life-style of his friends, because he was a firm believer in remaining a virgin until married. It was observed by B's teachers that his strong need to be "in with the crowd" unfortunately caused him to choose the wrong friends, who were a bad influence on his identity formation. The influence of peer pressure was further observed during the excursion when he followed D's example by having three cigarettes, after declining at first, although B claimed to have high moral standards and not to be easily influenced by friends.

In the classroom situation it was apparent that B was well-accepted by his peers. There was, however, a depth and maturity in him which was not evident in his peers. This apparent difference partly explains B's impression that his peers were opposite to him in many ways. In his third autobiography he summed up his peers' influence on his identity formation, by saying they had contributed to who he was by virtue of their example of how not to be.
Relationships with siblings

B had a good relationship with his twin sister, with whom he communicated openly, but he felt slighted that his older sister was always in her room, and too busy to talk to him. In his family drawing, B and his twin sister looked very sad, but were holding hands, vividly portraying their closeness, but possibly also their dejection at the lack of unity and communication in the family. The fact that B and his twin sister were drawn in the centre of the page, showed how significant this relationship was to his identity formation. B was made the same size as his twin sister, but placed slightly lower than she was, perhaps intimating a feeling of inferiority on B's part. His older sister was pictured in the corner of the drawing as peeping from behind a door with no expression on her face, because she was so busy working and studying that she was like a stranger to him. Hence, B's relationships with his siblings appeared to be taking away from, rather than adding to, his self-confidence and self-esteem, thereby detracting from his identity formation.

Relationships with parents and other significant adults

B disclosed that he did not have a very good relationship with his mother, because he did not feel he could talk to her about things. She had never spoken about her own feelings or brought him up to speak openly. As a result, his mother had exactly the same grievance as did D's mother - that he would not talk to her about his thoughts and feelings. B's explanation was simply that he could not communicate because his mother and father had never shown him how by example.

B's father, although still at home, may as well not have been, according to B, because there was no communication between them. B had no respect for his father whatsoever, and said that he did not have a relationship with him. B was adamant that his parents were not good examples of what adults should be, because they did not work on problems together. The only example his father had been to him, was of how not to be. His parents were, furthermore, deterring him from becoming who he ought to become because of their inadequate support and encouragement. B's father conceded that his relationship with his son was not as it should have
been, because he had drunk so much that he could not remember the children growing up. Today he could not talk to any of his children, especially not B. In the interviews, B's father's language was poor and illogical and his stuttering seemed to be symptomatic of the difficulty he had expressing himself, supporting B's complaints.

Furthermore, the open mouth of B's father in B's family drawing, suggests oral aggression (Kline 1993: 492). B further emphasised his negative feelings towards his father by reinforcing his nose, thereby giving his father an unpleasant expression on his face. The overall unhappiness of the family was consolidated by the downward turned mouths of everybody.

B confessed in his second autobiography, that his present identity could be attributed to his effort to be directly opposite to his father. So, although his father was not his role model, his influence had had a primarily inverse effect on B's identity formation. On the other hand, B's Bible study leader had affected his identity formation positively, by serving as a role model of a happy family man, insinuating the need B has for a surrogate role model.

**Relationships with teachers**

Initially B reported that he had no relationships with teachers, since they were only there to teach. He later contradicted himself by admitting that he did in fact have one teacher whom he regarded as a role model - his woodwork teacher, who also coached him in rugby. B said he was the only teacher who encouraged him to do better, and he even played a stronger role in B's identity formation than his father did! The implication is that teachers, too, may act as surrogate role models.

B's parents launched a lengthy diatribe against the teachers at School B, saying it was they who had the attitude problem, and not their son. This appears to be another example of parents shifting the blame for their inadequacy onto teachers, thereby discouraging relationships with teachers and, concomitantly, the academic identity formation of their son or daughter. B's father stressed that high school teachers especially had a significant role to play in painting a positive
picture of the world and of the future, perhaps because he recognised his own failure in his son’s negative view of the world and the future.

B stressed his generally morbid relationships with teachers in his second drawing, by giving them unsmiling mouths. Even his favourite teacher, who had an up-turned mouth, looked serious. B’s face was the most dissatisfied of all. He positioned himself and his best-esteemed teacher on a raft together, which was being towed by a boat containing the rest of his teachers. According to B, this teacher was helping him to row and keep up with his other teachers, who were not actually worried about the pupils, “just about working from A to B for the money”. The background had been hastily drawn, but showed the sea calm beneath the teachers’ boat, and stormy underneath the raft, connoting the hard time B was having, and how easy his teachers were taking things. Whereas his most favoured teacher had been carefully drawn, the rest of the teachers were casually placed in a huddle, all having the same impassive faces and no bodies, suggesting B’s lack of feeling for them and the unsubstantial nature of their teaching (about which he had protested). B finally drove home his unhappiness in relation to his teachers by altering the straight line of his mouth to a mouth which turned decidedly down.

In general B’s teachers, it must be admitted, did appear particularly listless and uninterested. His biology teacher was aware of her influence on his identity formation, but held the opinion that because B is a male, she could not influence his identity formation. His woodwork teacher merely hoped that he played a role, because he liked B. This teacher’s main concern was having to tell B to put his shirt in every time he saw him! Thus, the one teacher whom B saw as a male role model and a good influence on his identity formation, was unaware of the far-reaching effects of his role. There was one teacher who was aware of the values she could instil to direct adolescents’ identity formation, such as self-confidence and responsibility. Moreover, B’s mathematics teacher contended that he was definitely aware of himself as a male-model for his students. It was therefore ironic that those teachers who professed to be sensitive to their role, were not acknowledged as having played any role. A possible explanation may be that these teachers were not putting into practice what they knew they should in theory. On the other hand, the less “theoretical” teacher went about doing the correct things without even realising it, because he tried to treat his pupils as persons of individual worth.
Personal identity

In her initial interview, C did not describe her personal identity entirely positively, because, although she was a very caring person who liked to help people with their problems, she could also be very stubborn, and if she was really upset, everybody had to stay away until she calmed down, showing emotional lability. She, furthermore, had not always had the same view of herself. She felt that she had matured as a person, and hoped to remain the person she had become. She, however, admitted to sometimes feeling unsure about the future, because she was not sure whether she had the right subjects, and when she looked at herself in the mirror, she feared she would never get married. These revelations indicate a change in personal identity, and an unsureness about the continuity of her "self" in the future.

In her autobiographies C became more positive about her personal identity by stating that although life could be confusing sometimes, she had made it this far and knew she could make it to the end. Because she had always done her best to get somewhere in life, she determined to continue to do things differently from what her parents had done. It may consequently be said that C's personal identity formation had been negatively influenced by her parents in the past, but she had decided - though with some uncertainty - not to let her past determine her future identity formation. She, moreover, had a realistic understanding of her personal strengths and weaknesses and very specific goals for the future, which suggests that C had an adequate sense of personal identity - past, present and future.

Individual identity

C sometimes felt out of place with other people because she was not sure what they were going to think about her and how they were going to react to her; displaying uncertainty in the first interview as to her individual identity. However, in her autobiographies she showed a ripe understanding of the unique person she was. She saw herself as different from most people, and
appreciated who she was, indicating a strong sense of individual identity. In addition, she stated that she wanted to live her life as she wanted to, and not the way anyone else wanted her to.

**Public identity**

In her first two interviews, C indicated an uncertain public identity by disclosing that she did not see herself the same way other people saw her. Some girls' view of her was incorrect because they thought badly of her. Her friends and her father had a lot of respect for her, but she was not sure how other people saw her. She subsequently reached the conclusion that she was not dissatisfied with who she was. Her reasoning appears to be that the ultimate success of her public identity depended upon how she and significant others viewed her. The viewpoints of non-significant others did not really matter, because they were incorrect anyway. Her guidance teacher ratified the contention that C had a healthy public identity, because she had a strong sense of belonging in the community.

It would seem that the opportunity to assess her identity was of benefit to C in that she became increasingly sure of her identity as the investigation progressed. This observation intimates that, by simply giving adolescents the chance to think about who they are and would like to become, teachers can promote their identity formation.

**Gender identity**

C confessed to sometimes feeling uncomfortable being a girl at certain times of the month. However, her femininity is indisputable as evidenced by her physical appearance, bearing, bedroom decor, and relationship with her boyfriend.

**Physical identity**

C professed to be physically quite active, depending on whether she was in the mood or not. She did not participate in sport at school. She was, furthermore, dissatisfied with her knock-knees
and could not accept this shortcoming, pointing to an inability to objectify herself physically and a negative physical identity. Notwithstanding these complaints, she was elected as a princess in a fashion parade at school, proving that she was more graceful and dainty than she saw herself as being. Her sometimes unsure public identity thus appears to be connected to her negative physical identity.

**Affective identity**

Although C claimed to generally feel good about herself as a person, she sometimes had mood-swings. She only sometimes put her heart into things, depending on what was asked of her, and if she enjoyed the subject or if she felt like the physical activity. These facts imply a labile and, therefore unsatisfactory affective identity. Furthermore, C's inadequate distancing in the affective domain was evidenced by the fact that she was easily hurt by friends' comments and had more difficulty than most saying goodbye to people. Her confession that she took an inordinate amount of time to get over something which had upset or angered her, clinches the instability of her affective identity.

**Cognitive identity**

C now and then experienced difficulty understanding the world. She felt confused about political issues such as why the squatters could not be given houses. She also had difficulty accepting her new physical self about once a month, and admitted that things were often too much for her. Furthermore, her sense of cognitive identity was confused because she was repeatedly frustrated at her poor academic results, notwithstanding her efforts to do well. It may be inferred from these factors that C did not detach herself adequately from herself or her problems, so that they grew out of proportion and could not be objectively and cognitively processed. Thereby her cognitive identity formation suffers.
Normative identity

C identified very strongly with the norms and values which her granny continually preached. This was proved by the strong stand she took on moral issues in class discussions. Her general normative behaviour according to her parents and teachers was good. Occasionally, however, C was not sure that what she did was the right thing. For example, she was not sure whether to go to her father or mother when they both invited her for Christmas. C's broken home therefore seems to have had a destabilising effect on her normative identity formation. Adults' standards also did not make sense to her, because adults did things they expected her not to do. This employment of double standards appeared to be confounding C's normative identity formation. Furthermore, C found it hard to accept school rules, as she saw certain of them as unnecessary. Since school rules are objective norms, this non-acceptance demonstrates ineffectual objectificating on a normative level. However, in C's class she was often given the opportunity by her English teacher to express her opinions on normative issues, which C very much enjoyed. As a result, this teacher was strengthening the formation of C's normative identity by creating an environment in which moral opinions were verbalised, and normative standpoints considered. C's religious instruction teacher maintained that the role she played in C's identity formation lay in the moral guidance and Christian instruction she had given her. Moreover, her typing teacher tried to instil in C the attitudes of doing her best, being fair, and taking a pride in her work. It may thus be said that C's teachers have played a noteworthy role in her normative identity formation.

Conative identity

C's inadequate conative identity was initially suggested by her statement that she would first make sure she could do something herself, before choosing not to let her parents do it for her. Later C ratified her unsureness about doing things herself, by professing that she found it a struggle to make her own decisions, because she was still very young and needed her parents to help her make decisions. This lack of conative backbone could have resulted from the iron control her mother and grandmother exerted over C, and which the latter complained about. As a consequence, C seems to be experiencing inadequate emancipation on a conative level, which
is influencing her conative identity formation negatively.

**Academic identity**

C considered herself to be academically average, because when she had studied hard and became nervous in a test, she was not successful. Her parents then nagged her about her results. According to C's mother, all that C's father wanted to do was see C's report and fight with her if she had failed anything. Her father attested to the conclusion that he was not a positive influence on C's academic identity formation by his statement that if C had a father who sat with her and did homework every night, she would definitely do much better. Her teachers recognised that she mostly did her best, but had limited academic capacity, her average GSAT score being 92. Her verbal score was substantially higher than her non-verbal score, which accounted for her good verbalisation of ideas in English class. However, since standard two her average percentage had followed a steady downward trend, possibly supporting her mother's theory that the work had just become too difficult for C. At the same time her below average intelligence quotient explains the reason for her frustratingly low marks despite her big effort.

Interestingly, in her second drawing C drew herself bigger than any of her teachers, and as the central figure in the picture. This structural placement makes the striking statement that C, in relation to her teachers appears to have (or desires to have) a better self-esteem and a more confident identity than within the family circle. She established this possibility by maintaining in her first interview that she was confident of herself as a pupil, notwithstanding her sometimes disappointing results. Her teachers, furthermore, encouraged her by telling her she could do much better. The indication therefore is that C's teachers are playing a positive role in her academic identity formation.

**Identity formation as significance attribution**

C confessed to sometimes not finding life meaningful, suggesting a general tendency to attribute negative meaning. She explained that she felt she had nothing to live for about once a month.
These feelings overtook her when she could not control her anger after somebody or something had upset her. She occasionally could not understand her feelings or attribute meaning to disappointing results at school. She, furthermore, did not always look forward to becoming an adult one day, since she did not relish the idea of being financially responsible for herself. These attitudes imply unsuccessful attribution of meaning to the present and the future, and could hamper C's identity formation.

She revealed her openness towards attributing meaning by her indignant questioning in class concerning certain moral behaviour. She also questioned the behaviour of the significant adults in her life. It would therefore appear that C's tendency to attribute negative meaning extends to normative issues and her relationships as well.

**Identity formation as involvement**

C preferred to be involved than not. However, she was not involved in sport at school because there were not enough stimulating activities offered. She also wholeheartedly asserted that there were not enough interesting things to do at home, and that her parents stopped her from doing things she thought she should have been allowed to do (a further suggestion of inadequate emancipation). Therefore C would sometimes rebel at what she felt was unreasonable of her mother, and go out without her mother's permission. She was, however, not a person who went out much, especially in the evenings. According to C's granny, C spent far too much time in front of the television. This indicates that C was willing to be involved, but was generally involved in activities which were not favourably conducive to her identity formation.

It may hence be concluded that C does not perceive life in a sufficiently differentiated way because she is not involved in enough varied activities. Her identity formation in the sphere of involvement has thereby been negatively affected.
Identity formation as experiencing

C originally claimed that her experiences were mostly pleasant and that the life she was living was not unacceptable in any way. But these statements appear to be contradicted by many unpleasant aspects of her experiencing which she later revealed, especially in her family drawing and final interview. The relationships at home were shown to be far from sound by the unsmiling faces, and the stark barriers which C erected. She, her sister and grandmother were all unsmiling because they were unhappy about C's mother's boyfriend. He had physically abused his own son and C was fearful that he would do the same to her small sister. The fences separating the family into three distinct groups plainly indicate the fragmentation in their relationships, which was making life consistently unpleasant for C and having an unhealthy effect on her identity formation. Her family relationships were identified as being the directing forces behind her negative experiencing.

Relationship with self

C found that mood swings caused her to feel lazy at times, and that was what was preventing her from fulfilling her potential. She also did not accept herself because of being knock-kneed and poorly endowed, and because of her angry reactions when her sisters fought with her. A number of additional factors also indicated that her relationship with self was insecure. The numerous collected items in her room displayed a deep need for love, suggesting emotional insecurity. She supported this assumption by affirming that an adolescent's primary need is for love. While writing and drawing, she worked with her head down and close to the paper, ignoring Adolescent A completely. It would appear that in her relationship with self, C created a small, manageable space as an attempt at self-maintenance. This tendency towards insulating herself in an effort to form an individual identity was also observed in the classroom situation when C sat to one side of the class together with a single chosen peer. This habit may also stem from shyness, since C has always been painfully shy, but shyness could indicate an inadequate self-image, which in turn affects identity formation unfavourably. C's teachers corroborated that she was extremely quiet, and had a poor self-image, because she had no belief in her chances at the school's
modelling competition. Her tendency to cut off people who displeased her, found resonance in her family drawing, from which she excluded both her younger brother and her father's girlfriend, who was nasty to them for many years. Both of C's drawings contained dark wavy lines, bracketing off those she liked from those she disliked in an attempt to preserve her self-identity. Her lack of self-esteem within a family context was substantiated by the fact that she drew herself smaller than anybody else in her family drawing. Her parents and granny agreed that C was a little shy in coming forward, needed to be brought out of herself, and perhaps had a problem with self-esteem. Her dance teacher validated this by telling of her frequent complaints about her knock-knees. However, her success in the modelling competition surprised everybody and boosted C's self-confidence. This indicates the important part which the male teacher behind C's success played in improving her relationship with her self and hence, her identity formation.

Relationship with religion

C said a religious relationship was important to her. However, although she was attending confirmation classes and youth meetings, and wanted to be a Sunday School teacher, she did not consider herself a committed believer because she "sometimes did things which God does not accept". She wanted to be more committed, but, according to her parents and granny, lacked depth of understanding. The guilt which was hindering her religious assurance, was redolent of Adolescent B's, and suggests that restrained adolescents may have difficulty with religious commitment because of inadequate understanding. There may also be an element of self blame, which resides in poor self-esteem.

Relationships with peers

C and her parents professed that she had good relationships with her peers. Her teachers bore witness to the fact that she was part of definite clique of close friends - all girls, to the exclusion of others. The boys did not like her, according to one of her teachers. This may indicate that C mistrusted boys, and therefore was not friendly towards them. She, however, relied on her
female friends a great deal, as they played a very significant role in her identity formation. This exclusivity in relation to friends substantiates her need to create a small controllable life-space in an effort to form an own identity.

