

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

From the earliest historical times one finds discussions and descriptions of the second decade of life, adolescence. In his Rhetoric Aristotle has described at length the advent of puberty and its associated physical changes. Plato, in his Dialogues, although primarily concerned with adults has included discussions that embody the point of view of youth. Play-wrights and novelists have included descriptions of youth down through the ages, ranging from the lengthy story of Telemachus to later writings of Tarkington (1916), Remarque (1928), Marks (1936), and Maxwell (1945). Rousseau, wrote in Emilie upon the period from 12 to 15, which he called the 'Age of reason'.

Stanley Hall (1904) was however, one of the first psychologists to give serious and prolonged consideration to adolescence as such. His two volume work Adolescence set the pattern for subsequent researches on this age period, for the quarter century following its publication in 1904.

A large number of community-wide studies on adolescence have been carried out, by a wide range of social scientists during the past few decades. The

studies made by Hollingworth (1928), Lynds (1929), Dimocks (1937), Stendler (1949), Hollingshead (1949), Reed (1950), Barker (1950), Jersild (1963), Hurlock (1964), Elkind (1966, 1972, 1974), and Blake et al., (1970) are typical of these. One result of all this scientific interest in the period of adolescence, is a prolific number of publications and theories concerning virtually every conceivable aspect of adolescent behaviour. Yet, despite all the research undertaken, it is a field abounding in still unanswered questions.

In general, the vast volume of literature on adolescent period are mostly oriented towards the 'development aspect'. Whereas the present study delves into certain personality and social aspects of institutionalised and non-institutionalised adolescents (age range 14 to 17), of different socio-economic levels. The extent to which these groups of adolescents differ among themselves on future time perspective, self concept, and vocational interests is the crux of the present investigation.

As extensive studies on institutionalised children have revealed, they differ from family reared children to an alarming extent on every aspect of life. This is because of the wide

differences between family and institutional environments. The institution presents a much more structured situation with physical design of the building reinforcing standardized institutional patterns. This increased structure allows for less variation in behaviour and activity and limits the ways in which choice and initiative could be exercised (Emilie, 1972). The lack of privacy available in the institution as compared to the family setting has multiple ramifications on the child's experience, affecting his ability to control his life. In the words of Wolins and Piliavin, (1972) an institution is a collection of social outcasts, juvenile and adult, who for reasons of their own or others, have been brought together to live under highly artificial conditions euphemistically described as family life. In their report of the joint commission on the mental health of children, New York, they mention that, institutions often become wedded exclusively to one technology. This implies that all children in an institution can be treated or cared for within the framework of a single technology - a logic that appears to disregard developmental and or functional differences.

The mass care offered in the institutional framework thus is detrimental to every type of

development in a child. That is why the first White House Conference on children and youth (1909) affirmed and reaffirmed at every succeeding conference that the home is the highest and finest product of civilisation and the child should not be separated from his parents for reasons of poverty alone.

It has to be made clear here that types of institutions, their characteristics and impact on children or how they differ from family setting does not fall within the scope of the present investigation, though terminologies like institutionalisation and institutionalised children will be often made reference to in different parts of the text.

As mentioned earlier, exploring how institutionalised and non-institutionalised adolescents of varying socio-economic levels (upper, middle and lower) differ from each other on future time perspective, self concept, and vocational interests is the main purpose of the present investigation.

FUTURE TIME PERSPECTIVE

Man exists primarily in the 'dimension' of time and he makes of himself a bridge between past and future in a manner that is unique among creatures (Kelly, 1958). Time permeates all of human experience

(Cottle and Klineberg, 1973). And any behaviour in which the individual engages has a reference in time and is influenced by the relevant past experiences, as well as expectations for future (Agarwal, 1978).

Time is of great concern for those of senior high school age. By the age of 14, a greater understanding of and preoccupation with the future are arrived at, as is evidenced in a study designed by Le Blanc (1969). Personality theorists have argued that in adolescence, the problem of self definition or 'ego identity' (Erikson, 1950) becomes critical and brings an awareness for the first time of the entire life span (Buhler, 1964). This ego identity also provides a new concern with evaluating the limitations and potentialities in oneself and one's present situation in terms of their implications for the future. In order to experience wholeness, the young person must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future (Erikson, 1964). However, the traumatic separation from parents and the subsequent institutionalisation destroys this continuity of the past into the future.