Her two special friends both had divorced mothers like her own. Incidentally, these two girls were also both identified as restrained by the pilot study, which suggests that a restrained adolescent may choose restrained peers to bring about a sense of solidarity. (As affirmation of this suggestion, one of A's friends was abused, causing an intense reaction by A, owing to the fact that she herself was sexually molested by a house-master at her boarding school).

C's older boyfriend appeared to be influencing her identity formation substantially, since C said he had been a father-figure to her for the past three years. In her second autobiography she endorsed this by referring to her boyfriend as having played an important role in her identity formation, and successfully filling the lonely gap in her life - the lonely gap left by her father. Her mother and father both took strong exception to this boyfriend. Hopefully C will not make the same mistake she said her mother made by choosing badly. She had already chosen not to bring her boyfriend home, despite her mother's frequent invitations, which is not a good sign. In her third autobiography C revealed that she liked money. The fact that her father enjoyed spoiling her by buying her expensive presents, and that her "boyfriend was good to her because he bought her clothes and things", may suggest that C had come to equate money with love and security. This false equation could affect her relationships and future identity formation unfavourably.

**Relationships with siblings**

C described her relationships with her siblings as good. She, however, quite often fought with her younger stepsister, which made her feel bad about herself, and she was very jealous of her smaller half-brother who stayed apart from her with her real father, because her father spoilt him. The complete omission of C's half-brother from her family drawing reinforces her feeling of resentment towards him and the negative role he played in her identity formation. C's mother
averred that C was like a little mother to her sister and stepsister, and spent all her money on them. She even hit them when necessary. In her third autobiography she indicated that she would work hard one day to give her children everything they needed. It may be said that the behaviour of C towards her siblings connotes a significant need in her to mother her siblings in the frequent absence of their mother.

**Relationships with parents and other significant adults**

C did not feel that her parents were a positive influence on her identity formation, and, although they were guiding her a little bit, she was the one who had to decide who she would become one day. She was acutely aware of her need to see her father more often. Her father's absence appeared to be a major restraining factor in her identity formation. Her father confirmed this by confessing that as parents they had not been good for C. Although he tried to be there for C, he was also painfully conscious of the inadequacy of seeing his daughter about once a week. Her parents, C asserted were, furthermore, not good examples to her of what adults should be, and had therefore hindered her in her becoming. For example, she did not think her mother had set a good example by staying with her alcoholic stepfather for 11 years, after having told her daughters never to stay with a man who drank. This man, who was like a hobo today, was definitely no role model for C. In an individual interview, C's mother maintained that she "could" play a role in her identity formation, only if C learned from her mistakes and did not look at her as an example.

C divulged that she quite often picked fights with her mother, but C's mother contradicted this by claiming that C was never rude to her or backchattered her, and was more like a friend than a daughter. This would appear to be an attempt on C's mother's part to depict a better relationship with C than really existed, since in the next breath she admitted to not spending enough time with C. Her father corroborated this by his statement that this relationship was not as it should have been. C's mother then excused herself of her responsibility by stressing that she could not be available all the time, otherwise her daughters would take her for granted. She finally backed out completely by adding, "but their granny's here for them. Without her they might have been
in a home. C's mother further observed that she just wanted her daughters to be independent and not hang onto her, again intimating what seemed a near-obsession with wanting to live her own life. It appears that she had so long been shifting her responsibility for her daughters onto her mother (C's granny), that she had come to resent any infringement on her right to freedom. She consequently absolved herself of her accountability in C's need for a full-time mother, thereby failing to promote her identity formation satisfactorily. C's father, too, attempted to exonerate himself of his responsibility for C's upbringing by voicing the opinion that mothers played a much more important role than did fathers in their children's identity formation.

In her second autobiography C established that her granny had played the most powerful role so far in her identity formation, and that without her she did not think she would have made it this far. At the group interview, C was more comfortable with her granny, and more respectful towards her than towards her mother. It was also apparent that C did not demonstrate positive emotion towards her mother, but something closer to resentment. It became plain from C's other interviews, autobiographies and drawings that C took great exception to her mother's new boyfriend and was extremely jealous of him. He did not accept her and her sister at all. In her family drawing she graphically fenced off her mother and boyfriend from the rest of the family, illustrating their intense disapproval and separateness. Her mother's relationship with her boyfriend and the division it was causing between C and her mother, seemed to pose a threat to C's sense of security, and hence her identity formation. This man was, furthermore, another poor role model in C's identity formation. C had very similar problems with her father's ex-girlfriend and also fenced them off to one side in her drawing, strongly suggesting that C's relationships with her parents and other significant adults were having a negative effect on her identity formation.

**Relationships with teachers**

That C's relationships with teachers were basically positive, was avowed by both her and her mother. C had three teachers who had a good influence on her and to whom she looked up as role models (two males and one female). She was really fond of the one male teacher to whom
she could talk, and admired her headmaster. She acknowledged the role teachers could play in her identity formation, but nonetheless professed that this role was not stronger than that of her parents.

C's mother asserted that teachers definitely played a very significant role in adolescents' identity formation, since they were with the children 75% of the day. By her statement that "teachers actually bring one's children up", it would seem that C's mother had perhaps even tried to shift some of her parenting responsibilities onto teachers. C's father's belief that teachers decidedly played a significant role in her identity formation, is illustrated by his admission that "C probably looks up to her teachers more than if her parents were constantly available". C's close relationship with her favourite male teacher to whom she "can talk about anything", corroborates her father's notion, especially seeing as C confessed to not being able to confide in her father with a problem.

C's teachers reported that, although she was friendly and courteous, she did not communicate her emotions, and remained on a platonic level with them. Since she was "like a closed shell, got upset easily and did not let anyone get too close to her", in general, she did not relate to her teachers very easily. These remarks appear to contradict C's account of her close relationship with a certain male teacher. In fact, this male teacher was not really aware of C's special feelings for him, although he gave her more attention than the others, because he picked up that she needed it. It was only in retrospect that he realised that he was probably an ideal father-figure for C. Most of her teachers, in fact tended to underestimate the role that they played in adolescents' identity formation. For example, her English teacher was under the impression that her role was insignificant because C probably did not see her as a role model, but as "old-fashioned or square". Surprisingly, C revealed that this very teacher was one of her favourites whom she respected and looked up to! Other of her teachers regretted the fact that they "could" have played a more significant role if their classes were smaller. Some of her teachers thought that because they differed so vastly from their pupils in personality and background, they had little influence on their identity formation. But the case of C's English teacher suggests otherwise.

C established her special relationship with her two favourite teachers by hedging them off
together with herself in the centre of her drawing. She purposefully placed her other four teachers in the four corners of the page, showing their insignificant role in her identity formation, and characteristically separating herself from those persons who made her uncomfortable.

Thus, it would appear that in default of adequate parental role models, C's teachers tended to play a more significant role in her identity formation than they would perhaps otherwise have played.

5.6.4 Adolescent D

**Personal identity**

D appeared to have a realistic sense of personal identity in that he acknowledged his strengths as well as his weaknesses. For instance, he was often in trouble at home and at school. Although he liked to be carefree and enjoy himself, he knew when to be serious and responsible. And, although he was a bit shy, he still did what he had to do, and enjoyed helping people. D's biology teacher characterised his personal identity as relaxed and friendly, and agreed that he was responsible and helpful, but shy. D, furthermore, had a sense of continuity between his past, present and future identity formation, and was looking forward to becoming an adult, confirming his adequate personal identity.

**Individual identity**

D regarded himself as being a unique individual, and his essays provide further evidence that he has a clear individual identity. For example, he wrote that he himself was the main contributor towards his present identity, since if he had not done what he wanted to do, he would not have been who he was now. This statement reveals a thinking boy, who realises the importance of not trying to be anybody else, and of asserting his individual identity first and foremost.
**Public identity**

In general it may be noted that D, like A, was determined to display a good public identity, perhaps as a cover-up for a not-altogether-adequate home situation. Consequently, some of his initial responses were not completely frank, and were later contradicted. At first he said that others saw him differently from what he saw himself, and then later expressed the opinion that others saw him accurately for who he really was. He appears to have been correct on this score, as most of his teachers saw him favourably as quiet, pleasant, and polite. Certain teachers saw him as lazy and unmotivated, but this D himself also admitted to. His description of his personal identity was therefore authenticated by his teachers' view of him, that is by his public identity.

It is worthy of note that D was concerned that his public identity should not be anything like that of his father. In his third autobiography, he candidly described the public identity he would like to have, thus: not having people saying behind his back that he drank too much [reference to statement that his father drank himself to death]; not driving his friends away because of selfishness and intolerance, and to be remembered positively by people, not blocked out of their minds [thinly-veiled reference to his father, who was very quickly blocked out of his memory, and that of his brother, by their own admission]. D appeared to have succeeded in rejecting such a negative public identity.

**Gender identity**

D did not feel uncomfortable being a boy and, moreover, had a girlfriend with whom he had shortly before broken up owing to distance. His gender identity may be said to be adequate.

**Physical identity**

D defined himself as active, and he participated regularly in rugby. His second drawing, furthermore, depicted him in three different activities, one of them being athletics. This apparently healthy physical identity was somewhat contradicted by D's sloppy dress and lazy
body language. He did not smell fresh, his nails and teeth were not clean, and his shirt was almost always hanging out. He lay forward over the desk in an indolent manner, attesting to the laziness he admitted to. It could be said that it is typical of many adolescent boys to be remiss about hygiene, and it is considered "in" these days for adolescents to dress untidily. On the other hand, these signs could be interpreted as lack of self-esteem. When it is considered that D almost always wore black, this fact could indicate a need to hide away or be unobtrusive, owing to his shyness. And shyness could also be indicative of poor self-esteem. D's preference for dark colours was even reflected in his family drawing, in which he shaded only his own jersey. It is therefore possible that the wearing of black could be symbolic of an unconscious sadness or disappointment in D's life, since he did not confess to ever feeling depressed.

**Affective identity**

Sometimes D had mood-swings, but took them as they came. He handled them by going to sit on his own and relaxing. However, he suggested that his moods were partly what was preventing the fulfilment of his academic potential. He also admitted to having more difficulty than most saying goodbye to people, perhaps as a reference to his shortly deceased father, or the girlfriend he had just broken up with. This admission shows that D does have strong emotions. But D's mother found his lack of expression and his withdrawal on emotional issues most disconcerting, and even his older brother, who was the only one he really spoke to, confirmed that D kept many things to himself. Thus, although some adolescents withdraw as a means of coming to terms with conflicting emotions, it seems as if D's extreme reticence on an affective level, may be indicative of a less than adequate affective identity.

**Cognitive identity**

D had a generally positive concept of his cognitive identity, in that he knew he had the cognitive ability to do better academically, if it were not for his laziness. And, although he had failed, he did not consider himself a cognitive failure. He, furthermore, professed to understand the changes which were taking place in his body and had come to an understanding of these things.
without the assistance of his mother and teachers. He, however, revealed that he occasionally had difficulty understanding why certain things were unacceptable, and hesitated to question why something was right or wrong, indicating inadequate cognitive exploring and immaturity of understanding. He also showed immaturity of cognitive expression in his unwillingness to communicate with adults on important issues. The difficulty D's mother had in communicating with D is indicative of his inadequate cognitive expression. His economy of expression was demonstrated by the fact that he used less than half of an A4 page in both of his drawings. Thus, it may be concluded that D's cognitive identity appears to be lacking in the area of exploring, and in maturity of expression.

Normative identity

Although D's mother and father were acknowledged in an autobiography as having been an adequate normative influence on his identity formation, by telling him what was right and wrong, his father's normative influence is questionable, since D once referred to his father as "my father, the alcoholic", in an English essay. Furthermore, in both photographs of D's father, drinking and smoking were a focal part of the scene, showing a somewhat inadequate identification with values and norms in D's family.

In the absence of his father, D's mother continued her strict disciplining of him, although his behaviour often caused him to be in trouble with his mother. According to D, his mother did as good a job as any male, but on another occasion said he sometimes felt that his mother allowed him too much freedom. It is possible that this was a subtle hint that D was still in need of a male to discipline him, especially if his obvious appreciation of his woodwork teacher's discipline is taken into account. It could be concluded that D's mother has done fine work in his normative identity formation, but that his father's influence in the past and his absence in the present, could have created a normative vacuum that only an adequate father-figure could fill.
Conative identity

D displayed low conative initiative by conceding to a lack of motivation to study, and to a dislike of starting a project on his own. His teachers added that he tended to follow his friends. His dependence on his friends for conative decisions was substantiated in his written disclosure that he could count on his friends, as well as on his aunt, when he did not know what to do in certain circumstances. It is significant that his mother was not mentioned as somebody he could go to for conative assistance. The reason for her exclusion could be that his mother pushed him too hard to do his homework and study. In so doing, she had disallowed him the opportunity to develop internal discipline and form a strong conative identity.

Academic identity

On investigation it was discovered that D’s intelligence quotient score had deteriorated with each testing. In standard four, his non-verbal score on the GSAT had been 116, showing above-average ability in this area. This is one reason he did well at woodwork. Yet he had failed standard 8 and two subjects in the past term. On his report, his teachers simply told him to work harder. In his guidance project file, however, D divulged a possible reason for his underachievement in that, whereas he only spent four hours per week doing homework, he spent 10 hours watching movies or videos, and lots of time on hobbies and going out with friends. Like A and B, he was convinced that the solution to his problems was to go to a technikon - not to study harder. Part of his academic struggle, though, was that he had difficulty absorbing subjects in which he had low interest, such as business economics, which his KODUS test substantiates.

Initially D claimed to be academically successful and confident of himself as a pupil, but later he conceded that laziness to study was partially to blame for not realising his academic potential. D’s mother suggested another possible cause for his underachievement, by her revelation that D’s father had only had negative comments to make about D’s results, and had never attended PTA meetings. In addition, she was under the impression that D’s father’s death was affecting his studies derogatorily, and that he needed extra classes. However, his English teacher
maintained that his problem was that he unfortunately did not believe he could break away from his father's negative influence, or he could do better academically. She was convinced D's consequent lack of self-confidence was arresting the fulfilment of his potential. His teachers, furthermore, explained that a pupil was considered a "nerd" if he or she did well at School B.

Interestingly, D did his best in woodwork, partly because this was the only teacher he really liked, and partly because he enjoyed drawing. As he was repeating business economics, he was very bored and unmotivated in this class. His negative attitude also had to do with this teacher being too easy on him, by the teacher's own admission. His business economics teacher agreed with D's mother that D needed a firm hand, and perhaps this teacher's easy-going approach had had a part to play in D's failure of the previous year. Whoever was to blame, the fact remains that teachers of restrained adolescents, and particularly those without fathers, have a significant role to play in their academic identity formation, by being unwavering in their discipline and motivation. Furthermore, a good personal relationship with such adolescents has an undeniably positive outcome on their academic results, no matter how small their ability or intrinsic interest is.

Identity formation as significance attribution

D attributed accurate significance to his identity formation, in that he acknowledged the role of each of his family members in who he had become. He, furthermore, claimed to find his life meaningful, and that he understood himself, thereby verifying his satisfactory identity formation as significance attribution. He had also attributed adequate significance to his father's death and did not appear to have difficulty with finding meaning in any other area of his life, except in his admission that things were sometimes too much for him. This may connote a certain degree of difficulty with cognitive distancing, and an inability to see problems in perspective.

Identity formation as involvement

Although D maintained that school was sometimes boring, which could suggest insufficient
differentiation of his academic experiences, he claimed to be very active. His rugby teacher confirmed that he was not one to miss practices, and his drawings both revealed plenty of activity, thereby verifying adequate identity formation in the sphere of involvement. However, as mentioned in the section on his academic identity, he was involved in many activities which did not appear to be promoting positive identity formation. For example, he spent an undue amount of time watching movies, doing "hobbies" (which he failed to describe) and going out. The latter always included drinking and smoking.

**Identity formation as experiencing**

D had disclosed in his English essays that he considered it quite acceptable to have a complete drinking binge on weekends, and to swear as part of normal expression. Consequently, his English teacher believed that his family, and in particular his father, had been a negative directing force in his identity formation as experiencing. D, moreover, admitted to smoking and drinking "now and then" in his first autobiography, and unashamedly smoked three cigarettes during the excursion. On observation D did not smile at all in the company of his mother or of the researcher at first, but revealed a lovely happy smile when with his friends and older brother. This suggests that D felt happiest and most at home with himself in the company of his peers, and not with adults. The "carefree person, who likes to enjoy himself and joke around", whom D described in his first autobiography, was the identity which was elicited by D's peers. D's experiencing may be depicted as satisfactory. However, the most pleasant aspect of his identity was experienced in the company of his peers, and not adults, possibly owing to certain adults having disappointed him as role models. This latter fact could cast a shadow on the soundness and consistency of his identity formation as experiencing.

**Relationship with self**

D's mother maintained that, notwithstanding the good relationship he had with himself, she was anxious about his unwillingness to open up, even when he became very quiet and she could see he was worried about something. D always told her he was fine, but had never spoken even
once about his father since his death, nor cried. D’s confidential explanation of his behaviour was that it was easier not to speak about his father, and when he had wanted to cry, he had stopped himself. Furthermore, after three months he claimed to have totally reconciled himself with his father’s demise. Hence, D’s lack of expressiveness on that score could have had more to do with his relationship with his father, than with his relationship with himself (see Relationships with parents).

According to one of his teachers, the fact that D could laugh at himself showed that he had come to terms with himself more than his classmates had. He was, admittedly, older than they were. In the past he had been negative, but was maturing and seemed more at peace with himself lately.

His teachers concurred that although D had not quite found himself, he had the intelligence to sort out any conflicts he had. He had an adequate, but not a particularly good self-image. This year he had appeared to be more positive and was visibly delighted when he was successful. On observation he did not use a rubber in his drawings, or make corrections in his essays, indicating that he was relatively sure of himself. Although an uncertainty in relation to himself was portrayed in his inconsistent handwriting in the first autobiography, the slant of his writing became progressively more consistent and confident in his second and third autobiographies. Moreover, because he had determined to pass, he had been academically successful in the second term of the research study.

Taken together, the above facts would seem to suggest that D’s father’s passing had not had the negative outcome on his identity formation which his mother had feared, but D was in the process of developing a mature relationship with himself, notwithstanding his father’s recent death.

**Relationship with religion**

D considered a relationship with religion important, and went to church regularly with his mother, and sometimes on his own in the evenings when he felt the need. He prayed, but did not read
his Bible. He did not regard himself as a committed believer, maybe because it was not "popular" to be one! Being uncommunicative with adults on sensitive issues, it was difficult to gauge exactly what the nature of D's relationship with religion was, except that it appeared to be adequate.

**Relationships with peers**

D had a few older friends next door, whom he never brought home, in spite of his mother's frequent invitations. It could be that, being a reserved and private person, D preferred to keep his friends in whom he confided, to himself. Although he described his relationships with friends as good, he claimed not to look up to any of them as role models. This is another possible reason he did not bring them home.

It was his teachers' observation that it was important for D to be "in with the crowd", and he would go along with most things they did, although they were not always the best crowd. This would suggest that his friends had more of an influence on his identity formation than he was willing to admit. His teachers saw him as socially well-adjusted and liked by his peers because of his gentle personality and sense of humour. On observation, D displayed his "fun" side only when with his peers, demonstrating his powerful need for acceptance, and possibly a fragile self-esteem. A certain degree of identity confusion could also be at the base of such behaviour. Hamachek (1992:17) supports this verdict with his statement that adolescents with a sense of identity confusion, are inclined to seek self-acceptance indirectly by being what they believe others want them to be. D also seemed to be testing a different identity when in the company of his friends than was evident on most other occasions, which tends to validate his teachers' belief that D is still in the process of discovering himself.

**Relationships with siblings**

D, as always, stated that everything was fine between him and his older brother and younger sister, but his mother felt that he was all too often nasty and off-handed with his sister. Because
there was a big gap between them, he did not talk to her often, and became irritable with her when she teased him. Thus, D's sister, like his mother, was also the victim of his uncommunicative nature. D, however, got on well with his older brother by three years, and looked up to him as an example. However, D's teachers stated that his brother was well-remembered for his bad behaviour! Nonetheless, although D is taller than his older brother, he drew himself a little smaller than his brother in his family drawing, validating his significant role in D's identity formation. D sketched himself a second time together with his brother on the opposite side of the page, next to a tape-recorder playing music. According to D, this signified the fun they had going out together. His brother divulged that D had made quite a pest of himself when he was younger, by always wanting to go out with him. D's significant need for a role model is revealed here, as well as his need to belong.

**Relationships with parents and other significant adults**

In the beginning D described his relationship with his deceased father as "positive", and that they "could speak about anything". D's mother also reported that his father had been fond of him, and that they had been close. However, she could not understand why D had refrained from mentioning or mourning his father's death. His English teacher had gained the distinct impression that things at home were not as rosy as what D and his mother now tried to make out. For example, D had referred to his father derogatorily on a few occasions. This teacher suggested that possibly his father's death had had a positive effect on D, because when he had told her about his father's death, he had seemed to have little affection for him. D did, indeed, regret that his father had never played with him, and eventually confessed at his final interview that he was probably better off now that his father was dead! His improved results at the end of the term would tend to support this notion.

In D's last autobiography, lack of respect for his father as a person was further uncloseted. It may be inferred by reading between the lines that D's father had had an inversely positive outcome on D's identity formation, in that he was determined not to become like his father had been. Hence, he wrote of his desire to have a family whom he loved and children who would
listen to him, so they could avoid making the mistakes he had made; to be a loving and caring person who would make sacrifices to help others; to always be there for his family, to treat them well; to spend time with his family, and play with them and watch them (reminiscent of D's and his mother's admission that his father could have played more with him). Much about who his father really was to him may be gleaned from these startling revelations. Furthermore, D left his deceased father out of his family drawing, as an ultimate indication that he had come to terms with his father's death, and had made no morbid attempt to bring him back, even in memory.

Why then, the attempt on the family's part to paint a pretty picture of D's relationship with his father? It could be that out of respect for the dead, he and his mother preferred to remember only the positive aspects of their relationship. D's relationship with his mother was relatively good, but he got into trouble a lot for the things he did. His mother complained that he did not express his thoughts and feelings to her or tell her about his problems. D's simplistic elucidation was that he hardly ever had problems to speak about. Thus, D's mother had the same dilemma as B's - that of being close, but not close enough for her son to confide in her. This is an instance of the pain which is experienced by restrained adolescents and their parents as a result of dysfunctional communication skills.

Although D is much taller than his mother, he drew himself a little smaller than her in his family drawing, connoting her significant role in his identity formation, and verifying that she was a good example to him of what an adult should be. In this drawing, D drew two hearts with arrows connecting these hearts to himself and mother and sister. D's need to express his love for his mother and sister was suggested here. He, furthermore, wrote a very touching essay for his Afrikaans teacher, in high praise of his mother. It is sad that D's mother will be unlikely to ever hear the words from his lips, which he expressed so well in his essay!

**Relationships with other significant adults**

Apart from his mother, older brother and peers, D mentioned only his aunt as having played a significant role in his identity formation. No other males were alluded to, suggesting a dearth of
admirable male role models in D's life.

**Relationships with teachers**

According to D, his relationships with his teachers were basically positive, and he only really got into trouble with his history teacher, because he did poorly. He did have one teacher, (his woodwork teacher, the same man referred to by adolescent B), who had a good influence on him, and whom he looked up to as a role model. This teacher indeed claimed to have a very good relationship with D. The reason was that he treated him and disciplined him differently from the rest, D being slightly older. D appreciated the discipline he carried out, but this teacher did not take the place of a father-figure. D's mother explained that his business economics teacher was too soft and did not supply the firm hand which he needed. This comment may indicate the need D's mother had for a male to support her in disciplining D. She went on to say that teachers' role in adolescents' identity formation was equally important to that of parents, because sometimes an adolescent would not speak to his parents about certain things. She believed that if a father were absent, as in D's case, a teacher, especially a male, could stand in the gap and give the necessary guidance.

D's teachers as a group were in concord that D, like all of the selected adolescents, did not have a really intimate or deep relationship with any of them. He tended to be passive and almost distant as far as showing emotion was concerned. The fact that he made the drawing of his teachers very small, could indicate their general insignificance in his life. Although there was a busyness about the picture (emphasising his need to be active), there was only one smile evident among six figures. This may imply that the activities depicted were not very enjoyable. He had, furthermore, chosen to generalise his relationships with his teachers by portraying everyday scenes, and using three teachers to represent all of his teachers. This once more intimates that D did not feel close to any one teacher in particular, even his woodwork teacher whom he liked, or he would have specifically included this teacher in his drawing.

D's woodwork teacher stated that teachers did play a role in adolescents' identity formation, but
did not realise it. He, himself, did not appear to realise it either. D's register teacher (who
doubled as his guidance teacher under the new ruling), believed she played a definite role as it
was now her task to teach D about relationships, life-skills, values, self-esteem, communication
and careers. His ex-English teacher, furthermore, taught D that he was able to shape his own
world if he took the chance, in this way attempting to help him break away from any negative
influence on his identity formation in the past. D acknowledged in an essay that the part his
teachers had played in his identity formation was to get him ready for life in the working world,
and if it were not for them, he would not know what lay ahead for him. However, this role was
not stronger than that of his parents.

In a word, certain of D's teachers were aware of their influence on his identity formation but did
not feel they were successful. Others, again, were definitely aware of the significance of their
role, and were making a decided effort to influence D's identity formation positively.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has given a detailed discussion of the findings accumulated during the investigation.
In so doing, the following primary and secondary objectives of the study have been achieved,
that is, to clarify the identity formation of restrained adolescents, and their identity formation
needs. An evaluation of the media in realising these objectives has also received attention.

In Chapter Six, conclusions will be drawn and grouped into general and specific categories. All
the findings are qualitatively analysed in accordance with the theory presented in chapters one
to four. The limitations of the study will be considered, and recommendations suggested for
improving a similar study.
CHAPTER SIX

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Herein it is shown how the objectives of the study have thus far been achieved. General conclusions are then drawn from the findings of the investigation, with respect to the utilisation of media, realisation of the programme, persons involved in the programme, home and school setting of restrained adolescents, and general causes of restraints. Specific conclusions are thereafter induced concerning the identity formation of restrained adolescents, their identity formation needs, and the role parents and teachers play in fulfilling these needs. Hereby, the ultimate objectives of the study are achieved. The shortcomings of the study are highlighted, recommendations made for improving a similar study, and questions suggested that merit further investigation.

6.2 REALISATION OF OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study have been achieved in the following ways: The primary objectives of discussing in detail what identity formation entails, have been met by defining identity, its various types and facets, and comparing identity to related concepts such as personality, the "self", self-concept, self-image, self-esteem and identity formation. Identity formation as such has been defined according to past and present literature, and from a Psychology of Education perspective. Gender identification in adolescents with regard to their identity formation has been highlighted, as being of cardinal significance. Adolescents as total persons have been described, and the effect of all their relationships on their identity formation elucidated. The influence of parents and significant family members and other adults, such as teachers, was indicated as being most important. From the above, the essences of adequate identity formation have been deduced. It has furthermore been suggested that the role of teachers in the identity formation of restrained adolescents is extremely salient. In a further section (see addendum) this role is expounded.

The secondary objectives have been realised too, in the following way: adolescents who are
restrained in their becoming have been exposed. Identity formation as an aspect of adolescents' becoming was elucidated. Criteria for the evaluation of their identity formation have been plotted. The identity formation needs of restrained adolescents were succinctly delineated. It has, moreover, been established that teachers may well intervene as surrogate role models in the identity formation of restrained adolescents, in the same degree to which they are aware of, and interested in, the needs of the latter. A programme for teachers is however still needed, which will give practical advice on just how to become sensitive to these needs and how to fulfil them in the classroom. The implementation of such a programme will hopefully achieve the final objective of this study, by contributing to society's need for youths with stable identities, who are becoming the persons they ought and want to become. A strategy for teachers to assist restrained adolescents towards identity formation, is presented as an addendum.

The general and specific conclusions of the study are formulated below. In accordance with the nature of this investigation, these conclusions bear reference to the four adolescents who were involved. In the discussion that follows, references to individuals and groups such as "adolescents restrained in their becoming" or "parents" or "teachers of restrained adolescents", have to be interpreted in this context. Although further investigation needs to be undertaken to determine the extent to which these conclusions can be generalised, these conclusions could well be universally applicable.

6.3 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In keeping with qualitative methods, a few general conclusions are induced (by means of inductive reasoning), from the investigation as a whole (McMillan 1992:223). These conclusions primarily concern the research group.

Adolescents who are restrained in their becoming can be quite easily identified. Amongst other distinguishing characteristics of restrained adolescents detailed in this study, it has been revealed that restrained adolescents, without fail, have inadequate father-figures. The previous study on restrained children done by the researcher (Van der Spuy 1992:iv)) reached the same conclusion.
The identity formation of adolescents who are restrained in their becoming is on the whole inadequate in every respect. With regard to every facet of adolescents' identity formation (investigated with the use of Questionnaire Two - Identity Formation), restrained adolescents experience inadequate identity formation. Unmanageable family relationships greatly contribute towards subsequent problems which exist. Parents between themselves, and parents and children do not understand, accept, trust and respect one another. They lack general life-skills. Family and interpersonal relationships consequently become almost burdensome. This in turn causes a situation in which intellectual exploration and further socialisation are hampered. In addition, there are also intellectual or learning restraints, caused by factors such as low ability, or non-encouraging teachers, non-supportive adults, disturbances by younger siblings and conflicts in the home, meddling or loud neighbours, and an overall culture of failure.

Parents of restrained adolescents are inadequate, especially their fathers, who are non-available either literally or figuratively. Alcoholism and abuse are common. Mothers make a sterling effort, but are often inadequate examples of the complex phenomenon "adulthood". This is aggravated by the fact that their husbands are inappropriate educative partners in the family situation. They rely heavily on the educational assistance of other family members and teachers.

Teachers of restrained adolescents are generally unaware of the role they play or can play in these adolescents' identity formation. On the whole, they experience so much work-pressure that, even if they are aware of restrained adolescents' needs, they do not have the time to attend to these needs. As a rule, restrained adolescents (male or female) strongly identify with at least one male teacher, whom they see as a male role model, and who influences their identity formation positively. This indicates the deep need of restrained adolescents for a surrogate father-figure, in lieu of an adequate father.

The overall impression while observing teachers of restrained adolescents is that they are over-worked and discouraged because of the awesome work-load they have to bear. Because they are so busy trying to keep up with their work, they are mostly oblivious to the needs of restrained adolescents. Those who are aware, are vexed because they do not have the time to meet them. They cannot integrate their teaching and this role. However, fulfilling this role need not necessarily
take extra time or effort, as certain teachers who were interviewed, demonstrated.

Language teachers display their superior theoretical knowledge of the selected adolescents by virtue of these subjects being conducive to the discussion of moral and ethical issues, and the participation of the restrained adolescents in these self-revealing discussions. Teachers of practical subjects such as woodwork, typing, home-economics, dance, music and especially sport, are in a favourable position to get to know their pupils in a more practical and informal sense, owing to the one-to-one situations which these subjects necessitate. Because of the intimate relationships which may thus arise, facilitating the adolescents' receptivity, these teachers may easily influence restrained adolescents identity formation for the good. This suggests that the more practical a subject can be made, the more potential it affords for the influencing of restrained adolescents' identity formation.

Those teachers who are testifying Christians, however, appear to be far and away more concerned about their role in their pupils' identity formation, in particular their moral identity formation, perhaps because of the emphasis on moral development and concern for others of this religious persuasion. These teachers' answers to the questions are, as a consequence, more thoughtful and carefully considered. They are also more generous with their time, less stressed and more confident of their positive influence on restrained adolescents' identity formation. Moreover, certain selected adolescents point to Christian teachers as those they can trust. These teachers make a real effort daily to show their pupils love, they are truly concerned for them as individuals and constantly try to teach them moral values. It may therefore be concluded, that because of the strict moral beliefs of Christian teachers and the practical love which they demonstrate in trusting, accepting relationships, they may play a significantly larger role in restrained adolescents' identity formation than teachers who have no religious leaning.

Those general conclusions which have been drawn concerning the utilisation of the media, the realisation of the programme, the persons involved in the programme and the biographical background of the selected restrained adolescents, are presented here.
Utilising the media

Questionnaire One (Becoming) proved very effective in selecting restrained adolescents, particularly when used in conjunction with the assistance of their teachers. This questionnaire, because it produced such comparable results when administered by the researcher in 1992, has shown itself to be a reliable qualitative medium, especially when applied more informally in its updated form.

On the whole, no difficulties were encountered in the administration of the five questionnaires. The information required from each questionnaire was elicited, proving the general validity of the questionnaires, and since similar responses were gained from all of the respondents on each questionnaire, the reliability of the questionnaires used, appears to be satisfactory. The selected adolescents, parents and teachers were moreover willing and co-operative in their attitude towards the questionnaires.

Although the parents and other adults who were questioned, displayed initial defensiveness during interviews, they became eager after they had warmed to the researcher. Despite the tight schedule of the teachers interviewed, extremely useful information was gleaned from the interviews with teachers.

During observation, the selected adolescents and their parents did not appear to be distracted from their usual behaviour by the presence of the researcher. The medium of observation consequently achieved the desired effect of providing an inside view of the life-world of restrained adolescents at home and at school, as well as of the behaviour and attitudes of their parents and teachers. Observations of verbal and non-verbal language and the various objects in the investigation situations corroborated the personalities, moods and identity formation needs of the selected adolescents. Their attitudes towards parents, other adults and family members became clearer when the adolescents were observed together with these persons.

The selected adolescents took on a serious and positive approach towards the writing of autobiographies. This medium was most successful in disclosing the nature of restrained
adolescents' identity.

The more oblique medium of drawings found a keen response in the selected adolescents, and was also extremely revealing of certain aspects of their identity formation.

6.3.2 Realising the programme

The chosen research design resulted in the smooth flow of the programme, with no significant hitches. Very little motivation was needed to achieve the full co-operation of all of the persons involved in the programme.

6.3.3 Persons involved in the programme

The selected adolescents became noticeably freer with their disclosures after the excursion with the researcher, which indicates the potential for less than platonic relationships with restrained adolescents.