Therefore, it becomes highly questionable what promises the future holds for institutionalised

destitutes. Do the crippling routine, the restricted environment and the blurred past of the institutionalised adolescents permit or motivate them to plan their future in the way they want?

One learns to perceive time as a part of the process of socialization. Thus one's perception of time reflects in some ways the milieu in which one has been socialized. The manner in which one perceives time is in some degree related to the manner in which one unconsciously perceives one's parents (Fisher and Fisher, 1952). Unfortunately, the institutional setting does not provide any parental model on the basis of which the growing children can weave their ambitions, aspirations and visions.

As Davis (1944) noted, during adolescence, the lower status individual begins to feel the stigmas of their status much more keenly. To quote the institutionalised children themselves, "you can't have a full life, when the beginning gets all messed up". It is the background that makes the institutionalised special, and "you can't get rid of your background, just because you would like to".

A study carried out in a small village in Normandy, by the French anthropologists Bernot and Blancard (1953) is worth mentioning in this context. They discovered that the peasants in this village planned their lives in terms of a far longer perspective

on the future than the factory workers, recruited from other communities. This was because, for the workers events in the relatively distant personal past had no continuity with their present circumstances. As a result, the future they envisioned also appeared as an unconnected image of a better life rather than as a goal toward which they could direct their efforts. The peasants on the other hand had a far deeper sense of continuity with the past and with the land that had been their source of livelihood for generations. They viewed their future as a further extension of that same continuity. Having been provided for by their fathers and grandfathers, they planned their future in terms of providing for their children when their turn came. "Thus the humans do indeed appear to make of themselves a bridge between past and future. The deeper their ties with the past, the longer their perspective on the future" (Cottle and Klineberg, 1973).

Can these statements be applicable to institutionalised adolescents? Can they be compared with the factory workers or peasants in their perspectives of the future? Will their memory of the past, of having been discarded and dumped into the institutional world by their own parents, permit them weave glorious aspirations on their future? What ties do they have with their past, to plan their future in the way they want?

Youth is said to be a time of great possibility. When seen from the perspective of life span, adolescence appears as the time when the surge of life reaches its highest peak (Jersild, 1963). Adolescents who show a greater concern for past events in their relation to the present are also likely to trace the consequences of present behaviour into the more distant future (Cottle and Klineberg, 1973). The present study attempts to find out what connections do the institutionalised adolescents perceive between their past and present and what expectations do they have about their future.

What an individual seeks to become determines what he remembers of his has been (May, 1958). The novelty of every future demands a novel past (Mead, 1932). It is primarily in a person's efforts to comprehend his present experiences, that his conceptions of both past and future are shaped. If in his retrospections, he can find a sense of continuity and of orderly predictable change which accounts for his current circumstances, he is likely to project into the future a sense of new possibilities that derives from these interpretations of past and present experiences. Images of the personal future are thus created in the process of 'temporal integration', in the connections that people themselves impose on their experience of time (Cottle and Klineberg, 1973). This process however does not in itself account

for the power that images of the future possess to motivate behaviour. Tomkins wrote (1962), "more than an ability to remember is involved in the development of anticipation. What is remembered must also be compelling here and now".

Is what is remembered by the institutionalised of the past and present, challenging and compelling enough to motivate them to anticipate the future? Has the past of the institutionalised been novel enough to demand a novel future?

The significance of time perspective can be appreciated most clearly in its absence. A person lacking time perspective would be at the mercy of his immediate situation, a state of affairs observed in manic disorders. The manics show that life in the present cannot be rich and efficient unless it is part of an organization which integrates the lessons of the past, and calls on the future to meet the demands of the present. The euphoria of a manic is also bound up with this shrinking of his temporal horizon. Neither the weight of the past nor the uncertainty of the future can influence his mood, which depends entirely on the present (Fraisie, 1963).

Other circumstances also can produce a marked deficit in time perspective; for instance, brain damage,

addiction to drugs, and extended periods of upheaval and crisis. Commenting upon the victims of deportation and racial persecution, Baruk, (1952, as quoted by Fraisse, 1963) has stated that, subjects driven from place to place with an apparently closed and hopeless future, get into the habit of not thinking of the future. Stifling all memories of their past lives, they live only in the present and destroy the continuity of the past into the future. This fixation in the present destroys the very purpose of life itself, and the finality of the personality, and also the very value of personality.