The mothers of the selected adolescents were particularly eager to divulge information on their son's or daughter's identity formation. They evidently appreciated the interest being taken in the selected adolescents and their problems, and the opportunity to talk about themselves. In fact, there was great relief shown in some cases at the privilege of unbosoming themselves in the presence of somebody who was really listening and understanding. This attitude points to the crying need for understanding and trust of restrained adolescents. At the same time, this need presents the opportunity for teachers to lend the listening, understanding ear which these adolescents (and even their parents) desperately require.

Two fathers were unavailable because of death in one case, and divorce and having left the province in the other. However, photographs of these fathers and comments of family members revealed some clues as to their indulgent life-styles and negative influence on their son's or daughter's identity formation. The other key informants involved apparently felt privileged by their inclusion in the study, and provided valuable input. The relationship of these informants to
Adolescents A, B, C and D were respectively a mother's boyfriend, a twin-sister, a granny and younger sister, and an older brother. Key informants would therefore appear to be family members, or persons closely related to the family.

Overall the teachers involved were too busy for lengthy interviews, and some were woefully unhelpful, especially if they did not know the researcher or the selected adolescent very well. The most useful information was forwarded by language teachers, teachers of practical subjects, and professed Christians.

6.3.4 Home and school setting of restrained adolescents

The observations made of restrained adolescents in the research group provide an interesting inside-view of their home and school setting as part of their life-world. Small, cramped houses, unruly neighbours, sloppy dress, and an atmosphere of weariness, tension and depression is the norm. In spite of the brave efforts of mothers, the sad effects of absent or non-available fathers are to be seen in financial worries and numerous relational difficulties.

The unkempt appearance of certain parents and adults who do not work, is not a positive influence on the identity formation of the restrained adolescents involved with them. The attempt of parents to keep the small, cramped homes tidy, reveals a need for self-definition and maintenance. Because mothers of restrained adolescents are often alone in their efforts to raise their children, and have borne the brunt of their husbands' neglect or abuse, they take on a distinctively tough, unbending attitude towards the world, and towards men in particular. Although they have largely resigned themselves to their fate, and come to terms with their problems, they are not good role models of what their daughters should become - either in their attitude towards the world or towards men. Smoking, and sometimes chain-smoking at the interview could be a sign of the stressful life of these adults.

The use of language in general is very poor, and there is some evidence of extreme difficulty with communication. Apparently the lack of mutual understanding, trust and acceptance is at the base of this dysfunctional communication.
At school, as a rule, restrained adolescents do not perform according to their potential. The main problem appears to be their desire to belong in the peer group, and this discourages them from doing well academically. They also feel that they lack the necessary encouragement and support from their parents and teachers.

All in all, the home and school setting of restrained adolescents do not render an environment favourable to healthy identity formation.

The causes of the above-mentioned restraints seem to be a combination of certain basic factors.

6.3.5 Causes of restraints

The problems or "restraints" of restrained adolescents would appear to develop as a result of deficiencies in their education or teaching on the one hand, or as a result of problems in their environment (or circumstances), on the other.

Factors relating to education

Restrained adolescents' education at home or at school has not complied with the conditions for the establishment of the pedagogic relationship structures, that is understanding, trust and authority.

Factors from the environment

Poor socio-economic circumstances (residential area, residence), cultural poverty, lack of opportunities, or adverse influences from their own subculture and peers, as well as poor communication impede the actualisation of restrained adolescents' potential, affirmed by Du Toit (1991:29-31).

Specific conclusions induced from all of the interviews, questionnaires, autobiographies, drawings, and observations, are now submitted in accordance with the categories of identity formation (see
6.4  SPECIFIC CONCLUSIONS

The specific conclusions below, concerning the selected restrained adolescents, are divided under the headings: identity formation of restrained adolescents; identity formation needs of restrained adolescents; role of parents in restrained adolescents’ identity formation; and, role of teachers in restrained adolescents’ identity formation.

6.4.1  Identity formation of restrained adolescents

Personal identity

The majority of restrained adolescents who participated in the study display an inadequate sense of personal identity, as they are not positive or certain in describing the person they are, were, or will become.

Although they are mostly realistic in that they acknowledge their personal strengths and weaknesses, there are certain personal characteristics of restrained adolescents such as shyness, social withdrawal, defensiveness, stubbornness, bad temper, moodiness, sombreness and extreme forthrightness which do not endear them to their peers and teachers. Restrained adolescents furthermore seem to have an unsatisfactory personal identity because they cannot express their true feelings effectively, so other people see them differently from who they see themselves.

The anticipated personal identity of restrained adolescents is often an identity which is diametrically opposed to who their parents are or were. Certain restrained adolescents have an anticipated identity which is not based on who they are, but on who they hope to become, making it an unrealistic resistance identity, which bends towards defining rather than refining the ideal self-concept. This type of future identity results from unfulfilled present identity formation needs, and dissatisfaction with their present personal identity.
**Individual identity**

Although there are signs in some restrained adolescents of a mature individual identity, in their sense of uniqueness, or "specialness", they are often unsure or negative. The individual identity is on occasion overly influenced by a mother with a strong personality, who handicaps the formation of her son's or daughter's own individual identity. This results in what Marcia has termed "identity foreclosure", meaning that identity is prematurely fixed. In this case an adolescent accepts, without criticism, the definition of himself or herself created by others, and unquestioningly complies with the expectations of family or society. This may occur if an adolescent over-identifies with a model (Gerdes et al 1988:291), and is a form of security (Kroger 1989:44).

Restrained adolescents sometimes feel out of place with other people, as they are not sure what people will think of them, or they may experience themselves as "different". This feeling suggests an inadequate sense of sameness and belonging, which is symptomatic of a fragile individual identity. In addition, restrained adolescents appear to be wanting with regard to their individual identity in that they are overly dependent for their sense of uniqueness on what they achieve, and on being accepted by other people. This applies particularly to adolescent girls. An explanation is offered by Carol Gilligan (Garrod et al 1992:16), who believes that whereas boys seem concerned with separation and individuation in the formation of their identities, girls create identity more in connection to peers and members of their families. They come to know themselves through relationships with others.

**Public identity**

Restrained adolescents also tend to have an unrealistic public identity, in that they see themselves differently from what others see them. They believe that others see them incorrectly or differently from how they see themselves, because of an inability to objectify themselves in relation to other people. The public identity is consequently emphasised because of the need to maintain a social front in an attempt to disguise the real personal identity.
Gender identity

Restrained adolescents generally have a positive gender identity, but restrained girls especially, are often dissatisfied with certain aspects of their bodies, usually linked to the physical changes of adolescence.

Physical identity

As is common among all adolescent girls, restrained adolescent girls are inevitably unhappy about some or other feature of their physical anatomy, indicating an incapacity to objectify themselves on a physical plane, and hence a deficient physical identity. Further signs of an insubstantial physical identity is that physical activity is conditional upon being in the mood or not, and there is evidence of physical laziness or withdrawal. Physical ailments such as chronic colds, bronchitis and allergies are also common amongst restrained adolescents, and may be expressive of emotional discord. Also, physical illness can cause a loss of self-worth and leads to social isolation and ego-centrism. It affects restrained adolescents affectively, conatively and cognitively (see Van Wyk 1991:140). A sloppy physical appearance amongst restrained adolescent boys may indicate poor self-esteem or depression. Kiester and Valente Kiester (1996:83) confirm that declining physical appearance is a little-known sign of depression.

Affective identity

Restrained adolescents' dependence on whether they are in the mood or like a task or not, reveals too much reliance on feelings for the constitution of a healthy affective identity, typical of younger children. Feelings of hopelessness and helplessness in restrained adolescents, are a central feature of those who are emotionally depressed (Rouse 1980:105). Signs of an inability to distance and objectificate affectively are the difficulty restrained adolescents have when having to take leave of somebody, the hurt they experience when something nasty is said to them, the lack of emotional control, the long time it takes to get over an emotional outburst, the frequency of mood-swings, and the emotional withdrawal and deficiency of emotional expression.
Cognitive identity

The majority of restrained adolescents seem not to have a positive concept of their own cognitive ability, using statements such as "I'm not very clever". Amongst their peers this attitude is acceptable, because they tend to choose friends of similar ability, or in some cases, those who can help them academically. Competition amongst peers may improve results temporarily, but these inflated results soon revert to normal after the effort and inevitable disappointment of failure. Because of the failure to achieve expected results, restrained adolescents may give up and lose faith in their cognitive ability. They then not only see their cognitive identity as unsuccessful, but themselves as persons.

Cognitive identity appears to be inferior in restrained adolescents, as they have difficulty understanding the world around them and their mood changes. Restrained boys, more so than girls, gain cognitive understanding of their physical changes themselves or from their friends. It could be deduced that fathers and mothers of restrained adolescents consider it easier (or perhaps more important) to discuss these matters with their daughters than with their sons.

Occasionally restrained adolescents struggle to concentrate in class, which indicates ineffective cognitive distancing from the subject matter. Some restrained adolescents are afraid to ask a question in class, showing unsatisfactory exploring. The latter is also evidenced by hesitation to ask why certain things are unacceptable, right or wrong. This quandary also points to a lack of maturity in cognitive understanding, and the unwillingness to discuss important issues with adults suggests inadequate cognitive expression. An incapacity to objectificate cognitively is furthermore suggested by the fact that restrained adolescents often find that things are too much for them.

Normative identity

There are dubious areas within the normative identity of restrained adolescents because of the inconsistent and contradictory values and normative behaviour of their parents. According to these adolescents, the example of their parents of what adults should be, definitely leaves somewhat to be desired, as is evidenced by factors such as multiple divorce, alcoholism, unavailable fathers,
inadequate discipline and moral education, and double standards. This state of affairs often leaves restrained adolescents confused as to which parent to follow and whether they are doing the right thing or not. The normative aspect of their identity formation is confused because of an unhealthy identification with norms and values, which are not generally acceptable or admirable. If these adolescents try to live differently from what is common in their particular environment, their peers "get them" for being different. That is to say, they are rejected or cold-shouldered. Even if certain high values are strongly held to in theory, they are allowed to slip in practice because of peer pressure, or the paradoxical behaviour of adults.

As a result of their ineffectual normative objectificating, these adolescents find it hard to accept school rules, which are necessary objective norms.

**Conative identity**

Conatively speaking, there is the tendency of restrained girls' mothers to deprive them of an adequate decision-making ability, as a means of preventing them from making the mistakes they themselves have made. These mothers make those decisions for their daughters which they should make for themselves, and stop them from doing certain normally permissible things. Because of their inadequate conative emancipation from their mothers, these girls admit that they have difficulty making important decisions and need adults' assistance. Their consequent struggle with occupational and/or ideological choices places them in a state of "moratorium" (Marcia 1980: 161).

On the surface restrained boys seem not to have a problem with making significant choices or decisions, perhaps because they have been required to make their own decisions early in life, in the absence of an adequate father-figure. On deeper investigation, however, there are signs of conative uncertainty in these boys' reference to the trouble they have motivating themselves to study, insufficient determination to do what they should, inadequate conative initiative to start projects on their own, vacillation in taking simple initiatives such as when to start an essay or a drawing, and over-dependence on friends for direction. The mothers of certain restrained adolescent boys appear to take such a forceful stance in getting their sons to study, that they
denude them of the chance to develop internal conative strength. This situation could place restrained adolescents in a position of identity "diffusion", in which they have no definite occupational or ideological direction (Marcia 1980:161).

**Academic identity**

As a rule, restrained adolescents do poorly academically, frequently having failed at least one standard, and under-achieving even if they have considerable potential.

Restrained adolescents' relationship with school work presents many problems, such as laziness, absenteeism, lack of parental and teacher support, nastiness amongst peers, non-available or non-encouraging fathers, nagging and criticism about results from parents, and inadequate or non-existent male discipline.

Possibly because of their inadequate relationships with teachers and with self, restrained adolescents have a generally negative relationship with school work. They generally lack the positive support of their fathers in learning, and are "pulled down" by more basic needs than academic achievement, such as looking after younger siblings or the need to earn money. Lack of motivation in turn leads to doing the least possible in subjects which are not liked. There, however, appears to be a definite inclination to do well in those subjects in which the teacher is liked, regardless of ability. Van Wyk (1991:142) states that an adolescent who does not like a teacher, psychologically "closes" himself or herself in the teaching-learning situation. This fact emphasises the importance of teachers developing good personal relationships with adolescents.

The need to be accepted by the peer group also has a distinctive influence on academic performance, since it is not considered "in" to do well at school. Even intellectually gifted adolescents are often underachievers owing to their desire to conform (Booyse 1991:152). The teachers of restrained adolescents seem to merely accept this as a fact of school life. There would consequently appear to be room for teachers to educate restrained adolescents towards a culture of academic success that would override the negative influence of peers.
Restrained adolescents' relationship with school work shows a definite negative trend, based on an I.Q. score which depreciates at each testing, and on an increasing difficulty with academic work. Despite efforts to improve, there is little success owing to inadequate academic ability on the one hand, and negative attitudes, not being "in the mood", or internal conflicts on the other.

Furthermore, there is a general trend for restrained adolescents to see the move to a technikon or college as the solution to their academic problems. They therefore do not understand the true reasons for their lack of success, or appreciate the value of their present opportunities.

**Identity formation as significance attribution**

Amongst restrained adolescents there is evidence of inadequate significance attribution, based on faulty understanding of feelings, failures, the future, and difficult situations. The present holds little interest for certain restrained adolescents, and is considered a waste of time because there is no hope for the future. Whereas some restrained adolescents are not looking forward to becoming adults for fear of the responsibility it entails, others are over-keen to become adults and leave home, intimating that unsatisfactory emancipation has warped the identity formation of these adolescents with respect to the meaningfulness of their future as adults.

However, there is clearly a willingness in restrained adolescents to attribute meaning to their immediate environment and to the world in general. This willingness may be seen in certain adolescents' attempt at conative control in the extreme orderliness of their rooms, and the neatness of their drawings. In others it is indicated in their candid confessions to not understanding certain things about politics, economics or religion. Unfortunately, they usually attribute negative meaning to these matters, because that is what their adult role models have taught them to do. This negative meaning filters through to all of their relationships and aspects of their identity formation, which is proved by the statement of some that life is often too much for them.

**Identity formation as involvement**

The general involvement or directedness towards life ("motivatedness") is inadequate in restrained
adolescents in many areas of their identity formation. Their basic willingness to be involved is shown by their complaints that they are bored at home and at school. Their parents may be blamed for preventing their involvement in acceptable activities, and teachers charged with giving boring lessons. Because there are not enough edifying activities available for them to get involved in, they usually end up being involved in activities which cannot be considered as upbuilding in their identity formation. Examples of such activities are the uncontrolled and unselective viewing of television and videos, listening to music and going to night clubs and parties, where there is always smoking, drinking and foul language, and more often than not unsavoury conduct and the use of drugs. As a consequence of these activities, they are sometimes not in a fit state to attend school the following day, which makes their identity formation as involvement at school unsuccessful. Thus, inadequate differentiation of activities at home and at school, and even the threat of the end of the world, may affect their present involvement adversely. Consequently, with no clear vision of future goals, there is uncertainty among some restrained adolescents about present and future involvement, which affects identity formation negatively.

Identity formation as experiencing

Although the restrained adolescents studied consistently claimed at first not to be having unpleasant, or unacceptable experiences, their revelations concerning their various relationships indicate that their identity formation as experiencing is hampered. Why they do not recognise this is perhaps that they have nothing else to compare their experiencing with, other than that of their parents and peers. On investigation, however, their experiencing is always found to be unsound owing to the negative forces within their relationships. At home, unpleasant experiencing often revolves around alcohol or drug abuse, financial difficulties, neglect, poor communication, and fragmentation of relationships. At school, a cycle of academic failure exists, and there is even sexual molestation by teachers in rare cases. Other less than satisfactory experiencing will become evident from the following conclusions concerning restrained adolescents' relationships.

Relationship with self

Instead of taking charge of self, restrained adolescents tend to allow external factors such as lack
of encouragement, poor self-image and idleness to block the fulfilment of their potential, and hence their identity formation.

In relation to self, restrained adolescents display identity confusion in that there is frequent evidence of poor self-esteem, inability to express their thoughts and feelings, hesitancy to ask questions, and conflict with self about what to do and how to do it.

The teachers of restrained adolescents reveal that it is in the relationship with self that most identity formation problems lurk. Examples of such problems are poor physical self-image, lack of self-confidence, defensiveness, insecurity, stealing, fabrication of untruths, lack of self-respect, introspection and emotional withdrawal. Sudden silence, as displayed by certain restrained adolescents, may be a sign of emotional depression, according to Kiester & Valente Kiester (1996:82). Other evidence of depression manifested by restrained adolescents is a problem with concentration, lack of motivation, negative self-concept, excessive feelings of guilt, prevailing feelings of pessimism, poor school achievement and feelings of helplessness (Kapp 1991:118), all displayed by the cases studied here.

On the surface, restrained adolescents may give the impression to some of their teachers that all is well in their relationship with self, but those teachers who observe more carefully, read the clues to poor self-image or lack of self-respect in their disparaging remarks about themselves, poor results, untidy dress and signs of inner conflict such as irritability and aggression. Aggression may be caused by anxiety and the example of the authority figure at home or other identification models (Kapp 1991:118). Kiester and Valente Kiester (1996:82) affirm that irritability and anger are cloaks that depressed people often use to cover their sadness and the isolation of the self.