The institutionalised adolescents invariably belong to the last category mentioned above - 'those faced with an apparently closed and hopeless future'. As such it is of paramount scientific value to find out, to what extent these adolescents are deficit in future time perspective, in comparison with non-institutionalised adolescents, of different Socio-economic levels.

The concept of time perspective was first developed by Frank (1939). It was further elaborated and systematized by Lewin (1951), as a comprehensive and complete representation of an individual's past experiences and future expectations at a certain time. Time perspective is a broad term referring

to a molar view of the psychological experience of time (Agarwal, 1978).

Lewin (1951), has defined time perspective as the totality of an individual's views of his psychological future and psychological past at a given time. Lewin's definition indicates that time perspective develops at a particular time period of an individual's life. Time perspectives may exist whenever an individual is motivated by his desires or aspirations. A difficult present situation makes a person dream of the past or imagine about the future. The present therefore is linked with the experiences or events of the past or imaginings of the future. Indeed, wishes and affectual attachments determine our time perspectives.

Time perspective involves the total personality, memory of past events, and hopes, aspirations and anticipations of future events. Past, present and future are interrelated, where the past is memory, the future is expectation and the present attention.

Time perspective is an affectively toned global orientation of the individual (Lehman, 1967). It includes the closeness that he feels towards the past, present and future or his fear of any of these temporal locations. It also includes how far in the past he looks into and how far into the future he plans; also

how often he shifts from one temporal location to the other in his thoughts and plans.

Time perspective serves two major functions:

1. It liberates the individual from dominance by his immediate concrete situation, and as a corollary, provides an alternative to impulsive action.
2. It provides a framework within which self-identity develops, maintains, and transforms itself.

Research interest in time perception became manifest towards the end of the last century. It has received tremendous significance since then. From the early period of this century this interest in the psychology of time has not only increased, but has broadened as well. Researchers have not been satisfied to study temporal experience or time perception as an isolated phenomenon. A trend has developed in the direction of investigating the relationships between temporal experience, and other personality phenomena, normal and abnormal.

The terms 'time perspective' and 'time orientation' have now become familiar to social psychologists, personologists, and clinicians. Investigators have become involved in the study of "macro-events" revolving around the relationships between persons' past, present and future within their phenomenological

frames of reference.

In the recent years, considerable attention has been given to different aspects of temporal experience. (Lewin, 1951; Leshan, 1952; Wallace and Rabin, 1960; Kastenbaum, 1963; Fraisse, 1963; Fraser, 1966; Adelson, 1969; Heerloo, 1970; and Ornstein, 1970). Currently psychologists express the view, that rather than studying time perception as an isolated factor, it ought to be studied as a molar aspect of psychological experience (Johannsen, 1967; Meissner, 1966-67).

The present study explores the differences in the various dimensions of future time perspective of the institutionalised and non-institutionalised adolescents.

SELF CONCEPT

The study of self and self concept has a long history in psychological theory and research, extending back to the closing years of the last century. As an area of study, the concept of self has presented many difficulties not only in definition and theoretical analysis, but also in formulating significant supporting research and in designing instruments and approaches for data collection.

To help make sense of man's feelings about himself, psychologists and philogophers have created such

terms as the 'Ego' or 'self'. Each of these nouns represents a way of thinking and speaking about one's experience rather than a thing or a psychic entity (Mischel, 1976). The 'self' includes all the ideas and feelings a person has regarding the properties of his body, the qualities of his mind and his personal characteristics. It includes his beliefs, values and convictions. It embodies the conception he has of his past, of his background, and of his future prospects (Jersild, 1963). Cattell (1946) calls the self, the keystone of personality, which integrates all levels of personality to one dynamic structure or unified sentiment. The self concept is an organized, consistent conceptual gestalt composed of perceptions of the characteristics of the 'I' or 'me' and the perceptions of the relationships of the 'I' or 'me' to others and to various aspects of life, together with the values attached to these perceptions (Rogers, 1959).

The self concept has been defined "as the cluster of the most personal meanings a person attributes to the self" (Kehas, 1962). It is the fullest description of oneself which a person is capable at any given time. The emphasis is upon the person as the object of his own self knowledge and includes his feelings about what he conceives himself to be (English and English, 1958).