These indications of an unsatisfactory relationship with self have an unmistakable link with inadequate identity formation.

Restrained adolescents, from a structural point of view, draw themselves smaller than anybody else in their drawings of themselves with their teachers, confirming their lack of self-esteem, or larger than everybody else, displaying a need to be noticed, or inverted poor self-esteem.
**Relationship with religion**

The transparency and lack of hypocrisy in restrained Christian adolescents as to their relationship with religion, is refreshing. Thus, they agree on the importance of a relationship with God in theory, but admit to having trouble with full religious commitment, and they experience guilt (sometimes of chronic proportions), because they do not live up to what they believe is right. In practice none of them claim to have a real relationship with God, which could act as a stabilising influence in their conflicting life-world of relationships, and establish their identity formation on a solid moral base. Moreover, their inability to discuss religious matters with their parents, because poor communication skills inevitably result in arguments, is another restraining factor in the moral aspect of their identity formation.

**Relationships with peers**

Restrained adolescents are inclined to have distrustful, strained relationships with peers. The latter often do not contribute to their identity formation positively, because they are not a good influence. They are either treated too possessively or considered a threat, because of insecure feelings. In the case of restrained girls, they are disliked by the boys in their classes, more often than not. It could be that they put boys off by their distrust of males and the "choosiness" and defensiveness which go along with it.

Since all of the restrained candidates who were studied lack adequate father-figures, they appear to be looking to older friends for the mature guidance they are in need of. Furthermore, because restrained adolescents have invariably failed a standard or two, the age difference in relation to their peers at school may create difficulties such as rejection and isolation, so they frequently choose older friends outside of school. An older boyfriend is sometimes taken on as a father-figure. The reluctance of restrained adolescents to bring friends home may point to embarrassment about the home situation, or the absence (or presence!) of their father. It could also be a rejection of the home environment as incomplete, or confusing to their identity formation, in an endeavour to create a more acceptable environment "out there".
Typically, restrained adolescents rely heavily on their peers for acceptance and a sense of belonging. These needs are so strong that they not infrequently lead to wrong choices of friends, and different behaviour in their company than is characteristic. The intimation is that if teachers could provide the acceptance and sense of belonging which restrained adolescents so badly need, they could influence their identity formation along the right lines.

It would appear that restrained adolescents tend to choose one or two close friends as opposed to many friends. This inclination towards social exclusivity points to a cautiousness in making friends, as a means towards self-preservation, or possibly self-defence. The peers they choose often have similar backgrounds, which creates solidarity and understanding in these relationships. Unhappy relations with other peers result from their poor communication skills and their milieu-deprived background (De Beer 1994:131).

**Relationships with siblings**

Restrained adolescents' relationships with their siblings appear to be satisfactory on the face of things, but underlying animosity and insecurity, especially in relation to stepbrothers and -sisters, could influence identity formation deleteriously. Feelings of insecurity may reveal themselves in an over-protective attitude towards siblings, jealousy, intolerance or resentment. Inadequate communication skills between restrained adolescents and their siblings is another negative influence on these relationships. Restrained adolescents, in the absence of a father, may look up to an older sibling as a gender role model, whether their behaviour is exemplary or not, and this could have a bad influence on their identity formation, if they follow too closely in their sibling's footsteps. Furthermore, a sibling with a stronger personality and more self-assurance may completely overshadow the identity formation of a restrained adolescent.

**Relationships with parents**

Generally, it seems that restrained adolescents come from families in which one parent either does not fulfil his/her role adequately, is absent or at a distance, or causes the other parent to accept most of the educational and financial responsibilities. This causes stresses and weaknesses in
relationships, whereby the "withdrawn" parent serves as a scapegoat for the rest of the family, or as an antithesis for the available and dominant parent, ensuring that the best side of the dominant parent is always on display. This parent then remains an ideal, but remains at a distance.

Very often restrained adolescents' fathers are poor parents and are most of the time unavailable, either literally or figuratively. It is not unusual for them to have major problems such as drinking, thus their relationship with their children is commonly based on their children's disdain, lack of communication or complete rejection or ostracisation. In certain cases the inability of restrained adolescents to communicate their feelings extends into the relationship with their mother as well. According to Kapp (1991:118), emotionally disturbed adolescents may express their tension and anxiety by refusing to speak, and in this way try to obtain security by drawing the parents' attention. This is a type of social withdrawal, since the adolescent refuses to speak in certain social situations.

In relation to their sons and daughters, restrained adolescents' mothers do a good job of parenting, but, because of financial responsibilities or time restraints, often do not spend the time they ought with their children. Some mothers try so hard to make up for the missing father that they are unable to emancipate their son or daughter, and suffocate their identity formation in the process. Sometimes another family member relieves both the mother and father of the responsibility of their children's upbringing, which does not enhance restrained adolescents' relationships with their parents.

**Relationships with other significant adults**

Restrained adolescents, in lieu of adequate parental figures, often identify other family members or adults as having played the most important role in their identity formation thus far. However, to exacerbate the needs unfulfilled by their parents, restrained adolescents often encounter difficulties with these other adults. Physical abuse of mother and children by stepfathers or boyfriends is not uncommon, along with problems of jealousy and the resultant vindictiveness.

As in the case of most relationships with step-parents, divorced parents, or aspiring parental
surrogates, there is customarily hostility and even hatred in restrained adolescents towards these other adults, who are sometimes seen as intruders, or resented for their lack of involvement. Because these adults invariably cause even greater confusion in the family structure and hence in restrained adolescents' identity formation, by their non-accepting, possessive attitudes, the antagonism on the part of restrained adolescents appears to be well-founded.

Relationships with teachers

Restrained adolescents usually have at least one teacher with whom they get on well, but this relationship cannot really be called close. Some restrained adolescents and their parents place the blame for their underachievement on their teachers. This attitude of censure is typical of persons coming from a position of insecurity due to their own general lack of control. They then criticise others because they are blinded to the objective facts by their own poor self-esteem. Also, it is perhaps because restrained adolescents' parents tend to have had unpleasant or unsuccessful school experiences, that they are inclined to break down teachers instead of encouraging their sons and daughters into positive relationships with them, which could enhance instead of hinder their identity formation.

All of the restrained adolescents studied are more comfortable with their teachers on a platonic level, where no emotional expression exists. The teachers of restrained adolescents encounter difficulty in relating to them because of, amongst other things, their passivity, general relating restraints, moodiness, withdrawal, defensiveness (in one case, bordering on paranoia), dislike of formality, demand for respect, and their constant need of a firm hand. Because teachers as a rule lack the necessary background to deal with these problems, they are unable to interpret the resultant behaviour, and consequently cannot really make close contact with restrained adolescents. The outcome is that a similar type of relationship as restrained adolescents have with their parents, exists with their teachers, except that teachers are better general role models. Christian teachers, however, report that restrained adolescents confide in them because they sense that they can trust them.
Restrained adolescents structure their drawings of themselves with their teachers in such a way as to indicate which teachers they like, and those for whom they harbour no particular feelings. There are many unsmiling teachers in these drawings, giving an overall impression of less than happy experiences in relation to teachers.

On the whole, teachers say that they do not develop intimate relationships with restrained adolescents because of their relating problems, poor ability to express themselves, laziness, defensiveness, over-sensitivity to autocracy, absenteeism and passivity.

This reasoning of teachers reveals that they tend to excuse themselves from having relationships with restrained adolescents because of these adolescents' relating problems, instead of looking beyond these problems for possible solutions.

During the analysis of the selected restrained adolescents' identity formation, certain fundamental needs have repeatedly come to the fore.

6.4.2 Basic identity formation needs of restrained adolescents

With an eye on helping teachers meet restrained adolescents' identity formation needs, each aspect of adolescents' identity formation is presented in terms of those needs which are related to it.

**Personal identity**

Restrained adolescents display, amongst others, the need to have more continuity between their past, present and future personal identity, that is, to base who they would like to be in the future, on the realistic basis of who they were in the past and are at present. There is also the need to be more positive about the future and, hence about their anticipated identity formation, and the refinement thereof.
**Individual identity**

The need has been identified for restrained adolescents to have enough personal space in which to form individual identities and for orderly, manageable surroundings, so that the individual self might be defined and maintained. The need also emerged to have an individual identity not based upon personal achievements or acceptance by other people, but based on an intrinsic sense of sameness and belonging.

**Public identity**

Because they are often keen to reveal a public identity which is contrary to that of a parent, restrained adolescents find it necessary to present a social facade, recognisable by a show of self-assurance and talkativeness on the one hand, or by social withdrawal and non-communicativeness on the other. This attitude consequently speaks of the need for them to be more relaxed, natural, open, honest and communicative in social situations so that they may be seen for who they really are. Related to this is the need to objectify themselves in relation to other people, so that they might see themselves in the same way other people see them.

**Gender identity**

Restrained adolescent girls experience the need to accept their changing physical shape, and the other physical, hormonal and emotional changes related to being a female, such as occur once a month.

**Physical identity**

Physical ills (possibly of a psychosomatic nature) such as chronic bronchitis, colds, and...
asthma which appear to be the frequent lot of restrained adolescents, unveil the need for them to be able to cope better with the many demands of life. They need, furthermore, to be personally disciplined towards physical activity, despite not being in the mood. Adolescent girls, especially, need to accept their physical shortcomings by objectifying themselves physically, so that they may see their physical identity more realistically.

**Affective identity**

Restrained adolescents' need to advance to more mature pathic experience. This need reveals itself in their allowing of other people and circumstances to dictate their feelings, and these feelings in turn control their actions and decisions.

In general, restrained adolescents have a real need to acquire techniques for controlling their tempers and moods, and thereby objectificate more effectively on an affective level. However, their need for the ability to express their emotions verbally, exacerbates the above problem.

**Cognitive identity**

In general, restrained adolescents need to understand themselves and their situation. Underlying this need, are the needs to communicate with adults on important issues, verbalise their opinions, discuss the reasons for certain required behaviour, concentrate better in class, and distanciate cognitively, so as to see problems in perspective.

A common need of restrained adolescents is to understand the world, particularly with respect to economical and political problems.
Normative identity

Restrained adolescents experience a need to make sense of adults' standards, and understand why certain things are unacceptable. They demand a stronger male point of view, more male discipline and firmer teachers, and need to express their ideas on normative issues in class discussions. They need to discuss values and norms so as to make these their own. Furthermore, they want to be sure they are doing the right thing, and are incapable of finding absolution for the guilt of doing what they knew to be wrong. Their inadequate normative objectification becomes apparent by their overall need to accept school rules as necessary standards of behaviour.

Conative identity

Conatively speaking, restrained adolescents are in want of the initiative to tackle projects on their own, be more self-motivated, and less influenced by peers and parents in making decisions, especially by their mothers. They, nonetheless, all express the conative need for adult direction in difficult choices and decisions.

Academic identity

Academically, restrained adolescents crave more sincere interest, encouragement and support from parents (especially fathers), other significant adults and teachers. They say they need to study harder and be less lazy, which suggests an underlying need to be motivated. Their lack of motivation implies that they need to understand and appreciate their present academic opportunities. They must also realise the need to work equally hard for all subjects and teachers, not just those they like, and to stop imagining that a technikon would be the answer to all their school problems. Lastly, there is the need for restrained adolescents to understand the real reasons for their poor academic results, amongst other
Identity formation as significance attribution

The essential significance attribution need of restrained adolescents is to share a variety of ideas and thoughts with reliable, loving, experienced and understanding adults. They have the further primary need to attribute positive meaning to life in general, and to their relationships in particular.

The demand for neatness and orderliness in certain restrained adolescents suggests a secondary need for logical thought in order to attribute meaning to life. There is also the articulated need to attribute adequate meaning to difficult situations and problems; to feelings of anger or hurt, especially by girls once a month; to poor academic results; to becoming an adult and to the future, as a means of discovering interest and meaning in the present.

Identity formation as involvement

The main need here is for restrained adolescents to be involved in a large number of life situations together with accepting adults whom they can trust and who are truly involved in life.

Of necessity, restrained adolescents have to become totally involved in activities, regardless of moods, feelings, likes or dislikes. They, furthermore, require more stimulating activities at school and at home, and not to be disallowed from doing acceptable things by their parents.
In general, restrained adolescents show a need for an enticing future perspective which could result in a greater motivatedness and directness towards life, and the activities in which they are involved need to be edifying so as to promote positive identity formation.

Identity formation as experiencing

All round there is a dearth of pleasant experiencing by restrained adolescents, especially in relation to self, fathers' girlfriends and mothers' boyfriends. However, in all of their relationships there is evidence of unsound experiencing owing to unsatisfactory knowing, understanding, accepting and trusting. A need for happy, carefree experiencing as opposed to depression and heaviness is apparent, and finds its expression in a strong dependence on the peer group for the fulfilment of this need.

Their essential need therefore appears to be a need to consistently share in experiencing a variety of life situations with parents or adults who are positive about life.

Relationship with self

It is needful for restrained adolescents to have a more positive self-esteem and, as a result be less aggressive and defensive of self, less shy, insecure and jealous. Their general need for better self-esteem is evidenced by their lack of self-assurance, self-belief and self-giving. A need to break away from the negative influence on the self of parents and other significant adults has also become clear, along with the unarticulated need for teachers to combat poor self-esteem in restrained adolescents by arranging events such as fashion shows, talent evenings and dramas.
Relationship with religion

Characteristically, restrained adolescents are lacking in commitment as believers, regularity of church attendance, involvement at church, understanding of the Bible, the ability to discuss their religious views dispassionately without arguing, and patience in explaining their personal beliefs.

Relationships with peers

Partly owing to their unsatisfactory self-esteem, there is a significant need in restrained adolescents for acceptance by their peers, and because of insecure selves, there is the desire to control and possess their friends, or keep them away from their homes for fear of embarrassment. They also exhibit a need for older peers as role models, and restrained girls for older boyfriends as father-figures, alongside a general need to choose their peers more carefully. They, furthermore, admit to the necessity of being more mature in relation to their peers, for confronting the fear of being left out, for forgiving and forgetting mistreatment by their peers, and being less influenced by peers on academic matters and moral issues such as smoking and drinking.

Relationships with siblings

In relation to their siblings, restrained adolescents manifest the following needs: to fight less and be less jealous, impatient and protective; to understand and accept each other, and spend more time together as a family; give more attention to younger siblings, gain more attention from older siblings, and not be intimated by siblings with stronger personalities or greater self-confidence.
**Relationships with parents and other significant adults**

Many needs have been exposed by restrained adolescents in relation to their parents, amongst others: the need to have both parents at home; argue less and communicate better with parents (showing a need for enhanced understanding, acceptance and trust); have their parents agree to work together, have someone to give them direction, have stricter discipline at home, and obey parents (exposing the deeper need for normative parameters of behaviour within a relationship of authority); the need to be shown love so that they can demonstrate love; the need for independence and emancipation from mothers who still baby them; to be able to talk to their mothers when something is causing them anxiety, or when they have done something wrong; to have (or have had) a father who plays with them more and who is a better male role model and example of what an adult should be; to spend more time with their father, or on the other hand, to remove him or forget about him completely; have an adult to admire, who will accept them.

**Relationships with teachers**

Restrained adolescents communicate the requirement of having smaller classes at school so that teachers can pay them more attention. They also want their teachers to understand them, believe in them and encourage them, and be more interested in them as persons than in the work. They, furthermore, demonstrate the needfulness of having at least one special teacher to talk to about those things they feel they cannot speak to their parents about. There is, concomitantly the implied need for teachers to afford restrained adolescents the opportunity to express their feelings, and to know themselves and discover their true identities by way of essays, discussions and relevant exercises.

To achieve the primary aim of this study and discover the role of teachers in restrained adolescents' identity formation, it is necessary first to discover the role of parents.
6.4.3 The role of parents in restrained adolescents' identity formation

In theory, restrained adolescents' parents seem to know what the role of parents should be in adolescents' identity formation, but admit that they have not been successful in fulfilling that role. There is shifting of the blame onto each other or onto teachers, to excuse themselves from their ultimate responsibility. Parents of restrained adolescents are mostly in agreement as to the significance of teachers' role in their adolescents' identity formation. Some parents go so far as to equate the significance of the teachers' role with their own. Others are even tempted to load the responsibility of their sons' and daughters' identity formation squarely on the shoulders of their teachers. Yet again, because of the above-mentioned difficulties, and because of their incapacity to understand fundamental factors relating to roles and relationships, parents of restrained adolescents cannot make meaningful contact with teachers.

For parents to blame others, such as teachers, or become aggressive may be considered as rationalisation of unmanageable social situations or relationships. The situation of such parents is one of perplexed confusion owing to their own over-subjective relationships, inability to achieve change, poor problem-solving skills linked to ineffective cognitive styles, and their unwillingness or hesitancy to find assistance from councillors.

The mother, in many cases, is the stronger contributor to their identity formation, the father frequently having an inverse effect on their identity formation in being a role model of how not to be. In this investigation the fathers were usually accused by their sons or daughters of not being good examples of what adults should be, but it could be that a mother may also not be a laudable exemplar of adulthood.

The extent to which restrained adolescents identity formation needs are met by some parents is minimal. Although the mothers of these restrained adolescents as a rule
respond admirably to meeting their needs, those needs which only fathers can fulfil, usually remain unfulfilled. This state of affairs is a major negative factor in the identity formation of restrained adolescents.

6.4.4 The role of teachers in restrained adolescents' identity formation

Occasionally teachers are acknowledged by the group of restrained adolescents as having played a significant role, particularly in career guidance.

The teachers of these restrained adolescents recognise that they do have a role to play in their identity formation, but in general are not sure what this role entails, and do not seem to be convinced of its true significance, or of their own capacity to fill that role, due to the large classes and lack of time.

There would also seem to be far too many teachers who either minimise their role, are unaware of their influence, or blindly deny that they play any part whatsoever in restrained adolescents' identity formation. This scenario unveils the need for teachers to understand the true nature of their role in adolescents' identity formation.

There are admittedly those teachers who are aware of restrained adolescents' needs, and they do go some way towards meeting them. However, it seems fair to conclude that if teachers were more acutely aware of the role they play in the identity formation of adolescents who are restrained in their becoming, they would have more impact on their ultimate becoming.

It is therefore necessary to define the role of teachers in restrained adolescents identity formation, in terms of the fundamental essences of adolescents' personal and educational requirements, that is, their significance attribution, involvement and experiencing.
6.4.4.1 Teachers' relationships with restrained adolescents and these adolescents' significance attribution

Teachers' relationships with restrained adolescents favourably influence these adolescents' identity formation if positive meaning is attributed to these relationships by the restrained adolescents. For this to be the case, a heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of all teachers of restrained adolescents. To be successful, teachers of such adolescents ought to consistently personify adult values and standards. They will be well-balanced persons and therefore represent meaningful adult role models for restrained adolescents. Physically, they will keep themselves healthy and vital, affectively warm and kind, cognitively well-informed and organised, conatively strong in taking decisions and making a variety of choices open to adolescents, and normatively honourable and reliable. Furthermore, if they enlist the interest of adolescents, then identity formation and self-actualisation will be the result (Swanepoel 1990:97).

Teachers of restrained adolescents should nurture a good relationship with themselves, in other words build a solid identity, healthy self-concept and self-esteem. Furthermore, a sound religious relationship, good relationships with the restrained adolescents' parents, and with the restrained adolescents themselves, are prerequisites in order that restrained adolescents might attribute significance to their relationships with teachers.

Restrained adolescents attribute the correct meaning to their own gender especially when teachers have a sure sense of their own masculinity or femininity, and treat male and female restrained adolescents equally.

Moreover, teachers of restrained adolescents should help restrained adolescents attribute significance to their particular life-worlds, and thus understand who they are in relation to others. Finally, the elements of authority, mutual understanding and trust ought to be in operation in meaningful relationships between teachers and restrained adolescents, as this will contribute to the identity formation of the latter.
6.4.4.2 Teachers' relationships with restrained adolescents and these adolescents' involvement

Generally, restrained adolescents prefer to remain uninvolved with adults by virtue of their disillusionment with a parent or parents, and even with teachers. They avoid physical involvement in sport, affective involvement with peers and teachers, cognitive involvement with academic work, conative involvement with career choices, or for that matter, any choices whatsoever, and normative involvement with adult standards and rules.

In effective identity formation, the involvement of restrained adolescents must be engaged by teachers in as many of the above areas as possible. Even involving adolescents in one of these areas tends to have a corresponding effect on other areas. For example, getting an adolescent physically involved in sport usually leads to an improved physical self-concept which has an advantageous outworking on the academic self-concept and accordingly on identity formation. Encouraging involvement in art or music may have a good influence on adolescents' career choice, or normative involvement in moral debates may result in better relationships with adults and their norms. If teachers involve them in a variety of activities, restrained adolescents are assisted in defining their special interests, and consequently themselves. Thus, for teachers of restrained adolescents, vigorous involvement in all the good things life has to offer appears to be a primary objective if identity formation is to be the result.

6.4.4.3 Teachers' relationships with restrained adolescents and these adolescents' experiencing

Happy experiencing in relationship with teachers is particularly important for restrained adolescents, because they are inclined to have unhappy relationships at home.

The experiencing of congenial, trusting relationships with teachers, in which there is mutual knowledge of each other, respect and unconditional acceptance, is fundamental to restrained adolescents if they are to progress satisfactorily in the formation of their identities.

Teachers should therefore do all in their power to make restrained adolescents' experiencing of their involvement in class- and extra-mural activities pleasant. Especially academic activities are
ideally experienced as enjoyable by way of teachers making success possible. Small successes lead to larger successes, which build self-esteem and a positive pupil-identity. Consequently the constituting of agreeable relationships between teachers and restrained adolescents is of great importance in the identity formation of the latter.

An evaluation of the study is presented below, in terms of its limitations and recommendations for its improvement.

6.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE INVESTIGATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is acknowledged that, because bias is an omnipresent phenomenon, especially in qualitative research, and presents barriers to ultimate truth (Leedy 1993:167; Wragg 1994:50), it may have influenced this study in the following ways:

The study was limited to a specific field of study (Psychology of Education). A multi-disciplinary approach, involving a team of researchers, could perhaps have yielded less biased, and more generally applicable results.

In this qualitative investigation, the research population was limited to a very specific restricted group of restrained European standard nine adolescents, within a defined socio-economic area of predominantly Christian religious background. It is recommended that other cultural and ethnic groups, of different ages, from different socio-economic areas and religious persuasions be included in various qualitative investigations of a comprehensive nature. It is further recommended that quantitative investigations complement qualitative studies, which would result in the integration of methodologies, thereby capitalising on the merits of more than one type.

The investigation procedure experienced limitations in that two highly restrained adolescents who had been selected for the research group, had to be excluded owing to non-cooperation by their parents. More careful and extensive preparation of these parents could perhaps have achieved their participation in the study.
Furthermore, it is possible that the acuity of the researcher's senses may have been less than optimal during observation, the media may have been insensitively utilised at times, and the failure of the various participants' language to report the same observation may have biased the findings. It naturally must always be taken into consideration that the selected participants may not have been totally honest in the attempt to present themselves in the best light, or to give "favourable" responses. It is possible also, that the researcher's personal biases owing to her prior knowledge of restrained adolescents, may have influenced her interpretations of the findings. Multidisciplinary research could reduce these limitations.

It was found that in general females responded better to the researcher than did males, because they apparently felt more comfortable with somebody of their own sex. Vulliamy et al (1990:103) also discovered that males were more open with males that were females. It could therefore possibly be recommended that researchers preferably interview persons of their own sex, although this need not necessarily be the case.

Time is always of crucial importance. There were time restrictions on the research in general, on the practical research process, and on the observation of restrained adolescents, their parents and teachers. More comprehensive studies which follow the above recommendations, and address the following questions, are suggested.

6.6 QUESTIONS THAT MERIT FURTHER INVESTIGATION

The following interesting questions, within the context of this investigation, remain unanswered by the present research project:

& In which ways can teachers develop better relationships with parents of restrained adolescents?

& How can teachers find the time to attend to restrained adolescents' needs, when they barely have time to work through the syllabus?
What is the function of male teachers, as opposed to female teachers, in adolescents' identity formation?

How is religious education linked to identity formation?

Does the religious affinity of teachers influence their approach towards adolescents' identity formation?

In which way does the morality of teachers influence adolescents' identity formation?

6.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter it has firstly been indicated how the objectives of the study have thus far been met. Both specific and general conclusions were drawn, the study was evaluated in terms of its limitations and recommendations for improvement, and questions that merit further investigation were posed.

6.8 FINAL WORDS

The profound thoughts of Michener, quoted by Kroger (1989:193) are fitting final words: "Ultimately, however, it is only our own ease with the process of change that will allow us to aid and not hinder another on his or her own life journey. For this is the journey that men make: to find themselves. If they fail in this, it doesn't matter much what else they find".


ADDENDUM

THE IDENTITY FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS

RESTRAINED IN THEIR BECOMING:

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THE IDENTITY FORMATION OF ADOLESCENTS RESTRAINED IN THEIR BECOMING:

A STRATEGY FOR TEACHERS

1. INTRODUCTION

Adolescents need the support of teachers in every facet of their lives - physically, affectively, cognitively, normatively, conatively and relationally. Because adolescents are experiencing a period of identity crisis, they need the assistance of teachers particularly in this area of their development. Adolescents who are restrained in their becoming have more difficulties than most in the formation of adequate identities, so they need the support of their teachers to an even greater extent, in some cases urgently. Since there is such a clear link between adolescents who are restrained, and adolescents who experience inadequate identity formation, adolescents restrained in their becoming may be said to be restrained in their identity formation also.

It is understood that teachers cannot accept more time-consuming and demanding tasks than they already labour under, but they can, without much effort, "live" themselves into a classroom situation, thereby changing a cold, facts-orientated setting, into a warm life-space. By being aware of adolescents' identity formation needs, and by living life-values and skills correctly and consistently in their classrooms, teachers may have an inestimably positive influence on adolescents' identity formation.

What practising teachers and those in training therefore need, is a practical strategy which will act as a clear guide in addressing adolescents' identity formation needs.

The outcomes which are envisaged for this strategy are:

+ to inform teachers of the major characteristics of adolescents restrained in their becoming as well
as in their identity formation

+ to alert and sensitise teachers to the identity formation needs of adolescents

+ to assist teachers to understand (and evaluate) their role as facilitators of adolescent identity formation

+ to give guidelines to teachers for supporting adolescents in their identity formation in the school situation

Teachers cannot help restrained adolescents in their identity formation if they do not know how such adolescents reveal themselves in the school situation. In that way these adolescents can be identified and their needs assessed.

2. ADOLESCENTS RESTRAINED IN THEIR BECOMING AND IN THEIR IDENTITY FORMATION

It will be noticed that the signals of distress which restrained adolescents send out are integrally connected to their identity formation needs.

The earlier the adolescent with problems is identified, the greater the possibility of remediation and finding a solution to his or her problems. However, without working in a formally diagnostic manner, teachers can make a meaningful contribution to the identification of problems, owing to their professional training and their daily association with adolescents (Kapp 1991:38, 39).

2.1 THE ADOLESCENT AS A PERSON IN THE SCHOOL SITUATION

In the school situation the adolescent as a person is constantly sending messages to the teacher, who receives these messages and provides feedback in a cycle of communication. This cycle is perpetuated as a two-way process when the adolescent responds to the teacher's feedback and sends yet another message or signal.
The following signals of distress may be used as criteria to alert teachers to adolescents who have restraints in their becoming, and concomitant needs in their identity formation.

2.1.1 Difficulties with exploring

Inadequate exploration reveals itself in adolescents' unwillingness to "venture forth" in the face of anything which is new or unfamiliar. The signs of difficulty with exploring are an apathetic stance towards work and life in general, emotional coldness towards teachers and peers, lack of emotional control conveyed by tearfulness or outbursts of temper, anxiety about the work load or what other people think of them, fearfulness over examinations or parents' reactions at poor results, general discontent, lack of confidence and an over-dependent attitude.

Inadequate relationships with parents, teachers and peers result from such adolescents' over-dependent attitude, and such an attitude goes together with awkwardness, violent tendencies, a need for isolation and feelings of inferiority. A pessimistic, disillusioned, helpless approach to life makes the relationship with themselves, and hence with school work, negative and unfruitful.

The adolescent who is exploring inadequately is anxious about physical or cognitive challenges such as playing a new game or learning mathematical concepts.

He or she does not have the self-confidence to explore moral or normative issues which are bothersome, and this might lead to bitter, cynical attitudes expressed in class discussions or essays.

2.1.2 Difficulties with emancipating

The sign of inadequate emancipation is that adolescents complain that adults do not trust, understand or permit them to be persons in their own right, or that parents and teachers do not give them enough freedom. Parents, other significant adults, or even teachers cause them to underestimate themselves and to feel inferior, by belittling or insulting them. These adolescents'
behaviour in the classroom is often rebellious, aggressive or demanding. They have been allowed so little freedom by their parents, even to the extent of being stopped from doing perfectly permissible things, that they are over keen to leave home, and sometimes do so prematurely. On the other hand they may feel so incompetent to live their own lives because of their parents' total control, that they are fearful of the responsibilities entailed in becoming an adult. They thus become home-bound. On the sports field they are entirely unprepared for physical obstacles, and in the classroom they ask for assistance or permission for everything.

Adolescents who are emancipated too quickly on the other hand, do not have sufficient guidance and support to venture forth with confidence or form normal relationships. Since they are given too much freedom too soon, they may express the sentiment that no one really cares. Because they are not given clear normative or moral barriers, they tend to make many mistakes, which leads to a poor self-concept, insecurity, and notoriously unhappy relations with authority figures.

2.1.3 Difficulties with distancing

Distancing refers to adolescents' ability to distance themselves from people, subject matter and situations, which prevents them from being swept away or overwhelmed by these.

A lack of distancing may be seen in emotional lability, anxiety, fluctuating attention and poor concentration on school work. Adolescents experiencing such difficulties are unable to cognitively distance themselves sufficiently from the subject matter so as to master it. In other words, such adolescents have a problem when it comes to thinking abstractly or logically. Consequently, there is difficulty in understanding adults' normative standards, the meaningfulness of life, the world and its problems, their own moods, and in expressing these concerns verbally.

On a physical level, the signals of distress linked with inadequate distancing are obsession with the body and appearance, perfectionistic neatness or orderliness, hypochondria marked by frequent complaints of illness to the teacher, or vanity. In this way, chronic colds, bronchitis, allergies and nervous ticks may be linked to problematic distancing.
Affectively, lack of distancing is indicated in adolescents who depend upon whether they are in the mood or not to perform a task, go anywhere or make any decision. If things are not to their liking, they express their dissatisfaction by shouting, kicking or crying like an infant.

Academically, they are also dependent upon whether they feel like studying or not, so much of the time their attitude towards school work is one of laziness and listlessness. They only work for the subjects and teachers which they like. Because they experience so little success and pleasure at school, they are often absent. They characteristically imagine that leaving school or going to a technikon will solve their problems, but do not think to link their poor results to their own incorrect attitudes and values.

As a result of decisions and choices being controlled by the emotion of the moment, restrained adolescents suffer conatively. They lack initiative and motivation, and are dependent upon parents, teachers or peers to help them get started, or to make decisions. They often blame teachers for their lack of motivation, saying that they need more support and encouragement. What they really need most of the time, is internal motivation and conative distancing.

On a normative level adolescents who are restrained by ineffective distancing, are confused as to what is acceptable and unacceptable conduct, because they cannot distance themselves enough to see behavioural norms in perspective. This state of affairs results in unfavourable relationships with all adults, as well as with peers and siblings.

Cognitively, there may be an inability to break loose from an unpleasant past distinguished by sexual or physical abuse or neglect, depression about the present state of affairs, or hopelessness concerning the future. These signals will usually be picked up by teachers in essays and orals.

2.1.4 Difficulties with differentiating

Adolescents who display these difficulties have trouble perceiving life in a differentiated way because they are not involved in sufficiently varied experiences on all levels (physical, cognitive
and affective) and in all relationships.

Difficulties with differentiating are usually accompanied by gripes about boredom or restrictiveness at home or at school, owing to insufficient stimulation on all levels. Adolescents who are restrained in their becoming will have difficulty doing projects, because they tend not to have the experience and example of quality books and encyclopaedias being read at home. Schools in restrained areas also struggle to equip their library, media centre and sports store adequately because school fees are frequently not paid.

In relation to teachers and peers, adolescents who are experiencing difficulties with differentiation, are timid and shy because, amongst other reasons, their parents have not allowed them to form firm friendships outside the home. As a result these adolescents do not know how to behave in a normatively acceptable fashion, and are shunned by their peers.

**2.1.5 Difficulties with objectificating**

Objectificating refers to adolescents' capacity to detach themselves adequately from all aspects of themselves and other people, so that they may see issues objectively.

Adolescents who are not objectificating adequately may express the feeling that things are too much for them. They may come to the teacher with a problem which to them appears mountainous, but which is in fact a mere molehill, metaphorically speaking, because they cannot extricate themselves sufficiently to stand back and view themselves and their problems objectively. Due to the fact that they cannot see their difficulties in perspective, their school work is affected in that they cannot see a concept in relation to the subject as a whole. Physically, they cannot see their bodies realistically, which causes them to become overly aware of their physical selves and imperfections. This in turn influences their emotions, which may become introspective, narcissistic or aggressive and affect their relationships with other people negatively. Constant protests to the teacher about being too fat, thin, short, tall, clumsy or ugly, are the signals of inadequate objectificating.
Furthermore, an inability to objectificate may be noticed by the teacher in certain adolescents’ unrealistic view of themselves. They may, for example, see themselves as popular with their peers and well-liked by their teachers, when in fact the opposite is true, or unpopular and disliked, when their are no such negative impressions on the part of others. There may also be the attempt to create a public facade different from the actual identity. An extreme form of negative objectificating is the telling of lies or the fabrication of fantasies wherein the adolescent is the hero or heroine.

Restrained adolescents whose identity formation leaves something to be desired, invariably encounter problems within their relationships.

2.2 ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS

Adequate relationships presuppose characteristics such as adequate understanding, acceptance, trust and respect within these relationships. Difficulties in relationships are characterised in the following way in restrained adolescents.