How a person perceives himself with respect to

various traits is termed self concept by Mehrens (1967) . It includes how an individual perceives himself, what he thinks of himself, how he values himself and how he attempts through various actions to enhance or defend himself (Hall and Lindsey, 1957) . Thus self concept is a collection of perceptions, evaluations, attitudes, expectations and interpretations about the abstraction of self and its related characteristics and activities (Kay, 1973) . A person's view of what he really is like or what he thinks he is, is referred to as his actual self concept. Actual self concept includes his conscious attitudes of self approval or disapproval, convictions regarding his worthiness or unworthiness (Jersild, 1963) .

The ideal self concept has been defined as the self concept which the individual would most like to possess; upon which he places the highest value for himself (Rogers, 1959) . The sum total of a person's view of what he wishes he were or thinks he ought to be as distinguished from what he is, is generally called the ideal self (Jersild, 1963) .

Adolescence is the most crucial time in the development of an individual's self concept. Hollingworth (1928) viewed adolescence as a period when more than at any other time of life it becomes important for young people to establish convictions about their identity. It is during adolescence, that the individual tests his self concept

against reality, modifies it and finally moves toward the realization of a stable and mature self picture (Ziller and Henderson, 1971). But what is reality for an institutionalised adolescent? Against what background an institutionalised adolescent can mould and modify his self concept?

Jersild (1963) describes the adolescent self as the essence of one's known existence, the subjective world in which the substance of humanity is experienced, including its joys and sorrows, hopes and fears as well as its tenderness and hardness. The components of adolescents' self range from details of self perception to attitudes that are charged with feeling, such as pride or shame, inferiority, self esteem or self-reproach (Jersild, 1963). Does life confined to the institutional four walls give pride or shame to its senior high school adolescents? Do the institutionalised have any self esteem or only self reproach?

The adolescents' ideal self has many facets. It includes aspirations he is vigorously striving to attain or hopes dimly someday to realize. Do the institutionalised have any aspirations or hopes to be realized at some time in their life?

A child's level of adjustment and his self concept depends upon the wholesomeness of his upbringing in the

home and the security, confidence and affection given to him by his parents (Shirley, 1942). Does the institutional upbringing and care provide enough security and confidence in a person to build in him a stable self concept?

Coopersmith (1967) found that children with a high degree of self esteem were active, expressive individuals, who tended to be successful both academically and socially. Does the institutional setting enable the individuals to develop this high self esteem, which is essential to be successful citizens in society?

The interpretation of the self, as strong or weak affects how one perceives the rest of ones world (Mischel, 1976). In his self theory of personality, Rogers (1959) claims that the self concept develops as the result of direct experience with the environment and also incorporates the perceptions of others. The experienced self in turn influences the perception and behaviour. Maladjustment occurs when the sense of self and a person's perceptions and experiences are in opposition and disharmony. It will be of scientific value to find out whether the constricting and restrictive institutional environment in any way has led to maladjustment and conflicts within self among the institutionalised adolescents.

Though self concepts are not a mirror of reality, they are correlated with the outcomes that the person has obtained throughout his experience and that he expects to obtain in the future (Mischel, 1976). A study of the institutionalised adolescents in comparison with a group of non-institutionalised adolescents has been carried out to see whether there would be any significant differences in the self concepts of the two groups which are the results of their different past experiences.

It is said that the child's perception of the reflected attitudes and judgements of those who comprise his world serves as the foundation for the formulation of self. Has the attitudes and judgements of the institutional caretakers affected the self concept of its inmates in any way?

The self concept is the map which each person consults in order to understand himself, especially during moments of crisis or choice (Raimy, 1943). What self picture or 'map' the institutionalised adolescent has about himself? Will the self picture that the adolescent has, carry him through his later life in society at large? These are some of the vital questions raised and answered in the present study.

Many different theories with respect to self

have been put forward since the time of Freud, by Jung (1955), James (1890), Symonds (1951), Cattell (1950), Allport (1961), Sarbin (1954), and Sutherland (1949). But it is not any definition or redefinition of the concept of self or ideal self, theoretical generalizations or testing the validity of measurement tools that has been aimed at in this study. On the other-hand, an attempt has been made to measure whether institutionalisation has in any way dampened the self concept of its inmates or not; And whether the institutionalised adolescents have any individual self concept or only a collective self concept. In comparison, the self concept of non-institutionalised adolescents of different socio-economic levels is probed into.