2.2.1 Difficulties in relationship with self

The main area of difficulty in relation to self, is the area of poor self-esteem. Warning signs are extreme shyness, quietness, verbal and emotional non-communicativeness, social and emotional withdrawal, a strong need for personal space, a feeling of being different from everybody else, and of not belonging; a sense of being disliked by other people; disparaging remarks about the self, lack of self-confidence, insecurity evidenced by kleptomania, lying, possessiveness, control, manipulation, defensiveness, aggressiveness, jealousy, lack of self-belief and lack of self-giving.

2.2.2 Difficulties in relationship with religion

Restrained adolescents give clues of the difficulties in their relationship with religion by statements such as: “I don’t believe there’s a God; we don’t discuss religion in our family because it only leads
to fights; I don't understand certain things in the Bible; I don't read the Bible; I don't go to church
amore; I suppose I should go to church more often; I have my personal beliefs, but would rather
not talk about them; my family don't accept me because of my beliefs; I don't have the patience
to explain my beliefs; I am a believer, but not committed; I know what I should do, but I don't do
it; I know what will happen to me if I don't do what I should; I feel guilty all the time; the end of the
world is always hanging over my head".

2.2.3 Difficulties in relationships with peers

Restrained adolescents show an unusually strong need for acceptance, belonging and love in their
relationships with peers. These needs may be noted by teachers in the tendency of an adolescent
to follow the crowd, even if they are doing the wrong thing, such as smoking, drinking or damaging
property; by the refusal to perform academically for fear of being rejected; boys' withdrawal from
girls for fear of being called a "sissy"; by the attempt at keeping peers away from their homes for
fear of being embarrassed or rejected; by the choosing of friends which have similar backgrounds;
by the choosing of older friends in lieu of friends of their same age with whom they can identify.

2.2.4 Difficulties in relationships with siblings

The following signals of distress may be sent by adolescents with regard to their relationships with
siblings: frequent reports of fighting and jealousy, especially towards stepbrothers or stepsisters;
the manifestation of impatience and irritability towards siblings at school; the ignoring of younger
siblings at school for fear of rejection by peers; over-protectiveness or control of siblings; the
overshadowing of a less confident sibling by a more confident one.

2.2.5 Difficulties in relationships with parents, other significant adults and teachers

Restrained adolescents may miss a father or a mother who is not at home owing to divorce or
death. The need for the love of the missing or unavailable parent may be expressed in various
ways, such as by attention-seeking behaviour, idolisation of a teacher, lack of concentration or
perhaps openly disruptive or rebellious behaviour. Adolescents with inadequate parental figures may come to a teacher more than is usual for advice or guidance in career decisions, school related problems, girlfriend or boyfriend problems and relationship problems in general.

Such adolescents frequently lack sufficient discipline at home, and this is evidenced by pronounced lawlessness or lack of self-discipline at school. Teachers may find it difficult to communicate with adolescents experiencing home difficulties on an emotional level, and find that these adolescents also have difficulty expressing their feelings verbally. This is mainly to give expression to their need for understanding, acceptance and love. Furthermore, many restrained adolescents have fathers whom they despise by reason of alcoholism, drug abuse or battering of their mother, and some have even been abused in some way by parents, step-parents or teachers, resulting in a mistrust of adults on the whole. Some restrained adolescents have overbearing mothers or fathers, who control them, always take their side, and blame the teachers for every problem, even academic problems.

Teachers may also be warned that the parents of restrained adolescents will tend to pass their parenting responsibilities onto the teachers, if possible. Male teachers will find that adolescent girls with fathers who are inadequate male role models, often view them as father-figures and may even develop a "crush" on them. Female teachers may experience teenaged boys treating them either as a mother or as a prospective lover, with gifts of chocolates and roses! Such advances should be sensitively and tactfully handled, without hurting the adolescent's feelings.

From the above discussion, it has become evident that certain qualities and characteristics are essential on the part of teachers, if they are to be successful in the demanding task of assisting adolescents towards more adequate identity formation.

3. TEACHERS AS FACILITATORS OF ADEQUATE IDENTITY FORMATION

The teachers own identity, self-concept and personality, the relationship with religion and parents of pupils, and subject knowledge are all shown, in this section, to have a significant influence on
the identity formation of adolescents, especially those who are restrained in their becoming.

3.1 The teacher in the school situation

Suggestions as to how the teacher may handle the above-mentioned matters and relationships within the school situation, so as to be able to influence adolescents' identity formation positively, are proposed here.

3.1.1 Teachers' identity

As has been mentioned earlier, realistic self-knowledge may be likened to possessing an adequate identity. Naturally, if teachers do not have accurate self-knowledge and hence well-established identities, they cannot hope to effect identity-formation in their relationships with adolescents. Teachers in fact teach what they are: "That which we are, we are all the while teaching, not voluntarily, but involuntarily" (Chambers 1987:2). A statement such as this emphasises the extreme importance of teachers having positive identities. Apart from this, a healthy self-concept and self-esteem are also essential.

3.1.2 Teachers' self-concept, self-esteem and self-image

The teacher, it has been suggested by Burns (1979:306), must be above all else a secure person. Teachers with low self-evaluation, or a poor self-concept, see their pupils through the biases and distortions of their own needs, fears and anxieties. Only when teachers have sufficient self-esteem can their own needs (for example, for recognition, importance or power) be reduced, so that teaching is based on the needs of the pupils and not those of the teacher. In fact, Gurney (1988:120) forwards the idea that teachers' self-esteem may be more important than their teaching methods or resources. A teacher with a poor self-image has a deficiency of self-assurance, feels inadequate, does not understand the pupils and cannot realise the pedagogic relationship structures (Boshoff 1989:42).
Another significant facet of the teacher's relationship with self, which influences adolescents' identity formation, is personality.

### 3.1.3 Teachers' personality

The personality of the teacher may contribute to the affective well-being of the pupil, or it may have a negative influence thereon. Cognitively speaking, teachers with good personalities have wide interests, are intellectually equipped for their task, know the pupils and do thorough preparation. Non-cognitively speaking, good teachers have warm, sensitive personalities, are stable and friendly, and understand their pupils. They possess good health and stamina, are calm, human and enthusiastic, although not perfect! (Boshoff 1989:40).

The teacher's personality, according to Papalia & Wendkos Olds (1993:529) is not as important as what he or she actually does in the classroom. When teachers expect pupils to do well, show a concerned involvement in their progress, and maintain a pleasant, friendly classroom atmosphere, adolescents respond favourably. On the other hand, adolescents perform poorly in classrooms where they are ridiculed, criticised, threatened or punished. That is to say, concerned involvement on the part of teachers and pleasant experiencing of this involvement by adolescents promotes favourable pupil identity formation.

### 3.2 Teachers' relationships

#### 3.2.1 Teachers' relationship with religion and adolescents' identity formation

In a similar way that a teacher's relationship with self affects adolescents, so does a teacher's relationship with religion. That is to say, a teacher teaches what he or she is (relationship with self), but at the same time what he or she believes (such as in the relationship with religion). In fact, what a teacher believes influences what he or she is, and vice versa.

Just as in the home the example of the parents exerts a decisive influence upon the moulding of
the adolescent, so also the example of the teacher exerts an unmistakable influence upon the personality, and hence identity, of the adolescent (Sivananda 1987:6).

It is also important for teachers to have positive relationships with the parents of the adolescents whom they teach.

3.2.2 Teachers' relationships with parents of adolescents and these adolescents' identity formation

Teachers' relationships with parents has a determining effect on the pupils' identity formation. If there is a good rapport between the parents and teachers of a pupil, this will influence the pupil's identity formation positively. If not, the effect on identity formation will be negative. This would appear to be so because a healthy parent-teacher relationship inevitably leads to a better knowledge and understanding of both the pupil and the teacher. Better trust and respect for the authority of the teacher also results if the pupil knows that his or her parents trust and respect the teacher. The superior understanding of the pupil, in addition to the improved trust and authority relationship, enhances the pupil-teacher relationship in general, and hence lays the ground for positive identity formation.

3.2.3 Teachers' subject knowledge

To be favourably instrumental in advancing adolescents' identity formation, especially cognitively, it is essential that teachers develop the necessary professional skills (Wragg 1994:123). Even if the teacher is already practising without the necessary qualifications, every effort should be made to upgrade. All teachers should furthermore regularly evaluate their own teaching as to class management, questioning and explaining techniques, subject knowledge and lesson planning. The skill of self-evaluation is, after all, just as important as external appraisal. During in-service training, teachers should take careful note of how to evaluate themselves critically, observe pupils effectively, and also take every opportunity to observe other teachers. This arrangement will obviate the personal and professional threat which evaluation usually holds. It will also cut out the
need for purely cosmetic changes which are temporarily made just to impress the appraiser (Wragg 1994:78-128).

Certain indicators for successful response to restrained adolescents' identity formation needs, are provided for the teacher.

4. GUIDELINES FOR SUPPORTIVE TEACHER-adolescent RELATIONSHIPS IN THE SCHOOL SITUATION

Various facets of such relationships can be differentiated.

4.1 Physically

Teachers may assist adolescents to explore their world physically by involving them in, or encouraging their involvement in physical games, sports and excursions. Help adolescents develop specific skills to improve their physical self-concept. "Since self-concept and achievement are interactive and reciprocal, when one goes up, it is likely the other will, too (Hamachek 1992:306).

Educate them to follow sensible rules in sexual exploration, in order to orientate themselves to their new physical identity without unnecessary pain. For example, useful topics for discussion on sexual exploration in English or guidance class might be: "Coping with my changing body" or "Why do I sometimes feel so strange?"

Assist adolescents to emancipate physically by setting challenging goals in sport and physical tasks, and letting adolescents work or play on their own to an increasing extent as they move through high school.

Teaching physical distancing means encouragement to take risks in sports and games, to venture by tackling something new and different, to be mature enough to leave certain childish behaviour
behind, in order to grow up. It may even be necessary to help the adolescent make the physical break with his or her mother.

The physical objectificating of adolescents may be promoted by teachers who help adolescents transcend themselves physically, and stand back and view themselves objectively. If for example, the pupils are given the chance in a guidance exercise on identity, to describe their friend and have their friend describe them, this will help adolescents see themselves more objectively. Teachers need to prompt adolescents constantly to see themselves, their parents, others, school work, and all matters from a distance, as others see them. A teacher might need to ask an adolescent on more than one occasion, "Are you looking at the matter realistically? What about looking at it from this angle, or from the other person's point of view?"

Because the physical aspect of adolescents' identity is so crucial to their overall sense of identity (McCall 1990:138; Hart 1988:105), teachers would do well to make their pupils feel good about themselves physically. This may be done by paying the odd compliment, such as "Your hair looks nice today", or "I like your shiny shoes". Or, point out adolescents' special talents and abilities, for example: "Ralf, you're tall. Help me with this"; "Jane, you have really good coordination. Have you thought of trying out for the gymnastics team?" (Hamachek 1992:301).

Teachers should assist adolescents to understand and attribute realistic significance to their new physical identity, especially the girls in their classes, by making sure the facts of life are properly understood. A comprehension exercise testing knowledge on this topic is one way of dealing with the matter. By treating adolescents as if they are clever, strong and well-liked, adolescents will begin to experience these identity characteristics as part of their identity formation (Hamachek 1992:310). Physical involvement in as many activities as possible should also be initiated by teachers. As a consequence of this involvement, adolescents' social encounters will be increased and their relationships improved, thereby enhancing their identity formation. Furthermore, pleasant physical experiencing on the sports field or stage, together with teachers, also stimulates positive identity formation.
A correct display by teachers of what it means to be female or male, assists adolescents in experiencing healthy masculine and feminine gender role models, thereby promoting their gender identity formation. This is especially true today, when adolescents are often confused by what is considered "feminine" and "masculine" behaviour.

4.2

Affectively

Affective exploration may be enhanced by encouraging adolescents in, for example, the English class to explain how they feel about a certain moral issue, such as evacuation of squatters. The analysis or writing of prose or their own poetry also inspires adolescents to explore their emotions, and at the same time provides valuable practice in the verbalisation of their thoughts.

In an affective sense, emancipating implies teaching adolescents emotional maturity by the teacher's own example of emotional control under all circumstances. It infers never shouting, swearing, resorting to sarcasm, or losing his or her temper, or allowing adolescents to behave in these ways. Adolescents must be shown that affective freedom is being the master of one's emotions.

Facilitating adequate affective distancing means helping adolescents move from an impulsive, labile emotional state to a more stable affective life. An adolescent who snatches a pen which a peer has borrowed, or is often in squabbles or tears, needs to be told tactfully, either directly or by working it into a story, that such behaviour is not mature, and only fit for children.

To promote affective differentiation, teachers should see to it that adolescents enjoy a variety of emotionally stimulating and culturally edifying experiences, for example going to shows, different towns, museums, zoos, planetariums, oceanariums, and competing against other schools. Afterwards, their experiences can be discussed.

To help adolescents attribute affective significance to their emotional conflicts and mood swings, teachers can explain the meaning of their own and other people's experiencing. By responding
supportively and encouragingly to adolescents' moods or negative feelings and assessing them positively, teachers act as reflectors and expositors of adolescents' true affective identity.

Teachers should inspire adolescents to total affective involvement in activities. If teachers are enthusiastic about what they are teaching or doing, and become emotionally involved themselves with adolescents, they will share intense affective experiences with them, which will have a lasting effect on the adolescents' identity formation. Teachers should make involvement pleasant by giving adolescents positive reinforcement and appropriate, sincere praise as often as possible. Teachers can teach restrained adolescents by example that there is another side to life which can be enjoyed, and demonstrate what it means to be truly and happily involved in life. Develop in them a taste for cultural experiences by taking them to the orchestra, a ballet or opera. Introduce them to classical music played quietly in the classroom, and bring a touch of class into their lives by educating them how to select and truly enjoy a film.

Furthermore, teachers can go a long way towards directing the affective involvement of adolescents along the correct path by creating a positive, pleasant and non-threatening classroom environment. Because restrained adolescents have little knowledge of what differentiated experiencing really entails, it is vital for the teacher to give them something to strive for, by sharing in a variety of happy experiences with these adolescents. Together with the teacher, they should be motivated to put effort into decorating the classroom attractively. The adolescents themselves should be involved in doing this, so that they will take a pride in the appearance of "their" classroom, and be discouraged from defacing posters and desks. Painting, drawing, the making of models, bringing in of plants, cleaning and scrubbing may be done at the beginning and end of term, as a productive way of using time which is often wasted.

Teachers who have pleasant relationships with adolescents, can give a wise word of advice if they notice that a certain adolescent is emotionally involved with the wrong person or peer group. By directing the adolescent's attention to more admirable role models, or "idols", their affective identity formation can be put on the right track. If an adolescent develops a crush on a teacher, this situation needs to be discreetly handled, by discouraging and not responding to romantic
advances, and if necessary having a firm but kind heart-to-heart chat with the adolescent concerned.

4.3 Cognitively

Involve adolescents cognitively by leading them logically along the path of cognitive exploration. For the employment of such a logical approach, the teacher needs to have a well-structured general strategy, which is planned and systematic. However, within these cognitive boundaries (which incidentally help a restrained adolescent feel secure enough to venture forth cognitively), adolescents must be stimulated to think creatively and divergently in explorative fashion, by participating in debates and being set questions which develop higher order thinking skills, that is, analytical and evaluative questions. A fun example of such a question might be: Take two minutes to think of as many creative uses as you can of a paper clip or empty tin can.

To take an example from the teaching of English, divergent questions and composition assignments about literature will invite students to participate in the book, to become a character in it, to shape its plot to fit their own experience. That is, information should be considered in a "self-related" manner. This will make school more personally meaningful (Hamachek 1992:308).

Help adolescents to emancipate in the cognitive realm by not "spoonfeeding" them information, but by setting assignments and projects which require independent research and cognitive activity, which is afterwards shared socially. Have realistic but high expectations of adolescents. According to Skynner & Cleese (1994:91), pupils enjoy being "stretched", by being expected to attain a high level of achievement.

Teach them to think creatively and divergently, by demonstrating a lateral approach to a riddle, which is usually solved linearly, or to a mathematics problem which is characteristically solved with the use of a set formula. Even a traditional "who done it?" may be solved by means of a class "brainstorming" session, whereby many ideas as to the perpetrator of a crime, may be generated.
Cognitive distancing needs the teaching of logical and abstract thought, so that childish thinking is put in the past. It is the dissociation from what can be seen and the advancement to knowing at an abstract level. In other words, adolescents must be taught that what can be seen is not necessarily true, but the abstract principle or reasoning behind the act is factual knowledge. One often has to stand at a distance to perceive a matter in its proper perspective. The behaviour of the typical conman or sexual pervert, who appears so convincing or smartly dressed, could be discussed in class as a warning to adolescents of just how important it is to look beneath the surface, and think before they act.

Cognitive differentiating, to teachers, means a broadening of their pupils’ cognitive world. A teacher by his or her very nature, should continually be on the lookout for exciting ways to make lessons interesting and relevant to life outside of the classroom. This attitude will in turn keep the enthusiasm of teachers for their subject running high.

Effective cognitive differentiating takes place when teachers take the trouble to answer adolescents’ questions thoroughly and reerate reality properly for them by giving them sufficient opportunity to actualise their intellectual potential. This could involve providing opportunities for adolescents to become computer literate, obtain bilingual certificates, participate in maths olympiads, chess competitions, general knowledge quizzes, or just take part actively in class. Gifted adolescents need additional enrichment exercises to keep them stimulated so as to experience total cognitive differentiation.

Cognitively, the teacher should not over-tax adolescents, but give them sufficient intellectual support and opportunities to perform tasks themselves, and to speak, judge and discover for themselves, if they are to objectificate adequately. Otherwise, adolescents will remain too subjectively involved with the subject matter to objectify it. Cognitive objectification could be taught by coaching in the art of debate, or of holding a courtroom trial in the classroom.

Cognitive objectification of the self, it is suggested by Enright, Olson, Ganiere, Lapsley and Buss (1984:129), could be achieved by getting adolescents to consider who they are in relation to one
friend, their family, the peer group, and society. They are asked to think about how each of the above persons or groups is like and unlike himself or herself. This could be a valuable exercise in promoting the identity formation of adolescents.

Because of adolescents' openness to attribute meaning, teachers have a golden opportunity to assist them in this essential area of their identity formation. By showing that they understand them, teachers may help adolescents know and understand themselves, so that they can attach realistic meaning to their attributes and faults. Hamachek (1992:301) recommends highlighting specific strengths and assets in order to do this. For example, "Sally, you seem to do better in arithmetic than English...I like the way you volunteered in class today, Dan; you really helped our discussion to move along". By thus commenting on the adolescent's worth as a total person, the self-concept and hence identity formation is fostered.

Teachers can assist adolescents cognitively by explaining to them the meaning of things, and their individual significance in the great scheme of things. It is important that they are made to feel of worth and valuable to those around them. Because of adolescents' increased cognitive ability, teachers have an ideal opportunity to involve adolescents in class discussions on moral topics. If these discussions are exciting, and experienced as interesting, adolescents will attribute positive cognitive significance, which will direct their identity formation correctly (Swanepoel 1990:97). If teachers have the privilege of teaching religious instruction, they have more time to deal with the vital questions about themselves, life in general, and the life hereafter, which all adolescents ask as part of their identity crisis. Organise groups (always with different members) to answer and ask questions, and assign projects to be done in groups, so as to stimulate easy dialogue amongst peers, in a close physical setting.

Teachers may also assist adolescents to attribute significance cognitively by making their subjects pleasant, and meaningful to the life-world of the adolescent. If adolescents' interest is aroused and involvement solicited, academic success in the particular subject is much more likely. This results in adolescents attributing significance to their own cognitive beings, and contributing positively to their identity formation. An adolescent who fails should be helped to understand the reasons
behind the failure, and how to manage poor results. Strategies such as better study methods and time management should be presented as preventative measures against loss of belief in their cognitive abilities, and future failure. The value of present opportunities should be carefully explained so that adolescents will not be constantly considering ways of making life easier for themselves academically.

By allowing adolescents to get to know them, and by getting to know adolescents, also knowing and using their names (De Klerk 1990:50), teachers can help adolescents understand themselves, and appreciate their strengths and weaknesses. In this way, appropriate career choices can be directed, which choices will affect adolescents' identity formation more than any other choices (Ackermann 1990:288; Conger 1991:411).

Furthermore, by being aware of the differing cognitive styles of adolescents such as slow-to-warm-up or quick-to-warm-up, teachers may create a cognitive learning environment which will match the various temperaments in the class, and better learning will be the result (Burger 1993:295).

4.4 Normatively

Teachers need training about "moral statuses" as the first step towards intervention in adolescents' identity formation, says Archer, (1989:409), following Marcia.

Kohlberg (Kroger 1989:104) believes that the school offers an opportunity equal to that of the family for facilitating moral development [used synonymously with "normative" development here]. Moreover, it is possible to induce moral stage advancement by exposure to role models, moral debates and discussions, or a climate reflecting a stage of reasoning one step higher than their present stage.

Normatively, adolescents should be prodded to question what is right and wrong, and to make their own choices. Moral and ethical issues need exploration in classroom discussions, such as the issues of euthanasia, abortion, and does the end always justify the means? By virtue of simply
creating an environment in which moral opinions can be verbalised and normative standpoints considered, the normative identity formation of adolescents will be enhanced. "The articulation of a moral position, the give-and-take of arguments about human motivations and choices are what bring about change" (Herbert 1996:69).

Give adolescents the freedom to become individuals in their own right, and the persons they were meant to become, by the gradual withdrawal of normative support. Hence, by the time adolescents reach the senior standards, they should be sufficiently emancipated to make real contributions to the democratic running of the classroom, and liberated enough from the control of teachers to be able to use a certain amount of class time in the way that they see best fit. Naturally, this time should be used towards academic ends of some sort. If for example, a pupil wants to read, work on another subject (provided work is up to date in the teacher's subject), or go and practice an instrument, this should be allowed. It is the way in which adolescents learn to handle privileges of this kind, which will determine their ultimate normative emancipation and identity formation.

Normative and moral issues must be taught to be kept on an objective level, and not become emotional matters. In being educated to distance themselves from issues, adolescents should not be permitted to turn class discussions and debates into sessions of personal attack!

Normatively, it will be easier for teachers to teach adolescents correct social behaviour if they learn from the experience of a broad social context (by meeting other pupils, teachers and adults), what the acceptable normative codes are. The teacher should help adolescents objectificate by teaching norms as objective and necessary standards of behaviour, and taking the time to explain the rationale behind social and moral rules. Since so many adolescents object to certain school rules, these rules should individually be examined by the class with respect to why they are necessary.

Because of their new cognitive and social capacities, adolescents are experiencing a critical time for changes in moral behaviour (Dusek 1987:118) as well as in identity formation (Schave & Schave 1987:118). Teachers are therefore in the ideal position to give adolescents a set of values
by means of which they can make sense out of life, and according to which they can make their choices. Provide adolescents with the experience of what it feels like to do the right thing.

Teachers should be aware that they act as normative identification models for adolescents, so it is no good preaching norms and standards which one does not practice oneself (Jantzen 1988:33; Carey 1989:75). Only if they are adhered to in the daily life of the teacher, will norms gain personal significance for the adolescent. Teachers should strive to set an example of what normatively correct and acceptable behaviour is like in refined, cultured circles, so that adolescents may aim high, and be inspired to dream of and plan for a better life. If they can identify with teachers as reliable normative role models, and intellectually attribute meaning to what they observe as relevant and admirable, their identity formation as significance attribution will be stimulated.

Teachers should, however, be careful not to impose their normative standards upon adolescents. For norms to facilitate positive identity formation, the adolescent has to be personally involved in choosing them, and experience them himself or herself as satisfying and effective guidelines. Adolescents also need to feel committed to these standards to such an extent that they form an ideology or personal philosophy of life. If an adolescent experiences a certain teacher’s philosophy of life by virtue of this teacher’s regular insistence on certain behaviour and promotion of certain values, it becomes easier for the adolescent to develop his or her own positive philosophy of life, and thereby avoid value and identity confusion.

Finally, adolescents need to be warned against peer pressure, and encouraged to live up to what they believe despite everybody else doing wrong - even if they happen to be adults!

4.5

Conatively

Conatively, adolescents should be emancipated to make their own decisions and explore their own choices. Teachers should therefore not decide which subjects adolescents will do, which career they will follow, or sport they will play. The best teachers can do is to lay open all of the options
with their advantages and disadvantages, and indicate the personal significance each choice will have to the adolescent and his or her future.

Adolescents should, moreover, be taught the necessity of internal motivation, as opposed to external conative control. This occurs through the feeling of satisfaction they will experience on discovering their own power of choice. A teacher may, for instance, allow the pupils to choose their own topic for a debate or an essay, or make their own classroom rules.

The school can involve adolescents by giving them the responsibility for running things as far as possible, and caring for their surroundings. But there should be a good balance between structure and freedom (Skynner & Cleese 1994:90). By restoring the belief in restrained adolescents that they can control events themselves, teachers can dissipate the feeling of helplessness and depression which some restrained adolescents experience (Rouse 1980:106).

Teachers may assist restrained adolescents in their need for conative control by maintaining a controlled, disciplined classroom environment. It is the view of Skynner and Cleese (1994:91) that pupils hate inconsistent discipline. Also, by controlling and evaluating the pupils' work regularly significance attribution will be promoted on a conative level, and enhance the feeling of security which restrained adolescents need so badly to be able to move forward in their identity formation.

Teachers must also do their best not to permit adolescents to do subjects or strive after careers in which they have no interest or aptitude, especially if these choices have been foisted upon them by misguided parents or other adults with ulterior motives. Conative actions, to which significance is not attributed because they are forced, detract from identity formation. Teachers should therefore help adolescents to choose their own vocation responsibly (Booyse 1991:130), set personal goals, and motivate them to make their involvement total in achieving these goals. Teach them that to achieve goals and become who they want to become, action is necessary, that is regular practice, and hard, consistent work. The positive reinforcement of the teacher will make the involvement a happy experience, and effect identity formation favourably.
The identity formation of adolescents depends partly on positive relationships (Chickering & Reissner 1993:48). Consequently, in order to facilitate adolescents' identity formation, they need to be taught how to constitute positive relationships with self, religion, peers and siblings, parents and other adults, and teachers.

4.6 Relationally

With self

Teachers may teach adolescents to accept, trust and respect themselves by treating them with unconditional acceptance, trust and respect, and by explaining to them how unique and special each one of them is. Teachers can also help adolescents know themselves and build a positive self-concept by pointing out their strengths and weaknesses and expecting the best of them. These expectations must, however be realistic. And only praiseworthy efforts should be honestly praised (Hamachek 1992:301 & 310; De Klerk 1990:49).

By facilitating adolescents' relationships with peers through group work, teachers may help adolescents attribute accurate significance to themselves by way of their peers' reactions towards them (Yardley & Honess 1987:68). The relationship with self is maintained by a constant comparison of the self with peers and the adolescent's own abilities. This comparison will give rise to either self-acceptance or self-rejection (Van den Aardweg & Van den Aardweg 1993:201; Warren 1992:54). Pleasant experiencing of involvement with peers and teachers will foster adolescents' self-acceptance and hence identity formation.

With religion

Teachers should bolster the spiritual striving of adolescents to know truth, by elucidating the principles of the various world religions, and encouraging adolescents to place their faith in the God or the god of the religion of their choice. In this way, teachers will be helping adolescents fulfil their basic need to attribute significance to life, and to experience involvement in a relationship of
trust with a higher power. When adolescents' religious relationships are fulfilled, it will contribute to their spiritual security and the establishment of their identity (Warren 1992:56).

Verses from the Bible, the Koran and other religious writings may be placed on the walls of the classroom to direct the attention of restrained adolescents towards a positive relationship with religion.

Some wise advice is given by Thiessen (1993:90), who warns that religious education must not become indoctrination, since this is misuse of the teacher's authority, and violation of the pupils' autonomy. Dogmatic teaching, which discourages pupils from thinking or asking questions or having other points of view, falls into the same category.

Wright (1993:28) believes religious education is a means to bring about tolerance, mutual understanding and more effective ways of enabling diverse groups to live together. He recommends openness and honesty on the part of teachers regarding their own religious beliefs, but as educators their task is first and foremost to help produce religious literacy in their pupils, to enable them to think and communicate about religious issues.

With peers

A crucial aspect of adolescents' identity formation is their relationships with peers and siblings (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:540). The adolescent who is a loner is in danger of his need for acceptance becoming so strong, that he joins the wrong crowd or even a gang (Mathunyane 1992:39; De Klerk 1990:49). That is why it is so important for teachers to arrange plenty of group games and outings, so that relationships with peers may be facilitated. By giving adolescents the opportunity to explain their ideas and experiences in front of the class, and educating class members not to reject a person because their ideas differ from one's own, teachers may go a long way in assisting adolescents attribute significance to their own identities within a corporate context.

Because peers often act as role models for adolescents' behaviour (Rice 1992:132), it is important
when teachers choose prefects, to choose carefully and wisely, with this fact firmly in mind.

**Relationships with siblings**

A teacher can influence adolescents' relationships with siblings by pointing out the importance of being kind to family members, especially if these siblings are known to the teacher or at the same school. Sometimes a relationship with a sibling is so close (particularly if they are twins), that an adolescent may all but ignore his or her peers. To further balanced identity formation, a teacher would do well to suggest such adolescents form relationships with other peers too. It may help to separate such siblings, even if only temporarily, but in the personal experience of the researcher the latter option does not appear to be a wise one, since it creates resentment and could exacerbate rather than ameliorate the problem of an insecure identity.

**With parents and other significant adults**

Mothers tend to be more over-involved with adolescents than do fathers (Papalia & Wendkos Olds 1993:547). If a mother is over-involved to the extent that she is impeding an adolescents' identity formation, the teacher may need to discuss the problem with such a parent, diplomatically explaining the adolescent's need for gradual emancipation and independence (De Klerk 1990:51). Parents who attend Parent Teacher Association meetings are usually not the ones who need to be more involved in their adolescents' school work, so a teacher will have to devise some system whereby uninvolved parents or non-custodial parents will have to become involved (perhaps by regular circulars to parents with return-sections, or projects to which parents have to contribute). The necessity of parental involvement cannot be overemphasised, since it has a direct positive correlation with adolescents' identity formation.

If a father or mother is absent or unavailable, the teacher should know about this, and as far as is possible, act as a surrogate parent, or at the least, role model. Because, whatever a teacher does, he or she is a role model for adolescents (Woolfolk 1995:7).
With teachers

Educational authors are in agreement as to the increasingly important role of teachers in relationship with their pupils, considering the frequent disruption of the parental-unit (Conger 1991:189). Carey (1989:75) advises that "We are role models - expected to exhibit good health and happiness, to show our students what a solid education did for us. 'If you want to live the good life, follow my example,' we say, although not in so many words". The relationship of the teacher with pupils, to be adequate, should be based on the essential components of authority, understanding (knowledge) and trust.

For the teacher, being in a correct relationship of authority towards the adolescent, means assisting and supporting the adolescent in proper progression towards adulthood (Van Rensburg et al 1994:511). The teacher who truly understands the relationship of authority, will give pupils greater responsibility for their own learning, allow them to exercise judgement, and make choices in relation to their own learning. As a consequence of their greater involvement, greater independence and superior identity formation are stimulated.

Teachers will gain respect for their authority from their pupils by laying down strict, but democratic guidelines for behaviour (De Klerk 1990:50), and accepting the authority of norms in their own lives and actions. The relationship of authority will have far-reaching effects on adolescents' identity formation, if the teacher uses this context to put forward a wide range of careers, irrespective of traditional occupational choices for boys and girls (Wilkinson & Marrett 1985:182).

A relationship of understanding demands that the teachers attempt to understand and know adolescents against the background of their particular life-world (De Klerk 1990:50). By so doing, adolescents will be helped to understand and attribute meaning to themselves. Teachers should also help adolescents come to grips with present realities (Van Rensburg et al 1994:511), understand their destination as adults, and the required behaviour to reach that destination.

Teachers should understand that adolescent girls and boys must be treated as having the same
intellectual potential and, regardless of long-standing male and female stereotypes, afford them the same study choices. Whether restrained in their becoming or not, teachers must treat adolescents with total acceptance and with the same expectations of performance.

Adolescents should never be labelled, but the negative stage through which most adolescents pass should be seen for what it is - an experimentation with identities (Hitchcock & Hughes 1989:155).

Understanding teachers should also make subject matter meaningful to adolescents, since, only if they can discern the personal significance of a teacher's classes, can they relate meaningfully to the teacher who presents them.

Trust is a further essential element to be nurtured in teachers' relationships with adolescents in order to advance their identity formation. By trusting and having a realistic faith in adolescents' abilities, the teachers stir the trusting feelings of adolescents towards themselves, and give them a feeling of safety (De Klerk 1990:49). Because of adolescents' need for support, they need somebody to trust (Van Rensburg et al 1994:511). It follows that the more support teachers give adolescents, the more adolescents will trust them. A feeling of trust and acceptance will afford adolescents the confidence to explore the world and become independent.

The degree of a teacher's trust of an adolescent will be seen in the amount of responsibility he or she entrusts to the adolescent and the amount they expect of the adolescent. A teacher should increasingly entrust adolescents with responsibility, so that by the time they leave school, they will have formed an identity which they and others can trust.

A relationship of mutual trust enhances the affective experiencing, and hence the identity formation of adolescents. Adolescents respond best affectively to teachers who are warm, sensitive, stable and friendly, calm and enthusiastic (Boshoff 1989:40); accessible, authentic, knowledgeable and communicative (Chickering & Reissner 1993:340); genuinely and unselfishly loving, empathetic, unconditionally caring, respecting and sincerely trusting and honest (Du Toit & Jacobs 1989:24).
In a pedagogic relationship of authority, understanding and trust, adolescents feel free to identify affectively with their teachers. Adolescents feel accepted by trusting, supportive teachers, who respect them for who they are, rather than expecting them to fit into a mould (Skynner & Cleese 1994:93).

CONCLUSION

The informed teacher will increasingly teach in such a way that every classroom situation in any subject will be utilised to further the identity formation of adolescents. The more this approach is practised, the more creative and successful the teacher will become and the more the adolescents will thrive.