VOCATIONAL INTEREST

During the past few decades, various studies have been carried out on the vocational preferences and interests of adolescents. (Canning, 1941; Bradley, 1943; Bordin, 1943; Rober and Garfield, 1943; Strong, 1943; Carter, 1944 b; Berdie, 1945; Cawley, 1947; Myers, 1947; Darley and Hagenah, 1955; Super and Crites, 1962).

The term interest has been defined differently by various investigators. James (1890) defines interest as a form of selected awareness or attention that produces meaning out of the mass of one's experiences.

Berdie (1946) considers interests as factors that attract an individual or repel him from objects, persons and attitudes. Strong (1943) speaks of interests as 'likes' and labels 'dislikes' as aversions. Vocational Interest is defined as one's own pattern of preferences, aptitudes, likes and dislikes preferred in any manner wisely or unwisely for a given vocational area or vocation (Kulshreshtha, 1965). Vocational interests are similar to preferences, except that they are usually more realistic (Crites, 1969).

The exact age at which genuine vocational interests begin to appear is not known. It is logical to assume that there is individual variation in this respect. Likes and dislikes are ofcourse displayed from a very early age. Sex differences in interests have been demonstrated at the first grade level and such differences seem well established by age ten (Tyler, 1951, 1955).

As a child moves into the adolescent period, the time for going to work or preparing more specifically for an occupation comes closer (Jersild, 1963). Earlier unrealistic and impulsive aims give way to aspirations more directly related to their past experience.

In adolescence the individual elaborates upon and clarifies the concept of himself he formed during childhood and he begins to translate his self concept into vocational terms through his aspirations, interests and work values. Thus throughout the high school years the adolescent is confronted with the thought of making a vocational choice that best befits his self concept. To the extent that he successfully copes with the developmental tasks of this life stage, the individual can be considered as more or less vocationally mature. Career development and interest therefore is self development viewed in relation with choice, entry and progress in educational and vocational pursuits (Tiedeman and O'Hara, 1963).

When confronted by adults, who ask what they are going to be when they become older, growing youths are forced to voice 'I projections' that become deep rooted in their self structure. When their projections are approved by others, their self picture in this area of experience becomes stabilized and is capable of withstanding considerable resistance from outside forces (Helms and Turner, 1976). What are the 'I Projections' of the institutionalised adolescents, as regards their vocational interests in terms of their future aspirations? Are the institutionalised in any way prepared to face the occupational world? Are they aware of the vocational choices available in the society at large and

are prepared mentally for any specific type of job? or having been in the institutional setting for years, do they think, that they cannot have any vocational plans for themselves as the management decides their future.

One's socio-economic background has obvious implications for educational as well as vocational development. Frequently the economic and occupational level of the home affects the vocational goals of youth (Caro and Pihlblad, 1965). The pattern of vocational interests and choice made by adolescents corresponds roughly with the job patterns associated with each social class in the adult work world. Therefore the adolescents' ideas of desirable jobs are reflections of their experiences in the social class and family culture complexes. The adolescents are not only aware of the differential prestige attached to vocations, but they also know the position of themselves and their families in the prestige system. They can also understand and visualise the connection which exists between the father's occupation and the family's economic and prestige positions (Hollingshead, 1949).

Thus the vocational interest pattern exhibited by the adolescents is directly related to their socio-economic status in the society. Also the dominant climate of opinion within a school makes a significant

impact upon student's occupational goals and interests (Wilson, 1959) .

There are differences in preferences of vocations at different socio-economic levels. (Centers, 1949; Beilin, 1952; Friedmann and Havighurst 1954; Singer and Stefflre 1954; Darley and Hagenah, 1955; and Lyman, 1955) . Persons at the higher socio-economic levels tend to derive satisfaction from their work itself while at lower socio-economic levels concomitants of work, such as economic rewards and financial security tend to be more highly valued (Overstreet, 1963) . Furthermore, socio-economic groups may differ to some extent in their orientation toward the present or the future. Members of the working class tend to emphasize the present and members of the middle class are more strongly oriented towards the future. Such differences may reflect differences in willingness to postpone gratification (Ginzberg, 1948) .

The present study investigates to what extent the adolescents of different socio-economic levels are present or future oriented in their measured vocational interests. The vocational interest pattern of the institutionalised adolescents, in comparison with that of the non-institutionalised adolescents is analysed in detail in the present study.

To, sum up, the present study is an attempt to scientifically investigate the extent to which the institutionalised adolescents differ from non-institutionalised adolescents on future time perspective, self concept, and vocational interests.